

**A NO-LONGER EXTANT INSTRUMENT;
A STUDY OF THE MEDIEVAL VIOL**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation has been composed by me and that the work reported in it is my own. I further declare that the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Joséphine Yannacopoulou

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the case of a no-longer extant musical stringed bowed instrument repeatedly encountered in Western Middle Ages iconography from the period between the 12th to the 14th centuries. Documentary sources include frescoes and sculptures of Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals, and miniatures and historiated initials of illuminated manuscripts found in Psalters, Bibles, and astrological works. Despite its frequent and simultaneous iconographic appearance in various countries, no name has survived for this instrument. Organologists have attributed several convenient modern names to this instrument, the most common one being the 'medieval viol', a term suggestive of its time of existence and playing technique, regardless the fact that the instrument does not exhibit any other organological features of a viol. On the other hand, literature of the same time-period and region presents a similar problem in the identification of a musical instrument called the 'gigue'. There is a plethora of literary evidence ranging from courtly literature to didactic works suggesting that the 'gigue' was a stringed bowed instrument. Yet, no further information has survived on its identity. This thesis concentrates on the attribution of the most likely correct name for the medieval viol. It presents evidence for a new hypothesis identifying the medieval viol with the gigue. It examines documentary and iconographical sources from France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany and England from the 12th to the 14th centuries. The thesis also considers the instrument within a broader sphere, in relation to the historical and sociological circumstances of this period, as well as the aesthetical and philosophical currents of the time. Finally, the thesis discusses the various conclusions drawn from the reconstruction of the instrument, focusing on various performance considerations that could have been applicable to the medieval viol.

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INTRODUCTION

The thesis re-evaluates the case of the un-named medieval viol, focusing on the attribution of the most likely accurate name for it. It presents clear evidence supporting the identification of this instrument with the gigue, an instrument often found in Middle Ages literature but the identity of which is yet indefinite.

The medieval viol

The medieval viol is a no-longer extant variety of stringed bowed instrument encountered in western iconography of the time-span between the early 12th and late 14th centuries (fig.1).¹ Documentary sources include marginal illustrations and historiated initials of Bibles and Psalters, depictions in astrological manuscripts and calendars, and monumental sculptures. These sources come from France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany and England.

Fig. 1



¹ St Alban's Psalter, p.417. For more information on the manuscript's origin and current location see: chapter 4:192

The instrument bears a characteristic strong-waisted, figure-of-eight shape, with a flat soundboard and back, long round neck and three strings.² It is always played *da gamba*, and the bow is long and curved.³ Since the early 20th century, it was believed that although this so frequently represented instrument was a distinct iconographic type, no specific name, or at least no name that survived to the present day, has survived for it.⁴ The lack of an original name has made relevant research quite difficult; consequently, the instrument has attracted little significant attention.

For a matter of convenience scholars have introduced modern names to refer to this instrument. This modern nomenclature though, can become confusing; scholars have not agreed upon a specific name, and so the employed terminology ranges from the figure-of-eight viol, octave-fiddle, guitar-fiddle, to the medieval viol. The latter is the most commonly used name at the present. It should be stressed, that these names are modern; they do not appear in any Middle Ages literary source.

The term *gigue*

The *gigue* is a name of a musical instrument often found in Middle Ages literature. Uncertainty surrounds its identity, as literature does not reveal much information.⁵ Clear literary evidence however, points to the

² There are rare instances where the instrument appears to have four or even five strings. However, this might have one of the following explanations:

1. The illustration might be inaccurate
2. The illustration might merge several instruments together
3. Some makes may have chosen to use the body-shape of the figure-of-eight viol with another stringing, as for example the violin with viol body at the Reid Museum of Instruments (catalogue number:329)

³ For a detailed analysis of the instrument's organological characteristics see: chapter 5

⁴ As discussed in detail in chapter 2, Sachs, Panum, Bachmann, Montagu, Remnant, Woodfield, Bec and Page support this theory.

⁵ That is with the exception of newly discovered evidence by the present author. For more information, see chapter 3: Johannes de Garlandia's *Dictionarius*.

conclusion that the gigue was a stringed bowed instrument used within the time-span between the early 12th and late 14th centuries in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany and England.⁶ It seems that it was considered a “noble” instrument, and placed next to the vièle, psaltery and organ was associated with court entertainment, trouvères and high-status jongleurs. Finally, as will be shown, ample literary evidence stresses the gigue’s allegorical connotation, emphasising the instrument’s association with the celestial harmony of the Court of Heaven.

The link between the medieval viol & the gigue

The present author does not claim that the name gigue has been exclusively applied to the medieval viol. Such a statement would be against medieval reality where the same name could be used in a generic way to describe several instruments.⁷ The reasons that led to the gigue’s identification with the figure-of-eight viol are fully discussed in the following chapters; in brief, these reasons are:

- a) The medieval viol is the only known nameless stringed bowed instrument of the Middle Ages. The gigue is the only literary name which is not associated with any known, particular musical instrument.
- b) The almost contemporary appearance of the name gigue for a stringed bowed musical instrument with the iconographic depictions of the medieval viol.
- c) The almost contemporary disappearance of both the aforementioned name and the depicted instrument.

⁶ See: chapter 3

⁷ For an extensive discussion on this, see: chapter 3

- d) In iconography, the medieval viol is always placed within a noble or religious environment. In literature, the instrument called a gigue is always associated with the same social contexts.
- e) Both the medieval viol and the gigue were considered of a highly symbolic nature. Iconographic depictions stress the association of the medieval viol with the organisation and hierarchy of the Heavens; literary references clearly associate the structure and balance of the universe with the gigue.
- f) Although 20th-century scholars refer to the medieval viol, there is not a single mention of this term in any Middle Ages literary work. On the contrary, there is a plethora of Middle Ages literary references to the instrument called a gigue.
- g) The medieval viol, although an invented modern term, has supposedly found its medieval visual representation; the gigue, an undeniably authentic Middle Ages instrument, has not yet found its visual counterpart.

The present author is aware of the fact that the term 'iconography' has different meanings amongst art historians and organologists. For the former, 'iconography' implies the study of themes and sub themes, the identification of topoi and the study of the content of a visual document. For organologists, 'music iconography' also equates to visual evidence, mere representation of a musical instrument or a music scene. In this thesis, 'music iconography' is thought of from an organological point of view; however, when necessary, a contextual, aesthetic perspective has also been considered.

It has to be mentioned that although there are references to the gigue stressing its symbolic quasi-theological connotation, the majority of literary

references to it are of a secular context and purpose, such as courtly romances. In contrast to this, iconographic depictions of the medieval viol of the same time-period are mostly of a religious nature, as for example the historiated initials of Psalters. However, this controversy concerns almost all musical instruments mentioned in literature of the time. For example, there are ample references to the *vièle*, *symphonie* and harp in the aforementioned literatures in relation to courtly entertainment and placed in the hands of jongleurs; yet, the same instruments are repeatedly found in illuminated manuscripts of Bibles and monumental sculptures of Cathedrals placed in the hands of authoritative Biblical figures, such as King David and the Apocalyptic twenty-four Elders.⁸ If considered within a broader historical and aesthetical context, possible reasons for this controversy could be found. In brief, and as will be extensively discussed on Chapter 4, iconographic depictions in Psalters and Cathedrals, apart from being decorative elements, were serving a high purpose: they were used as visual messages to spread Christian morals.⁹ The most effective way to achieve moral teaching was to aim for the reader's identification with, and self-projection within the depicted scenes.¹⁰ The introduction of secular, everyday items familiar to the reader, musical instruments included, would facilitate the reader's personal experience. Taking this into account, as well as several issues discussed in the following chapters, then the identification of the medieval viol with the *gigue* stands as a quite plausible hypothesis.

The suggested hypothesis has been approached from a position of neutrality rather than with any pre-conceived opinion. Previous research has

⁸ For representations of the medieval viol see: chapters 4 & 5, as well as the relevant Appendix.

⁹ An example of this is the famous quote by Pope Gregory the Great who had defended art as the "Bible of the poor who cannot read". For a thorough discussion on this see: chapter 4

¹⁰ This theory has been based on Alexander's view of Middle Ages iconography as a direct mean for social decoding. For more information see: chapter 4

been thoroughly examined, and major studies in early organology have been concerned. Despite the medieval viol's well known and characteristic appearance, there has not been any previous study concentrating exclusively on this particular instrument. The following have short sections devoted to the medieval viol:

Galpin (1910), Hortense (1939), Sachs (1940), Geiringer (1943), Salmen (1960), Montague (1976), Downie (1981), Rault (1985), Remnant (1986), Page (1987), Woodfield (1988), Bec (1992), Van Schaik (1992, R/2005) and Dieu (2006).

The presented study is the first to consider an analytical and interdisciplinary examination of all evidence regarding both the figure-of-eight viol and the gigue. Regarding the medieval viol, as no specimen of the instrument has survived to the present day, the research has been carried out, as far as possible, from the examination of iconographic representations. In addition, the reconstruction of a specimen has allowed for a study of the potential construction methods, sound, and technical issues of the instrument. Overall, the methodology followed is based on the comparison and combination of information offered by Middle Ages iconography and literature. Yet, for the in-depth appreciation and interpretation of this information a broader context needed to be established. Therefore, the research encompassed diverse subjects such as:

- a) Iconography. History of art-related issues were considered for the distinction between various artistic styles, features and trends in different countries during the Middle Ages.¹¹
- b) Literature. Courtly literature as well as didactic works, from a large geographical area has been exhaustively examined. For such a study,

¹¹ Dr. Tom Tolley, University of Edinburgh, has been of a great assistance regarding relevant issues, and has often pointed the present author to the right direction.

the study of old languages, including their several dialects, was deemed necessary. However, due to the French cultural dominance over the Continent during those years, special emphasis was placed upon French references.¹²

- c) The consideration of medieval history, sociology, politics, philosophy and theology. This was crucial for the understanding of Middle Ages reality, and for the placement of both literary and iconographic evidence within a suitable conceptual framework.¹³
- d) The organological study of selected iconographic evidence for the reconstruction of the medieval viol.¹⁴ This was a painstaking technical procedure based on measurements of the illustrated instrument translated to real life dimensions. Reconstructing such a specimen has allowed for a close and physical examination of the instrument. This in its turn has facilitated the appreciation of certain construction and organological-related issues, and the experimentation with different potential performance techniques.

The thesis is divided into various chapters which are as follows:

Chapter one presents all the so-far supported scholarly theories regarding both the gigue and the medieval viol. Throughout the chapter no critical comments are made, as the purpose of the chapter has been to present all theories and gather all scattered knowledge on the subject. However, the Commentary that concludes the chapter presents evidence which contradicts an established theory recognising the gigue with the rebec.

¹² Dr. Carpenter, University of Edinburgh, Mr. Hood, Honorary Fellow, University of Edinburgh, Prof. Bennett, Reader in French, University of Edinburgh, Prof. Raymond Monelle, University of Edinburgh, Dr. Coxon, University of Edinburgh and Mrs. Million, Italian Philologist, independent researcher have been of valuable help.

¹³ The present author is grateful for Prof. Monelle's guidance and advice.

¹⁴ Mr. Lionel Dieu of the APEMUTAM Research Centre and Mr. Christian Rault have kindly agreed to provide the author with rare manuscripts / representations of the medieval viol.

Chapter two provides a short but concise historic and sociological background of the time-period covered in the thesis. Special focus has been paid upon medieval philosophy and cosmology which recognised the laws of music as the catalytic force behind cosmic unity. This facilitated the appreciation of the symbolism behind particular literary references to the cosmic hierarchy in association with the gigue, and the 'decipherment' of the visual messages of iconographic representations of the medieval viol.

Chapters three to five form the main argument of the thesis. Chapter three concentrates exclusively on the gigue. It examines all the known literary references to this instrument within a broader philological context. Several issues, such as the confusing Middle Ages nomenclature of musical instruments, and the various alterations made to the original text during the long procedure of copying are discussed. The symbolism attributed to the gigue in Middle Ages literary works is also explored.

Chapter four is based on a rather philosophical approach, concentrating on the allegoric connotations possibly applied to certain depictions of the medieval viol.

Chapter five is purely organological focusing on the results drawn from the reconstruction of a medieval viol following iconographic evidence.¹⁵ The possible relationship between the medieval viol and the organistrum has been explored; this in its turn has offered information on the construction, tuning, and use of the medieval viol. Although there is no surviving music from this period, the reconstruction of the medieval viol allowed for its consideration as an instrument to be played; its potential musical 'abilities'

¹⁵ This project took place in 2007 by the author and Dr. Darryl Martin, supervisor and curator of the 'St. Cecilia's Hall Museum of Instruments'. The reconstructed instrument is since then on display as part of the "Reviving Sound Of The Past" exhibition hosted at the aforementioned Museum.

are therefore discussed, highlighting the possible playing techniques. Technical issues, such as measurements, and three comparison tables juxtaposing the characteristics of the medieval viol, vièle, treble viol and organistrum are also presented.

Following those five chapters a Summary briefly covers each of the chapters in turn, highlighting the major points, and presenting critical comments, providing thus an overview of the thesis. Two Appendixes follow; the first is an addition to chapter three presenting original Latin texts as well as translations of particular literary references to the gigue; the second Appendix presents several depictions of the figure-of-eight viol found in illuminated manuscripts and monumental sculptures. A Bibliography concludes the thesis.

Terminology & Conventions

Dates

This thesis covers the chronological period between the 10th to the 14th centuries CE. Traditionally, historians refer to this time-span as the 'Middle Ages', although occasionally the term 'medieval' is also used. However, by 'medieval' a much broader time-period extending to almost 1000 years (including the period in investigation) could be understood. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion in the narration of the thesis, the period between the 10th to the 14th centuries CE is referred to as the 'Middle Ages', while the term 'medieval' is used in relation to the period between the 1st and 9th centuries CE. In addition, unless otherwise stated, the thesis deals with the CE period only; therefore, the abbreviation CE is omitted, while the abbreviation BCE is used when needed.

Names

All names are given with the same spelling as they appear in documents of the period. The same applies to the first names and surnames of English or French writers who Latinised their names when signing their works (e.g. Johannes de Garlandia is used and not the modern English equivalent John of Garland).

Instrumental terminology

The 'medieval viol' is the most common modern name for the instrument in question. However, for a matter of clarity, the alternative term 'figure-of-eight viol' has been consistently employed throughout the thesis (with the exception of the Abstract, Introduction and the Summary) referring to the examined instrument. The figure-of-eight viol is also a modern term, yet it is most descriptive of the instrument's outline as well as playing technique.

Whenever possible, instruments are referred to by their modern names, or a modernised version/spelling of their Latin name (e.g. psaltery for psalterium). In the case of a no-longer extant musical instrument, or an instrument of an uncertain identity, then the original name (as it appears in documents of the time) is used in italics. Due to the frequent occurrence of musical instruments in French writings of the period, the French (*langue d'oïl*) spelling of specific instrument names is used in the thesis. These names include the following: *gigue*, *vièle*, *rote* and *symphonie*.

Quotations

All quotations are given exactly as they appear in the original text, without any change of spelling or syntax, or note errors found in the quoted

passage. When the length of the quotations permits (exceeding the one line), these have been separated from the text, and are printed in a smaller font size, indented at the left side (1.27 cm).

Translations

Otherwise stated in the footnotes, translations of original quotes and texts are by the present author.

Bibliographic references

The "Author-Date System, Style B", as recommended by *The Chicago Manual of Style* is employed for all bibliographic references. According to this system the author is named, followed by the date of publication in brackets. If the page number is included as well, a colon and then the page number follow the date. The bibliography lists all of the works consulted for the research (and not only those mentioned in the thesis as footnotes) according to the Oxford University Press format. Thus for example, Spitzer (1963:68) refers to page 68 of the item listed in the bibliography as:

Spitzer Leo, *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony/prolegomena to an interpretation of the word "Stimmung"* (Baltimore, 1963)

The various editions of the *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* are labelled GD x, with the most recent editions – *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (edited by Sadie, published 1980) referred to as GDN, and the second edition (also edited by Sadie, published 2001) referred to as GDN2. The online version of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* is referred to as GDNO.

Italics and Bold

Italics serve three purposes in this thesis. They are used for:

1. Titles of books or journals.

2. Foreign words.
3. Names of no-longer extant instruments (i.e. the ancient *kithara* or else *cithara*).

Bold style is used for headings and sub-headings, but also when a word or phrase requires special emphasis in the text.

Font and size

The thesis has been printed using the Palatino Linotype typeface with a 12-point font size, and a 1.5 line spacing. Quotations and footnotes are in Palatino Linotype 10-point, while tables are printed using Palatino Linotype 11-point. A single line spacing is used for quotations, tables and footnotes. The character spacing of headings and sub-headings is expanded by 1 point.

List of Abbreviations

CE	Common Era
BCE	Before Common Era
ca.	circa
cm	centimetres (preceded by the number of centimetres and then a space)
ed.	edition (in Bibliography)
e.g.	for example
ex.	example
fig.	figure
i.e.	as in the case of
mm	millimetres (preceded by the number of millimetres and then a space)
MS	manuscript
n.a.	not available/not applicable
PC	private communication
R/	reprinted (in Bibliography)
trans.	translated
1)	(preceding ed. in Bibliography)
2) etc	(preceding ed. in Bibliography)
&	and
'	foot/feet
"	inch/inches
@	at

+	plus
-	minus
±	plus or minus

The author has previously presented the following studies specifically concerning aspects of the medieval viol relevant to this thesis:

“Re-examining the Medieval Viol; an alternative theory”. 44th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, USA (2009)

“Iconography of musical instruments during the Middle Ages; a guide to understanding medieval society”. Med-Ren Music Conference, (2008)

“Defining the social allegory of musical instruments: a new approach to medieval western iconography”. The Royal Musical Association, with the Courtauld Institute of Art (2008)

“Putting Medieval Society into Context: new Perspectives on Early Organological Iconography”. The American Musical Instruments Society, Yale University Collection of Musical Instruments (2007)

“A new hypothesis on the origin of the gigue; myths and reality”. The American Musical Instrument Society and Galpin Society and International Committee of Musical Instrument Museums and Collections (CIMCIM) joint conference (2006)

“A new hypothesis on the origin of the gigue”. The Royal Music Association research conference (2005)

CHAPTER ONE

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Various hypotheses have been presented in the past regarding the origins, history and nature of the instrument called a gigue. Yet, there is not a single theory which all previous commentators appear to agree upon. There are two main theories on the gigue's identity; the first recognises the gigue as a generic name for an instrument type, while the second identifies it as a European name for the rebec. Both of these theories are presented and discussed below. The commentary concluding this chapter presents evidence that questions the identification of the gigue with the rebec.

Several organologists¹ have suggested that the term gigue was not used to describe one particular instrument, but instead indicated an instrument type.² This theory is based on the fact that often during the Middle Ages a name was not applied exclusively to a certain type of instrument. Rather, the same name was used in a generic way to describe several instruments, provided these shared similar structural features, were employed under similar social activities, or even had a similar playing technique. Bachmann writes:

Scholars have often tried to relate the names of bowed instruments which recur in medieval texts – *rubebe*, *rebec*, *giga*, *lira*, *fidula* and *viella* – to definite types, speaking of 'the slender *rubebe*', the 'ham-shaped *gige*' or the 'bellied *lira*'. This has little value in the earliest period of bowing, for we have incontrovertible

¹ References to the names of individual scholars are made throughout the whole chapter, either on their own as bibliographical examples, or following personal quotes.

² A modern equivalent would be the 'horn' which could refer to brass instruments in general, particularly in Rock and Jazz music, but also refers to a specific instrument, i.e. the French horn.

evidence that the same name was often given to several instrumental types, provided they resembled each other in their function and method of performance.³

Scholars recognising the term *gigue* as a descriptive name for an instrument type have claimed that the *gigue* was a bowed instrument with either two or three strings and of a piriform bodyshape with a vaulted back. Page suggests:

It is possible, however, that the **piriform instruments** often attracted the name *gigue*.⁴

No conclusions have been drawn as to specific size or sizes. Nonetheless, it has been argued that in general the *gigue* was small. Dick characteristically writes, although without providing any further information:

It seems that in France the name *gigue* has exclusively referred to the **smallest vièles** which served as an accompaniment to other bowed instruments. [...] Generally, we define the 'gigue' as a bowed instrument with three strings, the form of which reminds us that of a mandolin's.⁵

With the above quote Dick recorded a contemporary organological theory without presenting any evidence. In spite of the lack of any concrete proof, this theory became a generally accepted belief amongst 20th-century organologists, and so it was taken for granted without any question. It seems possible that as a result of the lack of original information or any in-depth study, further research

³ Bachman (1969:74)

⁴ Page (1987:145)

⁵ It is clear that Dick recognised the French *vièle* as a generic instrument type and not as a specific instrument. Dick (1932:32):

Im Allgemeinen wird 'gigue' als Streichinstrument von mandolinähnlicher Form mit drei Saiten definiert.

The same quote is also presented in French by Bec (1992:367):

En France, le nom de *gigue* semble avoir été porté exclusivement par la plus petites des vièles, par celle qui servait de dessus ou plutôt de pardessus aux autres instruments à archet.

The English translation presented here is by the present author.

on the subject was not deemed necessary.⁶ Under a modern perspective though, statements such as the above should be considered as mere reports of historic value for the organological field; consequently, on account of insufficient evidence, they should not be regarded as evidence.

The most appropriate example to refer to at this point is the now famous case of the gittern and citole, similar to the case of the gigue. Wright, after years of research, clarified the identities of these two Middle Ages instruments: he has proven that the instrument type which several established scholars, such as Galpin, Remnant and Sachs, called gittern for many years was not a gittern at all but a citole, the ancestor of the cittern. Wright characteristically states:

The true citole had various shapes (described by Galpin and by Mary Remnant, but erroneously called gittern), and there is an extant specimen (erroneously called the Warwick Castle) gittern in the British Museum [...] These conclusions in no way invalidate the work of others regarding the form of these instruments as revealed in medieval arts, notably by Valentin Denis and Mary Remnant. Such studies remain valuable: the reader must simply be aware of the confusion of terminology that has occurred, and make the appropriate correction in his mind (for 'mandora' read 'gittern'; for 'gittern' read 'citole').⁷

The term *vièle* is another one presenting difficulties in its modern interpretation. It seems quite possible that the term had two meanings: a generic one, denoting an instrument type, and a specific meaning referring to a particular instrument.⁸ Page states:

⁶ This of course meant that organologists who have repeatedly raised but still sidestepped the issue of the dearth of primary information on early instruments in general could now 'allow' an unverified assumption while eliminating their involvement. As is discussed throughout the whole thesis, this is particularly seen in the writings of great scholars such as Remnant, Montagu and Bec. Although they have repeatedly emphasised several issues, such as the lack of original sources of information and the confusing medieval nomenclature, they have assented to often unverified theories. The arguments on the gigue and the figure-of-eight viol are two quite prominent cases in point.

⁷ Wright (1977:32)

⁸ As will be discussed in the thesis, the same does not apply for the gigue.

The available evidence shows that the Old French *vièle*, and its Latin offspring *viella*, were principally used to denote bowed instruments. The names *vièle* and *viella* are usually associated with five strings [...] although Amerus, in a general reference to fingerboard instruments, mentions 'four or five or less' [...] The body-shapes of these instruments reduce to two main types: the ovoid, where there is a firm distinction between neck and body, and the piriform, where the body and neck blend into one another. It seems likely that the names *vièle/viella* straddled this morphological boundary (and also the boundary between the tri-chordic and pentachordic tradition of stringing).⁹

Palmer complicates things by further commenting:¹⁰

Almost all the numerous names by which the instruments have been known were used throughout the centuries for more than one specific instrument. The name 'vièle', often quoted anciently, is one of the most problematical although at least one or two 13th – century manuscripts definitely link its name with a hurdy-gurdy, as shown by accompanying illustrations.¹¹

Finally, Remnant states:

French literature, such as would have crossed the Channel in the twelfth-century Norman and Plantagenet entourage, includes the word *vièle*, which at that time would have covered both the mediaeval viol and the fiddle. The same provision applies to the Latin words *vidula*, *viella*, and *viola*, which also appear in contemporary sources.¹²

It is true that in almost all literary works examined the *gigue* is exclusively mentioned next to the *vièle*.¹³ This strongly suggests that the *gigue* was recognised as a distinctive instrument: more precisely, assuming that the term *vièle* is used in a generic way the *gigue* appears to be a particular type of a *vièle*; according to Salmen this particular type of *vièle* was of a small size and piriform body. In 1960, he recognised the *gigue* as one of the three distinctive

⁹ Page (1987:144-45)

¹⁰ Palmer (1983:131)

¹¹ The particular iconographic evidence the scholar is referring to (British library, MS Sloane 3983) is presented and fully discussed as fig.2 in chapter 3.

¹² Remnant (1986:61)

¹³ As discussed on chapter 3, this is true for almost all German, French, Spanish, and Italian Middle Ages literary references.

types of Middle Ages bowed instruments.¹⁴ According to Salmen, the basic instrument types were:

1. The fidel.¹⁵
2. The gîge.¹⁶
3. The rebebe.

The interesting point made by Salmen is the recognition of the gigue and the rebebe as two different instrument types. Regarding the gigue he has been careful, not offering any detailed information on its characteristics. On the contrary, he has been specific with his description of the rubebe:

Since the twelfth century, in the German vocabulary the occurring 'gige' together with the two to three stringed pear-shaped and slim built 'Rubebe', engaged, beside the Fiedel, the favour of the listeners.¹⁷

It seems that between the old rubebe that Salmen refers to (i.e. the Hispanic-Moresque round-shaped rebab), and the late rebec there is not any apparent organological difference.¹⁸ Bachman comments:

Old Spanish illustrations occasionally show the boat-shaped *rabāb*, which was taken over from the Arabs. This instrument, usually known to Europeans as the rebec, has its peg-box bent sharply backwards at right angles, with laterally inserted pegs.¹⁹

¹⁴ Salmen (1960:215)

¹⁵ Recently Dieu and researchers of the APEMUTAM Research Centre have provided evidence suggesting that the name *vièle* was referring to the oval-shaped instrument of the French, which is so often depicted in iconography of the time: Dieu (2006). A discussion on this takes place later on this chapter.

¹⁶ In French, 'gigue'. For the different spellings of the word gigue, see: chapter 3, table 1.

¹⁷ Salmer (Ibid.):

Die im deutschen Wortschatz seit dem 12. Jahrhundert vorkommende 'gige' nebst der birnenförmig schlank gebauten mit zwei bis drei Saiten bespannten 'Rubebe' warben neben der Fiedel um die Gunst der Hörer.

¹⁸ For a thorough examination of all organological and morphological features of the rebec, see: Downie (1981)

¹⁹ Bachmann (1969:30)

As far as is now known, there is no doubt about the close connection between the rebab and the rebec: the rebab was the ancestor of the rebec.²⁰ Rault argues:

If, as it is generally admitted, we recognise that the rebec is a pear-shaped instrument with a rounded back and a sickle-shaped pegbox with transversal pegs, we must remember that all these elements were borrowed from the Arabo-Andalucian rabab.²¹

However, the main difference between the rebab and the rebec lies on their size and playing technique: the rebab must have been a larger instrument played *da gamba*, while the rebec was smaller in size and played on the shoulder. Therefore, it can be safely supported that the *rebebe*, the rebab and the rebec, names so often encountered in Middle Ages writings, were all referring to variants of one instrument (in terms of a common ancestor) during different time-periods and places.²²

Other organologists have had completely different views to Salmen, and so have identified the *gigue* with the rebec.²³ Bec has solemnly identified the *gigue* with the rebec. Yet, with regard to the etymology of the term *gigue* the scholar admitted that:

The [terms] *gigue* and *rebebe* are, in our view, alternative denominatives, one of Germanic and the other of Arabic origins, of **the same instrument** (type-FIDULA), which, more or less, alternated during the roman period, and particularly during the Gallo-roman period [...] **the etymology of the gigue, just that of the vièle, has been the subject of discussion in several writings.**²⁴

²⁰ Bachmann (1969), Downie (1981), Remnant (1986) and Rault (2003)

²¹ Rault (2005:127)

²² Remnant (1986:31) writes:

Meanwhile various derivatives of *rabāb* appeared, notably *ribible*, *rybybe*, *rebube*, *rubebe*, etc., and from their context in literature it would seem that they were also members of the rebec family.

²³ Such as Sachs, Schelinger, Remnant, Page and Bec.

²⁴ Bec (1969:239, 244):

Gigue et *rebebe* sont à notre sens des variantes denominatives, l'une d'origine germanique, l'autre d'origine arabe, du meme type d'instrument (type FIDULA) qui se sont plus ou moins

While discussing the relationship between the gigue and the rebec Bec writes:

From the beginning of the XIV century, and perhaps from the end of the XIII century, **the term gigue tends to disappear in favour of the sole designation of the rebec.**²⁵

Later on, the author concludes:

It is possible that, at least at the beginning, the term gigue referred to the **"European" rebec** which was played on the shoulder, and that the rebebe referred to the rebab, the Hispanic-Moresque type that was played *da gamba*. Later, the two terms **gigue and rebebe merged in one etymological-organological type: the rebec.**²⁶

Finally, Bec very briefly discussed Lamaña's theory that the rebec was a "derivado de la giga" [derivative of the gigue]. However, Bec did not agree with Lamaña's view that the giga was not the prototype for the rebec but an instrument of the same nature that had a different name.

In almost the same lines, Remnant clearly states, however without presenting any evidence:

Other **early words** for the rebec family include lira or lyra, and gigue.²⁷

In the entry on the term 'gigue' on the NG2 Remnant explains:

Gigue: A term widely used in medieval Europe to denote a bowed instrument. It is **generally believed to have been the rebec** because the name *gigue* gradually went out of fashion as that of the *rebec* gained ground in the 14th

croisées dans l'espace roman et tout particulièrement gallo-roman. [...] L'étymologie de gigue, comme celle de la vièle, a fait couler beaucoup d'encre.

Bec (1969:245) also quotes Schiaffini (I D, IV, 1938, p.225-27) who concluded to the "sostanziale oscurità"[substantial obscurity] of the term.

²⁵ Bec (1969:239):

A partir du XIVe siècle en effet, peut-être dès la fin du XIIIe, le terme de gigue tend à disparaître au profit de la seule désignation de rebec.

²⁶ Bec (Ibid:247, footnote no.14):

Il est possible que le terme de gigue au moins à l'origine, renvoyait au rebec "européen" joué à l'épaule, et la rebebe au type hispano-moresque du rabāb, joué au genou. Les deux termes se seraient ensuite confondus en un seul type lexico-organologique: le rebec.

²⁷ Remnant (1986:30)

century and *gigue* was not normally synonymous with *vièle* or *fidel* according to both fictional literature and historical accounts, which often mention these instruments together.²⁸

It seems quite possible that the confusion surrounding the *gigue* as both a term and a musical instrument also lies in the later (Renaissance and post-Renaissance) use of the term to denote all stringed instruments. In Germany, the terms *grossen geigen* and *kleinen geigen* were used to refer to instruments of the viol and violin families respectively.²⁹ Kory comments:

In Germany first the term 'grosse Geigen' meant the viol family, while 'kleine Geigen' referred to the violins. By Praetorius' time (1619) 'Geigen' was used alone as a synonym for *viola da braccio* or violins, and 'Grosse Geigen' had been displaced by the term *Viola de gamba* or *Violen*.³⁰

Rault expresses the following opinion:

Since the first research into early instruments began in the nineteenth century **the word giga has remained a source of puzzlement**. We will examine all of the complex, though unsatisfying justifications which have led to the following consensus, tirelessly repeated since the days of Fétis (1865) and Grillet (1901): 'the giga is a rebec, only smaller'. This cliché originated in the prints of the Germanic treatises of Virdung (1511) and Agricola (1528-1585) and the Praetorius (1624) where rebecs are glossed as *kleinen Geigen*.³¹

Remnant on the other hand, has suggested a quite similar classification of stringed bowed instruments to Salmen. Based on the idea that all stringed bowed instruments could be generically classified as *vièles* (fiddles), she suggested that this broad category must have been further divided into distinctive sub-types. Remnant writes:

²⁸ GDN2 (2001)

²⁹ Agricola (1545)

³⁰ Kory (1994:127, 1.3 *Violoncello typology: problems of terminology*)

³¹ Rault (2003)

While all medieval bowed instruments can be generically classed as 'Fiddles', and include numerous hybrids, they can broadly be divided into certain basic types. My own terminology is based on the following characteristics:

Rebec: a vaulted back, tapering to form the neck.

Medieval viol: often large, generally with incurved sides, and played down the lap or between the knees, going out of fashion c.1300.

Fiddle: a clear distinction between the body and neck, *and/or* a more-or-less flat back.

Crowd: a bowed lyre.³²

Regarding the attribution of the modern name 'medieval viol' to the figure-of-eight viol, Remnant, a strong supporter of this, writes:

Several examples show that by the 1120s they [the rebec and crowd families] had been joined by a different type, for which no individual name survives [...]. The author prefers to call it the *medieval viol*, on account of the fact that in England it was played down in the lap with the bow gripped from below, as was the much later viol of the Renaissance period.³³

While she concludes:

As the medieval viol had no particular name by which it could be distinguished from the other bowed instruments, it must have been covered by the Latin *viella* and *viola*, the French *vièle* and *vièle*, the German *fiedel*, and the English forms of *fithete*, while its players would have been a *viellator*, *violator*, *vidulator*, *vilour*, *fiedeler*, or *fitheler*.

Commentary

The fact is that Middle Ages musical instrument terminology was not standardised; as a result, an overlap among instrument names is inevitably noticed. However, both the literary references presented in chapter three and the iconographic illustrations discussed in chapter four suggest that the identification of the *rabāb* or the *rebec* with the *gigue* is based on a modern misunderstanding of Middle Ages reality.

³² Remnant (1986:86)

³³ Remnant (Ibid.:56)

It is true that the first mention of the term rebec in French comes quite late, from 1379.³⁴ However, the word *rubeba*, which was apparently a French (or to be more precise a Parisian) Latinisation of the Arabo-Andalusian *rebab*,³⁵ first appeared in Spain as early as the 10th century.³⁶ Although the first 'scientific' reference to the *rubeba* in French writings comes in 1280 by Jerome of Moravia,³⁷ the same word appeared well before 1280 in a French romance; interestingly enough, the *gigue* is mentioned next to the *rubeba*. This should unquestionably suggest that the *gigue* and the *rubebe* were not the same instrument:

'Le roman de la rose', France 1265-1280³⁸

Verses: 21034 – 21035

Original Text

Modern English

Harpes a, **gigues** et **rubebes** [variation **rubeles**], He has harps, **gigues** and **rebecs**,

Sir a quitarres [variation quitaires and guiternes] et lëuz... He also has guitars and lutes...

The above quotation is not an isolated example; after in-depth research, three more works including references to both the *gigue* and the *rubebe* have been found:

³⁴ Rault (2005:130) writes:

The word "rebecx" is mentioned in 1379 in Jean de Brie, *Len Bon Berger (Vrai regime et gouvernement des bergers et bergeres)* and simultaneously, the word « rebecam » in Aymeric de Peyrat (d.1407), *Lamentacio cantorum*.

³⁵ Rault (2003:6)

³⁶ Al Fārābī, *Kitāb al-mūsīcī al-kabīr* (Arabic: كتاب الموسيقى الكبير, English: Great Book of Music). 10th - century treatise following the Hellenistic tradition.

³⁷ Jerome de Moravia, *Tractatus de Musica*; in this, the author described the Andalusian *rabāb* (in Latin *rubeba*) at the very beginning of his chapter on the *vièle*.

³⁸ *Le roman de la rose*, Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun (1992)

'Roman de Cleomadès', France 13th cent.³⁹

First reference: Verses: 17283-17285

Original Text

Vieles et sauterions,
 Harpes, et **gigues**, et canons,
 Leüs, **rubebes** et kitaires;

Modern English

Vièles, and psalteries,
 Harps, and **gigues** and zithers,
 Lutes, **rebecs**, and guitars;

(Ibid.) Second reference

Verses: 7243 – 7266

Original Text

Harpes, rotes, **gigues**, vièles,
 Leuus, quitaires et citoles,
 Et timpanes et micanons,
Rubebes et salterions.

Modern English

Harps, rotes, **gigues**, vièles,
 Lutes, guitars et citoles,
 Et timpani et micanons,⁴⁰
Rebecs et psalteries.

'La prise d'Alexandrie', France, 1369 -1377⁴¹

Verses: 1140 – 1168

Original Text

Orgues, vièles, micanons,
Rubebes et psaltérions,
 [/variation **rubeles**]...
 Trompes, buisines et
 trompettes,
Guiges, rotes, harpes,
 chevrettes...

Modern

[trans. by Janet Shirley]
 ...the organ then there
 were fiddles, psalteries,
rebecs,
 bugles and trumpets,
 clarions and **gigues**,
 zithers and harps,
 bagpipes of every kind-
 goatskin and standard,

English**Modern**

[trans. by JY]
 The organ, vièles,
 micanons,
Rebecs and psalteries,
 Trompes, trumpets, and
 trompettes,
Gigues, rotes, harps and
 bagpipes...

English

³⁹ *Les oeuvres d'Adenet Le Roi*, Albert Henry, (Brussels 1971)

⁴⁰ French *micanon*: half trapeziform psalteries.

⁴¹ *La prise d'Alexandrie*, translation by Janet Shirley (Ashgate 2001)

'Der Minne Regel', Germany, 1404⁴²

Section subtitled "Wy der fogel sang susir und beszir was dan dy speller dy hy nach sten" [But the bird sang more sweetly and better than the following instruments]

Original Text

Noch dan quinterna, **gyge**, videle, lyra, **rubeba...**

Modern English

[Better than] even the gittern, **gigue**, fiddle, lyra, **rubeba...**

Furthermore, as seen by the entry of the term *gigue* in the NDE, a vague etymology of the term *gigue* has contributed to an invalid organological assumption:

Gige: (violin), schw. Giga, anord. Gigja [...] The etymology is uncertain. Some take French *gigue* [gigot], "mutton club", as a basis, by regarding the designation as mockery name for an older form of the violin.⁴³

This philological hypothesis supporting a connection between the musical instrument called *gigue* and the *gigue* as a descriptive name of a mutton's leg has led a number of organologists to the recognition of the *gigue* as a western descriptive name for the rebec (especially in France), the shape of which resembled, indeed, a mutton's leg. However, this hypothesis appears to be imprecise. There is no literary, historical or philological evidence of an etymological association of the *gigue* with the *gigot*. It is possible that the word *gigot* is a derivative of the Old French (15th century) verb *giguer* (*giber*) to frolic or jump, to move legs and arms in uncoordinated movements, which also gives *gigoter*, yet has no connection with the *gigue*.⁴⁴ In addition, the term *gigue* could

⁴² *Der Minne Regel* (Kümmerle Verlag, 1981)

⁴³ That is during the 15th century:

Gige: (violine), schw. Giga, anord. Gigja... Die etymologie ist unsicher. Einige legen frz. Gigue, "Hammelkeule" zugrunde, indem sie die Bezeichnung als Spottnamen für eine ältere Form der Violine ansehen.

⁴⁴ See: Jr. Paul W. Brosman "Giguer" in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (1972:119-25)

have its roots on High German *geigen*, literary to move back and forth, as a reference to its playing technique, the movement of the bow. This could be further supported by the fact that in Old Norse/Icelandic *geiga* means to take a sudden unexpected direction while *gigja* means fiddle.⁴⁵

Taking all the above into consideration, there is little doubt that the modern identification of the *rabāb* or the rebec with the gigue equals with the identification of two essentially different instruments. On the contrary, newly discovered Middle Ages literary evidence (presented in chapter three) affirms the broad use of the term *vièle* as indicative of stringed bowed instruments, while strongly suggests the identification of the gigue as a stringed bowed instrument belonging thus in the *vièle* instrumental type but also bearing particular and distinctive characteristics. As will be shown, the particular characteristics of the gigue do not correspond to the appearance of the rebec, or any other instrument of a similar description, but clearly correspond to the figure-of-eight viol.

⁴⁵ *An Icelandic – English dictionary* (1957), *Concise dictionary of Old Icelandic* (1910) and *Icelandic – English dictionary* (1942)

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The figure-of-eight viol is very often encountered in Middle Ages iconography within a deeply religious context. Its association with such a context cannot be seen as arbitrary: it has repeatedly been placed in the hands of Scriptural authoritative figures; it has replaced King David's Biblical *cithara* of the Psalms;¹ finally, it has been offered as a gift to the Son of God by the Apocalyptic twenty-four Elders.² Although iconography does not reveal anything regarding the instrument's identity, its importance and high status are highlighted. On the other hand, literary evidence supports and enhances the idea of the gigue's symbolic connotation, as its association with the hierarchy of the universe is explicitly indicated.³

Middle Ages iconography and often literature are built upon a metaphorical way of thinking, in which the use of symbolism and allegoric nuances are primary elements. Therefore, in order to examine the iconographic depictions of the figure-of-eight viol and the literary references to the gigue, a broader context of ideas needs to be established: the historical, sociological, political and theological circumstances of the time need to be considered for an insight into the Middle Ages way of thinking. More precisely, the role, influence and hesitation of the Church in the formation of philosophical ideas, the skepticism of intellectuals of the time, the favoritism

¹ The Biblical *cithara* could in fact refer to several ancient musical instruments. However, in Middle Ages iconography the medieval viol, next to the harp, is the instrument closely associated with King David, having therefore replaced its ancient counterpart. See: chapter 4:184, fig:4, *Jesse Tree*, MS M.163.32, fol.6r

² See: chapter 4:219, fig:14, *Cloisters Apocalypse, The Opening of the Book*

³ See chapter 3: *The case of the Dictionarius by Johannes De Garlandia*.

the nobility enjoyed in iconographic depictions, and the recognition of music as the ultimate force behind everything created, are issues briefly discussed in this chapter, yet also explored throughout the thesis.

It has to be clear though, that the present author does not imply that all artists, musicians and writers of the 12th to the 14th centuries were necessarily aware of the ancient Greek, Roman and Scriptural writings or even contemporary theological texts. However, the knowledge transmitted through the Platonic, Aristotelian, and Pythagorean writings and the Ptolemaic works formed the base of a much broader philosophical wave which transformed the way of intellectual thinking and questioning during the 12th century.⁴ Of course, to talk about the Middle Ages as a uniform time exhibiting unchangeable characteristics and currents will be a mistake. Considerable social and political changes are noticed between the early 12th and the late 13th century. Yet, and as McGuire discusses,⁵ artists are products of their time, and therefore influenced by the broader environment in which they live, regardless of the fact that they might not have been aware of the exact writings of Plato or the early Church Fathers.

The medieval world view depended to a great extent on knowledge from the past. Plato, Aristotle and Ptolemy, the Roman philosophers and the authorities of the Bible became the solid fundamentals of the framework within which medieval scholars viewed their world. Ferguson discusses:

[...] the period from about the middle of the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth witnessed and intense, if somewhat restricted, intellectual activity. The vigorous culture was the product of the clerical class and was restricted in scope by the range of clerical interests. Yet it was an infinitely broader culture than that of the Early Middle Ages, inspired and enriched by the recovery of large portions of antique Latin literature and of antique

⁴ Discussed later on the chapter.

⁵ McGuire (1989:3-9)

Greek philosophy and science as well as by contact with the highly developed civilization of the Moslem world. Knowledge of the Latin classics had, of course, never been completely lost. [...] It was not till the middle of the eleventh century, however, that scholars in Italy and in the great cathedral schools of the North began to show signs of a sympathetic comprehension of the classics and learned from them the art of expressing their own thoughts and emotions in polished literary form. From then on, for about a century, a vital current of clerical humanism ran parallel to that of scholastic logic and metaphysics and in conflict, more or less, with the current of monastic asceticism that characterized the age of the Gregorian reform.⁶

Until nearly the end of the 12th century, only a fragmentary knowledge of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy existed. The capture of Alexandria in 641 by the Arabs, and the continuous contact with the Byzantine world, introduced and spread Greek and Arabic philosophy and science to the West. Barber comments:

Explanation of those parts of the universe which were visible derived almost entirely from past authorities, in particular the second-century Alexandrian, Ptolemy, whose astronomical work, *The Almagest*, was translated into Latin from Arabic at Toledo in 1175. Ptolemy's work had in turn been based both on respect for Aristotelian physics and upon the astronomical observations made at the great academy at Alexandria, which had existed since the third century BC. With the Arab capture of Alexandria in 641, the intellectual heritage of the academy fell to the Muslims and it was by this path that it re-entered the west. The use of authorities was characteristic, but their structure was accepted for almost two thousand years until the Copernican revolution of the mid-sixteenth century because their assertions accorded with what medieval men observed.⁷

By the 13th century, nearly all the surviving Hellenistic scientific and philosophical works together with Arabic commentaries were translated into Latin. 'Learning' for Middle Ages scholars acquired a new meaning; they sought to recover and absorb knowledge from the past adjusting it to their own ethics, perception, understanding, values and ideas. As they were driven to a great extent by their Christian principles, 'learning' was

⁶ Ferguson (1962:64-5)

⁷ Barber (1993:425)

concentrated on the explanation and understanding of the metaphysical.

Ferguson writes:

The piety and clerical training of the medieval humanists, as well as the preconceptions they brought from a feudal society which was so very different from that of ancient Rome, may have prevented them from absorbing classical culture as unconditionally as did the urban laymen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but the influence of the classics can be seen clearly enough in the value they placed upon literary form, in their interest in human emotion, coupled as it was with a heightened power of self-expression, and in a new appreciation of the beauties and the pleasures of this present world [...] What the schoolmen gained from their newly acquired learning was not so much a body of knowledge, important though that was, as a way of thinking, and that way of thinking consisted primarily of formal logic [...] it inspired them to discover whatever could be known by the light of natural reason.⁸

The Bible clearly indicates that God created a hierarchy of cosmos out of chaos. Plato's *Timaeus*, a treatise exploring cosmological themes, had a great impact on the medieval intellect.⁹ According to Plato, fixed geometrical proportions, established by the Supreme Being, held the universe together. *Timaeus* concluded with the idea of our world being the visible image of the Supreme Being. Moreover, the Ptolemaic universe further suggested the existence of a *Primum Mobile*, an invisible sphere moved by God to cause the rotation of all other spheres in the universe. In the words of Barber: 'this universe was light, warm, and full of music'.¹⁰ The idea of a perfect cosmic unity achieved through the laws of *harmoniae*, an idea supposedly first suggested by Pythagoras, and then supported by Plato, Aristotle, but also Cassiodorus and St Augustine among other Church Fathers, became an allegory and was expanded to every aspect of human life. Oliver discusses:

From the earliest times humankind has been drawn to the unity of the creation. The ancients understood the large-scale bodies of the heavens and smallest bits of elemental matter as intimately related parts of a cosmic

⁸ Quoted in: Barber (1993:65, 68)

⁹ Jowett (2009)

¹⁰ Barber: *Ibid*

whole. They sought to explain that unity with the geometrical and religious concepts of their era. The medieval world view derived from the Greeks was, for its time, a thing of great beauty. The universe was seen as a series of seven concentric spheres surrounding the earth. Each was the habitation of one of the moving heavenly bodies. Proceeding outward from the earth they were the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Each sphere was the seat of one of the seven chemical elements: silver, mercury, copper, gold, iron, tin, lead. Each heavenly sphere resonated with a note of the western musical scale: re, mi, fa, sol, la, ti, do. Learning in the Middle Ages was itself congruent with this cosmic order. The seven disciplines were grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.¹¹

As will be shown shortly, the cosmic hierarchy was further perceived as the perfect structure for earthly society; life on earth was thus recognised as a reflection of the cosmic exemplar. Spitzer discusses:

Thus we will witness a continuous flow of metaphors from the human (and divine) sphere to nature and back again to human activities, which are considered as imitating the artistic orderliness and harmony of the nature.¹²

The perfect cosmic balance and hierarchy, as suggested by the ancient philosophers, were achieved only through the 'collaboration' of visible and invisible elements. This idea of the cosmic structure, although considered within a Biblical context, is mirrored in a Pseudo-Areopagite (Dionysius) late 5th-century work entitled *Celestial Hierarchies*.¹³ The latter acted as the link between ancient and Christian-oriented medieval cosmology. The Dionysian

¹¹ Oliver (2004:7). The author returns to the subject later on his book (page 19):

The law of motion inherently gives rise to behavior that is, from a mechanical point of view, unpredictably open. This discovery in which the determinism and constraint of the law of motion open outward to creative diversity is a profound development in mechanics. In it, physical law is at one with music and poetry: a rigid rule of rhyme or rhythm provides a ground for creative inspiration at precisely those points where it is broken.

While he concludes (page 189):

The heavens and the elements are mathematically united by the same law of motion and the same underlying symmetries. The external beauty of the world is accompanied by an interior beauty of invariants and symmetries in which the perfection imagined in the heavenly spheres pervades the whole of space and time. The music of the spheres and the elements now resounds in the four-dimensional rotational symmetries embracing the solar system and the atom.

¹² Spitzer (1963:9)

¹³ Pseudo-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchies*. Hugh of the School of Saint Victor worked for several years on two commentaries on the *Celestial Hierarchies* and eventually combined them into one in ca. 1137.

writings were introduced in the West through diplomatic exchanges between the Carolingian court and Constantinople, and during the Middle Ages were considered as the concrete base of a new theological view.¹⁴ This view concentrated on the understanding of the nature of reality through a symbolic explanation. The deep understanding of reality would eventually lead to the ascent through each Hierarchy ending in union with God.¹⁵ *Celestial Hierarchies* deeply influenced Middle Ages philosophy and cosmology, postulating that the structure of the universe was:

An emanation of procession and return from God through various hierarchies which comprise its fabric. These hierarchies, Celestial, Ecclesiastical and Legal, are further subdivided into various orders which are described in detail throughout the Dionysian writings. Each order has no power in itself, rather it is an agent of the power of God and as such participates in that power.¹⁶

During the 12th century, Dionysius' writings favored special attention. The Abbey of Saint-Denis and the School of Saint Victor played a central part in the transmission and adaptation of Dionysian thought in the early part of the 12th century. This was a crucial period of time which marked the beginning of a new era in thinking.¹⁷ While the previous two centuries were dominated by a blind belief in God and religion,¹⁸ the 12th century saw a celebration of the human spirit, in terms of artistic creativity, technological inventions, and

¹⁴ Coulter: <http://the-orb.net/encyclop/culture/philos/coulter.html>

¹⁵ Lizerand (1964:122)

¹⁶ Coulter (Ibid)

¹⁷ For a detailed discussion on the 12th-century's intellectual developments see: Hoskins (1957) and Ladner (1983)

¹⁸ The idea of a Holy War, first initiated by Pope Gregory VII and his successor Victor III, was finally realised in 1096, following the sermon of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in November 1095; the First Crusade was only the beginning of a long series of brutal events. It exemplified the increasing power of the Church and the expanding tendencies of the Western Christendom, which changed western society and culture forever. The increase of population that followed the First Crusade led to extreme famine and illnesses but also to the formation of a new 'middle class'; in addition, the contact with the East meant a strong cultural exchange between the two worlds. For relevant studies see: Bibliography.

intellectual questioning: the first universities were established broadening the path to knowledge; Kretzmann writes:

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the number of students and masters in France, England, northern Spain and Italy increased continually. This growth soon led to the demand for more secure privileges and better way of organising, especially for means of controlling the granting of a licence to teach. Scholars began to organise into corporations, following normal medieval patterns of organisation. And so the latter decades of the twelfth century saw the emergence of universities, one of the more permanent institutions created by the Middle Ages. The oldest universities, such as those of Paris, Bologna, and Oxford, developed gradually and only later received formal recognition of their privileges from the Pope; it is therefore impossible to give a precise date for their foundation. But soon it became customary for new universities to receive their privileges from an international authority (the Pope, or in rare cases the Emperor) and from a national or local authority. By the middle of the thirteenth century there were flourishing universities in Paris, Oxford, and Bologna and smaller ones in, e.g., Toulouse, Salamanca, and Cambridge.¹⁹

This led in its turn to a growth in the production of illuminated manuscripts and books; the Gothic cathedrals were built; the lyric poetry of the troubadours and trouvères was born; the more complicated style of *organum* was born; as a result of this, new musical instruments emerged, which, in reality, were based on the adaptation of older instrumental forms to the new and more demanding style of music.²⁰ Rault writes:

Technological inventions that would change the world forever took place: the watermill, the windmill and the clock, are a few amongst several achievements of the time celebrating the human brain's capacity.²¹

The human being became the centre of intellectual questioning, and new efforts to understand and explain religion began. The idea of the

¹⁹ Kretzmann (1988)

²⁰ This refers to the evolution of musical instruments in relation to the emergence of new musical forms and styles. An example of this is the organistrum with its 'mechanical bow' (see ch. 5), as well as the several adjustments made to the organ, such as the new tone possibilities in the pipes through the mixing of various metals. See: Bittermann (1929)

²¹ Rault (1981:x)

Purgatorio was born,²² an alternative place to Heaven and Hell, giving the power to people on earth to ease the sentence of the souls ending up there with their prayers.²³ This new wave of thought was centered on the belief that natural explanations of events ought to be sought before turning to the miraculous. This was also expressed in the writings of Roger Bacon and Robert Grosseteste during the following century.²⁴ A struggle to reconcile Biblical authority and scientific observation is apparent in the critical writings of intellectuals of the time. Fulcher of Chartres, for example, while discussing the rivers of Eden as presented in Genesis Chapter 2, confessed he was puzzled with a rather logical question based on pure observation; he wrote:

I can admire but never explain how and in what way this River Gihon, which we read comes out of Paradise with three others, seems to have found a second source since it has to the east the Red Sea and to the west our sea [Mediterranean], into which it flows. For it has between itself and the east the Red Sea, and yet we read that Paradise is in the east. Therefore I greatly wonder how it resumes its course on this side of the Red Sea and how it crosses that sea, or whether it does cross it.²⁵

As the scholar could not find a logical, scientific answer to his question, he resorted to a theological explanation, and so concluded by admitting that:

I leave the explanation to Him who miraculously causes the water to be in the clouds, the streams to rise in the mountains, hills and valleys and to run

²² Logan (2002:287):

It would be nearly impossible to exaggerate the significance of purgatory in the life of the medieval church, especially in the way that life was lived by individual Christians. The antechamber of heaven where the good but not perfect souls suffer their temporary punishment had a fixed place in the beliefs of virtually all Christians in the Western Church and deeply affected their religious practices. Apart from heretics like the Waldensians and the Cathars and, later, John Wyclif, purgatory was believed in as firmly as the Eucharist, the divinity of Christ, the Trinity and other central beliefs of the church and played a role almost as large as the Eucharist and the Virgin in the daily devotional lives of people. The one could assist one's deceased father and mother and other loved ones and shorten their stay in purgatory led to the development of a rich variety of religious devotions and practices, from which, it is safe to say, no parish in Christendom was exempt.

²³ Barber (1993:424)

²⁴ Ward (1982:4-6)

²⁵ Both quotes in: Barber (1993:429)

swiftly through the crevices of hidden channels and, at last, wonderful to tell, to find the sea and be swallowed up in it.

According to another intellectual of the time, Otto of Freising,²⁶ human beings received the means to investigate the truth because of their likeness to their creator:

Every man is capable of reason, to the end that he may acknowledge God as his creator, and not overlook his own deeds because his heart is blind or fail to hear because his ears are deaf. In brief, the very form of man's body, not inclined towards the ground as the bodies of other animals are, but upright that he may give heed to the heavens, proves that man was created for this end. Besides, the inner man, made after the likeness of his Creator, receives the means of investigating the truth not only in relation to other beautiful and great creatures outside himself but also in relation to himself, because he had 'the light of the Lord's countenance set upon him as seal.'²⁷

Barber examines the 12th-century anthropocentric interpretation of the idea first expressed in the *Celestial Hierarchies* discussing:

It followed that people should use their faculties to try to create an ordered society and, the hierarchy of the universe presented a model which mankind could strive to imitate on earth. In the twelfth century, however, the secular ruler whose position most closely corresponded with the model was the emperor.²⁸

Kantorowicz explains this further:

The King a *gemina persona*, human by nature and divine by grace: this was the high-medieval equivalent of the later vision of the King's Two Bodies, and also its foreshadowing.²⁹

The direct parallelism between the Emperor and God was perfectly expressed by one of the most controversial figures of the Middle Ages,

²⁶ Otto of Freising, Bishop and historian (ca. 1111-58). Patricius Schlager wrote:

As bishop he displayed a highly beneficent activity by founding and reforming monasteries, and zealously furthering scientific studies by introducing Aristotelian philosophy and scholastic disputations on the model of the University of Paris. As a result the school at Freising flourished anew.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume XI (1911)

²⁷ Microw (1966:402)

²⁸ Barber (1993:432)

²⁹ Kantorowicz (1957:87)

Frederick II.³⁰ Frederic was King of Sicily (1197–1250), King of Germany (1212–20), Holy Roman Emperor (1220–50) and King of Jerusalem (1229–50), but also a poet surrounded by Provençal troubadours and German minnesingers. He was a patron of science and philosophy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy and astrology. Frederick referred to himself as 'Lord of the world', while his contemporaries either praised him as *stupor mundi* [wonder of the world]³¹ or called him the anti-Christ.³² As Roman Emperor, Frederick published the *Liber Augustalis* (1231), a collection of Sicilian Constitutions. In this work, a mixed persona is revealed, that is the king who is able to act as *imperator in regno suo* [Emperor in his own].³³ The idea of the king's angelic character was embedded in the medieval concept, exemplifying the cosmologically framed conception of political order. The universal character of the Middle Ages Empire, as well as its functions is discussed by Ladner; he writes:

The most important of the universal imperial functions was the protection of the Universal Church, and especially of the Roman Church, that is to say, of the Papacy, a task which was fraught with all the latent possibilities of conflict surrounding the ever problematic relationship which we today call the relationship between Church and state [...] it was definitely a

³⁰ Lambert (1998:113) discusses the important role Frederick played for the tighten of the relationship between the Church and the State, as well as the controversy surrounding his persona:

Side by side with the heresy legislation, Frederick issued laws binding the leadership of the Italian communes to respect the liberty of the Church, and proclaiming penalties for failure to do so. He was, in fact, proposing an alliance of papacy, Empire and bishops to reduce the independence of the usurping communes. The material sword, which Frederick readily put at the disposal of the Church in its action against heresy, was at the same time a tool to carve a way into overly independent cities for imperial authority.

³¹ Turk (1999:45, 226)

³² Although Frederick agreed with Honorius's idea of a crusade to recover Jerusalem he postponed his participation due to governmental issues. This resulted in his excommunication by Ugolino in 1225. For more information see: Lambert (1998:115). Pope Gregory IX was also at first against Frederick as his actions for reforms in Italy were seen as dangerous for papal authority. For more information on this see: Nicholson (2004:105)

³³ Three meanings of *Rex Imperator* are expressed in the jurists of the *Ius commune*: 1. King is independent of the emperor. 2. King exercises the same authority as the emperor in his kingdom but is subject to imperial power (*Princeps legibus solutus est*). 3. King has the same prerogatives and limitations as the emperor in lege (*Princeps legibus solutus est*) For an in-depth study on the history of medieval kingship, as well as an extensive analysis of the Tudor doctrine on the king's two bodies, see: Kantorowicz (1957)

relationship between the Emperor and the Pope, not between Church and state.³⁴

As early as the 9th century, Bishop Jonas of Orléans wrote in his *On the Institution of Kingship* for one of Louis the Pious son's:

All the faithful must know that the Universal Church is the Body of Christ, that the same Christ is its head and that there are in it mainly two exalted persons, the priestly and the kingly.³⁵

While Ladner comments:

In the West too the Emperors felt they were half-spiritual rulers – the terms “King and Priest”, “Vicar of God” [*Vicarius Dei*], “Vicar of Christ” [*Vicarius Christi*] were not infrequently used as imperial attributes and titles.³⁶

Kantorowicz explains this further:

As a *pater subjectorum*, “father of his people”, the Prince, it is true, was granted a faint resemblance with the invisible Father in Heaven. [...] As opposed to the earlier “liturgical” kingship, the late-medieval kingship by “divine right” was modeled after the Father in Heaven rather than the Son on the Altar, and focused in a philosophy of the Law rather than in the –still antique- physiology of the two-natured Mediator.³⁷

Frederick's own writings are the best testimony of the efforts made by rulers of the time to explain and legitimate their authority on a divine level.³⁸ Obviously influenced by the idea of the ‘perfect Prince’ expressed by John of Salisbury earlier,³⁹ Frederick explicitly stated in the ‘Proemium’ of the *Liber Augustalis*:

³⁴ Ladner (1983:439)

³⁵ *De Institutione Regia*. Translated quote in Ladner (Ibid.439). For information on the original work, see note 18.

³⁶ Ladner (Ibid.)

³⁷ Kantorowicz (1957:92-93)

³⁸ ‘*Princeps legibus solutus est*’: 1. The prince is above the law, i.e. immune from the law's norms. 2. The prince can legislate but is not free from legal norms.

³⁹ See Kantorowicz (Ibid.:96):

He is - in good medieval fashion, and yet in a new juristic sense- the very Idea of Justice which itself is bound to Law and yet above the Law because it is the end of all Law. Not the Prince rules, but Justice rules through or in a Prince who is the instrument of Justice and, though Salisbury does not quote Justinian to that effect, is at the same time the *lex animata*.

Because of the blemish of transgression implanted in them by their parents [i.e. Adam and Eve], they [men] conceived hatred among themselves for one another. They divided up the common ownership of property by natural law. Thus man, whom God created virtuous and simple, did not hesitate to involve himself in disputes. Therefore, by the compelling necessity of things and not less by the inspiration of Divine Providence, princes of nations were created through whom the license of crimes might be corrected. And these judges of life and death for mankind might decide as executors in some way of Divine Providence, how each man should have fortune, estate, and status.⁴⁰

Frederick's constitutions stressed the idea that the emperor was on the very top of the hierarchy on earth, thus responsible for the control and balance of earthly life. Powell comments on Frederick's views:

[The emperor] whom he elevated beyond hope of man to the pinnacle of the Roman Empire and to the sole of the other kingdoms at the right hand of divine power.⁴¹

However, the idea expressed by Frederick based on his 'imperial theology of rulership',⁴² was much earlier explicitly described by Pope John VIII. The latter praised the Carolingian Emperor Charles II in an assembly of bishops as *salvator mundi* [savior of the world]:

The saviour [*sic*] of the world constituted by God [...] whom God established as the Prince of His people in imitation of the true King Christ, His Son [...] so that he [Christ] owned by nature, the king might attain to by grace.⁴³

The idea of superior, powerful, and sanctified nobility was well rooted within the Middle Ages social framework. To generally speak of Middle Ages nobility as a uniform body could result in lessening the differences between men of diverse backgrounds. Nevertheless, despite their ancestral and educational differences, a surprisingly homogeneous chivalric culture was born; the 'newly' formed class needed to define (or re-define) its identity

⁴⁰ *The Liber Augustalis, or, Constitutions of Melfi promulgated by the Emperor Frederick II for the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231. Modern English translation (1971)*

⁴¹ Powel (1971:4). For more information see: Barber (1993:433)

⁴² Term used by Kantorowicz (1957:102)

⁴³ Kantorowicz (Ibid.:87)

through uniform actions regarding the legal and political systems and her attitude towards the Church.⁴⁴ Howe in his article "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church" examines the contribution of nobility to the greater monastic movements during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries; several quotations from his article are presented here to provide an insight into the social and political circumstances which are reflected, as will be shown, in iconography of the time. Howe comments:

Participants in the developing aristocratic court culture gained status by displaying magnanimity, a magnanimity that could be manifested spectacularly through religious largesse. After Orderic Vitalis had described how William the Conqueror had sought "to imitate the zeal of his ancestors for the Church of God; and God granted him wealth and power to outshine them all," he went on to claim that "the barons of Normandy were inspired by the piety of their princess to do likewise, and encouraged each other to undertake similar enterprises for the salvation of their souls. They vied with each other in the good work and competed in giving alms generously as befitted their rank. Each magnate would have thought himself beneath contempt if he had not supported clerks and monks on his estates for the service of God." [...] Nobles gained self-conscious identity through patronage and advocacy of religious houses where their members were buried, their deeds recorded, and their territorial domination given a sacred character.⁴⁵

Nobles were donating money, as well as their own lands and private churches to rebuild the religious establishments that had been destroyed during the invasions of the late 9th and early 10th centuries.⁴⁶ Yet, this was not their only contribution to the Church; the nobility was providing new members to the Houses of canons, for the vast majority of abbots, monks and

⁴⁴ An interesting discussion on several Middle Ages movements including the Gregorian Reformation is offered in: Lambert (2002)

⁴⁵ Howe (1988:317-39)

⁴⁶ Howe lists several examples of nobles from all over the Continent who eagerly collaborated with the church such as : Geoffrey Martel of Anjou and Agnes of Burgundy who founded the Abbey of La Trinité at Vendôme between 1032 and 1040 but which their descendants further enriched and protected, Count Boniface of Canossa with his daughter Matilda who founded the monastery of San Benedetto Polirone, and the counts of Barcelona who participated in the re-foundation of the metropolitan church at Tarragona.

nuns were of noble origin. As early as in 1080s, Abbot William of Hirsau (himself a very wealthy man) complained that:

In the appointments of bishops useless nobility is usually considered or an abundance of riches interferes. In no way the venerable quality of spiritual men are taken into account.⁴⁷

This is notably seen in the writings of the famous 12th-century Benedictine abbess Hildegard of Bingen who in order to justify her creation of separate noble and non-noble houses claimed that nobody drives all his stock –cattle, donkeys, sheep, and goats- into the same stable.⁴⁸ As early as the 10th century, Duke William of Aquitaine, in endowing Cluny, wrote that:

To all right thinkers it is clear that the providence of God has so provided for certain rich men that, by means of their transitory possessions, if they use them well, they may be able to merit everlasting rewards. As to which thing, indeed, the divine word, showing it to be possible and altogether advising it, says: 'the riches of a man are the redemption of his soul' [see Proverbs 13:8].⁴⁹

Towards the end of the 11th century, William the Conqueror, following on the same line of thought as William of Aquitaine, endowed the convent of Sainte- Trinité at Caen:

We earnestly desire it to be made known to all who believe faithfully in Christ that those men are not to be kept from the celestial inheritance of a dwelling of blessedness but are worthy to be fellow heirs of God, who, placed in the course of his unstable life, decide to share the things which they seem to possess as if by hereditary right, fulfilling the duty of charity through a perpetual donation to places consecrated to God for the necessities of life of those pouring themselves out in continuous prayers.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Howe (1988:331). Original source indicated as: William of Hirsau, *Epistula ad Regem Herimannum*, Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann, eds., in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, vol. 5 of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (Weimar, 1950: 42)

⁴⁸ Howe (Ibid.:329). Original source indicated on footnote 54: Hildegard, *Epistolarum Liber*, chap. Cxvi, ed. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 197: col. 338.

⁴⁹ Howe (Ibid.:333). Original source indicated as: Duke William of Aquitaine, *Charta*, in Augustine Bruel, eds., *Recueil des chartes de l' Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), I: 124-28.

⁵⁰ Howe (Ibid.). Original source indicated as: Duke William II of Normandy, *Charta*, in Lucien Musset, ed., *Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la Reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises* (Caen, 1967:54)

However, the help and support nobles so abundantly offered to the Church was not without ulterior motives. They had a high spiritual ambition: a desire for salvation which was secured only by sponsoring professional servants of God. Noble lands were freely offered in return for the prayers of the canons. Murray has referred to the nobility of the time saying that they illustrated a sense of the "vanity of mortal things"⁵¹ as piousness, religious zeal and profit were not seen as separate things. The piety nobles demonstrated did not only aim at spiritual profits but at economic advances as well. Howe states:

It might appear to have been economically disadvantageous to donate land to churches, since family control would shift from direct to indirect and might be lost entirely. Yet donation offered not only spiritual profits from wild, indefensible, or dubiously acquired territories but also earthly profits if resource development, lease-back understandings, and counter gifts were part of the arrangement.⁵²

From all the above, it is understood that a very strong bond was developed between nobility and the Church of the time. This was based on mutual economic interests, and a mixture of desire for eternal salvation and political advances. This relationship is clearly reflected in the art of iconography.⁵³ the vast majority of Middle Ages iconography is Christian in context and use, addressed not to the broad people but to the few, which were part of the nobility. A predilection towards nobility is evident in these depictions, which is also perfectly justified by the beliefs and deeds of the emperor, kings and princes.

The nobility's customs and traditions, although disguised to a modern eye due to the use of symbolism and metaphors, underlie in iconography

⁵¹ Murray (1978:362-68)

⁵² Howe (1988:335)

⁵³ The mirroring of the higher social class in iconographic depictions of the time is fully discussed in chapter 4.

what is evident: the nobility's social behavior, customs and traditions are all mirrored in iconographic illustrations. Musical instruments occupy a central part in this: contemporary rather than ancient instruments are depicted in the hands of the Scriptural King David and his four musicians, or the twenty-four Elders of the Revelation: vièles, psalteries, figure-of-eight viols, organistra, harps and trumpets are all parading in the Psalters and Calendars of Bibles, frescos and the main facades and walls of the great Cathedrals. It has to be stressed that the same instruments appear in the long lists of instrumental 'ensembles' in courtly literature of the time. As will be argued, music was important to the Middle Ages artist as it was important to the Middle Ages writer and philosopher: the catalytic role of music in the creation and hierarchy of the universe became the starting point for a series of allegoric nuances in both literature and iconography, the most important and relevant being the use of musical instruments, among all other items, as eminent iconographic attributes of social status. The figure-of-eight viol is a prominent iconographic example of this, while literary references to the gigue strongly support its high social stature and symbolic connotation.

CHAPTER THREE
EXAMINATION OF MIDDLE AGES
LITERARY SOURCES

PART I - INTRODUCTION

Middle Ages literature offers a plethora of references to musical instruments. Lyric and narrative poems, prose, dramatic, epic and historical compositions as well as pedagogical works, all include references to musical instruments; these range from a single mention of a musical activity to long lists of instrumental 'ensembles'. The information offered on the existence and use of various musical instruments, as well as the social context within which these were associated is revealing. This chapter discusses Middle Ages literary references to the musical instrument called a gigue. Most of the examined works could either be classified under the formalistic etiquette of 'courtly', or were 'courtly'-related.¹ However, as 'courtly' does not necessarily have a straightforward meaning, a thorough examination of these works would first require their placement within a suitable conceptual framework. A clarification of the different genres and concepts merging within the same work (such as courtly and clerical styles, music and recitation of poetry, fusion of fiction and historical facts) as well as the consideration of several issues emerging from such a study, facilitate the comprehension of the information on musical instruments of the time.

¹ The *Dictionarius* by Johannes de Garlandia discussed at the second part of this chapter, does not fall into the courtly-related category, as it was created and used for purely pedagogical purposes.

Discussing Middle Ages court and nobility as one uniform body might indicate that there were not any substantial differences between its members. The term 'nobility' is often used vaguely referring to a large social class encompassing people from diverse social and educational backgrounds such as the King, queen and their families, men bearing lesser titles and privileges such as dukes and barons, high ranking military personnel living in the court, and educated people like doctors.² Generally speaking though, the Middle Ages feudal nobility was not an educated class.³ With the exception of those who received their education by the Church but still remained in the lay world, Middle Ages nobles were not literate. All the didactic, theological, scientific and philosophical works were written in Latin, the sole language of the educated and of the universities.⁴ However, as the clerics formed the literate class of the time to a great extent, and as the newly formed universities were controlled by the Church, Latin was very much a living tongue but also the language of the very few. The courtly way of life led to the creation of a separate branch of literature that employed the emerging national languages.⁵ Although nobles were not a particularly reading public, they were an eager listening audience for the stories of the troubadours, trouvères and minnesingers.⁶

The writers of courtly literature had a diverse background. Some were clerics; some were of a knightly origin; yet, many of them were professional

² See: Paetow (1959) and Medcalf (1981)

³ On the courtly life, ethics and literature see: Ferguson (1962), Freed (1986), Given-Wilson (1987), Huot (1992), Keen (1996), Gaunt & Kay (1999), and Duggan (2000)

⁴ Rothwell (2004). On the multilingual glosses of Middle Ages texts, see: Rothwell (1993)

⁵ For further reading see: Rothwell (Ibid), and Gaunt & Kay (1999)

⁶ Interestingly enough, this kind of purely secular literature emerged at the same time as clerical scholastic learning was at its climax.

jongleurs and minstrels. Yet, Middle Ages writers were not particularly concerned with the authorship of their works. Dragonetti writes:

The indifference of the writers of the Middle Ages regarding the property of works, equals only the opposite dedication of 19th and 20th -centuries scholars as if, for them, the discovery of the historical reference to their names was the necessary condition for the intelligibility of their works.⁷

Even if an author did mention his name in a work, his identity can often be puzzling: was he a professional author, a troubadour or trouvère, a cleric, or a jongleur? The often unclear identity of Middle Ages writers leads to questions regarding their references to musical instruments. Defining the author's identity could help to determine how accurate his references to music and musical instruments were. For example, if the author was a troubadour or a professional jongleur it is safe to assume that, given his own personal experience, he must have been familiar with the various musical practices and instruments of his time. Therefore, the possibility of him employing an erroneous nomenclature, or associating a certain instrument with an extraneous environment, is unlikely.⁸ If the writer was a professional author, then he would not necessarily have a similar background to a professional jongleur. Being a member of the court, or writing for a noble audience, would require that the author would be aware of various musical instruments. That though, does not

⁷ Original quote reads:

L'indifférence des écrivains du Moyen Age à l'égard de la propriété des oeuvres n'a d'égal que le zèle tout contraire des érudits du XIXème et du XXème siècle, comme si, pour eux, la découverte du referent historique de ces noms était la condition nécessaire à l'intelligibilité des oeuvres.

Quoted in *La fée et la guivre; le Bel Inconnu de Renaut de Beaujeu*:1. The complete details of the edition are listed in the bibliography.

⁸ It should be briefly mentioned that certain instruments were known in different countries under different names. Furthermore, as national languages were not yet standardised but were based on the numerous topic dialects, several spelling variations of all the instruments' names are noticed. A discussion on this is to follow.

mean that he would, unquestionably, be aware of the instruments' proper names.

Yet, whatever the authors' social background, their works were addressed to a noble public, and so had to be understood and enjoyed by this particular social class. This meant that although writers were not necessarily members of the higher social echelon, they had to be in a position to portray a realistic image of courtly life exposing its social codes, customs, prejudices, fears and aspirations. Their works were based on the, now so-called, courtly values so as to lead the audience (and later the readers) to a courtly experience. Their use of language and their way of narration gave them the ability of being simultaneously present and absent during the described event.⁹ This literary experience of the higher social rank was achieved by the illustrative representations of specific courtly social circumstances, where they could praise the wealth and power of the court. Courtly festivities were, not surprisingly, the most suitable social activities for such a purpose.¹⁰ As music played a central part in these celebrations, the skills of the musicians were highly praised in relevant literary passages. Special focus was placed upon music-making and long lists of musical instruments were included, re-creating the feeling of courtly joy but also emphasising the aspect of prosperity: if a court could support a great celebration by employing several musicians with impressive musical instruments next to a large number of other performers, this meant that

⁹ This is particularly evident in the writings of Adenet le Roi, the so-called King of minstrels, and Chrétien de Troyes.

¹⁰ As several and diverse primary sources reveal (such as historical accounts as well as references to payments to musicians, dancers and all kind of performers) lavish festivities were always taking place for the celebration of a wedding, the return of a knight to the court, during tournaments, and the welcoming to the court of a stranger of noble origin.

this court had power. In other words, music-making was philologically used as a social and political tool exemplifying the wealth of a court.¹¹ The portrayed exaggeration in the number of the listed musical instruments and their somewhat non-realistic combinations lead to an unavoidable question: what was the Middle Ages courtly music reality, and as an extension, what could this reveal about the *gigue*?

At first, a point that should be discussed is the noticeable but also perplexing consistency in the listings of musical instruments in the courtly literature. Apparently, a specific 'pattern' in the use of the same instrument names can be traced, which seems to have been independent of the country of origin -and occasionally of time- of the reference. This could possibly be explained by the fact that the Middle Ages was a long period of time during which people did not live in isolated and sealed societies. On the contrary, cross-cultural interactions were quite extensive and intensive.¹² Several factors had significant impact on the expansion of the boundary lines of society and culture of the time.¹³ These had the potential to introduce, spread and establish political, social, economic and cultural changes in new lands. Music traditions, styles, playing techniques,¹⁴ as well as musical instruments found their way to

¹¹ The idea and use of a musical 'extravaganza' as a strong political tool was not only limited to the realms of fiction and philology; it was a 'reality' which survived throughout the centuries. This -in relation to music and all kinds of art- was especially notable in the court of Caterina de Medici in the Pyrenées, as well as in the Parisian court of Louis XIV. For further reading see: Anquentil (1789), De Marly (1987), Brown (1992), Saslow (1996) and Hurt (2002)

¹² For further reading see: Post (1954), Gumbrecht & Bennett (1974), McGuire (1988) and Gomez & Hagg (1990)

¹³ For example the: mass migrations, several campaigns of Imperial expansion, long-distance trade, phenomenon of travelling musicians, and last but not least royal marriages.

¹⁴ On the introduction of the technique of bowing in Europe presumably from the East see: Bachmann (1954)

different countries through constant cultural interweaving.¹⁵ However, the lack of clearly distinguished cultural boundaries in those years makes the study of the histories and of the chronological and regional origins of certain musical instruments, the *gigue* included, quite difficult.

A further hypothesis could also explain the consistency in the listings of the musical instruments in courtly literature: this regards the possibility of authors having a fixed list of musical instruments that they could refer to when needed. It is recognised that the combinations of musical instruments giving the impression of music ensembles do not necessarily portray Middle Ages reality.¹⁶ Apparently, instruments were grouped together based on the medieval aesthetic that emphasised their sound quality (high and low pitch or else *haut* or *bas*).¹⁷ As McKinnon has suggested, the main factor indicating which instruments would be used at a certain social occasion was the nature and purpose of the occasion itself; therefore, the criterion for this choice must have been the instruments' sound qualities. The groupings of musical instruments encountered in courtly literature often follow a possibly feasible, or indeed a real life grouping. Still, a tendency towards the imaginary rather than the factual is evident. The reason for this lies in the writers' efforts to recreate a realistic, yet flattering image of courtly superiority. The descriptions of musical activities found in these literatures reflect a literary distortion of reality based on its idealisation and

¹⁵ It is now believed that the Arabian *rabāb* was introduced in Europe through Spain, which was the bridgehead of the Arabian Empire in Europe: Bachmann (Ibid), Rault (1981), Remnant (1986) and Page (1987)

¹⁶ Bowles (1957), McKinnon (1968), Page (1987) and Lopez-Galo (1993 & 2000)

¹⁷ McKinnon (1968:4)

beautification. Such a lavish musical activity is recreated in a well-known work by Guillaume de Machaut:¹⁸

Example 1

Remède de Fortune

Original Text

Vièle, rubebe, guiterne,
 Leü, morache, michanon,
 Citole et le psalterion,
 Harpe, tabour, trompes, naquaires,
 Orgues, cornes, plus de dis paires,
 Cornemuses, flajos, chevrettes,
 Douceinnes, simbales, clochettes,
 Tymbre, la flaüste brehaingne,
 Et le grant cornet d'Alemaingne,
 Flajos de saus, fistule, pipe,
 Muse d'Aussay, trompe petite
 Buisines, eles, monocorde,
 Qu il n'ac'une seule corde,
Et muse de blef tout ensemble.

Modern English

Vièle, rebec, gittern,
 Lutes, *morache*, micanon,
 Citole and the psaltery
 Harp, tambourine, trumpets,
 kettledrums,
 Organs, cornets, more than ten
 pairs,
 Bagpipes, recorders, *chevrettes*,¹⁹
 Cromhorns, cymbals, bells,
 Tambourine, the Bohemian flute
 And the long cornet of Germany
 Recorders of *saus*, shawm, pipes,²⁰
 Bagpipes from the Aussay, and
 small horn,
 Clarions, *eles*, monochord
 which has only one string
Were all heard together.

What Machaut described in the above passage is not in any way a Middle Ages orchestra as such a thing did not exist. If his words are taken literally then one can imagine a great hall where the guests would be exposed to a rather buzzing, loud noise. The above short extract illustrates the point that although courtly

¹⁸ Guillaume de Machaut, *Le jugement du roy de Behaigne et Remède de fortune*.

¹⁹ *Chevrette*: In Romanesque languages it meant the *cornamusa*, and more specifically it was a traditional term in the Auvergne for the *Cornamusa*. However, in Italian and German it meant a different instrument, the crumhorn. Here, as it is not clear which one of the above instruments is meant the term *chevrette* has not been translated into English.

²⁰ *Fistula*: It had various meanings during the Middle Ages, such as pipe, recorder, fife, and shawm. Here the latter is used as the term *fistule* is followed by the pipe in the original text implying that they must have been two different instruments.

literature offers references to music-making and musical instruments abundantly, these are often unclear.²¹

Following on from the above, in Middle Ages literature the gigue is often 'grouped' with instruments of a different nature. As seen from various sources of the time, the gigue, which alongside the vièle and the harp belonged to the *bas* family, was used for indoor purposes such as poetry accompaniment and some kind of dance; there is also evidence for its potential use in the service of divine worship.²² As shown by literary references, the *buisine*, a large, metal (and so quite loud) trumpet which belonged to the *haut* family, was mostly used for outdoor activities, such as military-related purposes, wedding celebrations and tournaments. Despite the notable difference in sound quality between the gigue and the *buisine*, they are both occasionally mentioned as part of the same musical 'ensemble'. Perhaps the possibility of instruments with different sound qualities being played together cannot be completely ruled out.²³ Nonetheless, it seems more likely that there were philological reasons behind the enigmatic literary attitude towards music and instruments, their groupings included. The *Ars Poeticae*²⁴ [poetic license] encouraged the use of a figurative language; this was depending on structural elements such as the rhyme, repetitions, and parallelisms. Aubrey comments:

Authors of literature choose words that serve the purposes of literature and not the purposes of historical accuracy.²⁵

²¹ What might seem to be truthful information should always be taken with a pinch of salt. Whenever relevant and feasible, it should be compared to and combined with iconographic evidence, the other main source of knowledge for those years.

²² Relevant evidence will be presented shortly.

²³ For a further discussion on the subject see: Bowles (1954)

²⁴ According to a more modern spelling this could also be found as 'ars poetica'.

²⁵ Aubrey (1989)

This could explain the reference to certain instruments in Middle Ages literature in a repeatedly specific order in a manner suggestive of a fixed list of musical instruments. For instance, possibly for the purpose of rhyming, the vièle is often followed by the chalemelle, the sauterions by the micanon, and the trompette by the chevrette. A good example of this is the following passage from *Le Bel Inconnu* by Renaut de Bâgé:²⁶

Example 2

Le Bel Inconnu

Original Text	Modern English
L' uns estive, l'autre vièle	One plays a hornpipe, another one a vièle
Li autres gigue et calimele	The other plays a gigue and a shawm

The poetic license also encouraged the heavy use of metaphors to the point that it is often difficult for a modern reader to fully understand the meaning of a Middle Ages text.²⁷ Middle Ages writers often referred to musical instruments driven by their conception of music being the ultimate and highly symbolic art-form.²⁸ This resulted in the use of musical instruments as literary attributes of both the identity and social status of a figure, or as symbols of a more abstract

²⁶ Renaut de Bâgé, *Le Bel Inconnu* (*Li Biaus Descouneüs: the fair unknown*). In the Appendix two modern English translations of the original French text are to be found: one is by Donagher, and the second one (presented above) by the present author. The reason for presenting both translations is the problematic translation of original musical instrument nomenclature by Donagher. A discussion on the often free and so erroneous translation of original instruments' names is to be found later on this chapter.

²⁷ This is true for the vast majority of literature produced in those years; the exception to this to a certain extent were the didactic treatises of a purely pedagogical and scientific nature, such as the several music-theory treatises which had to be clear in their meaning.

²⁸ On medieval musical writers such as Adalbold of Utrecht and Aribo, and their comments on Plato's 'World [celestial] Soul' deriving from music see: Gersh & Hoenen (2002). On Boethius' views on the power of music to elevate or corrupt the human soul, see: Gibson (1981). For a broader aesthetical approach to the subject see: Spitzer (1963)

and allegorical meaning, such as the disposition of the universe.²⁹ Yet, what is puzzling for us today was obvious for people of the Middle Ages. The resultant vagueness can cause problems only if one relies on these works for meticulous historical and scientific information; this is an unrealistic intention that the authors of courtly literature themselves never had. Their references to musical instruments are hardly ever of any scientific accuracy: they do not include information on an instrument's appearance, technical features, or construction details.³⁰ They do not even clarify how these instruments were played or how they were used. In courtly literature, musical instruments were mentioned for two reasons: their immediate connection with entertainment (courtly or not), and to function as symbols of an elevated idea, or attributes enhancing the social status of a specific literary character. As a general rule, the main focus of these references was the description of social activities for which musical instruments were employed, and not the musical instruments as such. Therefore, if an organological study of Middle Ages instruments is wished for, then these references should not be considered an undeniably reliable source. On the other hand, this wealth of references to music-related activities reveals the crucial role that music played in Middle Ages society, facilitating thus their in-depth study from a broader musicological point of view.

²⁹ As i.e. in the *Dictionarius*.

³⁰ An exception to this is the German poem *Der Busant* where the author provided a lavish description of the instrument he called a gigue. This work is examined later on this chapter.

Middle Ages nomenclature of musical instruments and the ambiguous use of the term *gigue*

The frequency of the appearance of the term *gigue* in Middle Ages literature makes apparent its widespread popularity amongst western cultures. However, it has been necessary to take into consideration the various Middle Ages spellings of the term *gigue* in different languages and dialects, so as to decide if they refer to the same instrument or not.³¹ The table below presents the most commonly found spelling variations of the term *gigue* in various languages, as well as the verbs and nouns deriving from it. This study covers a long period of time of approximately five hundred years, from the first appearance of the term *gígja* in the 10th-century's Norse epic *Njal's saga*, to its last found reference in the 15th-century's German poem *Die Minne Regel*.

Table 1

Spelling variations and derivatives of the term *gigue*

Language	Spelling variations	Nouns	Verbs
Middle-High German	gîge, gîgen, geigen	gigatore	Gîgaere
French – langue d' oil	gigue, guige, gighe, gyge	gigueor, gigueour, gigour	giguere, gigner, ginguer
Occitan - langue d' oc	giga, guiga, guggle, ghigle	gigleour	Gigler
Spanish – Catalanian & Castilian	giga	–	–
Italian	giga	–	–

³¹ For this purpose, dictionaries of old languages have been consulted, and experts from departments of languages and linguistics of various Universities have kindly offered their assistance. For a list of all consulted dictionaries see the bibliography, while references to names of scholars have been made throughout the thesis repeatedly.

Galégo	-	giga	-	-
Portuguese				
Icelandic		gígja	gígjari	Gígja
Norse	-	gige	gigelåt	Gigereri
Danish				
Swedish		giga	-	Giger
Nederland		ghîghe	-	-
English		giga	gigator(e), gigour, gigarius	Gigare

Before proceeding to the close examination of the literary references to the gigue it has to be made clear that anyone wishing to approach this subject has to deal with four different kinds of musical instrument terminology. The first kind is the authentic terminology applied by the original author of the text. Before the 12th century, the author, most possibly a cleric, would reproduce his own written text in a manuscript form, thus being the only one responsible for the writing procedure. In this case, the produced and examined manuscript is the immediate link between us, the 21st-century researchers, and the author, who is the original source of information. However, the nomenclature employed by Middle Ages authors presents some problems. Repeatedly, the same name was used to describe several different instruments. The name *cithara*, for example, could refer to a harp,³² or a box lyre, while it was also used in a rather generic way as to denote all stringed instruments bowed or plucked. Moreover and as already discussed, an author's knowledge of musical instrument nomenclature can be questioned due to his often unknown identity. Finally, not every instrument mentioned in a literary work was used in the time and place being described. The possibility of authors having included a reference to a musical

³² The instrument most closely associated in iconography of the time with King David.

instrument that they had heard about, or had seen in a foreign land cannot be dismissed.³³

The second kind of musical instrument terminology includes alterations made to the original text by the perhaps several copyists of the manuscript over a period of several centuries. What might be considered an original source is, most often, the result of a long series of copying. Medieval manuscripts were being copied at all times during the period between the late Roman Empire and the high Renaissance in every part of Europe, in varied places and under different conditions, from monastic libraries to secular and commercial copying workshops in the big cities.³⁴ With the establishment of the first Universities of Paris and Bologna, a new need for books was created. Universities offered education that was largely independent of the Church, and so it became common for people to want books for personal use, whether students in need of educational texts, or noble women seeking a beautifully illuminated Psalter. De Hamel writes:

By 1200 there is quite good evidence of secular workshops writing and decorating manuscripts for sale to the laity. By 1250 there were certainly bookshops in the big university and commercial towns, arranging the writing-out of new manuscripts and trading in second-hand copies.³⁵

This meant that the original writer of a text and the copyist of it would usually be two, or even more, different people, and so the original writer would lose a great part of his control over the copying procedure of his text. This procedure could take place several times throughout the centuries. Not surprisingly, this

³³ This possibility is limited to a great extent when literary information is combined with relevant iconographic evidence.

³⁴ For a relevant discussion see: De Hamel (1992), Alexander (1992), Bennett (2004), Bovey (2002)

³⁵ De Hamel (1992)

led to noticeable changes between the archetype manuscript and its copies. The reason for this was that inevitably, each copyist, or groups of copyists or illuminators would be influenced by the artistic fashions of their time, and so they would write or paint according to the current fashion. Most importantly though, copyists would be influenced and guided by the knowledge gained from the passing of time. Sometimes, the changes were minor, such as alterations in the spelling of a word, or in the illumination of capital letters. Of course, mistakes were being made during the copying procedure, and that could also explain the numerous different spellings of a word. Such textual variations could be the result of the personal 'contribution' of the copyist, in terms of his understanding and interpretation of a term, which would also depend on his own dialect.

In other cases, the changes that have occurred are now more noticeable. In certain instances, the copyist has taken the liberty to remove information, as he probably thought it was not important or accurate any longer. At other times, the copyist has even added new information. The case of the 14th-century abridgment of Abu Ma'šar's³⁶ *Introductorium maius in astronomiam*³⁷ has been discussed by Van Schaik³⁸ and Blažeković.³⁹ The *Introductorium maius in astronomiam* was a treatise on astrology, and had been translated from Arabic to

³⁶ Abu Ma'šar was a leading authority in astrology, and the great appeal of his work on the Middle Ages Western world was justified by the revival of the interest in astronomy and astrology in the West during the beginning of the 12th century. Lemay (1987)

³⁷ British Library, MS Sloane 3983, f.13r

³⁸ Van Schaik (1992)

³⁹ Blažeković (1994)

Latin during the first half of the 12th century.⁴⁰ Four copies of the same text exist. Each manuscript is a copy of an earlier one. They all seem to be based on a common ancestor, an archetype manuscript, which was possibly produced in Southern Italy around the end of the 12th century but is now lost. The chronological order of these copies is as follows:

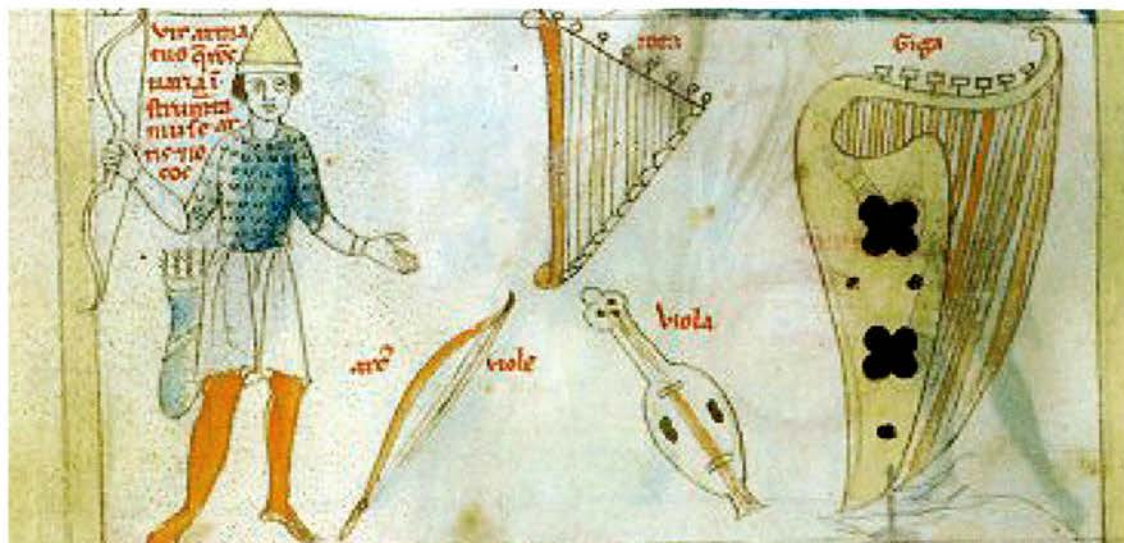
1. Bibliothèque Nationale, f.lat.7330 – Sicily, South Italy, 1220-40, *georgius zothorus, liber astrologiae*.
2. British library, MS Sloane 3983, Netherlands, 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 14th century.
3. Piermont Morgan Library, M785, Bruges, ca. 1400.
4. Bibliothèque Nationale, f.lat.7331, Paris, 1450-92.

The oldest known copy, Bibliothèque Nationale f.lat.7330 (fig. 1), depicts the third Indian decan of Gemini as an armed man. Next to him there are three musical instruments all bearing names: a triangular harp (or psaltery)⁴¹ labelled as *rota*, a three-stringed *vièle* with a bow labelled as *viola* and *arcus viole*, and a harp labelled as *giga*. These rubrics are unmistakably placed above each one of the instrument, thus leaving no question as to which one they refer to. Therefore, it is clear that in this particular instance the rubric 'giga' must refer to the harp.

⁴⁰ Or else known as Albumasar, (786-866). The abridgment discussed here was based upon a Latin translation of the treatise by Hermann of Dalmatia (1140-43). It was made during the second part of the 12th century by Georgius Zothorus Zaparus Fendulus.

⁴¹ Classified as 'harp-psaltery' by Blažeković:430-31

Fig. 1, Lat. 3330, fol. 12v, detail



The Sloane manuscript 3983 was created in the end of the 14th century.⁴² Folio 13r (fig. 2) is a copy of the Bibliothèque Nationale f.lat.7330. It depicts the third Indian decan of Gemini as an armed man. Four musical instruments (and not three as in the Bib. Nat.) are to be found within the same frame, while three of the instruments bear names. The instruments depicted on fol.13r are: a lute, a square fiddle, a symphonie and a harp.⁴³ Both the lute and the symphonie are not found in the Bibl. Nat. manuscript. Given the display of the instruments in

⁴² Montagu's description reads:

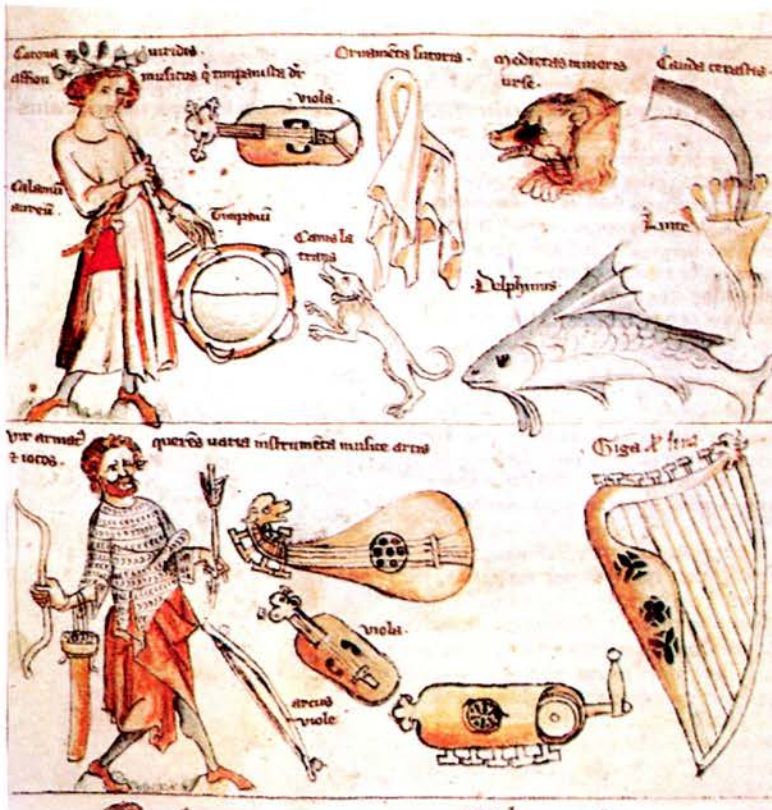
Sloane 3983. Dutch astrological treatise, early 14th c. Excellent source which gives names for instruments in Latin. Harps, shawms, timbres, fiddles, gittern, hurdy-gurdy, 'lamina', psalteries, sistrum (?), cymbals, rebec, rebab, citole.

Some Mss. In the British Library with Instruments (Montagu's website: <http://jeremymontagu.co.uk/MssBL.pdf>. Accessed 09 March 2009)

⁴³ Blažeković has identified these instruments as: mandola, fiddle, hurdy-gurdy, and harp (Blažeković:430). However, the present author feels that it might be safer to use the more generic term lute and not the name mandola, given that mandolas were a specific type of lute mainly used in France from the middle of the 16th century onwards (that is too late to be applied to the particular manuscript). Furthermore, the present author prefers to refer to the small organistrum with its original name and not the much later term, hurdy-gurdy. Finally, the original French term *vièle* might be more appropriate for the instrument depicted in this manuscript rather than the English fiddle. Dieu's *La Musique dans la sculpture romane*, offers a detailed discussion on the organological differences between a *vièle* and the fiddle.

both manuscripts it seems quite possible that the psalter found in the Lat.3330 was replaced by the lute. The problem lies in the identification of the instruments according to their labels. Neither the lute nor the symphonie bear any name. The instrument names appearing on fol.13r are: viola, next to the representation of the fiddle, arcus viole, next to the bow, and the explanatory 'giga & lyra', above the harp. It is not clear at all which name refers to the harp, symphonie or the lute: the giga or the lyra?

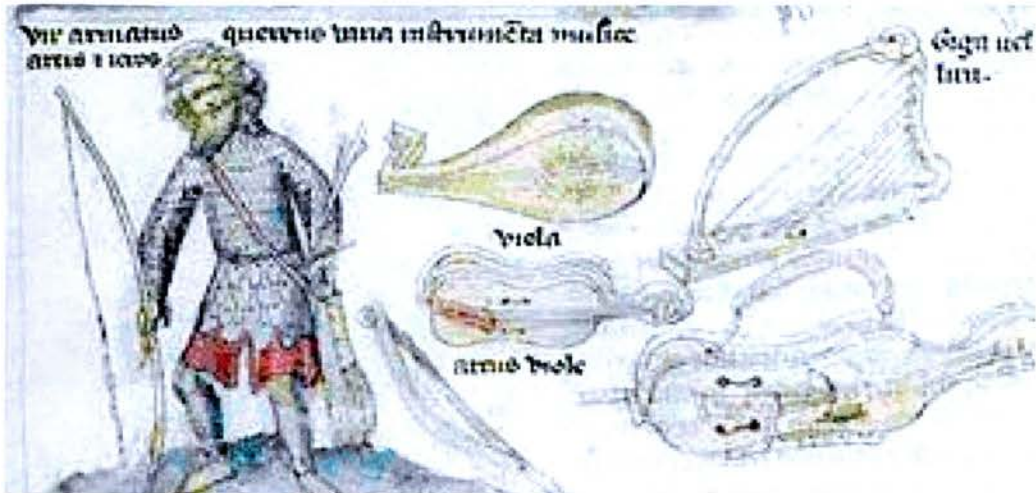
Fig. 2, Sloane 3983, detail



The manuscript located at Piermont Morgan Library, M785 fol.10r, (fig. 3) is a copy of Sloane 3983. The same instruments are depicted as in the Sloane manuscript; although the instruments are now depicted in greater detail alterations to their appearance are noticed: for example, the fiddle is not of an

oval or square shape anymore but has a distinctive waisted outline, while the symphonie is depicted with a shoulder strap. The same names though, are placed at the same places, and the text 'giga & lira' is still to be found above the harp. For once more, neither the lute nor the symphonie bear any names.

Fig. 3, M785, detail



The confusing labelling of the depicted instruments has been a matter of discussion; regarding the appearance of the explanatory 'giga & lyra' above the harp Van Schaik comments that 'both terms are unusual as names for the harp'. Blažeković suggests a different theory:

There is no hurdy-gurdy and no lira rubric [Bibliothèque Nationale f.lat.7330]. When the artist who created Sloane 3983 added the hurdy-gurdy to the composition, he also included a rubric for it. The term lira is thus a reference to the hurdy-gurdy and should not be considered as either a common or an unusual term for the harp.⁴⁴

However, after carefully examining all three copies a new hypothesis can be put forward. This suggests that there must have been a mistake in either the original

⁴⁴ Blažeković:431

archetype or its first known copy, the Bibl. Nat. f.lat.7330 manuscript. More precisely, two cases seem possible: either there was a fourth instrument in the archetype (the 'proper' giga) that the copyist/creator of the Bibl. Nat. f.lat.7330 did not include, thus making an error in his pictorial data transmission, or the artist of the archetype has given an erroneous name to the harp. Both cases could be supported by the fact that during any copying procedure many mistakes could be made. This might be particularly true for manuscripts of non-music-related nature still exhibiting musical instruments, as instrument names might have well been used vaguely and inconsistently by their authors and copyists. It is therefore possible that the artist of the Sloane manuscript 3983 had realised the inconsistency in his archetype manuscript, which is the harp labelled as giga, and so included what he thought to be a graphic representation of the giga: the symphonie. It is unknown why he chose to replace the psaltery of the Lat.3330 by a lute. Yet, a speculative answer is that he did so due to the lute's popularity amongst people of his time.

Middle Ages literary sources do not suggest a generic use of the term 'giga' as to denote all stringed instruments, bowed or plucked. To the present author's knowledge, iconography does not suggest such a use either, as this is the only known instance of the term giga been associated with an illustrated instrument. On the contrary, since the earlier medieval times the term lira/lyra has very often been used vaguely referring to several stringed instruments, such as harps, *citharas*, *rottes*, as well as the specific type of the Byzantine lira.⁴⁵ In

⁴⁵ The entry *Rotte* in the NGO reads:

The generic Latin term for plucked instruments, '*cithara*', comes from a verb meaning 'to pluck', as does the Anglo-Saxon word 'hearpe'. Archaeological findings combined with the evidence of manuscript illustrations and the writings of early theorists suggest that, in Anglo-Saxon and early

addition, there is another known example of the use of the name *lira* equated with a harp: the 15th-century *Promptorium Parvulorum*.⁴⁶

Taking all this into consideration, then the term *giga* becomes a reference to the symphonie, and the term *lyra* is a reference to the harp, a theory enhanced by the generic medieval use of the term *lyra*. Although this theory seems quite feasible it still does not explain why the lute is found in both later copies, yet still does not bear any label. There is not a straightforward answer to this. The only answer might be that always according to instrument classification, a viola is, and has been, a bowed instrument, so its name is not applicable to the depicted lute. It seems quite unlikely that the term *lira*, although used often vaguely, would be applied to a lute, as 'leüs' is a term often encountered in literary sources from the 12th century onwards. The discussed manuscripts are the best testimony of the ambiguity surrounding Middle Ages nomenclature of musical instruments. Although they exhibit the ideal combination of information, that is the iconographic depiction of instruments bearing names, they can still be unclear and misleading.

The third kind of Middle Ages musical instrument terminology concerns the names chosen by modern translators of these texts. The translators are, at least most of the time, philologists who do not, necessarily, have an organological or musicological background. Although their translations might be accurate in every other sense, crucial mistakes have been often made in their

medieval times at least, the words 'hearpe', 'rotte' and 'cithara' were all used to describe the same instrument, or type of instrument.

Myrtle Bruce-Mitford. "Rotte (ii)." In GDNO:

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23943> (accessed 09 March 2009).

⁴⁶ Remnant (1986:31)

efforts to explain old instruments' names in modern terms. The various hermeneutical problems often motivated translators to interfere rather drastically in the text. This action can often result in misinformation which can be seriously misleading, especially when access to the original manuscript is difficult or not permitted. In this case, one is forced to be totally dependent on the modern translation of the text that can, at times, be a free, modernised version of it. Even though this point is discussed later in the chapter, a short but illustrative example can be mentioned here: in his modern French translation of one of the most important 12th-century romances, *Erec & Enide*, Rouse has replaced the original Middle Ages names of musical instruments with ones that he, possibly, thought would be familiar to modern readers;⁴⁷ consequently, the gigue became the citole, the rote was replaced by the vielle, and the vièle appeared as a rebec.⁴⁸

Example 3

Verses: 2045 – 2046, 'Le jeune époux' – *Le mariage*⁴⁹

Original Text	Modern French
Li uns sifle, li autre note,	L'un siffle, l'autre joue d'un instrument:
Cil sert de harpe, cil de rote,	Qui de la harpe ou de la vielle,
Cil de gigue, cil de vièle...	Qui de la citole ou du rebec...

Donagher's English translation of the original instrument names found in *Le Bel inconnu* by Renaut de Bâgé, is also quite problematic. In the original Old French text the gigue is mentioned next to the vièle and it is obvious that they were two

⁴⁷ Another instance of mistranslation and modernisation of medieval instrument names is the appearance of the word rebec in the 16th-century French translation of a text dating from the first century A.D, while it is now well-known that the word rebec first appeared during the 12th century. See Downie commenting on the translator Guillaume Michel de Tours, (1981:49 footnote no.14)

⁴⁸ Rouse (1994)

⁴⁹ 'The young groom' – 'The wedding'

different instruments. Nonetheless, the translation by Donagher confuses these two terms, thus providing an inconsistent result. There are two references to the *gigle* alongside the *vièle* in the original work. The difference between them is that these instruments are mentioned with reverse phrasing: in verses 2889 we read “l'autre **vièle**, li autres **gigle**” while in verses 3957 we read: “Ne de **gigle** ne de **vièle**”. The first reference “l'autre **vièle**, li autres **gigle**” is translated by Donagher as “another [played] a **hurdy-gurdy**, another a **fiddle**”. Still, Donagher translated the second reference “Ne de *gigle* ne de *vièle*” as “any **hurdy-gurdy** or **fiddle**”. Therefore, it is not clear which instrument of the two Donagher has explained as fiddle and which as a hurdy-gurdy.

Finally, the last kind of musical instrument terminology is the one employed by modern organologists. This is the result of either existing evidence, or for reasons of convenience. For the latter, modern terms have emerged in the writings of certain organologists; these names are not mentioned in the original medieval texts, but are the product of the individual researcher's judgment.⁵⁰ Such approaches have led to the erroneous identification of musical instruments; the most outstanding example of this is the case of the *citole* that, for several decades, has been recognised as a *gittern*.⁵¹

⁵⁰ These modern names are not arbitrary at all, since they are based on, or at least are in close connection with the instrument's appearance, its known playing technique, or even time of existence. The case of the figure-of-eight viol or else medieval viol well illustrates this.

⁵¹ Wright (1977)

General Observations

A synoptic discussion of literary references to the *gigue* according to the country of appearance follows:

English References

The vast majority of literary material from the period between the 12th and 14th centuries is either in French or in some kind of French dialect. French civilisation was the prevailing culture in the Continent. The prevalence of French culture during the Middle Ages heavily influenced western thought. Scholasticism has been undoubtedly initiated by the *magistri* in France. Cunningham discusses:

The Golden Age of the University of Paris was the thirteenth century, since in that period Paris could lay fair claim to being the intellectual center of the Western world. It is a mark of the international character of medieval university life that some of its most distinguished professors did not come from France: Albert the Great (a German), Alexander of Hales (English), Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas (Italian).⁵²

The tradition of the troubadours and trouvères, the vast influence of Chrétien de Troyes and his Arthurian romance, and the impact of works by writers such as Eustache Deschamps, Renaut de Bagé and Froissart, helped in establishing French as the second natural language of poets and writers. This might help to explain why there are considerably fewer references to the *gigue* in English works, or to be more precise in works written in English, than those in French.

Southern writes:

Culturally the most obvious thing about England in the twelfth century is its dependence on France. It was a colony of the French intellectual empire, important in its way and quite productive, but still subordinate. Scholars, poets, architects and religious reformers in England did the same things as their contemporaries in France, rather less well, and in a provincial and derivative

⁵² Cunningham & Reich (2009)

way. England made no great, distinctive contribution in any of the fields which are the special glory of the twelfth century.⁵³

Thomson, however, argues against the aforementioned comment:

The way forward begins to be clear once we realize that by "France" Southern means northern France – that region between the Loire and Somme which, as he says, experienced the strongest development of the schools and scholasticism [...] France and England formed a homogenous cultural region, to be considered as such and compared with other, relatively differentiated regions: with southern France and northern Italy, heterodox, secular, urban and mercantile; with Spain, southern Italy and Sicily, cosmopolitan and absorbent of eastern, non-Christian influences; and with Germany, still very Carolingian and 'heroic'.⁵⁴

Political circumstances of the time were based on a network of ambitions, alliances and conflicts between the French courts and the Kings of England, those of Spain, Northern Italy, and even of Christian States of the Middle East. Rothwell discusses the dominance of French culture upon England during the Middle Ages:

The society in which Chaucer moved was based to a very considerable degree in many different fields on three hundred years of French civilisation in England [...] French [language] is an integral component of the intellectual fabric of the medieval England.⁵⁵

It is difficult therefore, to talk about purely 'distinctive English' literary achievements, especially in terms of secular, courtly literature, without recognising the strong French influences. English writers imitated French materials and models. This is true especially for English secular poetry, the language of which was mainly based on the merging of English with French dialects, the anglo-norman of the 12th century court. It seems, however, that this

⁵³ Southern (1970:158-80)

⁵⁴ Thomson (1983)

⁵⁵ Rothwell (2004)

French influence was not restricted in the elitist intellectual sphere but was extending to different aspects of everyday life. Since the early 13th century, a few men (perhaps Englishmen) called Le Gigur (or Gygur) are recorded in England. The word Gigur most possibly was a derivative of the term gigue (by gigeour - gigour - gigur); the *Middle English Dictionary* presents the following information under the entry gîge:

Gige: [Cp. OF gigue, a fiddle]. A fiddle. **Gigour** n. [OF gigueor] a) one who plays the fiddle, fiddler; b) as a surname. **Giguer:** to play the fiddle.⁵⁶

So following the common medieval tradition, the word Gigur could have been used as a surname based on the individual's profession. The people recorded as Le Gigur were: Philip le Gigur 1203, Gillebertus le Gigur in 1212, Petrus Le Gygur in 1235, Roger le Gigur 1274, Walterus le Gygur in 1279, Johannes le Gigur in 1285, and the much later John le Gigur in 1359, William Gygur in 1433 and John Gigger in 1584.⁵⁷

However, three German 'gigatores' are also recorded during the Feast of the Westminster. Remnant comments:

Two of them, Heinrich and Conrad, appeared regularly in the royal household accounts from 1301 to 1306, with the rank of groom, and Constance Bullock-Davies has pointed out that they were almost certainly the 'Gygors' mentioned in an account of 1299. They were joined in March 1306 by a third 'gigantor', Conrad le Peper, who had been sent to England on the orders of the King of Germany. He was due to go home in April, but finally stayed on for the feast on 22 May, and returned with his two compatriots soon after.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Kurath (1963)

⁵⁷ Entry of the word *gigue* in *Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien Français* (1988) and under the entry: Gigger, Giggers of French gigueor, 'fiddler' in: *A dictionary of English surnames by Percy Hide Reaney* (1991)

⁵⁸ Remnant (1986:83)

Time restriction has permitted the examination of only a limited amount of Middle Ages English literature. The examined works include the complete *Canterbury Tales* by Chaucer, and several romances composed during the 13th and 14th centuries. Although the amount of studied literature might not be sufficient to form a complete image, it is apparent that the word 'gigue' is not encountered too often, while the harp, fiddle (or fydele), rote and psaltery are repeatedly mentioned. However, there is some literary evidence indicating that an instrument called the gigue was known in England:⁵⁹

Example 4

*King Horn*⁶⁰

Verses 1464 – 72⁶¹

Harpe he gan shewe
and tok felawes fewe,
Of kniȝtes suiȝe snelle
Ȝat schrudde hem at wille.
Hi ȝeden bi ȝe grauēl
Toward ȝe castel:
Hi gunne murie singe
& makede here gleowinge.

Rymenhild hit gan ihere
& axede what hi were.
Hi sede: 'hi weren **harpurs**,
& sume were **gigours**.'
He dude horn in late
Riȝt at halle gate; he sette him on
ȝe benche

Finally, another interesting quote has been discovered in *Barlaam und Josaphat*, a famous literary English work of the 13th century.⁶² No previous organological study referring to the gigue has discussed the following quote:

⁵⁹ This controversy could, perhaps, suggest that in England the gigue was commonly known under another name, possibly that of the *symphony*, *vyol* or even the *fydele*. Nevertheless, this is an interesting topic in need of an extensive research. The time-limit of the current PhD research does not permit to endeavour such a study. However, the present author is planning to pursue relevant research in the future.

⁶⁰ *King Horn: A Middle-English Romance, edited from the manuscripts by Joseph Hall*, M.A. Head Master of the Hulme Grammar School, Manchester, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, MDCCCCI. 14th century.

⁶¹ Found in manuscript C, Gg.iv.27.2, University Library, Cambridge, folio 13a:2

⁶² The author would like to express her gratitude to Dr Carpenter from the English Department, University of Edinburgh. Originally, a reference to the relevant quote had been found in the MED. Dr Carpenter has been of great assistance, as she helped to locate the authentic source, a copy of which was apparently

Example 5

Barlaam und Josaphat. Aus Ms. Bodl.779 [Barlaam has converted the King's son to Christianity, and is now being accused by the pagan clerics]

Original Text

960. Artow þilke barlam: þt
hast brouzt þis wo?
þe King sone, þt here is: þu
hast brouzt in folyze
þat he forsakþ oure god9; &
þat is velanyze.
Well I woot, quap nacor; þt I
am barlaam;
Ffro foly in to trupe: þe King9
sone I wan

965. ffor wel I wot to soþe: þat
foly is it non
To honoure ihū crist: &
forsake þe dede ston.
How is þt? quap þe clerk; I
here a wonder þing:
Houre god9 honourip: erl,
baroun, & King,
þu spekist of anewe god: & of
anewe lawe;
970. þer fore hap mony mon:
be brouzt of dawe;
How is it þt þu darst: oure
god9 do dishonour?
Artow beter þan any erl;
King, or emperour?
Quap nacor: **I wis, þu most
lern: to preche þy gyge,
Ffor þis ilke resound: nys
nouzt worþ afyge;**

Modern English [trans. Dr Carpenter]

'Are you the same Barlaam that has brought this trouble?
The King's son that is here, you have brought into folly
So that he forsakes our gods, and that is villainy.'
'I know well', said Nacor, 'that I am Barlaam;
I won the King's son from folly to truth.

For I know well for a fact that it is no folly
To honour Jesus Christ and forsake the dead stone.'
'How is that?', said the cleric, 'I hear a strange thing.
Earl, baron and King honour our gods

You speak of a new god and of a new law,
For that many men have been made fools;
How is it that you dare dishonour our gods?
Are you better than any earl, King or emperor?'
Said Nacor, '**I think you must learn to
'preach your gige'
For this same reasoning is not worth a fig;**

stored at the Special Collections of the University of Edinburgh Library. In addition, Dr Carpenter has willingly translated the original medieval text to modern English. *Barlaam und Josaphat*. Aus Ms. Bodl.779 in *Altenglische Legenden: Kindheit Jesu, Geburt Jesu, Barlaam und Jasaphat, St. Patrik's fegefeuer*. Von Dr. Carl Horstmann. Druck und Verlag von Ferdinald Schöningh. (Paderborn, 1875)

975. Some men honourip
 god9: þt beþ wit hond9
 wrouzt
 Of ston, tre, gold, & seluer;:
 here be leue is nouzt;

Some men honour gods that are made
 by hand
 From stone, tree, gold and silver; their
 belief is nonsense.'

In the above quote, the *gigue* is used in a metaphoric manner: in this particular context, 'to preach your *gige*' could be understood as 'to make your argument stronger. It is not clear why a musical instrument would be used in such a way; however, a similar attitude towards the *gigue* is noticed at *Njals Saga* discussed later on the chapter. In this, the powerful 10th-century Icelandic lawyer, Lord Mord, is referred to by his nickname, Lord Mord *Gigja*.

German References

In Middle-High German, the term *gîge/geige* first appeared in the 12th century. The *gîge* is encountered less frequently than the term *fidel/videle* which seems to have been used to denote an instrumental type rather than a specific instrument. Later on, the term *geige* replaced the *videle* and was hence referring to all the instruments of the violin family. This became so broadly accepted that in his translation of the Bible in 1523 Luther replaced the word 'fiddeln' found in the first edition with the word *geigen*. Middle Ages German literary works include long lists of the following musical instruments:

Gyge [gîgen], videle [vigelen], haerphen [harpfen and harpfen], lyra [lîren], rubeba, rotte [rotten], monocordium, clavicordium, medicinale, portitiff, psalterium [psalterien], metzkanone, clavicymbolum, quinterna, phîfe, floyte [flachrohr], schalmey [schalmeyen], horn[horner], lute [lûten], busûnen, zymbeln, brummen, drummen, zytoln, dambûren.

Italian References

In Italian, there are not many references to the giga. However, the few existing ones are highly important: they reveal the social role of this instrument in the Italy of the time, while highlighting the symbolism behind it. The giga is referred to with great respect: it is placed within a courtly environment in a straight connection with Caesar, and it acquires a theological allegorical connotation through its association with the hierarchy of the Heavens. In Italian Middle Ages literature the instruments repeatedly mentioned are the following:

Giga [and gigne], ciunfonie, arpa, viuola, organava, carribi, chitarre, trombe, cennamelle, cembali, cannon, cannoni, tambur, leuto, rebebe, salteri.

Spanish References

In Spain, courtly subjects did not appear until as late as the 14th century in the genre of *Libro de caballeria*. Apparently, the French heroic epic, the Arthurian subject matter, as well as the *roman courtois* could not be broadly received into Spain before the 13th century, as they were considered 'vain'.⁶³ Nevertheless, the first 'proper' Spanish literature written from the 12th century onwards reflects French or Provençal models. In Spanish, the giga is not encountered too often, yet it appears in some of the most important Middle Ages Spanish literary works. As with the Italian references, the giga is treated with a great respect. Spanish references of the time present the following musical instruments:

⁶³ Spanish language was the development of the so-called Vulgar Latin, the everyday Latin used by soldiers and colonists who, as a result of the Roman conquest, settled in a part of the Iberian Peninsula. As a medium of literary expression, the Spanish language established itself in the 12th century. This was due to its very slow process of evolution out of Latin, which lasted for almost seven centuries. The vast majority of literary works written in Spain before the 12th century were Latin documents, which are now considered the best testimonies for the slow transition from Vulgar Latin to Spanish. The predominance of ecclesiastical learning is now deemed responsible for the absence of translation of romances throughout the 13th century in Spain.

Giga(s), sinfonías, harpa [farpa], viola, rota, cítara [guitarra], salterio, çitola, zamponías, albogues, cedars.

French References

The instruments repeatedly mentioned in Middle Ages French literature are:

Vièle, harpe, rote, gigue, symphonie, psalterion/sautier, armonie, choron, lire, chalemel, monacorde, tabor, cor, buisine, muses, estives, flaute, orgue, citole, timbe/tinbre, frestel, tympanon, cymbals, leuus, quitaires, rubebes, mandoires, trompes.⁶⁴

The vièle and the harp are the only two instruments occasionally mentioned on their own, independently from any instrumental list. Placed in the hands of a jongleur they were enhancing his role as the narrator of the poem.⁶⁵ The gigue is almost always mentioned in the long lists of instruments, either next to the vièle or the symphonia. The combinations of these have as follows:

1. Harpe + rote/ gigue + vièle
2. Gigue + harpe + simphonie/ rote + vièle + armonie
3. Vièles + sauterions/ harpes + giges + canons
4. Estive + vièle/ gige + calimele
5. Harpes + rotes + giges + vièles/ leuus + quitaires + citoles

Finally, chronological observations have shown that:

1. In German, the first reference to the term gigue was in 1140, while the last known one in 1404.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Bec (1992:64) includes the *tablets*, *sainz*, *moinel*, *graile*, and *escalates* in the above list.

⁶⁵ The emblematic role attributed to these particular musical instruments must have been associated with King David's illustrations in Psalters.

⁶⁶ In Diemer's *Die jüngere Judith*, and Eberhard Cersne of Westphalia's *Der Minne Regel* respectively.

2. In French, the term *gigue* first appeared in 1150 which is a hundred years before the first known appearance of the term *rebebe*. There are no known references to the *gigue* after the end of the 14th century, and so we can assume that its last appearance was in 1377.⁶⁷
3. The Italian and Spanish references to the *gigue* appeared much later, during the end of the 12th century.

⁶⁷ In Robert Wallace's *Roman de Brut*, and Guillaume de Machaut's *La prise d'Alexandrie* respectively.

PART II

EXAMINATION OF LITERARY REFERENCES

The case of the *Dictionarius* by Johannes De Garlandia

As has been discussed on chapter two, the Middle Ages was a long period of time characterised by illnesses, by several long and brutal invasions, by the instability of the newly formed societies, and by the close-mindedness and the numerous prohibitions of the Church. However, from about the middle of the 11th century to the end of the 12th an intense intellectual activity flourished. This was dominated by the revival of interest in ancient Greek and Roman philosophers and the authoritative scientific doctrines further supplemented by Muslim commentators. This culture was the product of the clerical class and is now referred to as 'clerical humanism' and the '12th -century Renaissance', after Charles Homer Haskins' remark.⁶⁸ The core of this artistic activity was purely Christian, and so medieval learning was defined, conditioned and restricted by the range of clerical interests.

The increased contact with the Byzantine Empire and Islamic civilisation, and of course the Crusades, facilitated a constant cultural interweaving. This in its turn allowed access to the works of Greek, Roman and Islamic philosophers, writers and scientists, and the first Latin translations of the aforementioned ancient texts appeared. The birth of the first universities made the propagation of these texts possible, and established a new scholarly community focusing on the transfer of scientific ideas and currents. Medieval scholars wanted to learn

⁶⁸ Hoskins (1957)

about the most crucial subjects of their age, and desired to understand the abstract essence of things. The essential natures of God and man, and the means by which man can achieve eternal salvation were two of the most important intellectual subjects. Consequently, the understanding of the universe in which man lived was deemed necessary. Their orientation towards theology could explain their interest in the metaphysical and the 'abstract' sphere next to the physical world.

The Middle Ages conception of the universe recognised it as one where "the natural order was subordinate in the supernatural".⁶⁹ In the present author's view, this is only partially true. Indeed, medieval cosmology encompassed Plato's idea that human beings should make every effort to separate themselves from the material, tangible world, to reach the invisible, eternal sphere.⁷⁰ The cosmic hierarchy was thus perceived as the perfect structure for the earthly world. This cosmic hierarchy was controlled by the laws of *harmoniae*. 'Evidence' of the perfect ordering of the universe had been offered much earlier by Pythagoras. His discovery of set mathematical relationships between musical tones led to the belief that the natural world had been created in perfect unity.⁷¹ The revelation that the universe is animated and controlled by physical laws that are also fundamental to the tuning of the lyre, and so governed by the principle of *harmoniae*, became one of the most significant subjects in medieval thinking. With regard to this, Levin writes:

⁶⁹ Ferguson (1962:67) paraphrasing Alanus ab Insulis' *De Planctu Naturae*, the famous satire on the vices of humanity, 12th century.

⁷⁰ For further reading see: Pater (2006); for an analysis on the Platonic idea of the 'division of the Soul' see: Irwin (1995:203)

⁷¹ On the Pythagorean conception of the music of the spheres see: Brumbaugh (1981) and Kahn (2001)

The laws of the unknown macrocosm, the heavens, were explained by analogy with the known microcosm, music.⁷²

Since the relationships between musical intervals revealed a mathematical order, and as this order was controlling the physical laws, it was assumed that all nature resembled the hierarchy of consonances. Music was thus perceived as the ultimate art form embodying the very essence of nature. This idea is clearly expressed by Boethius:

Since there happen to be four mathematical disciplines, the other three share with music the task of searching for truth...What Plato rightfully said can likewise be understood: the soul of the universe was joined together according to musical concord.⁷³

Johannes De Garlandia was teaching in the faculty of Arts at the University of Paris (and before that at the University of Toulouse) during the first half of the 13th century.⁷⁴ Having an inquisitive mind he became a devoted teacher, a grammarian and a poet; yet, he was interested in medicine, astronomy, mathematics, music and the seven liberal arts. Waite comments:

His treatises written for classroom use and the poetry composed to illustrate the precepts of his literary instruction throw much light on the methods and content of mediaeval education.⁷⁵

The *Dictionarius* was written sometime between 1218 and 1225 when young John was a teacher at the University of Paris; it is perhaps the most intriguing of his works, following the workbooks of Adam de Petit Pont and Alexander Nequam.⁷⁶ The *Dictionarius* is mentioned in every modern study on Middle

⁷² Levin (1975:2)

⁷³ Boethius (Palisca:1989)

⁷⁴ He was born in England but he moved to France at a young age to study, and with the exception of one trip he never returned to his homeland.

⁷⁵ Waite (1960)

⁷⁶ For further reading see: Smalley (1981)

Ages education, philosophy and literature, as it is considered a historical treasure; Paetow discusses:

Here is the first use of the word 'dictionary', an invention of sufficient importance to make the inventor and his book more widely appreciated in the world of scholarship.⁷⁷

The *Dictionarius* has been preserved in several manuscripts; nevertheless, its first translation into English took place as late as 1981 by Rubin.⁷⁸ The existing

⁷⁷ Paetow (1927)

⁷⁸ This is still the only existing translation of the *Dictionarius*. Three full editions of the *Dictionarius* exist:

- H. Géraud, *Dictionnaire de Jean de Garlande* in id., *Paris sous Philippe le Bel*, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris 1837), Appendice II, pp.580-612;
- T. Wright, *A Volume of Vocabularies...* Vol. I of *A Library of National Antiquaries* published by Joseph Mayer (Liverpool 1857), pp.120-38.
- A. Scheler, *Lexicographie latine du XIIIe siècle. Trois traits de Jean de Garlande, Alexandre Neckam et Adam du Petit Pont, publiés avec les gloses françaises* (Leipzig, 1867), pp.1-83, previously published in the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur* 6 (1865), pp.142-62, 287-321, 371-79.
- A fractional edition was arranged by the Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove in *Société d'Emulation pour l'Etude de l'Histoire et des Antiquités de la Flandre 2me série*, viii, (1850), pp.160-176, 219-20.

The manuscripts used by each of the editors are listed below:

- H. Géraud:
Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 11282, fol.1-29v
Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS 7679, fols.1-23; 34v-46v (two imperfect copies)
- T. Wright:
London, Brit. Mus. MS Harl. 1002 (18), fols.176-181v
London, Brit. Mus. MS Cotton. Titus D. xx, fols.51-66v
Gloss found in the Parisian MS 11282 with additions from the Parisian 7679 and from the Cottonian MS in the Brit. Mus.
- A. Scheler:
Bruges, MS 536, fols.95r-101r
Bruges, MS 546, fols.12-24v
Lille, MS 369 (4)
- Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove:
Bruges, MS 546, fols.12-24v

The remaining unedited manuscripts are:

- Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 4120, fols.114-121v
- Paris, Bibl. Nat. Mazarine MS 3792 (28A), 24 fols.
- Rouen, MS 1026 (0.32)
- Dijon, Bibl. S. Benigne, MS 137 (13)
- Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. C496, fols.1-9v (incomplete, without the first folio)
- Oxford, Bodl. MS G.99, fols.156-162v
- Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 136, pp.141-151
- Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. MS 136, pp.31-44
- Lincoln Cathedral, MS 132 [C.5.8], fols.101-108v;10

Chapter three

manuscripts include long commentaries with glosses written in Latin, while some contain glosses in vernacular French as well.⁷⁹ The commentaries include valuable material, yet no extended study of the glosses has yet taken place.⁸⁰ It is believed that Johannes De Garlandia was the author of both the text and the commentary. More precisely, regarding the manuscripts examined by Rubin, it is supported that De Garlandia wrote the actual text in Paris, while he composed the commentaries later in Toulouse. The reason for this assumption lies in the text of the MS Dublin, Trinity College 270 ff.14ra-24rb, which ends:

Explicit Dictionarius magistri Johannis De Garlandia. Textum huius libri fecit Parisius, glosas vero Tholose. [Here ends the Dictionarius of master John of Garland. He wrote the text in Paris, but the glosses in Toulouse].

Commenting on the authorship of the commentary, Rubin writes:

Indeed, as a gifted and conscious teacher, he would be very likely to make his own explanations for his pupils, translating unfamiliar Latin terms into the French more familiar to them.⁸¹

The purpose of the Dictionarius was, indeed, to teach students the necessary Latin needed for their everyday life, and not to provide a list of scientific terms. De Garlandia himself calls the *Dictionarius* a *promptuarium*, a storehouse of the names of everyday things (vulgaria).⁸² The material is arranged in different topics: the booths of the Parisian tradesmen, some rather long descriptions of arms and defensive weapons, the essential objects for a cleric found in a Church,

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- Winchester Cathedral, MS 111A
 - Worcester Cathedral, MS Q.50, fols.18v-27v
 - Dublin, Trinity College, MS D.4 (170), no.3
 - Erfurt, Amplonianische Handschriftensammlung: O12, fols.1-12v

⁷⁹ It is believed that the Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 496 and G 99 must have been originated in the Low Countries; they also include several glosses written in Low German.

⁸⁰ The vernacular glosses in the MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 496 and G 99 have been printed by Hunt, (1970: 9-20). On the *Dictionarius* and the attribution to Johannes De Garlandia of both text and commentary see Paetow:128-31

⁸¹ Rubin (1981:7)

⁸² Hunt (1991:194)

the foods and customs of the rich, are all discussed next to wild animals, birds and foreign fish, the anatomy of the human body, the temptations students would encounter in the big city of Paris, Heaven and Hell, eternal salvation and the structure of the universe. The method used by Johannes De Garlandia was to take his students on an informal walk in the streets of 13th -century Paris. Rubin argues:

The book is as jumbled and unplanned as the crowded, bustling Paris he walked through, but the methods of a real teacher are obvious.⁸³

The *Dictionarius* might seem today slightly naive; still, this is not due to its author's lack of a profound knowledge on the subjects considered, but is the result of the completely different perception of things during the Middle Ages, mainly their 'far-fetched' –at least by modern standards- cosmological beliefs and allegorical viewpoints.

Having this in mind might help to explain what is, otherwise, a quite startling passage from the *Dictionarius*: in this, the order of the universe is referred, quite directly, to the instrument called a gigue. The main text is followed by shorter extract in italics which is the Latin gloss;⁸⁴ it is of a great importance as it essentially provides a definition of the word gigue, always expressed through Middle Ages allegory. The Latin of this passage is admittedly very obscure, allowing for only a free (and consequently confusing) translation. Rubin has based her English translation on the Bibl. Nat. MS Lat. 11282 with additions from the MS Cottonian Titus D of the Brit. Museum and the 15th -century Parisian MS 7679. The translation is quite accurate, especially when

⁸³ Rubin (1981:1)

⁸⁴ As found in the 13th-century French manuscript (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS Lat. 11282) with additions from the Parisian MS 7679 of the 15th century and from the Cottonian MS.

considering the rather unusual syntax, grammar and spelling De Garlandia used. However, her translation of this particular passage is awkward. First, she has translated the word giga as gittern, while she later on explains that the same word means a fiddle and/or a lute. In addition, she has provided an erroneous origin for the French term gigue recognising it as an Italian derivative: she clearly states:

In mod. French [the word] "gigue" has the meaning of jig; the word is from Italian "giga", originally a fiddle or a lute.⁸⁵

However, literary evidence discussed later on the chapter proves that the word giga first appeared in Italian literature towards the end of the 12th century, while the term gigue was already well established in French literature since 1150. In Rubin's translation quoted below, the explanatory passages within brackets belong to her.

Example 6

Extract 1, §57-8

In spera sunt paralelli, et coluri, orizon, axis, et galaxies. **Organicos imitata modos, mulcet Jovis aures, giga qui es cleri nescia ferre rudes...**Galaxias est circulus qui dirigitur a septentrionali plaga ad australem regionem, per aliud emisperium rediens ad punctum a quo incepit [...]

Commentary: Spera sic describitur: spera est quedam figura rotunda, ex circulis composite...Giga est instrumentum musicum, et dicitur gallice "gigue", et docet clericos ne videantur mimi, quod denotatur dum dicitur organicos.

Rubin's translation of the above passages runs as follows:

On a globe there are parallel lines and colures [the two great circles of the celestial sphere which intersect at right angles to each other at the poles], the horizon, axis, and the Milky Way. **The gittern, the imitator of organ modes,**

⁸⁵ Rubin (1981:63)

delights the ears of Jove, which does not know how to bear the rude tones of the clergy.

Commentary: A globe is described thus: a globe is a certain kind of round form, made up of circles...'**Giga**' [gittern, lute] is a musical instrument, and in French is called '**gigue**' [in mod. French '**gigue**' has the meaning of jig; the word is from Italian '**giga**', originally a fiddle or a lute], and teaches clerks that they not seem as actors in a farce, because it is branded with reproach when it is called an organ".⁸⁶

Rubin also provides an alternative translation of this particular gloss, thus admitting its awkwardness:

Giga is a musical instrument [...] **Teaches clerks not to pretend to be other than they are and so escape ridicule, and not be like a gittern which is ridiculous when it tries to imitate an organ.**

Following on, the author expresses a crucial question:

What connection draws the gittern [*sic*] into his description of sphere? The 'music of the Spheres'? The association of the sky god, Jove, with the Milky Way, etc?

Before providing what seems to be an accurate answer, it is essential to reconsider the original text by De Garlandia, as well as the above translations. As the gigue is discussed within this passage, it is of immediate interest to try to understand what the medieval teacher meant. He wrote:

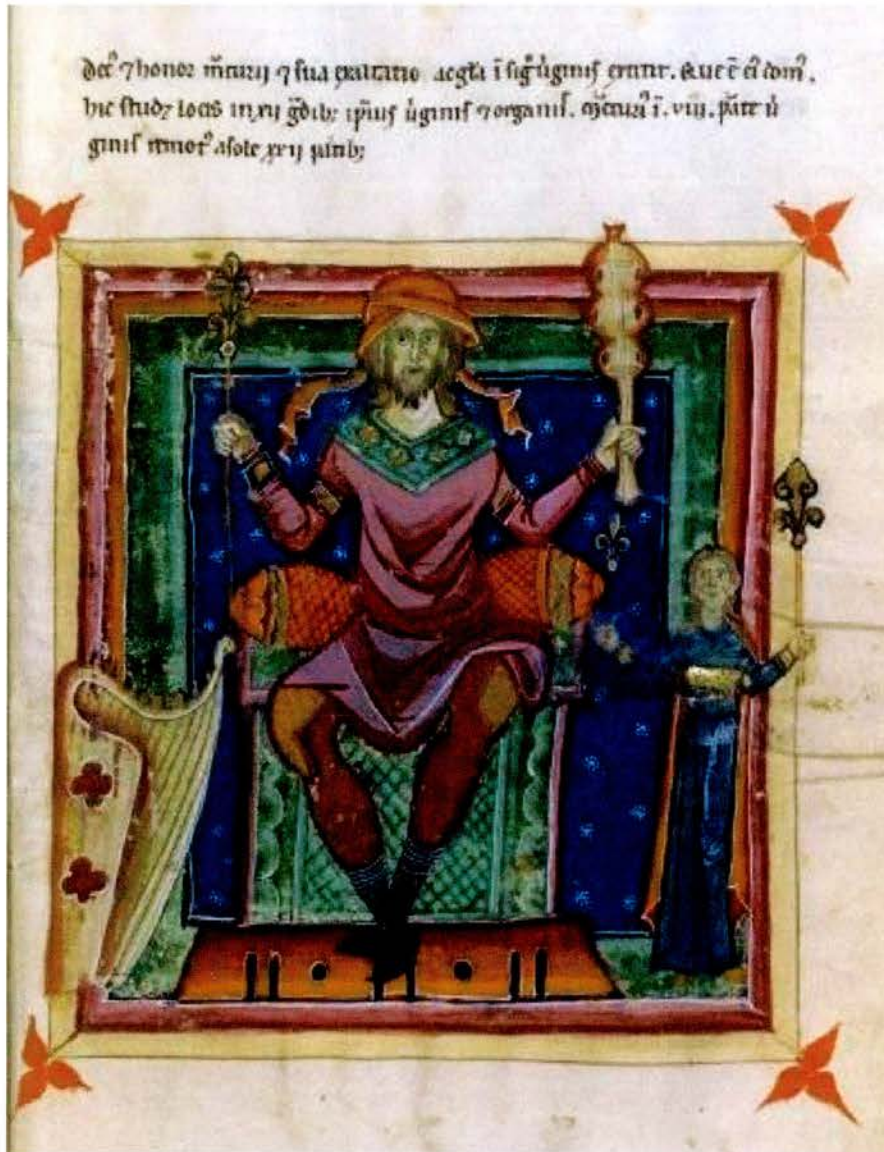
Organicos imitata modos, mulcet Jovis aures, giga qui es cleri nescia ferre rudes [...]

This is a grammatically complicated sentence, the meaning of which is not clear. The first problem lies in the spelling, use and meaning of the word *organicos*. There is no doubt about the Middle Ages use and meaning of the word *organis* [instruments]; fol.57 of Lat.7330 (fig. 4) well exhibits this. However, in a modern

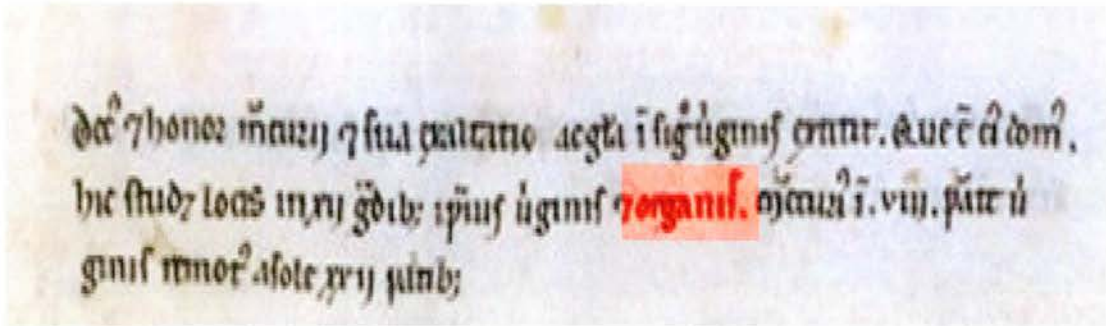
⁸⁶ Rubin (Ibid.:61)

translation, *organicos* [or *organicus*] could acquire different meanings. Rubin translated it as "organ modes". This is grammatically correct, yet, does not make clear sense. Is "organ modes" a reference to the modes of *organum*? Or does it imply a connection between the gigue and the organ? Both of these possibilities have to be thoroughly considered.

Fig. 4, Lat.7330, fol. 57, *Astrologie Mercure dignité*



(detail)



Johannes De Garlandia was “an exponent of the most advanced developments in contemporary polyphony”,⁸⁷ not preoccupied with *musica theorica* but with *musica practica*. There are two treatises on music which may be attributed to Johannes De Garlandia. The first is an exposition of plainchant; the name ‘De Garlandia’ is written in two of the four extant manuscripts.⁸⁸ The second treatise discusses measured music, and his name appears in one of the two extant manuscripts. In addition, when detailing the curriculum at the University of Toulouse, De Garlandia wrote that when he came to that city, music was flourishing there. In his letter praising the freedom and quality of study at Toulouse he mentioned that this music was the new polyphonic art of organum:

Here the performers of organum delight the ears of the populace with the organum of their sweet throats.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Waite (1960:180)

⁸⁸ Ibid., footnote 10 reads:

The treatise is to be found in Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi* (Paris, 1864-76), I, 157. He printed it from a manuscript of St Dié which bears the heading, “Incipit introduction musice plane et etiam musice mensurabilis secundum Magistrum De Garlandia, musice sapientissimum.” A fifteenth-century MS in the Music Division of the Library of Congress (ML.171.5.6) ends its version of this treatise, “Explicit ars cantus plani magistri Johannis de Galadia [sic].” The two remaining MSS, Seville, Columbina 5, 2, 25, fol. 50, and Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya, M. 883, fol. 76, present it without name of author.

⁸⁹ Pactow (1927:88, ff)

It is clear that Johannes De Garlandia was aware of organum and from the above it seems that he must have been an admirer of it. Therefore, it would make sense if by 'organicos' De Garlandia meant the various modes of the organum, which as they were pleasing the ears of the populace would sooth the ears of Jove, the Divine Creator. If this were the case, then this would be the only known reference to the actual music performed on the gigue. Johannes De Garlandia could have been referring to the gigue's potential music capacities, associating it with the practice of *organum*. In fact, the reconstruction of the figure-of-eight viol has allowed for an examination of several technical issues of the instrument and experimentation with various potential playing techniques; it has been observed that the pronounced flat bridge of the instrument would make all three strings sound together in fifths with one bowing. In order to isolate a string as to create a 'separate' melody over the two drones (the simpler type of 12th-century *organum*) three conditions need to be met: first, the shape of the instrument would need to form a strong waist as to facilitate bowing from an angle; the figure-of-eight viol, from its simpler waisted outline (type c: see p.235) to the extreme of two connected circles (type a), meets this condition. Second, the bow would have to be quite curved as to produce a sustained sound (drones); as seen in representations this has been, almost exclusively, the case. Finally, a fastening technique would need to be applied; observed morphological details of the figure-of-eight viol (fully discussed on chapter 5) have indicated the practice of this technique. Therefore, it can be safely supported that the figure-of-eight viol can perform *organum*-like music with one melodic line over two drones, and therefore, De Garlandia's words could indeed be referring to the actual music performed on the instrument.

However, it is difficult to understand why the master would make such a technical correlation within this highly symbolic passage. Therefore, the second possibility of "organ modes" being a potential allegorical connection between the gigue and the organ also needs to be considered.

The *Dictionarius* seems unplanned to a modern reader, this passage most of all. It is puzzling as it based, apparently, on a far-fetched allegory. However, what one is now trying to understand, or even 'decipher', was obvious to Middle Ages scholars. The author employed the then commonly used literary method of allegory to create a poetic image of the construction of the universe; this was achieved through the straight reference to the gigue, which here becomes the 'noble' representative of the ultimate art form responsible for the Pythagorean balance of the universe: music. As Rubin has written, it is almost an enigma why the medieval teacher has included a much later written gloss to provide a further explanation of the gigue. It might be possible that in the relevant passage (ex. 6, page 79) De Garlandia repeated the original idea carried by Pythagoras, Plato and later Boethius, of a universe created and controlled by the laws of music. The cosmological exposition is linked to characteristics of the gigue, which, like the world, is rounded in shape, designed in verticals and horizontals, a solid figure that cannot be seen all at once.

With the encouragement and help of classical and medieval scholars⁹⁰ an alternative translation of the aforementioned passage has been realised; it is not

⁹⁰ The author would like to express her gratitude to: Philip E. Bennett, Reader in French, Division of European Languages & Cultures, University of Edinburgh; Alan B.E. Hood, Honorary Fellow, Classics, School of History and Classics, University of Edinburgh; Dr Tom Tolley, History of Art, School of Arts, Culture and Environment, University of Edinburgh; Prof. Raymond Monelle, Music Department, University of Edinburgh; Donatella Milliioni, Italian Philologist, independent researcher.

in perfect agreement with Rubin's translation as it recognises De Garlandia's "organicos imitate modos" as a symbolic as well as pragmatic reference to the organ rather than a practical connection of the gigue with the practice of *organum*:

In the sphere there are parallels, and colures, the horizon, the axis and galaxies. **Resembling the manners of the organ, the giga soothes the ears of Jove, it relaxes the clergy, as it cannot bear the uncouth [...]**

Commentary: The giga is a musical instrument, and it is called a "gigue" in French, and it teaches the clergy not to be seen as mimes, as it is presumed when it is said 'it resembles the manners of the organ'.

The above does not present any organological evidence regarding the gigue. However, another passage which has not been discussed by any previous author reveals the nature, particular organological features, as well as the environment with which the gigue was associated. In three of the unedited manuscripts, Bruges MS 536, fols.95r-101r, Bruges MS 546, fols.12-24v and Lille MS 36986 the relevant passage (ex. 6, page 79) is followed by glosses that not only discuss the gigue on a symbolical manner but expand much further, providing a description of what kind of instrument the gigue was. In these manuscripts, paragraph 58 and the relevant commentary read:⁹¹

Example 7

Extract 2, §58

In spera sunt paralleli, et coluri, orizon, axis, et galaxies. Organicos imitata modos mulcet Jovis aures **Giga, quies clerici**, nescia ferre rudes.

Commentary: Giga est instrumentum mutabile vidule et est vidula ecclesiastica, quod docet clericos ne videantur esse mimi quod denotatur dum dicitur: "organicos imitata modos".

⁹¹ Note the syntactical and spelling differences in bold between this version and that presented as example 4.

Translation

Resembling the manners of the organ, the giga soothes the ears of Jove, it relaxes the clergy, as it cannot bear the uncouth.

Commentary: The Giga is an instrument, an altered, ecclesiastic vièle, which teaches the clerics not to be perceived as mimes, as it is presumed when it is said: it resembles the manners of the organ.

This original testimony although is more than revealing, it needs a very cautious interpretation. At first, one might get the impression that the gigue was a vièle; after all, it is clearly stated that 'the giga is an altered, ecclesiastic vièle'. After a careful reading in between the lines, such an assumption might be simplistic. It is certain that the author of the gloss, either Johannes De Garlandia himself or one of his students, felt the need to provide more information on the gigue. According to the present author, the, so strictly suggested, close connection between the two instruments, the gigue and the vièle, leaves no doubt about the nature of the former: the gigue was not one and the same instrument with the vièle but was some kind of vièle. The vièle here is used as a generic term denoting an instrumental type. The issue then is in what way the gigue was an altered vièle? The answer is provided by the author of the glosses later on the *Dictionarius*, as in the commentary of paragraph 82 he explicitly wrote:

Example 8

Extract 3, §82

Commentary: Giga "instrumentum est, **scilicet viela inverse**, de quo instrumento dicitur: Organicos imitato modos, etc".

Translation: The gigue is an instrument, **evidently an inversed vièle**, and of which it is said: it resembles the manners of the organ etc.

According to the *Dictionarius*, the gigue was: like the vièle, so a stringed bowed instrument; an 'inversed vièle, a feature strongly indicating that the gigue was

held upside down, that is on the lap; compared with the organ, the King of instruments, and its sound could imitate the "manners' of the organ"; finally, the gigue was an ecclesiastic instrument used within a religious setting. The association of the gigue with such an environment is also clearly indicated by Gautier de Coincy⁹² in his *Les Miracles de la Vierge* (*Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*):⁹³

Example 9

Original Text

La vièle sert le culte de Dieu [...]
 les gens d' église en apprécient les sons,
 au même titre que ceux de l' orgue,
 du psaltérion, et de la gigue.
 Le son de harpe et de vièle,
 De psaltere, d'orgue, de gygue
 Ne prise pas Dieux une figue
 S'il n'a ou cuer devocïon.

Modern English

The vièle serves for the adoration of God
 [...]
 The people of the Church appreciate its
 sounds
 As they do with those of the organ,
 Psaltery and of the gigue.
 the sound of harp, vièle,
 Psaltery, organ and gigue,
 God does not hold them worthy a fig
 unless there is devotion in the (musician's)
 heart.

Looking in iconography of the time, the association of certain musical instruments with a sacred environment is also strongly suggested, the figure-of-eight viol included; this association is always disguised under symbolic and allegoric connotations:⁹⁴ for example, in fol.13v of the St Etienne Harding Bible (fig. 5) the figure-of-eight viol is placed within a religious setting, next to the organ, bells and harp.

⁹² French writer: 1177-1236

⁹³ Koenig (1955:70)

⁹⁴ Please note that these particular manuscripts are mentioned here only as a point of reference. Chapter 3 offers an extensive discussion on the symbolism attributed to organological iconography of the Middle Ages.

Fig. 5, St Etienne Harding Bible



A similar performance-scene is represented in the Hunterian Psalter, fol.21
Piermont M791, fol. 170ra and St Alban's Psalter, p.417:

Fig. 6, Piermont M791



Fig. 7, St Albans Psalter



Fig. 8, Hunterian Psalter



Although the newly discovered evidence is most revealing, the gloss is not clear at one point: it mentions that the gigue was an 'ecclesiastical' vièle; yet, it does not specify whether the gigue was used during the service or not, or whether it was used to teach music to the clerics, in a similar way to the monochord. A potential educational disposition could be assumed by reading ex. 6, page 79: 'quod docet clericos ne videantur esse mimi' [it teaches the clerics not be perceived as mimes]. However, it is the symbolism of the gigue, and its allegorical use as an attribute of an abstract meaning that underlies the particular passage. It seems, therefore, more appropriate to believe that at the relevant gloss (ex.6, page 79) the author is writing, yet for once more, in a metaphorical manner.

The question then is what did Johannes De Garlandia mean by relating the gigue to the moral effects on the clergy and the soothing of Jove? The master created a poetic image of the structure of the universe associating it with a musical instrument, following the example of the ancient Greek poet Skythinos (6th century BCE), which, in his well known work *Helios and Apollo*, wrote:

Zeus' lyre, which has as a shining plectrum the light of the Sun, fair Apollo set all in harmony, bringing in tune its beginning and end.⁹⁵

The lyre is a soother of Zeus because music is central to Creation and the ordering and balance of the universe. Levin discusses:

The lyre itself was a veritable universe of sounds enclosed within the severe symmetry of its strings, requiring only the light of the sun to set it in motion.⁹⁶

It is uncertain whether Johannes De Garlandia was aware of Skythinos' poem or not. However, the idea expressed by Skythinos was rooted in Middle Ages thought. Johannes De Garlandia in his effort to reprise this theme must have chosen the gigue to replace the lyre because, as literature of the time clearly indicates, it was an instrument of a great esteem, associated with the highest social echelon, just like the lyre in ancient Greek times. As for the soothing of Jove: the writer seems to have linked the Scriptural Jehovah to the Roman Jupiter. Thus, this very curious passage reveals a connection of a musical instrument, not only to the order of the cosmos, but also to the moral order, the dignity of Kings and the authority of the priesthood. If by 'organicoc imitata modos' the author implied a symbolic connection between the gigue and the organ, then this reference would simply endorse the prestige of the gigue for the organ was acknowledged as an instrument of high status. For example, the 12th-

⁹⁵ See: Demou (1982)

⁹⁶ Levin (1975:2)

century Franciscan Gilles de Zamore in his *Ars Musica* wrote that with the exception of the organ, all other instruments were rejected from the liturgy:

And of this instrument alone the church has made use in various kinds of singing, in prose, sequence, and in hymns, other instruments being commonly rejected because of the abuses of the jongleurs.⁹⁷

Almost two centuries later, Guillaume de Machaut wrote in *La prise d'Alexandrie*:

Wait, I'll list their names and nicknames [of instruments] / those I know/ and don't suppose I'm showing-off: The first and King: the organ.⁹⁸

As further revealed by much documentary evidence of the time the gigue was one of the instruments associated with a noble environment. Johannes De Garlandia himself refers to the gigue later on the *Dictionarius*, when describing what he has seen in the houses of noble Parisians; in this way, he provided an interesting list of musical instruments:

Example 10

Extract 4, §82

Sed in dominibus divitum vidi lyricines, tybicine, cornicine, vidulatores cum vidulis, alios cum sistro, cum **giga**, cum **simphonia**, cum psalterio, cum choro, cum citola, cum timpano, cum cimbali.⁹⁹

Translation

But in the houses of the rich I have seen lyra players, trumpet players, horn players, vièle players with their vièles, others with rattles, with **gigue**, with **symphonie**, with psaltery, with the crowth, with the citole, with kettledrums, with cymbals.

However, Johannes De Garlandia then continued, puzzlingly, by describing a quite different environment:

⁹⁷ As quoted in Bowles (1957:8). Original source: Gerbert (1784: 388)

⁹⁸ Guillaume de Machaut, *La prise d'Alexandrie*, Shirley (2001)

⁹⁹ Rubin (1981:82)

Example 11

Extract 5, §82

Sed alia parte vidi meretrices et tripudiatrices, quas torquebant serpents, scilicet aspis, basilicus, prester, sive alpiga, chelindri, vipere sive vepe, et dispas, et tabificus ceps.

Translation

And in another place I have seen prostitutes and caperers about whom serpents were twisting, to wit: the asp, the basilisk, the small asp, and solpuga, the celindros, the viper or adder, and the dipsas, and the corroding seps.

The writer has switched suddenly to a familiar scene, the horrific Middle Ages Hell. If the well-off Parisians represented the top level of human society, this image of the wretched in torment clearly represents the bottom, the lowest level of the theological order, Dante's *Inferno* perhaps. Johannes De Garlandia added a gloss to the above passage, complicating the meaning of the text even further:

Example 12

Extract 6, gloss of §82¹⁰⁰

In hoc loco agit actor de **instrumentis lecatorum**, quorum quidam sunt lircines, etc. Vidulatores dicuntur a vidula, -e: Gallice 'viele'. **Giga est instrumentum musicum de quo dicitur, 'organicos imitate modos;** etc. Chorum, instrumentum musicum est in hoc loco. Citola, Gallice 'citole'. Tympanum dicitur nomen fictum per onomatopeion, Gallice 'tabour'; a quo derivatur tympanifes, quod est species ydropisis, quando venter sonat sicut tympanum.¹⁰¹

Rubin's translation of the above passage is quoted below; the words in brackets are the present author's comments, while the word gittern in parenthesis is an explanation provided by Rubin:

¹⁰⁰ All the examined manuscripts present the same information.

¹⁰¹ The three unedited manuscripts include a slight variation next to the already discussed description of the gigue:

Choro "instrumentum est militum (l. musicum) in hoc loco". – *Cithola* "gallice citole". – *Timpanum*, gallice tabor.

Example 13

At this point the author is speaking of [dealing with] the instruments of **lechens** [**joyful men**], some of whom are **lute** players [**lyre** players], etc. **Viol** players [**vièle** players] are so called from 'vidula, -e, in French 'viele'. 'Giga' (gittern) is a musical instrument of which it is said 'a kind of imitation organ'. 'Choro' is here a musical instrument. 'Citole', in French 'citole'. 'Tympanum' is called a name by onomatopoeia, in French 'tabour'; from this is derived 'tympanites', which is a kind of dropsy [some kind of edema. The word dropsy is no longer in scientific use], when the belly [human belly] makes a noise like a drum.

When reading Johannes De Garlandia's words, and especially Rubin's translation, the impression that he condemned music-making and certain musical instruments by associating them with the rich Parisians (*leculatorum*) could be given. In addition, the suggested different attitudes to the gigue in the two extracts from the *Dictionarius* could be seen as a real problem. Yet, there are similar discrepancies in classical attitudes, as for example to the aulos and *cithara*. The aulos is both associated with solemn religious music and with prostitute-entertainers; the lyre is the instrument of Apollo and a symbol of cosmic harmony and high poetry, but also associated with symposia. Therefore, the use of the word *leculatorum* is most possibly a way of describing the lascivious and expensive lives full of celebration led by wealthy Parisians,¹⁰² in immediate contrast with the strict life of a cleric. The writer did not imply that the houses of the rich were condemned as was, for example, Hell. The proof for this is the author's own words, as he made the differentiation between the one place (rich households) and the other (Hell) quite clear:

Sed in dominibus divitum vidi lircines [...] **Sed alia parte** vidi meretrices.

And **in the houses of the rich** I have seen [...] And **in another place** I have seen prostitutes

¹⁰² Scheler explains the *leculatorum* as 'men in joyful company'.

Johannes De Garlandia's approach to music and dance (a solely secular form of entertainment during the Middle Ages) is evident at the end of the *Dictionarius*. In his description of Heaven he wrote:

Example 14

Extract 6, §83

In loco delizioso vidi virgines, cum nuptis et viduis castis, **coream** divine **laudis** celebrantes cum **modulis** et **hymnis** [...]

In the place of delight [Heaven] I have seen virgins, along with chaste wives and widows celebrating **in divine dance with music and songs of praise** [...]

By using an instrument such as the gigue in parallel connection with the creation of the universe, Jove the Divine Creator, and the Parisian nobility, Johannes De Garlandia reflected the Middle Ages perception of music ruling the cosmic hierarchy through the laws of *harmoniae*. Music was thus an inseparable part of the universe; it had a moral effect on people, an ancient idea carried by Boethius. The gigue, quite possibly because of its high social esteem, was chosen by the great master as the most suitable representative of the abstract meaning of music. It was pleasing to the ears of Jove as it could "not bear the uncouth"; it was further used as a metaphor to morally guide the clerics; finally, it could be found in the houses of wealthy Parisians. All these point to the conclusion that for Johannes De Garlandia, the sound of the gigue was used as the immediate link between the invisible sphere and the tangible world. This is perhaps the most appropriate answer to Rubin's questions:

What connection draws the gittern [*sic*] into his description of sphere? The 'music of the Spheres'? The association of the sky god, Jove, with the Milky Way, etc?

'The gigue placed within a symbolic context'.

*Canto XIV*¹⁰³ of Dante Alighieri's *Paradiso* includes a straight reference to the gigue. However, as the instrument is associated with a divine celestial melody, it is essential to consider the symbolic ideas behind Dante's *Paradiso*. It seems that for Dante, as for Johannes De Garlandia, there was a connection between the spiritual and earthly worlds, and music was the catalytic force behind creation. As revealed by his writings, Dante had a profound admiration for, and knowledge of music. In his *Paradiso*, the reader follows the succession of the several heavenly bodies through which Dante ascends to reach the tenth Heaven, the Essential Heaven of Light and Love.¹⁰⁴ Each heavenly body carries certain moral and spiritual associations. The music in the *Paradiso* is in complete harmony with its surroundings; it expresses a powerful mystic ecstasy resulting in a sense of ultimate fulfilment. In *Canto XIV*, Dante described the ravishing music of the spirits that he heard while ascending in the Fifth Heaven of Mars. The author directly connected this divine melody with the sound of the giga and the harp.

In this *Canto*, Dante wishes to know whether the glorified body, after the resurrection, will retain its luster eternally, and if it does, if the eyes will endure to look on its brilliance. Beatrice, from the centre of the circle of the spirits, asks the spirits to respond to his questions and Solomon answers both questions affirmatively. Other spirits appear forming themselves into a circle. Dante and Beatrice ascend to the Fifth Heaven, the Heaven of Mars. There, the spirits of

¹⁰³ *Dante's Paradiso*. Binyon, & MacMillan (1943)

¹⁰⁴ Dante, travelling upwards from the earth, reaches the following heavenly bodies associated with certain virtues: 1 the Moon, inconsistency, 2 Mercury, ambition, 3 Venus, Earthly Love, 4 the Sun, Prudence, 5 Mars, Fortitude, 6 Jupiter, Justice, 7 Saturn, Temperance, 8 the constellation of Gemini, Souls, 9 the invisible vault beyond the stars, 10 the Essential Heaven of Light and Love.

warriors and martyrs appear in the form of a dazzling cross. Souls in light move and pass upon the limbs of the cross. Dante hears a captivating divine melody and singing hymns of victory. He emphasised the enchanting power music had upon him; the divine spiritual melody the spirits produced was a 'sweet bondage' for him. However, Dante, being merely human, had no power to understand this glorious cosmic music.

Example 15

Verses 118 -126

Original Text

E comme **giga** e **arpa**, in tempra
teas

Di molte corde, fa dolce tintinno

A tal da cui la nota non è intesa,

Così da' lumi che lì , m'
apparinno

S' accogliea per la croce una
melode

Che mi rapiva, senza intender
l'inno.

Ben m'accors' io ch' elli era d' alte
lode,

Però ch' a me venìa 'Resurgi' e

Modern English¹⁰⁵

As **viol** and **harp** in harmony
commune

With many strings that chime
sweet on the ear

Of one who apprehendeth not the
tune,

So from the lights I there beheld
appear

Was harmonised a music on the
Rood

That ravished me, though the
import was not clear.

I knew the hymn to be of lofty
mood

For 'Rise' and 'Conquer' came

¹⁰⁵ Translation presented here found in: Binyon, & MacMillan (Ibid.). Other translations of the same passage have as follows:

- Rev. Wicksteed, (1899):

And as **viol** and harp tuned in harmony of many cords/ make sweet chiming to one by whom the notes are not apprehended/ from the lights on the cross a strain that rapt/ me albeit I followed not the hymn./ Well I discerned it was of lofty praise, for there

Came to me 'Rise thou up and conquer', as to/ who understandeth not, but heareth./ And so was I enamoured there, that up till then/ there had been naught that me had bound with so sweet chains.

- *The Paradiso of Dante Alighieri*. Bickersteth, (1932):

And as, with many strings which harmonise, **viol** and harp chime sweetly on an ear/ too gross to catch their subtle melodies/ so from the lights before me did I hear/ throughout the cross entrancing music swell/ though what the hymn they carolled was not clear./ 'Twas of high praises, for I heard right well/ the words 'Arise' and 'Conquer', even as he who hears, but what he heareth cannot tell./ I fell in love so with their minstrelsy/ that naught whereof this poem yet hath told/ had with so sweet a bondage fettered me.

'Vinci' Come a colui che non intende e ode.	into my ken As to those hears but hath not understood.
---	--

As already discussed, Johannes de Garlandia used the gigue as a tangible representative of the art of music, relating it to the order of the universe. With his reference to the moral effect on the clergy and the soothing of Jove's ears, a link between the eternal and earthly worlds was created. In Dante's *Paradiso*, the ears of the 'illiterate' are too gross to catch the melodies of the gigue and the harp, while the music of the Heavens is too complicated for any human. His choice of instruments could be explained by the fact that these instruments were able to produce 'polyphonic' music; the author mentions: "with **many strings** that sound sweet on the ear". As an extension to this, his choice of instruments, and more precisely his reference to the gigue could be seen as, yet another, testimony to the instrument's high social esteem.¹⁰⁶

Le Bel Inconnu, or else *Li Biaus Descouneüs*,¹⁰⁷ was composed between 1191 and the first quarter of the 13th century.¹⁰⁸ It is an Arthurian romance telling the story of a young wandering *chevalier* who did not know anything about his past,

¹⁰⁶ See for example the Italian poem *L'Intelligenza* presented later on.

¹⁰⁷ *Renaut de Bâgé, Le Bel Inconnu*. Fresco & Donagher (1992)

¹⁰⁸ *Le Bel Inconnu* has survived in one single manuscript, now in the collection of Duc d'Aumale, no 472.11 at the Musée Condé in Chantilly. This is an anthology made up for the most part of Arthurian romances which feature Gauvain: *Les mervelles de Rigomer, L'atre Perrileux, Erec et Enide, Fergus, Hunbaut, Guinglain (Li biaus Descouneüs), La Vengeance Raguidel, Yvain, Le Chevalier de la Charrette, Perlesvaus*, and several fragments of the *Roman de Renart*.

Walters (1998) suggests that:

Taken in its entirety, the collection functions as a moral allegory; it warns about potential threats to the strength and stability of the French Kingdom.

- It has been edited three times. The 1929 edition by Williams is a quite careful one, without any apparent errors, and has been the base for Karen Fresco's edition consulted for this study. Editions also consulted:
- *Le Bel Inconnu*. Williams (1929)
- *La fée et la guivre; le Bel Inconnu de Renaut de Beaujeu; approche littéraire et concordancier* (vv.1237 – 3252). Ferlampin-Acher (1996)

his own name or the name of his father, and who after a series of adventures became a member of the strict environment of the Arthurian court.¹⁰⁹ His acceptance within the court was celebrated by a rich celebration. The author has used an unusual spelling for the *gigue*:¹¹⁰ he has referred to it as the *gigle*, which, next to the *ghigle*, is a usual Occitan spelling of the word.

Example 16

Verses: 2880 – 2899

Original Text

Il ne se vaut mie arrester
 tant qu'a la sale en est venus
 U les jongleors a veüs
 Sor les fenestres tos asis,
 Devant cascun un cierge espris;
 Et son estrument retenoit
 Cascuns itel con il l'avoit;
 L'un voit as fenestres harper,
 L'autres delés celui roter;
 L'uns estive, l'autre **viële**,
 Li autres **gigle** et calimele
 Et cante cler comme serainne,
 Li autres la citole mainne
 Li uns entendoit au corner
 Et l'autres au bien flahuter;
 Li un notoient lais d'amor;
 Sonnent tinbre, sonnent tabor,
 Muses, salteres et fretel,
 Et buissines et moïnel;
 Cascuns over de son mestier.

English Translation¹¹¹

The knight did not stop
 until he came to the great hall of
 the palace, where he saw the
 jongleurs, all seated in the
 windows, each with a candle in
 front of him. And each one was
 holding his instrument. The
 knight saw one playing the harp,
 while the one next to him played
 a rota; One played the bagpipes,
 another a **hurdy-gurdy**, another a
fiddle, another a shawm, and
 another singing with a clear voice
 like a siren's; another played a
 lute, one a horn, while another
 played skilfully on his flute.
 Some played songs of love to the
 sounds of the tambourines and
 the tabors, the trumpets and the
 horns. Each played his own part.

¹⁰⁹ It is one of the most important romances showing a great literary influence by Chrétien de Troye's work. The author of this romance revealed his name at verse 6249. He was Renald de Biauju:

Ci faut li roumans et define./ Bele, vers cui mes cuers s'acline/ RENALS DE BIAUJU molt vos prie/ por Diu que ne l'obliés mie.

There is no concrete evidence as to who Renaut [Renald] was, but there is strong indication that he was Renaut de Bâgé, the lord of Saint-Trivier around 1165-1230.

¹¹⁰ The language employed in this romance is based on a merger of different forms and dialects, such as 'françiennes', 'picardes' and 'champanoises', with some western characteristics, all mixed with the Beaujolais origin of the author.

¹¹¹ Translation by Donagher

With regard to the numerous references to music-making, as well as to various feast performers in Middle Ages literatures Page has suggested that these are 'highly conventional' and that:

There is a single, stable literary purpose for almost all such material: it emphasises the luxury and abundance of the scene whilst reinforcing the image of the court as a stable point of departure and point of return for all 'romance experience'.¹¹²

This is fundamentally true. The aforementioned passage presents several musical instruments, implying thus a lavish, but also utopian celebration. However, Zaer has pointed out that in *Le Bel Inconnu*, music making and the presence of musicians with instruments acquires a deeper, allegorical connotation, which is not, perhaps, too obvious to a modern reader.¹¹³ *Le Bel Inconnu* and its analogue, the 14th-century Middle English *Lybeaus Desconus*,¹¹⁴ reveal an underlying parallelism between performing music and magic.¹¹⁵ The idea of a close connection between magic and music-making was not unknown during the Middle Ages. Magic, though, had two different sides: one was the positive and harmless magic used to instruct and guide people, while the evil magic was an idea very much promoted by the Church. In *Le Bel Inconnu* the author repeatedly referred to both sides of magic always associating it with music by 'playing' with the verbs 'encanter' [to enchant] and 'cancer' [to sing]. In verses 2890 – 91 Renaut de Bâgé wrote:

Li autres gigne et calimele/et cante cler comme serainne.

[Others play the gigue and the chalumeau/and sing with a clear voice like a siren].¹¹⁶

¹¹² Page (1987:155)

¹¹³ Zaer (2004)

¹¹⁴ *Lybeaus Desconus*. Mills (1969)

¹¹⁵ For the magical qualities of music as visualised through iconography see: Seebass (2008)

¹¹⁶ Present author's translation.

Here, the jongleurs are compared to the mythical sirens which had the power to enchant innocent men with their singing, leading them to their destruction. The gigue and the chalumeau are used as an accompaniment to this seducing song. The author has included a straight suggestion to his audience of a connection between magic and music in verses 4930 – 4947, where Pucele¹¹⁷ explains how she learned magic:

Example 17

Verses 4930 – 4941

Original Text

Or vos dirai se vos [volés]
 En quele maniere et coment jo sai
 faire l'encanement [...]
 Que les set [ars] me fist apre[ndre]

 Tant que totes les soc entendre.
 Arismetiche, dyomotrie,

 Ingremance et astrenomie
 Et des autres asés apris.

English Translation¹¹⁸

Now, if you wish, I shall tell you
 How I came to learn to work magic
 [...]
 He had me to study the Seven
 Liberal Arts
 Until I had mastered them all.
 I learned a great deal about
 arithmetic and geometry,
 Necromancy and astronomy,
 And all the other arts as well.

Haidu and Zaerr have pointed out that the above passage is referring to Boethius' *quadrivium*.¹¹⁹ The very first sentence of Boethius' *De Institutione Musica* reads:

Introduction: Music forms a part of us through nature, and can ennoble or debase character.¹²⁰

From this it followed that:

¹¹⁷ Pucele as Blancs Mains de l'Île d'Or, [The Maiden of the White Hands] one of the main characters who was an enchantress.

¹¹⁸ Translation by Zaerr

¹¹⁹ Boethius isolated the four speculative mathematical subjects establishing the medieval *quadrivium* as: arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. This was opposed to the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. These two categories of disciplines formed the 'seven liberal arts' taught at the Middle Ages Universities.

¹²⁰ Palisca (1989:1)

[...] since there happen to be four mathematical disciplines, the other three share with music the task of searching for truth; but music is associated not only with speculation but with morality as well. For nothing is more characteristic of human nature than to be soothed by pleasant modes or disturbed by their opposites.¹²¹

In the above extract from *Le Bel Inconnu*, music, an integral part of the *quadrivium*, was replaced by the *ingremance*.¹²² The above substitution of music for magic is not perhaps immediately apparent to modern readers; a medieval audience though, would recognise the mystical relation implied by the author. Having this in mind, then the meaning of the following example becomes rather intriguing:

Example 18

Verses: 3948 – 3957

Original Text

C'est la Pucele as Blancs Mains.

Molt estoit rices ses lorains:

cent escalates i ot d' or;

Par grant engine le fisent Mor,
Car quant li bons palefrois anble,
Si sonnoient totes ensamble
Plus doç que soit **harpe ne rote;**
Ainc n' oïstes plus douce note
Ne de **gigle** ne de **vïele**.

English Translation

This was indeed the *Maiden of the White Hands*.

The breast strap of her horse was richly made:

A hundred tiny golden bells hung from it; Moors had crafted it with great skill, for as the palfrey ambled along, the bells all rang together, making a sound more sweet than that of any harp or rote. You never heard sweeter music from any **hurdy-gurdy** or **fiddle**.¹²³

The reader knows that Pucele is not playing any musical instrument; yet, golden bells are hanging from her breast strap making a sweeter music than that of the

¹²¹ Ibid.:2

¹²² Zaerr (2004). *Ingremance*: in English 'necromancy'.

¹²³ Note that the word 'hurdy-gurdy' has replaced the original 'gigle'.

gigue and the vièle.¹²⁴ Pucele's magic is linked to the exotic and mysterious Moors who crafted her bells, and as it is practised to guide the main hero and not to confuse (enchant) him it is superior to that of the jongleurs. The first impression created after reading these passages is that the jongleurs were malicious creatures wishing to enchant the hero with their music. Their harp, rote, gigue and vièle are seen thus as the instruments of evil. It is only towards the end of the romance that the jongleurs' true role is clarified: it is proven that they were not evil at all; on the contrary, they were protecting the hero from all things bad with their music.¹²⁵ Therefore, although the element of connection between music-making and magic underlies this work, the references to the gigue (but also to the harp, rote and vièle) do not suggest any detrimental influence of these musical instruments upon the hero, but the positive effect that music has upon humans.

The *Gottes Zukunft* is a German religious poem of about 8,000 verses preserved in six manuscripts, and divided into three different sections.¹²⁶ Part one is an allegorical explanation of the incarnation of Christ based on the Latin religious tract *Compendium Anticlaudianum* (ca.1300). Part two deals with Christ's life, death and resurrection. Part three concerns the Last Judgement. The following extract is taken from the second part of the poem. It presents a detailed description of the glorious reception of Jesus in Heaven following His resurrection. The author has created a lively image of the Heavenly celebrations,

¹²⁴ In this romance, Pucele is repeatedly associated with the sound of bells. In the above passage these are magic bells, but in different passages she is also associated with the sound of Christian Church bells.

¹²⁵ The malicious ones were two enchanters pretending to be jongleurs; the enchanters were trying to use the power of music in a negative way, to drive the hero mad.

¹²⁶ Henrich von Neustadt, *Gottes Zukunft*, 14th century. Henrich von Neustadt was a Middle High German author of uncertain date. He is documented in Vienna in 1312, after receiving his degree (magister) in medicine, probably by an Italian University. See: Jeep (2001)

which could be perceived as a clear mirroring of a courtly secular celebration; however, this celebration did not take place in an earthly court, but in the court of Heaven.¹²⁷ Once again, this image of lavish celebration is achieved through the reference to music and musical instruments. For the welcoming of Jesus to Heaven, several musical instruments were employed. The biblical harp and the singing of the psalms introduce the relevant section: the *gîge* is placed next to them.

Example 19

Verses 4666 - 4676

Original Text

Singen, harpfen, gîgen,

Horn, busûnen, brummen,
Beide zymbeln und drummen,
Dambûren mit den bucken,
Harpfen, und auch zytoln,
Psalterien und welsche fioln,
Die kobus mit der lûten,
Flachrohr und die schalmeyen,
Mit richer wal schameyen,
Rotte und metzkanone,
Was in vil süszem done,
Auch klungen da die schellen.

Modern English

Singing, playing the harp and the
gigue
Horn, buisines, and humming,
both cymbals and drums,
tambourine with the ... **bowed**
Harps and also *zytoln*
Psalteries and that viol
the **rich** ... with the lutes
Flachrohr and the shawm
with richer *wal schameyen*
Rotas and micanons
had a sweet sound
And [some sort of] cymbals
sounded also.

The *Die jüngere Judith* is one of the finest examples of didactic German Middle Ages literature.¹²⁸ This kind of poetry had a specific function, the teaching [*lêre*] of Christian values to the laity. The poets of these works were assumed to have direct inspiration by the Holy Spirit, and this connection guaranteed the truth of their poetic word. Haug writes:

¹²⁷ As discussed on the following chapter, the anthropocentric description of the Heavens could be explained as an effort to project and so elevate earthly society to the highest divine level.

¹²⁸ *Die jüngere Judith aus der Vorauer Handschrift*. Ca.1140. See: Monecke (1964)

The contrast between the people loyal to God, who are thus rewarded, and those who turn away from God and are punished for it, is reflected in the relationship between poet and audience in this work, namely the opposition between the good *lère* and the *nidære* ('detractors' or 'envious men'). Just as it is possible to decide for or against God, so it is possible to accept or reject the good advice offered by the poet's teaching.¹²⁹

The idea of reward and punishment underlies the poem to the extent that it is implied that anyone who is against the poet's words will be condemned in Hell. The fear of the Last Judgement is evident. The biblical figure Judith is used to demonstrate the relationship between God and humans, which was dependent on humans' actions. The context of the poem is deeply religious, and the Christian morals are exposed. However, in the following extract a short description of a secular celebration is to be found. Musical instruments, the *gigue* included, as well as singing and dancing are involved during the reception of a noble. Apparently, these activities are not condemned by the poet; on the contrary, by referring to such a form of entertainment he highlighted the human soul's joy when close to God.

Example 20

Original Text

Mit vigelen jouch mit gîgen,
mit rotten jouch mit liren,
mit haerphen jouch mit springen
mit tanzen jouch mit singen
chomen si im engegene.

Modern English

With the sounds of vièles and
gigues
Of rotes, of lyres,
Of harps and by jumping
and dancing and singing
they were going to meet him.

*Le Roman de Dolopathos*¹³⁰ is yet another example of Middle Ages French poetry dealing with the Seven Liberal Arts, astronomy, passion, seduction,

¹²⁹ Haug (2006:55)

¹³⁰ This work is of an unknown Oriental origin and date. It was first translated in Greek from Arabic, then, during the 12th century and under the reign of Louis IX, a monk of the abbey of Haute-Seille, Jean de

enchantment, treachery, and finally the glorification of truth and punishment of crime.¹³¹ When Lucinian, the main hero, was tied to the stake, the seven wise men appeared one after the other distracting the attention of the King with their marvellous tales, eventually proving the prince's innocence. Once again, the gigue is mentioned next to the vièle and the harp, and their delightful effect upon the human soul is emphasised.

Example 21

Verses 3732 – 3734

Original Text

Tos les desduiz li font oir
Par c'om puet home resjoir
Gigues et harpes et vièles

Modern English

All the pleasures be heard
As these can delight a man
Gigues, and harps and vièles.

Hauteseille (Joannes de Alta Silva), translated the work in Latin giving it the title *Dolopathos*. Later, in approximately 1260 it was translated in French by the trouvère Herbers with the title *Li romans de Dolopathos*.

¹³¹ Great emphasis is given upon the education of Lucinian (the son of Dolopathos, King of Sicily) by Vergil on the seven liberal arts. Sage (1930:598) writes about the element of magic in this romance as well as the Middle Ages perception of Vergil as a magician:

There is no hint in this story, except for the books *De Artibus*, that Vegil is a magician, though he is an astrologer and the books he referred to may as well be astrological as magical.

The gigue and the art of *jonglerie*

As has been already shown, the gigue is one of the instruments repeatedly placed in the hands of jongleurs in Middle Ages literature.¹³² Therefore, it is of an immediate interest to briefly examine the jongleurs' function and importance within society of the time.

Controversy surrounds the information offered by Middle Ages literature regarding the role jongleurs had within Middle Ages society. As a result, several studies on the subject have taken place throughout the years.¹³³ The clerical chroniclers associated jongleurs with lay activities that had pagan elements and so were condemned by the Church, such as participating in festivities and tournaments, and openly admiring feminine beauty.¹³⁴ The art of *jonglerie* was seen as the continuation of the ancient mimic tradition, and so was condemned as the immoral deed of all evil; jongleurs were thus considered the sons of the devil.¹³⁵ Throughout the long time-span between the 4th and 12th centuries,

¹³² According to Bec the first French reference to the gigue is found in the *Roman de Thèbes*; in Bec (p.240) the following relevant passage is quoted:

la oïssiez meint jugleor,
Meinte chançon viez et novele,
Meinte gigue, meinte viele,
Harpes, salterions et rotes... (v. 21000)

Bec's consulted edition is the: *Roman de Thèbes (Le)*, éd. Constans (Léopold), Paris, S.A.T.F., 2 VOL., 1890. The present author has also consulted the above edition, as there is a copy of it at the library of the University of Edinburgh. Constans' book is a literary treasure, as it not only provided his own version of the romance based on the assumption of what the original text must have been like, but also compiled all the different surviving manuscripts of the romance. Several text modifications can be noticed depending on the manuscript; in addition, all texts are of different length. Yet, the present author did not any manuscript with 21000 verses, as indicated by Bec. At first, the assumption was made that the indicated verse number must have been a typographic error in Bec's book; therefore, various combinations had to be investigated, such as verse: 2100, 210, 1200, 120 etc. The quoted text by Bec was not found in the end.

¹³³ Notably: Holmes (1968), Rastall (1968 & 1971), Bullock-Davies (1978) and Remnant (1986)

¹³⁴ See: McKinnon (1965) and Baldwin (1997)

¹³⁵ Several decrees have been announced for their severe prosecution. The thundering prohibitions of the Church though, did not succeed in killing the jonglerie; interestingly enough, even an Episcopal interest in this secular form of art is recorded as early as the 4th century, when Pope Eusebius warned his bishops that they should eat moderately at table, and have no histriones, buffoons, or acrobats. Nicoll (1931:136)

several canons have been passed for the punishment and even excommunication of the jongleurs:¹³⁶ they were denied all ecclesiastical rights “unless first he [the jongleur] be cleansed of these unclean works”.¹³⁷ Furthermore, their profession was grouped with that of prostitutes.¹³⁸

On the contrary, in secular literature of the time the jongleurs are portrayed quite differently. Long sections are dedicated to the lavish description of their activities, and a feeling of admiration for their art is evident. In addition, based perhaps on Jerome de Moravia’s description of a certain cast of educated jongleurs in the last part of *De Musica*, Holmes has suggested that many jongleurs employed by the nobility before becoming secular instrumentalists ‘had serve their apprenticeship in Church music’.¹³⁹ Middle Ages writers though, clerics or otherwise, did not follow a fixed terminology when referring to the jongleurs, making it difficult to understand their exact social function, and the several differences amongst the various sub-categories of this trade.

¹³⁶ For a detailed discussion on the Church prohibitions and prosecution of the jongleurs see Nicoll (1936:note 6)

¹³⁷ Duchesne (1902:509)

¹³⁸ The Church clearly associated the *joculatores* (jongleurs) with *histriones* (actors), mimes, buffoons, acrobats, dancers, jugglers, and animal trainers. The Church’s main weapon against jongleurs and all kind of entertainers was the discouragement of financial support from audiences. This action, however, did not have the expected results, and cases of Ecclesiastical patronage of the jonglerie is recorded. For more information on this, see: Baldwin (1997). The association of jongleurs with actors and prostitutes aimed at the moral alarming of the laity and the clergy. Even as late as in the 12th century, Honorius d’Autun described the imaginary dialogue between a master and his disciple. The latter asked if the jongleurs could have any hope, and the master replied:

None. Because they are, from the bottom of their soul, the ministers of Satan. They have not met God [...] and God will laugh at them.

The dialogue in Latin reads:

D. Habent spem jocularores? - M. Nullam: tota nanque intentione sunt ministry Satanae, de his dicitur: Deum non cognoverunt; ideo Deus sprevit eos, et Dominus subsannabit eos, quia derisores deridentur.

Honorius d’Autun, *Elucidarium*, II, 18 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, t. CLXXII, c.1148), quoted in Faral (1910:27, 277)

¹³⁹ Holmes (1968:157)

In several accounts the names of numerous professional jongleurs are mentioned, and the employment of up to 150 jongleurs for lavish celebrations is highlighted.¹⁴⁰ A shift in the attitude of the Church towards the jongleurs is noticed during the 13th century.¹⁴¹ Music may well have been a catalytic motive for this shift in attitude. Theologians of the time were witnessing the outstanding musical activity at Notre Dame, and the new style of Parisian organum by Maistre Leoninus and Maistre Perotinus. In addition to this, a new phenomenon within the Church was taking place. Baldwin writes:

The church therefore harbored a group of entertainers-albeit clerics-who functioned simultaneously as poets in Latin, musical composers, and performers.¹⁴²

In 1213, Thomas de Cabham, Sub-Dean of Salisbury, wrote a detailed account of the performers of the time:

Some transform and transfigure their bodies with indecent dance and gesture, now indecently unclathing themselves, now putting on horrible masks [...] There are, besides, others who have no definite profession, but act as vagabonds, not having any certain domicile; these frequent the courts of the great and say scandalous and shameful things concerning those who are not present so as to delight the rest [...] There is yet a third class of *histriones* who play musical instruments for the delectation of men, and of these are two types. Some frequent public drinking-places and lascivious gatherings, and there sing stanzas to move men to lasciviousness. Besides these there are others, who are called jongleurs, who sing of the gestes of princes and the lives of the saints.¹⁴³

As Nicoll indicates, the above passage strongly suggests continuity between the first two divisions of performers (the mimic dancers and the vagabonds) and the

¹⁴⁰ For example, in England in 1306, 150 jongleurs (mentioned with their full names) as well as several anonymous jongleurs were employed for the baptism of Prince Edward.

¹⁴¹ Also known as the golden age of the 'ars de la jonglerie'. See: Finnish Society for the Study of Comparative Religion (1980)

¹⁴² Baldwin (1997:644)

¹⁴³ On this passage see: Rubel (1925:225-239)

ancient mimes. Always according to Thomas de Cabham's words, the jongleurs clearly belonged to a separate rank than the satiric entertainers and the street musicians performing in taverns. It has been written in the past that Thomas de Cabham provided a moral categorisation of performers based on the social environment in which performers would be found.¹⁴⁴ Following the author's words, the name 'jongleur' was applied to those who were associated with music and the noble act of poetry recitation, having thus a positive moral effect on humans.¹⁴⁵ Those who were associated with secular entertainment in its most grotesque form were shameful and sinners, while those who could consolidate the human soul through their music were in favored by the Pope himself. The above passage continues as:

If however, [the jongleurs] by no means greatly disturb but singing with instruments the deeds of princes [*chansons de geste*] and other useful things of such kind to create comfort and consolation to human beings, as it said above, they are rightly able to be supported, as Pope Alexander said.¹⁴⁶

The above recognises that jongleurs could also follow their profession honourably. The image of the 'noble' jongleur performing for the enjoyment of the higher social class is clearly projected through secular literature of the time as well. It seems however, that the reality was more complicated than Thomas de Cabham's idealised and clean-cut image of the jongleurs. Literary references reveal that jongleurs ought to be quite versatile, possessing several different skills alongside their knowledge of music. The famous romance *Erec & Enide* by Chrétien de Troyes, well illustrates this: jongleurs participating at the court

¹⁴⁴ See: Potter, Leech & Craik (1983) and Chambers (2008)

¹⁴⁵ The Church has recognised a few jongleurs who dealt with the *Lives of Saints*.

¹⁴⁶ This is a free translation by the present author based on the original Latin text by Thomas de Cabham.

celebrations were playing on several musical instruments, the gigue included, performing juggling acts, dancing, and also reciting poetry.

Erec & Enide's plot is centred on the Arthurian court, exemplifying the Middle Ages ideal of this superior social environment. Within its strict borders, the code of everyday courtly life was practiced, and all forms of art were encouraged. Chrétien de Troyes recreated a clear and representative image of wealth and power. This image is enhanced especially when describing the courtly celebrations, as for example in Erec's wedding, (ex. 22) and his final return to the court (ex. 23).¹⁴⁷

Example 22

Verses: 2035 – 2065 (v.1845 – 2765: 'Le jeune époux' – *Le mariage*)

Original Text

Quant la corz fu tote assanblee,

N'ot menestrel an la contree

Qui rien seust de nul deduit,

Qui a la cort ne fussent tuit.

An la sale mout grant joie ot,
Chascuns servi de ce qu'il sot:

Cil saut, sil tume, cil anchante,

Li uns conte, li autre chante,

Li uns sifle, li autre note,

Modern English

When all the court was
assembled,

All the minstrels of the region,

All those which knew some
entertainment,

Started moving with haste.

The great hall was all celebrated,
And each one offered what he
could do:

One dances, one plays with
stunt-flying, one is doing some
juggling acts;

One recites a story, the other
sings,

One speaks softly, the other
plays an instrument:

¹⁴⁷ The author described the courtly festivities as if he was a passive observant inside the great hall. As the writer did not wish to detach himself from the story, a common trait in the writing of romances, an illusionary impression of realism and immediateness is created.

Cil sert de harpe, cil de rote ,	He plays the harp and another the rota ,
Cil de gigue , cil de vièle ,	He plays the gigue , and he the vièle
Cil flaute, cil chalemelle.	He plays the flute, and he plays the chalumeau.
Puceles carolent et dancent,	Young girls dance rondes and caroles,
Trestuit de joie feire tancent.	The joyousness is everywhere.
N'est riens qui joie puisse feirre	There is nothing which can create joy
Et cuer d'ome a leesce treire,	And which can fill up the human heart with happiness
Qui ne fust as noce le jor.	That was not present at the wedding on this day.
Sonent timbre, sonent tabor,	Tambourines and drums resound;
Muses, estives et frestel,	bagpipes and trumpets were heard
Et buisines et chalemel.	And trumpets and chalumeau.
Que diroie de l'autre chose?	What is left to be said?
N'i ot guichet ne porte close.	Not a door, not a gate were locked:
Les issues et les antrees	With complete freedom one could
Furent totes abandonees;	Enter or leave;
N'an fu tornez povres ne riches.	Rich or poor, nobody was excluded.
Li roi Artus pas clichés:	King Arthur was not tight with money.
Bien commanda as panatiers	He had advised the <i>pannetiers</i> ¹⁴⁸ well,
Et as queus et as botelliers,	the cooks and the <i>bouteillers</i> ¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ *Pannetier*: servant responsible for the bread during a celebration.

¹⁴⁹ *Bouteiller*: servant responsible for the keeping and opening of the bottles of wine.

Qu'il livrassent a grant planté
 A chascun a sa volanté
 Et pain et vin et veneison.

To offer bread abundantly,
 Wine or red meat
 To each one as much as he
 wanted.

Example 23

Verses: 6375 – 6385 (v.5294 – end: 'La joie de la cour')¹⁵⁰

Original Text

"Deus saut celui par cui resort

Joie et leesce a nostre cort!

Dues saut le plus buen eüré

Que Deus a feire et anduré!

Einsi jusqu'a la cort l'an
 mainnent

Et de joie feire se painnent

Si con li cuer les an semonent.

Rotes, harpes, vièles sonent,

Gigues, sautier et sinfonies

Et trestotes les armonies.

Modern English

"God saves the one which has

returned the joy and liveliness in
 our court

God saves the most fortunate

Of the people that he tried hard to
 create!

Thus they lead him to the court

and they rushed to make a joyful
 procession for him,
 as their hearts imposed.

**And rotes, harps and vièles to
 resound,**

**Gigues, psalteries and
 symphonies**

**And all the musical instruments
 which one can say or name.**

The combinations of musical instruments giving the impression of music ensembles in Middle Age literature is an issue that has been already discussed. In *Erec & Enide* the author included a long list of musical instruments from both *haut* and *bas* families for the wedding celebrations. However, due to the author's

¹⁵⁰ "The Joy of the court". This part: "le deuxième jour" – "the second day".

manner of narration the two instrumental families are clearly differentiated: the instruments of the *bas* family are mentioned first in a separate group: “Cil sert de **harpe**, cil de **rote**/cil de **gigue**, cil de **vièle**”. Between this and the next reference to musical instruments, which are part of the *haut* family, there is a short passage describing the joy in the court, which acts almost like an interlude breaking the narration, and so the connection between the two instrumental groups. After this, Chrétien de Troyes referred to the *haut* instruments: “Sonent **timbre**, sonent **tabor/muses**, **estives** et **frestel**/et **buisines** et **chalemel**”. In this way, a realistic image of instrumental combination is portrayed.

In the *Roman de Cleomadès*, one of the most popular literary works during the Middle Ages by the King of minstrels, Adenet li Roi, the same image of the jongleur (here called ‘menestrel’) is presented.¹⁵¹ Within this work, Adenet le Roi has offered long lists of musical instruments, the gigue included, on three different occasions.

¹⁵¹ *Le roman de Cleomadès* was composed during the 13th century and has been translated into German as early as the first half of the 15th century. Modern English translation presented here by present author. Known manuscripts of the romance:

- A: Paris, Arsenal, 3142 (175 B.L.F.), fo 1 ro à 72 vo.
- A1: copie figure de A par La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, Paris, B.N., f.fr., fonds Moreau, 1680-1683.
- G: Paris, B.N., f.fr., 24404, fo 1 ro à 168 ro.
- H: Paris, Arsenal, 3573 (176 B.L.F.), Cléomadès SEUL.
- I: Paris, B.N., f.fr., 24405, fo 1 ro à 132ro.
- J: Paris, B.N., f.fr., 24430, fo 1 à 58 vo.
- N: autrefois à Cheltenham, aujourd’hui dans une collection particulière.
- O: Paris, B.N., f.fr., 1456 (seul).
- P: Paris, B.N., f.fr., 19165 (seul)
- Q: Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Institut, 636 (seul)
- S: Berne, Stadtbibliothek, 238 (seul)
- Y: Bruxelles, B.R., II 7444, fo 1 ro à 183 ro
- p: Paris, B.N., nouv. Acq. Fr., 5094, 4e p., fo 18 ro à 21 vo (fragm.)
- b: Bruxelles, B.R., 20407 (fragm.)
- d: Berlin, Preuss. Staatsbibl., Gall. 8o, 34 (fragm.)

Example 24

Verses: 7243 - 7266

Original Text

Harpes, rotes, **gigues**, viöles,
 Leuus, quitaires et citoles,
 Et timpanes et micanons,
Rubebes et salterions.

Modern English

Harps, rotes, **gigues**, vièles,
 Lutes, guitars et citoles,
 Et timpani et micanons,¹⁵²
Rebecs et psalteries.

Example 25

Verses: 17282 – 17302. (15199 - 18528: Epilogue matrimonial. Pendant la celebration des mariages, un grand nombre des instrument très divers répandent de la musique partout)¹⁵³

Original Text

Plenté d'enstrumens cyssiez [var.
 oÿssiez]:

Vieles et sauterions,
 Harpes, et gigues, et canons,
 Leüs, rubebes et kitaires;
 Et on en pluseurs lieux nacaires

Qui moult tres grant noise
 faisoient,

Mais fors des routes mis estoient.

Cymbales, rotes, timpanons,
 Et mandoires et micanons
 i ot, et cornés et douçaines,
 Et trompes et grosses araines,
 Cors sarrazinois et tabours
 I avoit moult en lieux plusours
 Estrument de mainte maniere.

[...]

**De toutes pars et de tous lés,
 Que je ne vous ai pas nonnés,**

Car de maint pays i estoient

Modern English

You could see many instruments:

Vièles et psalteries,
 harps, and gigues, and canons,
 lutes, rebecs and guitars;
 and there were many joyful
 kettledrums
 that made a great noise

-

Cymbals, rotes, timpani,
 mandore and micanons
 there were, and horns and
 and trumpets and big xx
 Saracen horn and tambours
 there were many joyful
 instruments of all kind.

[...]

**From all parts and all places
 that I have not named them to
 you
 as from many countries there**

¹⁵² French *micanon*: half trapeziform psalteries.

¹⁵³ "The matrimonial epilogue. During the wedding celebration a great number of very diverse instruments spread the music everywhere".

Menestrel qui assez savoient
De ce k'afiert a menestrel
Li un d'un et li autre d'el.

were
minstrels who knew very well
of what a minstrel does
the one this and the other that.

It is important to note that Adenet le Roi was the only author who, within a literary work, has connected the gigue with a specific geographical setting, Germany. In verses 2888 the author is referring to the 'gigueours d'Alemaigne' [gigue players from Germany] (ex. 26). His meaning is not clear, as his use of the term 'gigue' is hazy. He referred to the gigue on three occasions, yet only once specified that there were German gigue players. Consequently, confusion exists as to whether the instrument placed in the hands of the 'gigueours d'Alemaigne' was the same one as the gigue.¹⁵⁴ The author's words could be understood as evidence for the existence of a specific type of gigue encountered only in Germany. Nonetheless, such a hypothesis is not so far supported by iconographic evidence.¹⁵⁵ It could also mean that during the author's time, gigue players from Germany were given a special high esteem. Finally, it could be the case that the author simply used the phrase 'gigueours d'Alemaigne' as it rhymes with the previous verse 'flaüteurs de Behaigne'. Taking into consideration the already discussed Middle Ages tradition of the *ars poetica* this seems quite possible. Whatever the case might be, the author has portrayed his personal experience in the text, as there is proof that he was aware of certain German gigue players: Adenet le Roi mentioned in his book that in the accounts

¹⁵⁴ Adenet's information on most of the musical instruments he has referred to is puzzling. For example, in verse 2881 he mentioned the *estives de Cornouaille* (also mentioned in the *Roman de la rose*) but in verse 7256 he referred to the *estives*. Where these two instruments one and the same? The author also mentioned the *timpanes* in verses 7251 but in verses 17289 he talked about the *timpanons*. Whether these two instruments were identical or not remains uncertain.

¹⁵⁵ In terms of distinctively different characteristics in the appearance or performance practice of the instrument being evident in medieval German iconography.

of the castle of Gui de Dampierre¹⁵⁶ for the years 1276-77 special gratification was granted to the court of Flanders for '2 manestreus alemans ki juerent en une gigue' [2 German minstrels who were playing a gigue].¹⁵⁷

Example 26

Verses: 2876 – 2894, *Premier voyage de Cleomadès en Toscane (2650-4034) – Le Chateau Chastel Noble, residence du roi Carman*¹⁵⁸

Original Text

Et quant il avoient mengié
 Entour la table et soulacié,
 Adont leur feste conmençoit.
 Plenté d'estrumens y avoit;
 Vieles et salterions,
 Harpes et rotes et canons
 Et estives de Cornouaille;
 N'i failloit estrumens qui vaille,
 Car li rois Carmans tant amoit
 Menestreus que de tous avoit.
 O lui avoit quintarieurs
 Et si avoit bons leüteurs
Et des flaüteurs de Behaigne
Et des gigueours d'Alemaigne
 Et flaüteurs a .II. dois
 Tabours et cors sarrazinois
 Y ot, mais cil erent as chans
 Pour ce que leur noise ert trop
 grans;
 N'estoit maniere d'estrumens
 Qui ne fust trouvée leens.

Modern English

And when he had finished eating
 And sat around the table
 Their celebration started.
 There were many instruments;
 Vièles and psalteries,
 Harps and rotes et *canons*
 And hornpipes of Cornwall;
 -
 as King Carmans really liked
 The minstrels that had everything.
 They had *quintarieurs*
 and there were good lute players
And Bohemian flute players
And gigue players from Germany
 And flute players [...]
 Tambourine and the Saracen horn
 There were, but - that singing
 Because their noise was too great;

 There was not a kind of instrument
 That could not be found there.

Between 1369 and 1377, Guillaume de Machaut wrote *La prise d'Alexandrie*,¹⁵⁹ a narrative poem in French recounting the exploits and death of

¹⁵⁶ Gui de Dampierre, Lord of Dampierre (1251 – 1305), and count of Flanders (1278-1305) 2° After his first marriage to lady Mathilde from Béthune (1246) he became lord of Béthune and of Termonde (1248-1264)

¹⁵⁷ *Les Oeuvres d'Adenet Le Roi*, Tome I:77

¹⁵⁸ "The first trip of Cleomadès to Tuscany – The castle Chastel Noble, residency of King Carman".

¹⁵⁹ Shirley (2001)

the King of Cyprus, Peter I, and the last of the author's great works. In this, Machaut included a list of musical instruments quite similar to the one mentioned almost thirty years earlier in his *Remède de Fortune*:¹⁶⁰

Example 27

Verses: 1140-1168

Original Text

La avoit de tous instruments,
Et s'aucuns me disoit "tu mens",
Je vous diray les propres noms
Qu'il avoient et les seurmons [...]

Et des tous instruments le roy
Diray premiers si com je croy:
Orgues, vieles, micanons,
Rubebes et psaltérions, [/rubeles]
Leüs, moraches et guiternes
Dont on joue par ces taverns,
Cymbals, citoles, naquaires

Et de flaios plus dis paires,
C'est a dire de vint manieres
Tant des fortes com des legieres,
Cors sarrasinois et doussaines,

Tabour, flaüstes traversaines,
Demi doussaines et flaüstes
Dont droit joues quant tu flaüstes,

Trompes, buisines et trompettes,
Guiges, rotes, harpes, chevrettes,

Cornemuses et chalemelles,

Muses d'Aussay, riches et belles,

Modern English¹⁶¹

All instruments were there.
You think I'd tell a lie about it?
Wait, I'll list their names
and nicknames, those I know. And
don't suppose I'm showing-off!
The first and King:
the organ; then there were
fiddles,
psalteries, rebecs,
Gitterns, both Moorish
and the kind they play in pubs,
as well as cymbals, citoles, lutes,
tabors and kettle-drums,
at least a score of
different flageolets,
both loud and soft,
And there were micanons, Saracen
horns,
The sweet-toned trumpets, large
and small, and flutes,
Both transverse and the ones you
play held straight,
bugles and trumpets, clarions and
gigues, zithers and harps,
bagpipes
of every kind-goatskin and
standard,
those from Alsace too, handsome
and rich;

¹⁶⁰ It is interesting to note the differentiation between the Moorish gittern and that played in the tavern in the passage quoted below.

¹⁶¹ Translation by Shirley (Ibid.)

Chapter three

Elles, fretiaux et monocorde,	and there were whistles, shawms,
Qui a tous instrumens s'acorde,	as well as monochords
Muse de blé, qu'on prend en terre,	which go with all kinds of
Trepié, l'eschaquier d' Engleterre,	instrument;
Chifonie, flaios de saus.	and reed-pipes gathered where
	they grow,
	tripods, English chequerboards
	and tambourines
	and little willow flutes. ¹⁶²

The Occitan *Flamenca* recreates a similar image of courtly festivities.¹⁶³ *Flamenca* is considered today a precious source of information regarding the Middle Ages courtly way of life, its codes, ethics and entertainment.¹⁶⁴ The following extract describes an evening at the court in great detail, concluding with the critical: 'each one [jongleur] tries not to be insufficient with the requirements of his art'. This section must have been very well planned as it is clearly divided into short sub-sections of different context. The author, following the Middle Ages French tradition of narration, is a passive observer of the events: first of all, he sets the scenery recreating the luxurious atmosphere of the court; the nobles after finishing their dinner wash their hands and sit comfortably in large cushions; then, the jongleurs stand up. The competitive air amongst the jongleurs is evident; every one of them tries to attract the attention

¹⁶² The passage continues as:

They walked agreeably, discussing love, warfare, men, weapons. Then great bells rang out, astonishing the King. In all his life he'd never heard, he said, such melody and such tremendous sound. Dinner was served.

¹⁶³ *Flamenca; Roman Occitan du XIIIe siècle*. Huchet & Zumthor (1988)

¹⁶⁴ The text of the *Flamenca* has survived in a single manuscript now located at the library of Carcassonne. It is difficult to attribute an exact date to the work as its author heavily used the technique of anachronism in his narration. It is assumed that it must have been composed between 1272 and 1275, at the time when famous troubadours, such as Peire Cardenal, Daude de Pradas, Folquet de Lunel, Cerveri de Girone and Guiraut Riquier, were active. As no Occitan text mentions the *Flamenca*, it seems that it did not particularly impress or interest its contemporaries. However, it was well received in France. It has been claimed that *Voit Dit* by Guillaume de Machaut was inspired by *Flamenca* suggesting that the French author was well aware of the Occitan work.

of the nobles with his particular skills. The author has divided the jongleurs into three different groups; those who sing a lay, those who play instrumental music ('one recites and the other [plays] the notes'), and those who do acrobatics. The vièle is the only instrument immediately associated with poetry reciting, while reference to the vièle and the gigue in different instances indicates that the author was considering them as two different instruments.¹⁶⁵ It should be mentioned, that the translator of the original text, Huchet, has translated into modern French the word *rota* as *violon* (violin).

Example 28

Verses: 584 – 616

Original Text

Quant an manjat, outra ves lavon,

Mais, tot atressi con s'estavon,

Remanon tut e prendon vi

Car vezat era en aisi.

Pois(sas) levet hom las toallas;

Bels conseillers ab granz ventaillas

Aporter hom divan cascu,

Ques anc us non falli ad u;

Aqui.s poc, qui.s vol, acoutrar.

Après si levon li juglar;

Cascus se volc faire auzir.

Adonc auziras retentir

Cordas de manta temradura.

Qui saup novella violadura,

Ni canzo ni descort ni lais,

Modern English

After the meal and having washed
the hands again,

each one remained in his place

and had some wine

as this was the custom.

Then the tablecloths were
removed;

beautiful cushions and large fans

were placed in front of each guest
scrupulously that

every one be treated thus;

there, everyone that wished he
could arrange his setting and
could settle comfortably.

**Then, the jongleurs rose,
each one of them wanted to be
heard.**

You would then hear

tunes of many tonalities.

Whoever knew a new air on the
vièle,

a chanson d'amour, a *descort* or a

¹⁶⁵ This is also true for the previous two examples, the *Dictionarius*, the *Sirventés Fadet Jongleur*, as well as all the presented references.

A plus que poc avan si trais.	lay, was trying to put himself as ahead as much as possible.
L'uns viola. (l) lais del Cabrefoil,	One recites the <i>Lai du chèvrefeuille</i> while accompanying it at the vièle, another [recites the lay] of Titagel;
E l'autre cel de Tintagoil;	one sings the lay of the <i>Finz</i>
L'us cantet cels dels Fins Amanz,	<i>Amanz</i> ,
E l'autre cel fes Tristan.	and the other the lai composed by Tristan
L'us menet arpa, l'autre viola;	One plays a harp, the other a vièle;
L'us flaütella, l'autre siula;	one plays the flute, the other whistles a tune,
L'us mena giga, l'autre rota;	one plays a gigue, the other a rota;
L'us diz los motz e l'autre ls nota;	one recites and the other [plays] the notes;
L'us estiva, l'autre flestella;	one plays the bagpipe, other the flageolet
L'us musa, l'autre caramella;	one plays the bagpipe, the other the chalumeau
L'us mandura e l'autr'acorda	one plays the mandora, and the other accompanies the
Lo sauteri ab manicorda;	psaltery on the monochord;
L'us fai lo juec dels bavastelz,	one plays with the puppets,
L'autre jugava de coutelz;	the other has juggled with knives
L'us vai per sol e l'autre tomba;	one crawls on the ground, the other capers, and still another
L'us passet sercle, l'autre sail;	danced with his cup on his hand; one passed through the loops, the other leaps;
Neguns a son mestier non fail.	each one tries not to be insufficient with the requirements of his art.

The *Sirventés Fadet Jongleur* by Guiraut de Calenson, a famous Occitan troubadour, was written at the beginning of the 13th century.¹⁶⁶ Guiraut de

¹⁶⁶ Guiraut de Calenson, *Sirventés Fadet Jongleur*, Occitan, 13th century. Original text presented in Bec (1992:126). Source stated by Bec: F. Pirot, "Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalan des XIIe et XIIIe siècles", *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, no XIV, 1972:565 – 66

Calenson started his career as a jongleur and remained an enthusiastic supporter and protector of the art of *jonglerie* until his death. In 1210, he composed a sermon for his jongleur, Fadet, entitled *Sirventés Fadet Jongleur*.¹⁶⁷ It is a peculiar piece of work, the purpose of which was to offer advice on how to become a great jongleur gaining the favor of the kind of Aragon. Unfortunately, only a small part of the original text has survived to the present day. Yet, the existing fragments create a graphic portrayal of courtly entertainment of the time, revealing the demanding reality of the art of *jonglerie*. Guiraut de Calenson advised his jongleur to learn noble activities, such as playing several musical instruments (the *gigue* included), to talk politely to women, and to recite poetry, next to the *jongleresque* acts of jumping over hooks and juggling with knives.¹⁶⁸

The troubadour suggested that, first of all, the jongleur ‘*Sache bien trouver*’, thus merging the noble function of the troubadour with that of the jongleur. Definitely, distinguished romance authors were likewise connected with the art of *jonglerie*. Chrétien de Troyes, Gautier d’ Arras and Benoit de Saint-Maure were all identified as *trouvères* but were also grouped with minstrels. In the following extract, Guiraut de Calenson mentioned: ‘*E ben temprar la guiga pels sons esclarzir*’, which means ‘Learn to tune the *gigue* well to create clear sounds’. There is no firm indication as to what Guiraut de Calenson meant: for example, was it hard to tune the *gigue* so that special attention was required by the jongleur? Was it difficult to sustain a tuning while

¹⁶⁷ Also known as *Sirventes ensenhamen* and *Conseils aux Jongler*.

¹⁶⁸ Yet, as often the relationships between the troubadours and their jongleurs were rather tense, the possibility of the author mocking his jongleur by putting pressure on him cannot be completely ruled out.

playing the gigue? Or had the gigue a distinctive clear sound that was worthy to be heard?¹⁶⁹

The long extract from the *Sirventés Fadet Jongleur* presented below is included in the *Histoire littéraire des troubadours*.¹⁷⁰ This was written in the 18th-century (ca.1774), by a scholar working at the archives of the library of Louis XVI. His main interest was to gather information on Middle Ages French poetry, as to outline the development of French literature until his time. He based his research on the works of M. de Saint-Palaie, the first ever historian of the troubadours (1740) and also the author of *Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*.

Example 29

Original Text

...Sapchas **trober**
E gen tombar,
E ben parlar, e jocs partir;

Taboreiar

E *tauleiar*
E far *sinphonia* brogir...

Et *citolar*
E *mandurar*
E per catre sercels saillir;

Manicorda
Ab una corda

Modern English

Learn to *trouver*
and to rhyme,
to talk politely, and to nicely
propose a game.

To play the *tambourine*

and the *cymbals*,
and to resound the *symphonie*.

To play the *citole*
and the *mandore*,
and to jump alongside four hooks;

to handle the *manicarde*
that has one string

¹⁶⁹ That the gigue must have had a particular clear sound is an idea also implied by numerous references, all presented later on this chapter.

¹⁷⁰ A work now found at the Special Collections of the University of Edinburgh Library, shelfmark: T*.33.1-3: *Histoire littéraire des troubadours: contenant leurs vies, les extraits de leurs pièces, & plusieurs particularités sur les moeurs, les usages, & l'histoire du douzième & du treizième siècles*. Sainte-Palaye, M. de La Curne de (Jean-Baptiste de La Curne), 1697-1781.

E sedrea s'om vol ben auzir.

Sonetz nota,
Fai la *rota*
Ab detz e ot cordas garnir;

Sapchas *arpas*
E ben temprar
La *guiga* pels sons esclarzir.

Juglar leri,
Del *salteri*,
Faras detz cordas estampir;
Nou estrumenz,
Si be. Is aprens

Ne potz a totz obs retenir.

Et *estivas*
Ab votz pivas
E la *lira* gai retentir;
E del temple,
Per eisemple,
Fai totz los *cascavels* ordir...

and the *guitar* that we, voluntarily,
hear;

Compose a melody
on the *rota*
that has seventeen strings;

learn to play the *harp*,
and to tune
the *gigue* well to create clear
sounds.¹⁷¹

Happy jongleur,
you should resound the
ten strings
of the *psaltery*.
Nine instruments, if you learn to
play them well,
you will be able to hold them in
reservation according to the need.
And the *hornpipes*
in high-pitched sounds
as well as the *lyre* resound;
and of the *tambourine*,
for example,
make all the small *bells* to ring...

Fadet was not a low class grotesque performer, nor was he playing for the lascivious enjoyment of men in taverns. He was a 13th-century jongleur performing in the court of the King of Aragon. The variety of the different skills he had to possess proves the versatility of entertainment required in a court at the time. Perhaps Guiraut de Calenson over-exaggerated by asking his jongleur to be skilful in so many different things. Yet, his words prove that the *jonglerie* was a highly demanding and also competitive profession.

¹⁷¹ The 18th-century text reads:

Accompany on the *gigue* to enliven the air of the *psaltery*. Jongleur you should prepare nine instruments of ten strings.

For the complete quote in 18th-century French see: *Appendix, Literary Sources*

To the present author's knowledge there are only three Italian literary references to the gigue. Yet, all of these reveal that the gigue was held in high esteem within Italian society. Dante associated it with spiritual music, and as will be discussed shortly, the author of *Libro di Motti* clearly implied a connection of the giga with the highest social echelon. In the *Libro di Motti*, there is a direct association of the giga with Cesar's entertainment. This association is in perfect accord with the information offered by French references of the time, as the instrument is placed in the hands of a jongleur who was performing at the court, and so was responsible for the Emperor's enjoyment.¹⁷²

Example 30

Original Text

Giocolatore che sonava la **giga**,
della quale **Cesare** dilettandosi,
l'aveva fatto molto sonare.

Modern English

A jongleur who played the **gigue**
was asked to play it a lot, because
Cesar drew pleasure from it.

An interesting point sufficiently noteworthy to be briefly discussed is that from Bec's writing; it is not clear who the actual writer of the *Libro di Motti* was. Confusion thus is created regarding the dating of the *Libro di Motti*. Bec writes:

In Italian, the occurrences of the *giga*, much less frequent indeed, are almost contemporary with the Spanish attestations: generally, between the 13th and 14th centuries [...] finally, after the 15th century the term is no longer encountered.¹⁷³

¹⁷² Bec (1992) included this important reference to the giga.

¹⁷³ Bec (1992:242):

En italien, les occurrences de giga, à vrai dire assez peu fréquentes, sont à peu près contemporaines des attestations espagnoles: en gros, les XIII^e et XIV^e siècles [...] en somme, là encore, après le XV^e siècle, le terme n'est plus attesté.

He then continues, offering information about the authorship of the *Libro di Motti*:

[...] in the *Libro di Motti*, by Pier del Nero, where one talks about a jongleur who played the gigue.¹⁷⁴

The problem lies in the identification of the assumed author of the book, always according to Bec. Pierre del Nero was a famous translator, copier and publisher based in Florence during Caterina de Medici's reign. In other words, he lived during the 16th century, which is a whole century after the last indicated date, a date also accepted by Bec himself, for the use of the term giga. Pierre del Nero had written a few books, however his main activity was the copying and publishing of ancient texts. Indeed, there is no known Italian reference to the giga after the 14th century. Therefore, it might be more appropriate to attribute the copying and publishing, and not the actual writing of the *Libro di Motti* to Pierre del Nero. After carefully examining the language employed and the manner of narration, it is more possible that the *Libro di Motti* was originally written during the 13th century by an anonymous writer. This hypothesis is further supported by important evidence that the present author came across; this was presented by the philologists who composed the *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*. According to them, the manuscript of the *Libro di Motti* belonged to Pierre del Nero but was not his own work. They assert:¹⁷⁵

Libro di Motti : Manuscript entitled as such that used to belong at first to Pierre del Nero, but was later found amongst the manuscripts of the Libreria de' Guadagni.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Bec (Ibid.:243):

Dans le *Libro di Motti*, de Pier del Nero, où l'on parle d'un giocolatore che sonava la giga.

¹⁷⁵ Italian text:

Testo a penne così intitolate, che fu già di Pierro del Nero, poscia tra I MS. della Libreria de' Guadagni.

¹⁷⁶ Translation by JY with the help of Dr Theodora Stivarou, University of Florence.

L' Intelligenza is an allegorical poem by an anonymous writer, written towards the end of the 13th century.¹⁷⁷ Its context and style of narration shows a very strong influence by French literature of the time, and especially of *Le Roman de la Rose*. There are two interesting lists of musical instruments in this poem. The first is included in stanza 293 – 4: here, the author made a straight parallelism between music-making and magic, following the examples of *Le Bel Inconnu* and *Le Roman de Dolopathos* both already discussed in this chapter. The author, referring to the enchanting power of music wrote:

E audivici dolzi boci e concordanti/e **nobili stumenti** e ben sonanti/Che mi sembravan canti di Serene.

[And I heard soft and concordant voices/and well sounding **noble instruments**/that seemed to me like songs of Sirens].¹⁷⁸

The author continued to a detailed description of which instruments he had seen and heard; the 'noble instruments' mentioned in this stanza are: the organ, played by a virgin accompanying hymns; the harp, playing a lay on Tristan's death in a superb way;¹⁷⁹ the vièle, that made a sweet sound; and the gigue next to the symphonie.¹⁸⁰ The information provided in the above stanza is crucial for two reasons: first, once again, the social role and the allegorical importance of the gigue are defined; it is mentioned next to the harp, vièle, and symphonie, all instruments associated with a noble or religious environment. In the case of *L' Intelligenza*, the context is clearly and deeply religious. Second, it is yet further proof that the vièle was considered a different instrument from the gigue.

¹⁷⁷ *L' Intelligenza Poemetto Adespoto E Anepigrafo*. Biblioteca dei Classici Italiani (2002)

¹⁷⁸ Translation by present author.

¹⁷⁹ Tristan's life and death was a popular story in those years. Many romances and also a great number of lays have been written inspired by this hero.

¹⁸⁰ The pairing of the gigue with the symphonie could be proven to be another element of French influence, as in the majority of French literary references of the time, these two instruments are mentioned together.

Finally, the pairing of the gigue and symphonie so often found in a great number of references, could be a strong indication of their close connection.

Example 31

Stanza: 293-4

Original Text

E audivici dolzi boci e
concordanti,

E **nobili stumenti** e ben sonanti,

Che mi sembravan canti di
Serene.

Quiv' era una donzella ch'
organava

Ismisurate, dolzi melodie,

Co le squillanti boci che sovana,

Angelicali, diletto e pie;

Audi' sonar d'un' arpa, e
smisurava,

Cantand' un lai come Tristan
morie;

D' una dolze **viuola** udi' sonante,

Sonand' una donzella
lo'ndormante;

Audivi suon di **gighe** e
ciunfonie.

Modern English

And I heard soft and
concordant voices,

and well sounding **noble
instruments**

that seemed to me like songs
of Sirens.

There was a young girl who
played on the organ

sweet melodies

and the voices she was
accompanying were

angelic, harmonious and full
of piety.

I heard playing the harp in a
manner which exceeded any
comparison,

singing a lay about Tristan's
death;

I heard the sweet sound of
the **vièle**:

it was a young girl that was
playing in a manner of a
lullaby

I heard the sound of **gigues**
and **symfonies**.

In stanza 295, the author has composed a long list of musical instruments, specifying at the end that he had heard psalteries and other instruments of the nobility too. The ribebe [rebec] is mentioned towards the end of the stanza, making it clear that at least according to the author, the ribebe and the gigue were two different instruments.

Example 32

Stanza: 295

Udivi suon di molto dolci danze

I heard the soft accents of
played dances

In chitarre e carribi smisurati;

on guitars and on numerous
carribi

E trombe e cennamelle in
concordanze,

trumpets and shawms in
[harmonious] agreement,

E cembali alamanni assai triati;

and of the well selected
German cymbals;

Cannon, mezzi cannoni a smisuranze,

of zithers and micanons in
great quantity,
fifes well accorded with the
drums.

Sufoli con tambur ben accordati,

I heard the sounds of a well
played lute

Audivi d' un leuto den sonare,

of rebecs and bagpipes,
gitterns,

Ribebe e otricelli e ceterare,

of psalteries and other
instruments of the nobility.

Salteri ed altri stromenti triati.

**of psalteries and other
instruments of the nobility.**

The *Roman de Mahomet* was written by Alexandre du Pont in Laon at 1258. It has survived in a single manuscript now located at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris [B.N.fr.1553].¹⁸¹ The exact date of this manuscript is unknown. It is believed that it must have been composed between 1285 and 1290, and that several copyists have worked for its completion. The *Roman de Mahomet* is a translation into 13th-century French of an older poem in Latin by Gautier de Compiègne entitled *Otia de Machomete*.¹⁸² The *Otia de Machomete* was written in Chartres between 1137 and 1155; its main subject was the story of Mahomet's [Mohammed] life.¹⁸³ The *Otia de Machomete* has survived in three manuscripts, two of them located at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and one in Rome.¹⁸⁴ Ex. 32 below presents short extracts from both the *Otia* and its Middle Ages translation for a comparative reading.

Example 33

Verses 772 - 776

Otia de Machomete

vv.393-396

Gaudia, prandia,
fercula, pocula,
vasa, **ministros**,

Le Roman de Mahomet

Mainte **vièle**
deliteuse
I aportent li

Modern English

The jongleurs are
carrying a delightful
vièle, a *baudoire* and

¹⁸¹ *Le Roman de Mahomet de Alexandre du Pont (1258)*. Lepage (1977)

¹⁸² Although a translation, *Le Roman de Mahomet* is much longer (almost twice in length) than the original work.

¹⁸³ Apparently, the image of Mahomet portrayed through this work is quite different from what we think of him today. During the Middle Ages, he was thought of as the creator of a deep religious schism rather than the prophet of a new religion. To them, he was an impostor, a heretic, and a pseudo-prophet. People of the Middle Ages were obviously influenced by the long and brutal Crusades. Scholars have suggested that this image was also reinforced by Pierre de Cluny, or else Pierre le Vénérable. While inspecting the Benedictine monasteries in Spain in 1141 he ordered for the translation of the Koran into Latin. For the first time, the 'Livre de l'Ennemi' [the book of the enemy] could be read by the Christian clergy. The context of the Koran was distorted and the heretic image of Mahomet was created.

¹⁸⁴ These are:

- Paris, B.N.lat.8501A, ff.23-32
- Paris, B.N.lat.11332, ff.1-28
- Rome, Vat.Reg.lat.620, ff.33-48v.

pransores, **cytharas**,
cinbala, **sistra**, **liras**,
 pallia, cortinas,
 aurum, lapides
 preciosos,
 ornamenta domus
 quis numerare
 queat?

jouglëour,
 Mainte **baudoire** et
 maint **tabour**.
Harpes, **gigues** et
cyfonies
 Sonnent et
 chanchons
 envoisies.

a **tambourine**.
Harps, **gigues** and
symphonies resound
 and songs are heard.

Although the author of *Le Roman de Machomet*, Alexandre du Pont, has stayed close to the context of the original work, he heavily elaborated it.¹⁸⁵ His French translation of the musical instrument names appearing in the *Otia* presents special interest. Du Pont has interpreted the cytharas, cinbala, sistra and liras mentioned in the original Latin work as vièle, baudoire, tabour, harpes, gigues and cyfonies. He has replaced the names of ancient (Biblical) instruments with ones that would be familiar to a broader audience of his time. Once again, a distinction between the gigue and the vièle is made, while the gigue is mentioned next to the symphonie.

Curiously enough, in the original manuscript of *Le Roman de Machomet* the term gignes is encountered. Both Michel and Ziiolecki have decided that this was a different, yet still not common, spelling of the word gigue, and so have replaced the word 'gignes' with the gigue in their editions.¹⁸⁶ It is rather difficult to translate certain passages in old languages, and especially those in Old French. To do so, the precise meaning of words has to be understood within a modern context. The verbs 'chanter' and 'dire' used in relation to music and

¹⁸⁵ Lepage, the editor of the consulted edition, has characteristically written that Alexandre du Pont needed four lines to say the same thing with *Otia*'s author.

¹⁸⁶ These are respectively:

- Michel (1831)
- Ziiolecki (1887)

musical instruments have long troubled scholars. Verses 774 – 776 of *Le roman de Machomet* read:

Harpes, giques et cyfonies/ sonnent et chanchons envoisies.

At first, this might imply that a certain type of song has been accompanied by the sounds of harps, giques and symphonies. However, to unreservedly accept such a speculation would be somewhat naïve. In both Old French and Old Occitan the verb 'chanter' generally meant 'to play a musical instrument', as for example in *cantant in organis* [to play the organ].¹⁸⁷ Occasionally, when 'proper' singing was implied the author has specified 'cantare de boca'¹⁸⁸ [sing with the mouth] as in 'son estrumen mena e toca [...] l'autres **canta de boca**' [he brings his instrument and starts to play [...] the other sings].¹⁸⁹ Evidence offered by literature of the time points to the assumption that the gique has been used in the same environment where poetry was recited and songs were heard; it is impossible to determine what kind of songs have been performed, and if these have been accompanied by the gique and other musical instruments; even when vocal singing is undeniably mentioned together with musical instruments it is not clear at all how these interacted. It is still not certain whether musical instruments have been played simultaneously with the singing or if they had their own solo part.

Taking the above into consideration, an appropriate translation suggested by the present author of verses 774 – 776 of *Le roman de Machomet* 'Harpes, giques et cyfonies/ sonnent et chanchons envoisies' might be: 'Harps,

¹⁸⁷ The Biblical Jubal, the father of music, was the father of all those who *cantant in organis*, literally those who sing in organs. Point also discussed by Page (1987:187)

¹⁸⁸ Page (1987:187)

¹⁸⁹ Lines 318 – 319 in *Flamenca*. Zumthor (1988)

gigues and symphonies resound and songs are heard'. 'Songs', therefore, could be understood as 'lays' or 'tunes', and not necessarily as vocal singing.

The accompaniment by certain musical instruments of either singing or poetry recitation within a courtly environment is also made explicit in *Le Roman de la rose*.¹⁹⁰

Example 34

Verses: 21025 – 21036

Original Text

Lors chante a haute voiz serie
Touz plains de grant renvoiserie,
En lieu de messe chançonnetes
Des jolis secrez d'amorettes,
Et fait ses instrumenz sonner,

C'on n'i oïst pas dieu tonner,

Qu'il en a de trop de manieres

Et plus en a les mains manieres

C'onques n'ot amphion de tebes:

Harpes a, **gigues** et **rubeles**,

Modern English

Then happily he starts to sing
with a high and clear voice,
as a mass, songs which speak
of the nice secrets of the lovers,
and he plays his instruments so
loudly,

that we would not hear God
thunder anymore,

because he knows many
different ways

and that his hands are more
skilful

that were never those of
Amphion of Thebes:

He has harps, **gigues** and

¹⁹⁰ On a letter to Philippe IV Jean has mentioned:

Je, Jehans de Meun, qui jadis ou Rommant de la Rose, puisque Jalousie ot mis en prison Bel Accueil, enseignai la maniere dou chastel prendre et da la rose cuillir.

Le roman de la rose is considered one of the most influential and most read works of the Middle Ages. More than three-hundred manuscripts, a revision by Gui Mori towards the end of the 13th century, two prose versions, and several editions since the beginning of printing, all testify to the great impact and success of this work. *Le roman de la rose* is divided into two parts. The first poem was composed around 1230 by an author called Guillaume de Lorris (Loiret) and is 4000 verses long. The second part was written by a Parisian clerk called Jean de Meun between 1269 and 1278. For the second part, from which the following extract is taken, the manuscript BN fr. 378 has been consulted, as according to G. Paris:

L'écriture de ce manuscrit, précieux comme l'une des transcriptions les plus anciennes du Roman, est très bonne [...]. Une de plus anciennes et des meilleures leçons du Roman de la rose. [The writing of this manuscript, invaluable as it is one of the oldest transcriptions of the novel, is very good [...]. It is one of the oldest and greater readings of the Romance of the Rose].

G. Paris, *Les Manuscrits Français*, III, p.246, as quoted in Strubel's edition.

Si ra quitaires et leüz
 Por soi deporter esleüz.

rebecs,
 he also has guitars and lutes
 that he chose for his
 entertainment.

Furthermore, the French *Les Enfances Godefroi* is another example of the straight association of the instrument called a gigue with jongleurs, poetry recitation and a courtly environment.¹⁹¹ It was one of the most popular chansons de geste and part of the Old French Crusade Cycle.¹⁹² All the texts of this cycle were written between 1350 and 1425, in north-eastern France, most possibly in the area of Picardy. *Les Enfances Godefroi* includes a short but illustrative description of a banquet at the court. It seems that the vièle, psaltery, gigue and harp are the instruments that the jongleurs played after the meal for the relaxation of the noble men. As Bowles has pointed out, the Middle Ages court preferred the sound of *bas* instruments to accompany their food and drink, as it was believed that their sound was soothing and so helped the digestion. Bowles has primarily based his assumption on Philippe de Mézières' words, who in his *Le Songe du viel pèlerin* wrote:

It is also a proper thing to have minstrels with *bas* instruments, not for amusement, but to help the digestion of your royal person.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Middle Ages literature celebrated the theme of the epic hero. Especially during the 13th and 14th centuries, several long epic poems were written recounting the extraordinary childhood and destiny of these brave men; the hero was selected by God at an early age, and so was able to resolve treachery successfully. These epic cycles were named by their authors as *Les Enfances*.

¹⁹² Next to *Les Enfances Godefroi* were the:

- *Les Enfances Guillaume*
- *Les Enfances Vivien*
- *Les Enfances Garin*
- *Les Enfances Renier* (Cycle of Guillaume d'Orange)
- *Les Enfances Ogier*
- *Les Enfances Doon* (Rebellious Vassal Cycle)
- *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*.

¹⁹³ Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Fr.9201, fol.102, cited in Bowles (1958). Original source: Pirro (1930:15):
 Encore est chose convenable que tu aies des menestreaux à bas instrumens, pour aucune recreation, faisant digestion de ta personne royale.

In the extract quoted below the author has implied the existence of three different groups of entertainers, information also in agreement with the words of Thomas de Cabham and the image recreated in *Flamenca*. In this case of *Les Enfances* however, the entertainers are divided into those who sing while accompanying themselves on the vièle, those who recite a romance or a chanson de geste, and those who play instrumental music.

Example 35

Line 230

Original Text

Après mengier, vièlent et cantent li
jogler.

Romans et aventures content li
conteor,
sonent sauters et gigles, harpent cil
harpeor.

Modern English

After the dinner, the jongleur plays
the vièle and sings.

The *conteor* [poet/narrator] narrates
romances and adventures
psalteries and gigles sound, and
the harper plays the harp.

The *Libro de Alexandro* is a typical 13th-century *mester de clerecía* work, and the earliest Spanish text on the life of Alexander the Great. It is based on mainly two sources, the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Chântillon written probably between 1178 and 1182, and the *Roman d' Alexandre*.¹⁹⁴ In the *Libro de Alexandro* a group of jongleurs arrives at the court carrying various musical instruments, the gigue included, causing thus a musical 'riot':

¹⁹⁴ Although its author remains anonymous, it is sometimes attributed to Gonzalo de Berceo. No faithful copy of the original work has survived; however, two full length manuscripts and a few fragments of the poem have been preserved. The older manuscript is Manuscript V-5-n10 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Unfortunately, it lacks much material, as it skips from stanza 1232 to 1344. The handwriting of this manuscript is dated from the late 13th or 14th century. The most complete manuscript of the *Libro de Alexandro* is the Manuscript Espagnol 488; it dates from the 15th century, and is now located at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Both manuscripts present contradictory information regarding the author and the original dialect employed, and textual differences between numerous lines are noticeable. The edition by Cañas (1988), reads:

El pleit de los juglares/ y avié *sinfonias/ albogues e salterio/ guitarra e viola/* era fiera riota:/
Farpa, giga e rota/ citola que más trota/ que las cuitas enbota.

Example 36¹⁹⁵

Stanza 1545

Original Text

Manuscript
Espagnol 488,
Bibliothèque
Nationale

El pleyt de los
juglares era fiero
Rioto

Ay auje çinfonjas
farpa giga e rota

alboges e falterio,
çitola que maf trota

gitarra s viola que
las cuerdas enbota.

Original Text

Manuscript V-5-
n10¹⁹⁷

El grupo de juglares
traía burla loca:

habbí allí
zamponās, harpa,
giga y rota

albogues y salterio,
cítara que más trota

Guitarra y viola
que las cuitas
embota.

Modern
English¹⁹⁶

The jongleurs's
dispute was a
savage riot:

there were
symphonies, harp,
gigue and rote,

castanets and
psaltery, citola that
creates rush

guitar and vièle that
eases the troubles.

The *Gudrunlied* is a Middle High German popular epic unfolding the history and legends of three generations.¹⁹⁸ Next to the *Nibelungenlied* it is considered one of the most important German epics.¹⁹⁹ Its subject matter, female suffering, reveals a close connection with French literature as well as elements from the Norse sagas.²⁰⁰ Stanza 49 describes a court celebration where jongleurs

¹⁹⁵ Willis (1934)

¹⁹⁶ Translation by present author with the help of Pedro Branco Dos Santos Bento

¹⁹⁷ Catena (1985)

¹⁹⁸ Anonymous, *Gudrunlied* [or else *Kudrunlied*], 1210 – 1240. Quoted in Bec (1992:148). Original source: Riedel (1961). English translation by present author mostly based on Bec's French translation of the text:

On entendit alors retentir les sons puissants des *buccines*, et, quoi qu'ils jouassent, fût-ce sur la *flûte*, la *harpe*, la *rote* ou de la *voix*, ou encore sur le *fifre* ou sur la *gigue*, ils s'y donnaient avec beaucoup d'application; et ils en reçurent d'autant plus de beaux vêtements.

¹⁹⁹ As several discrepancies are noticed throughout the work, especially regarding the time of events, it is assumed that, most possibly, it was the work of several authors.

²⁰⁰ Spence (1997:153):

were participating, playing various musical instruments. Their great efforts to impress the King with their musical abilities are emphasised; as a result of their skilful playing jongleurs received rich clothing from the King.²⁰¹

Example 37

Stanza 49

Original Text

Pusûnen unde trumben vil lûte
man dô vernam
Vloiten unde harpen, swes man dâ
began,
Rotten unde singen, des vlizzen si
sich sêre,
Phîfen unde gîgen in wart der
guoten kleider deste mêre.

Modern English

Then they intended to echo the
powerful sound of the buisines
and, no matter what they played,
the flute, the harp,
the rota or singing or the fife or the
gigue
they devoted themselves to it with
a lot of effort, and they accepted
the most beautiful clothing from it.

To the 13th century, I believe, belongs the idea of female suffering as subject for epic treatment; the story of Gudrun may thus be connected with the French *berte aux grans pieds*, and links itself on to the popular 14th-century tale of the patient grizzel, as treated by Boccaccio and Chaucer.

Original quote by Ludlow (1865)

²⁰¹ Apparently, this was a common practice during the Middle Ages; a fine jongleur would be expected to receive rich garments with silver or golden details if his service to the court was deemed of a satisfactory level.

The case of the Nordic Sagas

The sagas are the foundation of the Northern literary tradition. Theological issues, moral teachings and philosophical questions, often disguised under allegorical paraphrases, occupied a prominent place in the writings of European authors. In contrast, the scalds and the saga writers had other interests. Most sagas are quasi-historical texts written in prose, focusing on genealogical history, warfare and politics. Although they were written between the 12th and 14th centuries, they describe historical events that took place amongst the Norse and Celtic inhabitants of Iceland during the period of the Icelandic Commonwealth in the 10th and 11th centuries. It is believed that much of the written material originated in the oral narratives that had been transmitted during earlier times. Craigie writes:

The first writers of these traditions probably did not add much of their own to the story as they had received it, and therefore saw no good grounds for claiming the title of authors. In other words, the ink and parchment were at first little more than a substitute for the human memory, and the skill of the teller or reader was still of more importance than the art of the writer.²⁰²

The sagas differ from the writings of Middle Ages Western Europe in that they use a quite free language and loose form; their writers were not clerics but cultured laymen, and the language employed was that of the people and not of the very few. The element of the supernatural and a tendency towards the imaginary are evident in these stories, and so the sagas should not be treated as genuine historical documents. On the other hand, sagas recreate a clear image of the Middle Ages Icelandic and Scandinavian societies. More importantly, as the medieval Norse writers were spending a large part of their life at the royal court, they were in the best possible position to literally recreate the courtly life

²⁰² Craigie (1913:27)

of their time. Three sagas are discussed below: all three of them include references to an instrument called 'gigja'. The gigja was apparently a fiddle; however, there is no evidence as to what kind of fiddle the gigja was, for example, how many strings it had and how it was played. The entry in the CVG offers the following terminology:

Example 38

Gígja: [Germ, geige; mid. H. G. gtge; old Fr. gigue; and t o jig in Scot, means to play the fiddle, while in Engl. a jig is a lively dance]: fiddle, violin. This instrument was known at an early age, as a lawyer in Iceland in the first part of the 10th century was called gigja, probably because of his eloquent pleading of his clear voice".²⁰³

The lawyer known as Gigja mentioned above, is one of the main characters in *Njáls saga*: Lord Mord Gigja.²⁰⁴ He was not an imaginary person. There are several references, dating from the 10th century and ranging from law documents to historic accounts, to a lawyer of a great influence who lived in the south of Iceland during the 10th century. His nickname was, indeed, Gigja.

Njáls saga includes the oldest known reference to the term 'gigja' as, although it was written during the last third (or quarter) of the 13th century, it dealt with events and characters of the 11th century.²⁰⁵ It is set in the south of Iceland, in the year 1000, and discusses the period before and after the conversion to Christianity. According to all the consulted dictionaries of Old

²⁰³ Cleasby, Vigfusson & Craigie (1957)

²⁰⁴ *Brennu-Njáls saga*, Iceland, 13th century *Njáls saga* is the longest and perhaps most important of all the Icelandic sagas. Also known as the *Saga of Burnt Njal*. The translation presented here follows the text in *Íslensk Fornrit XII*, based on the 14th-century vellum manuscript Mōðruvallabók. The author was particularly preoccupied with the complexities of legal procedures and especially with the: 'inadequacy of law to resolve deep human conflicts'. Hreinsson (1997:335)

²⁰⁵ *Njáls saga* is based on a complex plot with rather vivid scenes reflecting the conflicts between the first generations of Norse settlers in newly formed Iceland. Iceland was in this time a remote, decentralised society with a rich legal tradition but no organized executive power.

Icelandic and Norse, 'gigja' had only one definition: some kind of fiddle.²⁰⁶ Therefore, all the translators who have worked on *Njáls saga* have referred to this powerful lawyer as Lord Fiddle.

The fact that the word 'gigja' was well known in Iceland during the 10th century, so to be used as a nickname for Lord Mord, is evidence for the instrument's early appearance (or even the instrument's regional origin, although this might be a far-stretched speculation) from the Nordic countries. The saga opens with the following words:

Chapter 1: *Of Mord Gigja*. There was a man named Mord, whose nickname was *Gigja*. He was the son of Sighvat the Red, and he lived at Voll in the Rangarvellir district. He was a powerful chieftain and strong in pressing lawsuits. He was so learned in the law that no judgments were thought lawful unless he had a hand in them.²⁰⁷

Although *Njáls saga* presents the earliest reference to the word 'gigja', in the Nordic literature this term first appeared as a name for a musical instrument in *Sverrissaga*.²⁰⁸ This work describes the life of King Sverrir who reigned between 1184 and 1202.²⁰⁹ Interestingly enough, the chapter bearing the title *Of*

²⁰⁶ For information on the dictionaries consulted, see: Bibliography.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*:335-336

²⁰⁸ Four ancient manuscripts containing the *Sverrissaga* have survived to the present day. These are the following, arranged according to age:

- A.M. 327, 4to, in the University Library of Copenhagen. The compilers of the catalogue of the Arna-Magnæan manuscript date it as c.1290.
- A.M. 47 fol., in the University Library of Copenhagen. Like A.M. 327, 4to, it is written in Norway by an Icelander. The compilers of the A.M. Catalogue attribute it to the first half of the 14th century.
- Flateyjar-bok, in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. This manuscript was written in Iceland between 1370 and 1380.
- A.M. 81a fol., in the University Library of Copenhagen. It is known as the Skalhólts-bok Yngsta, and is dated by Dr. Vigfusson as ca. 1430.

²⁰⁹ The question of the authorship of the *Sverrissaga* presents no real difficulty, for the Prologue states that it was written:

According to the book that Abbot Karl Jonsson first wrote when King Sverrir himself sat over him and settled what he should write.

the Icelandic Poet Mani and King Magnus, is only found in the oldest manuscript, A.M. 327, 4to. The story of the chapter is also known as the *Tale of Mani the Poet* [*Mána páttur skalds*]. In this, King Magnus Erlandsen of Norway, together with two of his fellow noblemen, are sitting in the great hall of the castle watching two jongleurs performing several tricks. The jongleurs also had two little dogs trained to jump over a stick when in presence of men in rank; the nobler the spectator, the higher the jump they would make. A stranger to all of them, the great poet Skald Maane disguised as a beggar, joined their company. The King asked him to recite a story for their enjoyment; when the poet did so, the jongleurs arrogantly ignored him. Then, the King asked the poet to improvise a short poem to challenge and ridicule the jongleurs. Maane immediately improvised two stanzas. The first one is:²¹⁰

Example 39

Original Text

Slægr feR gaR með gígiu

gíN er her comit inni,
meiðr hefir fcialladar fcoða
fcripa lat oc pipu.
Reccr lætr raða bickiu
reckit fcuallðr firir alldir.

fcolot lyði því þioðir
pat er fcap yfir ftaf lapa.

Modern English

With **fiddle** and pipe the cunning
fellow fares,
The juggler brings his
scurrilous gestures here.
Over the rail he makes
the red dog leap
to amuse the men. A merry show
indeed.
Pray stop this horrid shout,
men should not listen.

The second stanza runs as follows:

Sverrissaga. Sephton (1899:1)

²¹⁰ English translation by Sephton (Ibid.)

Example 40

Original Text

Gigian syngir þar er ganga

Gripa menn til pipu

Færa folku ftora

Fram leicarar bleikir

Vndr er hvæ augum vændir

Um fa er þytr I trumbu

Kníðan lit ec a caða

Kiapt oc blafna hvapta.

Modern English

The fiddle **sounds**²¹¹ [*sic.*, **to sing**], they strut,

They grip the pipe,

The chalk-faced fellows

their foolish antics play;

'tis wonderful to watch

the rolling eyes of him

That sounds the trump, and then to see

the rascal's puckered chops and cheeks blown out!

At first, both aforementioned references do not reveal much about the actual playing of the gigja. However, the verb 'sound / sing' of the second reference could suggest, at least according to a modern understanding of the verb, the use of a bow. Nonetheless, these are the best testimonies to the gigue's social role in the Nordic countries during the saga years.

Following on the above detailed descriptions of courtly entertainment, it could be assumed that the music played on the gigue must have been cheerful, with some amusing, witty elements. Dance music has a euphoric effect on people. This assumption is in agreement with the etymological definition of the verb 'giguer' offered by dictionaries of Old French. According to them, the verb 'giguer' also meant 'to romp around, to frolic':

Gigeuor: gigueour, jouer de l'instrument appelé gigue. **Giguer, ginguier, jynguer:** folâtrer.²¹²

²¹¹ *An Icelandic – English dictionary* (footnote 6):

SYNGJA, pres. syng; pret. saung or söng, pl. sungu; subj. syngi; imperat. syng, syngdu; part. sunginn; older syngva, and then even sounded singva, as seen from rhymes, þings, singva: **to sing**, II. **to sing, in tunes; to sing a hymn**. In an eccl. Sense, **to sing the mass**.

It is not illogical therefore, to assume that the most likely form of music performed on the gigue during the above social circumstances would be some kind of dance.

As an instrument that was bowed, the gigue first appeared in the *Didrik chronicle* of the 13th century.²¹³ In addition, the reference quoted below makes clear that by the 13th century in Sweden the fiddle and the gigue were two different instruments. In this epic, the story of the King Isung of Bertangaland (also a good minstrel) who visited King Osanttrix is told; when King Isung was asked what he was capable of doing he replied as follows:²¹⁴

Example 41

We play nothing in Vilkingaland, which I cannot play better than the others. I know how to sing, to play the harp, and to stroke the **fiddle** and the **gigue** and all kinds of stringed instruments.

²¹² Lacombe (1765-67)

²¹³ *Sagan om Didrik av Bern* or the *Didrik chronicle*. The Nordic Membrane of 13th century, which retells the Theoderic or Didric saga, and an Old Swedish version known as Theoderic Chronicle, have preserved the true core of the Nibelungs story to a remarkable extent. Translation by Rolf Badenhausen.

²¹⁴ *Sagan om Didrik av Bern* (Hand A), enligt Sko 115, 116. Texten är inskriven efter SFSS 10 av Birgitta Hedbäck och Lars-Olof Delsing vid institutionen för nordiska språk i Lund. Inskrivningen har delvis bekostats av medel från Lunds universitet.

The gigue as a noble object

The *Libro de Apolonius*, the first fine example of the *Mester de Clerecía*,²¹⁵ was written during the first half of the 13th century bearing the title *Apolonius*; the original manuscript was discovered in the 18th century by Rodriguez de Castro. It is now preserved in the manuscript III-K-4 of the Biblioteca del Escorial next to two other poems of 13th-century Spanish literature: the *Libro de la Infancia y muerte de Jesús* [Book of the Childhood and death of Jesus], and *la Vida de Santa María Egipciana* [the Life of Santa Maria Egipciana]. The *Libro de Apolonio* is based on a famous medieval novel entitled *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, written between the 3rd and 5th centuries and attributed to Celio Symposium, which in turn was modelled after a Byzantine novel. Brownlee writes:

The *Libro de Apolonio* has been classified as pertaining to the romance subgenre known as "Greek romance" or "Byzantine novel", while said to contain in addition certain religious overtones.²¹⁶

The author of the *Apolonius* did not produce a mere translation of its archetype, but on the contrary created an original work, the purpose of which was to morally educate the audience. García writes:

In light of the analysis, it seems that the poem was intended to be read aloud to a homogeneous audience in a closed and learned context (perhaps clerical, but more likely courtly), which would allow the public to have direct or indirect access to the poem as a whole, through visual contact with the codex and/or through attendance in successive reading sessions.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ During the middle of the 13th century, the first forms of Spanish poetry written in the Romance language were composed. Their authors were usually clergymen which followed older Latin models, and who were familiar with French poetry of the time. This style of writing is known as "mester de clerecía", while mester signifies 'profession' and derives from *ministerium*. For further reading see: Weiss (2006)

²¹⁶ Scordilis - Brownlee (1983)

²¹⁷ García (2003)

As the *clerigo* wished to cover all aspects of human perfection, from moral awareness to social development and establishment, the Greco-Roman ideals had to be adjusted to suit the cultural reality of a 13th-century well educated Spanish audience, courtly or clerical. The guidelines for this adaptation were, of course, the exposition of Christian values which reflected contemporary society.²¹⁸ The main character of the novel, Apolonius, merged the wisdom of clerkly knowledge and the authority of Spanish nobility. He was the King of Tyre who had lost his Kingdom and so had to travel to foreign lands, always in disguise, until eventually he was shipwrecked on a foreign soil. His adventures represented the constant fight humans have to endure against temptation for the salvation of their souls. Music played a crucial role in the moral awareness of the audience. Apolonius, as the representative of clerkly knowledge, had a profound knowledge of music, and was also a skilful musician. Although he was in perfect disguise when he arrived at the court of Architrastes, King of Pentapolin, his noble origin was revealed when he was asked to perform a lay on the rota or the giga. This was part of a musical 'contest' between Luciana, the daughter of the King, and the stranger, which aimed to prove who was more gifted in playing on a stringed instrument. As a result of Apolonius' musical virtuosity Luciana fell in love with him almost immediately. Upon hearing his performance, the audience unanimously agreed that he was more gifted than either Apollo or Orpheus (191b). In other words, his skill of playing music beautifully not only helped him to prove to the court that he was who he claimed to be (a King), and so establish himself as their equal, but also gave him the unconditional love of a noble woman.

²¹⁸ Brownlee refers to the adaptation of subjects of antiquity to suit Christian beliefs as the 'process of medievalisation'.

The translation of the original Spanish novel into English presents some, perhaps expected by now, problems in musical instrument nomenclature. Once again, the giga is translated as a rebeck while the rota is understood as lira. Surprisingly though, the vihuela is not replaced with the obvious vièle but the term rebeck is chosen. In this way, the translators have implied that the giga and the vihuela were one and the same instrument, the rebeck. The author of the *Apolonius* though, did not necessarily suggest such a thing; he clearly referred to three different instruments, the rota, the giga, and the vihuela. The fact that Apolonius when asked to perform a lay on the rota or the giga took a vihuela, could be interpreted as an indication of these three instruments being closely related, as they were all stringed, bowed instruments associated with a noble environment.

Example 42²¹⁹

Stanza 184, 'Tañe Luciana e invita Apolonio'²²⁰

Original Text

Amigo, dixo ella, sí Dios te
benediga,
Por amor, si la has, de la tu dulce
amiga,
Que cantes una laude en **rota** ho en
giga:

Modern English

[My friend] She said, if you wish
God to bless you,
if your friends you love,
you must now play **rebeck** or
harp²²¹

Example 43

Stanza 185, 'Tañe Apolonio y es admirado por todos'²²²

Original Text

Modern English

²¹⁹ *The Book of Apollonius*. Translation by: Grismer & Atkins (1936)

²²⁰ "Luciana invites Apolonio"

²²¹ Notes by the editor: 184c: *rota*: 'especie de *lira* o *arpa*' [kind of *lira* or *harp*]; *giga* 'especie de *laud* de arco' [kind of bowed *lute*].

²²² "Apolonio is admired by all".

Chapter three

Non quiso Apolonio la dueña contrastar, Priso una vihuela e sópola temprar;	The stranger bowed to her decree, he tuned the rebeck skilfully;
Dixo que sin corona non sabrié violar ,	But then he said he knew not how
Non queria – maguer pobre- su dignidat baxar.	to play with no crown on his brow.

Wace's *Le Roman de Brut* is the earliest known vernacular chronicle of British history. It is one of the most important historiographical works of the Middle Ages, as the author has secured a 'safe' balance between historical facts and fiction. Although in the Middle Ages a historical record was notoriously a mixture of evidence and the imaginary, some Middle Ages historiographers, Wace included, have made efforts to separate to a certain extent the one from the other. The account of the romance has largely derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, written around 1138, which Wace translated into octosyllabic French couplets twenty years later.²²³ The climax of the story is the reign of King Arthur, and so special attention has been paid to the description of the everyday life in the Arthurian court. Wace's writing style differs from Monmouth's in that Wace was interested in portraying the human emotions through his writing. He gave special prominence to the lavish description of courtly festivities, thus creating a lively image of the courtly life. His great fondness for music is especially evident in the warm and admirable

²²³ *La geste du roi Arthur selon le Roman de Brut de Wace et l'Historia Regum Britanniae de Geoffroy de Monmouth* (Paris, 1993)

Weiss discusses (2006:xviii):

'Translate' in the Middle Ages did not have the narrow meaning it does today, and Wace, in bringing Geoffrey's 'history' to a yet larger audience unversed in Latin, felt free to amplify and embellish his chronicle. Yet he stuck very closely to the outline, and often even the detail of the events there. For the most part it is in the particularities which Wace adds to the narrative that the atmosphere and flavour of his account is captured. These details often point to Wace's own conception of the story and what was most important about it for him.

description of King Blegabret. In verses 3698 - 3710 the author referred to this great King as follows:²²⁴

He was master of every instrument/and knowledgeable about every sort of singing.../The people of his time/ called him the god of minstrels/and the god of singing. /The King was high-spirited/everyone followed him joyfully/and he was always jolly/never cruel or angry.

Page wrote that in the Middle Ages French narrative fiction:

Many epic and romance heroes are praised for their accomplishments and education [...] It is exceptionally rare for a male to be praised for an ability to sing.²²⁵

Wace not only praised the profound musical knowledge and skills of King Blegabret, but also considered these to be the grounds for his successful leadership: 'the King was high-spirited (never cruel or angry). Everyone followed him joyfully'. The author's words reflect the idea of music having the power to sooth the human soul, in the same way that Apollo tamed the wild beasts with his lyre, and the gigue were pleasing the ears of Jove. King Blegabret was a skilful musician, a master of musical instruments; he knew how to sing in all the different styles and how to play eight musical instruments. Wace enhanced Blegabret's literary character with certain noble qualities by emphasising his musical skills. Therefore, music and certain musical instruments were used as literary attributes for the portrayal of Blegabret's status, ethos and reputation.

²²⁴ Weiss: Ibid.

²²⁵ Page (1987:159)

Example 44

Verses: 3690 – 3710 – ‘King Lud and London’

Original Text

Emprés cel noble duneür
 Fu reis Cap, e puis Oënus,
 Emprés celui fu Sillius,
 Mais cist vesqui mult petitet.
 Emprés lui regna Blegabret.
 Cist sout de nature de chant,

 Unches hom plus n'en sout, ne
 tant;
 De tuz estrumenz sout maistrie
 Si tout de tute chanterie,

 Mult sout de lais, mult sout de
 note,
 De vièle sout e de rote,

 De harpe sout e de chorum,
 [De lire e de psalterium].
 Pur ço qu'il out de chant tel sens,

 Diseient la gent en sun tens
 Ke il ert dues des juleors
 E dues de tuz les chanteors.
 Li reis ert mult de grant deduit,
 Pur joie le siueient tuit,
 El il esteit tuz tens joius,
 Unches nefu fel ne irus.

Modern English

After this noble giver,
 Cap was King, and then Oenus,
 And after him Sillius,
 But he lived for a short time.
 After him reigned Blegabret.
 He knew about the properties of
 song;
 No one ever knew more nor so
 much.
 He was master of every instrument
 And knowledgeable about every
 sort of singing.
 He knew all about lays and about
 melodies
 He knew how to play the viol and
 the rote,
 The harp and the *chorum*,
The lyre and the psaltery.
 Because he understood singing so
 well,
 The people of his time
 called him the god of minstrels
 And the god of singing.
 The King was high-spirited,
 Everyone followed him joyfully,
 And he was always jolly,
 Never cruel or angry.

A later manuscript of *Le Romand De Brut*, MS J, located in Paris at Bibl. Nat. [BN fonds fr. 1416] displays an extra short passage starting on verses 3702 (**De lire e de psalterium...**). Interestingly enough, this added extract included two more instruments, the gigue and the symphonie:²²⁶

²²⁶ MS J, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, BN fonds fr. 1416; Cont., dated 1292.

De **gighe** sot de **symphonie** / si savoit assés d'armonie/de tous giex sot a grant plenté/plains fu de debonnaireté.

The date of manuscript J is estimated as 1292. Wace died in ca.1174, and so the above date indicates that this manuscript could not have been written by Wace; it must have been the much later work of a copyist. Within *Le Romand de Brut*, Wace himself referred to musical instruments on two different occasions. The first one has already been presented as example 44; the second reference is found during the description of the court festivities for Arthur's Coronation (verses 10547-53). The gigue is not mentioned there either.²²⁷ However, that should not come as a surprise. Wace composed his romance in ca.1160, and between the time-period 1150-1160 there are no known French literary references to the gigue. In fact, the first established French reference to the gigue dates from 1165 (*Le Roman de Troie*). On the other hand, an increase in the popularity of use of the term 'gigue' is noticeable in French works composed between 1165-1258. Therefore, it would be logical to assume that the inclusion of the terms gigue and symphonie could have been a textual alteration made by a later copyist. By the time this copyist worked on the 'archetype' text, the gigue was quite popular in France. If this was the case, and as he was writing for a much later public, his textual interaction would modernise the older text.

Der Busant is an anonymous German tale of romance and adventure written during the beginning of the 14th century in the Alsatian dialect. Its theme is the love between the son of the King of England and the daughter of the King

²²⁷ This passage reads:

Rotruenges e novels suns/ Vièleüres, alis de notes/ Lais de vièles, lais de rotes/ Lais de harpes, lais de frestels/ Lires, tympes e chalamels/ Symphonies, psalteriuns/ Monacordes, timbres, coruns.

[Melodies sung to the rote and new tunes/ Fiddle music, lays with melodies/ Lays with on fiddles, lays on rotes/ Lays on harps, lays on flutes/ Lyres, drums and shawms/ Bagpipes, psalteries, monochords/ Tambourines and choruns].

of France.²²⁸ *Der Busant* includes an interesting but also puzzling reference to the gîge. In verses 397 – 411 an order for a particularly precious *fedele* has been placed; this *fedele* had to be an instrument of a noble appearance and quality as it was to be played by a prince. The strings had to be made out of silk, the neck had to be covered in gold, precious stones and noble ivory, and the pegs had to be golden as well. After this lavish description of the desired instrument (*fedele*) we are told that the 'gîge was ready'. In other words, the terms *fedele* and gîge were used synonymously. This has created some confusion as to whether the *fedele* and the gîge were one and the same instrument. However, it might be more appropriate to assume that the German term *fedele* was used in a generic way describing a type of instrument (all stringed bowed ones), while the gîge was an instrument with certain unique characteristics. As has been noticed several times in this chapter, all literary sources associate the gigue with a 'dignified' (noble or religious) environment; yet, as no Middle Ages organological treatise providing information on the construction of a gigue has been found so far, the materials used for its construction are unknown. It is known that during the Middle Ages in the Continent the preferred materials for the strings were gut, metal and grass, while in Asia they additionally used silk. The English Franciscan Bartholomaeus Anglicus wrote in ca. 1230 the *De Proprietatibus* where he mentioned:

²²⁸ The reader witnesses the adventures of the young couple who have decided to escape when they discover that the princess is to be forced into an arranged diplomatic marriage. The story takes a dark twist when a hawk steals the princess' ring. The prince chases it but loses his way back to his beloved. He falls into madness; however, the story finishes with their reunion following his recovery. It was a very well known tale that has also inspired the creation of the 16th-century Rhenish tapestries illustrating its story. The tapestries of *Der Busant* were exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the exhibition *Mirror of the Medieval World* in 1999.

Sicut chorde facte de intestinis luporum in vigella vel in cothara posite cum chordis factis de intestinis ouium eas destruunt et corrumpunt.²²⁹

This was translated by John of Trevisa in 1398/9 as:

Strengis imade of guttes of wolues destroyep and fretip and corrupip strengis imade of guttis of schiepe ðif hit so be þat þey beþ so isette among them as in fethele or in harpe.

The possibility of the *gîge* having silken strings and precious stones should, perhaps, be thought of as a metaphor highlighting the importance and noble quality of the instrument. On the other hand, this *gîge* could have been a special type of instrument encountered in a region of Germany; as already discussed, there is a possibility that Adenet le Roi has implied this in his *Roman de Cleomadès* when writing 'Et des **gigueours d'Alemaigne**'.

The passage quoted below was not included in the first published edition of the text by F.H. von der Hagen. It is found in Moscow, Central'niy gosudarstvenniy arkhiv drevnikh aktov, Fond no. 181, ed. Hr. 1405, f.74v – 75.²³⁰

Example 45

Verses 397 - 411

Original Text

Da hisz er ym bereyden
mit syden seiten

ein *fedele* erzuget wol
als sie ein furst foren sal.
Der korper gezieret,
das lijt gebriewieret
mit golde und mit gesteine
von edelm hellfen beyne.

Modern English

Then he commanded a fine fiddle
With silk strings to be prepared for
him

As if it were for
a prince to use;
the body decorated,
the neck inlaid
with gold, precious stones
and noble ivory.

²²⁹ Both references quoted in Remnant (1986:20)

²³⁰ Information and translation in Page (1987:241)

Hinder dem swebet ein palmat
siden
borte; sie waz an allen orten

mit gulden borten uber leit.
Alsus die *gîge* was bereit.
Die nagel woren guldin.
der *gygen* sag von syden fin

gewircket wol mit bylden clar.

Below the neck there hung

a band of soft silk; the fiddle was
all adorned
with golden (?) braid of silk.
Thus the *gîge* was made.
The pegs were golden,
and the fiddle-bag [*sic.* **gygen-bag**]
seemed to be of fine silk
embroidered with beautiful
pictures.

Finally, the last work examined in this chapter is *Les Miracles de la Vierge* by Gautier de Coincy composed in the early 13th century.²³¹ In the extract found below, the author clearly states that the *gigue*, next to the *vièle*, the psaltery and the organ was used for 'the adoration of God'; as if in reminiscence of De Garlandia's words, de Coincy also mentions that 'the clergy appreciate its [the *gigue*'s] sounds'. To the present author's understanding this could only mean one thing: that these particular instruments, at least according to Gautier de Coincy, were somehow used during the service. However, De Coincy makes clear that if the musician performing on these instruments is not a believer, a Christian devotee, then his praises would not be heard by God, no matter the pleasing sound these instruments make. He writes:

La vièle sert le culte de Dieu [...] les gens d' église en apprécient les sons, au même titre que ceux de l' orgue, du psaltérion, et de la gigue. La clere vois plaisant et bele, le son de harpe et de vièle, De psaltere, d'orgue, de gigue, Ne prise pas Dieux une figure, S'il n'a ou cuer devoción.

[The vièle serves for the adoration of God [...] the clergy appreciates its sounds, in the same way as those of the organ, psaltery, and of the *gigue*. The clear, pleasing and beautiful voice, the sound of the harp and vièle, of the psaltery,

²³¹ Or else: *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* (1177-1236). Koenig (1955)

organ, and of the gigue, God does not hold them worthy if there is not devotion in the musician's heart].²³²

Conclusions

In this chapter, writings from France, Spain, Italy, Germany and the Nordic countries have been examined, and a period of approximately four hundred years, from the 10th to the 14th centuries, has been covered. References found to the musical instrument called a gigue have been isolated and discussed independently of the rest of the text. This allowed for the close examination of the social context the gigue was associated with. It has been noticed, that the gigue was never placed within a dubious environment; on the contrary, it was one of the musical instruments repeatedly placed within a courtly setting either in the hands of a *trouvère*, a *jongleur*, or even a prince. It is clear that the gigue was closely related to the courtly poetry of the time, and the ability to play on it was considered one of the necessary skills for a fine *jongleur*; however, no information exists regarding the performance practice of the time, and so it is still uncertain whether the gigue was played during the recitation of poetry, before, after or in between the various stanzas. In addition, the kind of music would one play on the gigue is yet unknown. Following particular sources already discussed, it seems possible that some kind of dance was played on the gigue. As no written music from those years exists, there is no means of knowing with certainty the music reality of the time.

The gigue's sound was pleasing to Caesar while it was soothing to the ears of Jove; following Boethius' philosophical ideas and according to Johannes

²³² Page translates the passage as:

A clear, pleasing and beautiful voice, the sound of harp, fiddle, psaltery and gygue, God does not hold them worthy a fig unless there is devotion in the (musician's) heart.

De Garlandia, its sound had a moral effect on people and especially the clergy as 'it teaches them not to be seen as mimes'.²³³ Johannes de Garlandia, Dante Alighieri, Renaut de Bagé, Henrich von Neustadt and Gautier de Coinci are only a few amongst the writers of the time who have referred to the gigue with high regard. The gigue was symbolically associated with the structure, hierarchy and balance of the universe, replacing the ancient lyre of Apollo. In addition, there is some evidence suggesting that next to the organ and the vièle, the latter unquestionably the favourite instrument of the French, the gigue could have been used for the divine worship in the Church.²³⁴

All this leaves no doubt regarding the prestigious social esteem the gigue must have enjoyed during the Middle Ages. Its presence was essential for any earthly court celebration, while in literature was openly associated in literature with the celestial music of the Court of Heaven. Therefore, it could be safely said that in the literature of the Middle Ages, full of allegorical messages and metaphors as it was, the gigue, a tangible object, acted as the abstract link between the microcosmos and macrocosmos.

²³³ *Dictionarius* (1210), § 58

²³⁴ Information offered in: *Les Miracles de la Vierge*, and *Dictionarius*.

CHAPTER FOUR
EXAMINATION OF MIDDLE AGES
ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

With a subject matter as invisible as sound the process of its transformation into an image is complex.¹

Understanding the Iconographic Symbolism

Chapter three focused on the idealised image of Middle Ages nobility as portrayed in literature of the time, while chapter one discussed the relationship between nobility and the Church as one based on a mutual quest for prosperity, eternal salvation, diplomacy and economic profit. This is best summarized by

Winks:

Both Christian theology, with its appeal to the downtrodden, and the Christian Church, drawing on Roman administrative practices, were propelled to success largely by late imperial social, economic, and intellectual conditions.²

The main question of the current chapter is: how can all this be related to the subject of iconography?

The surviving iconographic representations of the period between the Carolingian Empire and the late 15th century are mostly Christian in context and use. The negative attitude of the Church throughout all medieval times towards anything not fitting in with dogmatic beliefs definitely did not encourage the

¹ Seebass: 'Iconography', Grove Music Online ed. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 05 May 2008)

² Winks (1988:24)

documentation of anything purely secular. Although the art of music was celebrated by the great philosophical minds, musicians and especially *jongleurs* were not approved of by the Church: musical instruments were thought to be the “accessories of sin”.³ Nonetheless, there are further reasons for the predominance of religious over secular art. To cover all of these here is beyond the scope of, and not necessarily relevant to, this research. However, with the caveat that the subject is only touched on its surface here, a few of these reasons will be briefly discussed. Alexander notes:

It is *partly* a matter of survival, for the Church provided a continuity of ownership that secular dynasties and institutions lacked. The poor survival of secular art is also attributable to some of the artistic media and materials employed. For example, the royalty and nobility of Europe spent huge sums on textiles, whether furnishing in the form of tapestries or bedding for their castles and palaces, or clothing for themselves and their retainers, but these only rarely survive. Secular inventories also list quantities of plate and jewelry, but goldsmith’s work, whether ecclesiastical or secular, has always been in danger of theft and melting down. Here, too, more religious than secular plate and jewelry survives.⁴

As will be argued in this chapter, the most important reason for the notable prevalence of Christian-related art during all medieval times is that the Church was using visual depictions as visual messages to teach and spread Christian morals. The Church, both as one functional body and through individual members of the clergy, was investing a great amount of money in art and iconography.⁵ Documentary references of the time include miniatures of

³ McKinnon: (1968:8)

⁴ Alexander (1993:5). In footnote 11 the author specifies that:

At a recent symposium the figure of ca. six thousand surviving medieval works [...] from all Europe was quoted. Over half of these are chalices used for the Mass.

⁵ Not everyone though, was satisfied with this. Apparently, there were a number of clerics who were against the idea of the Church spending money on ‘artistic extravagances’. The Cistercians, for example, were loud in expressing their antipathy towards contemporary art; St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, in a letter to Abbot William of St Thierry wrote:

illuminated manuscripts, frescoes and sculptures of the great Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals.⁶ The majority of the surviving religious items of the 10th to the 14th centuries owned by members of the laity are Psalters. Marchesin writes:

Numerous musical episodes exist in the Old and New Testament capable of being represented in miniatures, but only one of these texts was continuously illustrated from the 8th till the 12th centuries: the Psalter.⁷

In footnote number 1 accompanying the above text the author argues:

The majority of these episodes are recalled in the Old Testament, but several evangelical metaphors made allusion to music; music plays an important role in the Book of Revelation.⁸

Three different types of illustrations are encountered:

- a) The historiated initials, where the body of the initial beginning an important section contains a painted scene with human figures.
- b) The full page decoration.
- c) The marginal decoration.

These illustrations can be:

- a) Narrative, following the exact meaning of the text – line by line, purely symbolic, or a combination of both.⁹

I say nought of the vast height of your churches, their immoderate length, their superfluous breadth, the costly polishings, the curious carvings and paintings which attract the worshipper's gaze and hinder his attention, and seem to me in some sort of revival of the ancient Jewish rites [...]

Quoted in: Pestell, (1987:57-68)

⁶ On the 'architectural iconography' as a study on the symbolism of churches and their fittings see: Crossley (1988:116-121)

⁷ Marchesin (2000:5). Translation by present author. Original text reads:

Il existe, dans l' Ancien et le Nouveau Testament, de nombreux épisodes musicaux susceptibles d' être représentés dans les miniatures, mais un seul de ces textes a été illustré en continu du VIII^e au XII^e siècle: le Psautier.

⁸ Ibid. Original text in French:

La plupart de ces épisodes sont évoqués dans l' Ancien Testament, mais il est fait allusion à la musique dans plusieurs métaphores évangéliques et elle joue un rôle important dans l' Apocalypse.

⁹ Marchesin (2000:6)

- b) Isolated at the beginning of the Book of Psalms, divided according to the liturgical divisions.
- c) Placed at the end of the Book.¹⁰

Music scenes and musical instruments are to be found in all types of illustrations. Usually they are associated with specific Psalms and especially Psalm 150 as it was considered the doxology of the whole Book.¹¹ The historiated initial of the *Beatus Vir* of the first Psalm often presents music scenes too. King David, his four musicians, the twenty-four Elders of the Revelation, the angel-musician, *jongleurs* and dancers are all 'parading' in the margins and the historiated initials of the Psalters. The Book of Psalms became an inspiration for artists of the time as it provided material rich in theological symbolism which, as will be seen shortly, was manipulated in such a way as to transmit social allegorical messages. Regarding the multi-layer interpretation of Middle Ages iconography, Seebass asserts:

In pictures with religious, metaphysical and philosophical subject matter the layers of meaning tend to be more numerous.¹²

The same author discussing a famous example of a full-page miniature¹³ carrying meaning beyond the textual content, comments:

The miniature is unrelated to them: instead it displays the Boethian threefold system of cosmic, terrestrial, and acoustical harmony, suggesting that the manuscripts should be understood as a symbol of human effort to emulate and prove concepts of divine harmony.¹⁴

¹⁰ When placed at the beginning or the end of the Book these images depict scenes from King David's life; they could also depict Christ or St Jerome, the translator of the Psalms.

¹¹ Marchesin (Ibid:7)

¹² Seebass (GMO)

¹³ That is the frontispiece of a manuscript of Notre Dame polyphony, (I-FI plut.XIX.27)

¹⁴ Seebass: Ibid.

The Book of Psalms normally included the one hundred and fifty Psalms of the Old Testament and a liturgical calendar. Psalters were used not only in monastic and secular liturgy but also for private reading and contemplation.¹⁵ Ownership of a beautifully illuminated Psalter was quite fashionable amongst nobility of the time. Psalters, almost always, contain images of daily life, from preparing banquets, tournament games, music playing and hunting, to love scenes. The acquisition of such an item of purely religious content but enhanced throughout with secular elements meant wealth, and could also be seen as another step towards the desired salvation. Since the early years of Christianity, the Old Testament was thought to be a sacred book, while the favorite subject for both writers and artists has always been the Book of Psalms. Almost every major Father of the Church has written commentaries on the Psalms based on a far-fetched (by modern standards) allegorical interpretation.¹⁶ Middle Ages iconography exhibits an equal interest in illustrating the Psalms, as seen from the vast number of miniatures of the illustrated Psalter. Perhaps no one can prove today that Middle Ages artists were aware of the writings of the Church Fathers, and especially those that had lived in previous centuries. Yet, the importance of these writings should never be underestimated, regardless of whether they had survived word by word amongst scholars and artists of later generations or not. Their true importance lies on the fact that they had formed a concrete base for broader philosophical questioning either by complete

¹⁵ Bovey (2002:47), while Bennett (2004:217) states:

Before the thirteenth century, Psalters generally tend to be owned by the religious – either for communal or private use.

¹⁶ To name only a few of the Fathers who wrote commentaries on the Psalms: Didymus, Basil, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Saint Augustine, Methodius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Cyril of Alexandria. For more information on the subject visit the New Advent (the biggest Catholic online portal): www.newadvent.com; also see: McKinnon (1968)

accordance to their words or by deviation and further criticism. Nonetheless, the symbolism attributed to representations of musical instruments in Middle Ages iconography could have been 'justified' or even triggered by the broader aesthetics and philosophical currents of the time, which was, as it is known, strongly influenced (if not controlled) by Christian ideas. However, there is a notable discrepancy in those writings: despite the fact that although most Church Fathers were expressing a straight condemnation of musical instruments in relation to the liturgy, musical instruments were very often used in their writings as symbols of doctrinal or ethical truths.¹⁷ For example, Pseudo-Athanasius commenting upon Psalm 56:9 'Awake *psalterium* and *kithara*' explained it as "the *psalterium* is the soul, the *kithara* the body".¹⁸ McKinnon discusses the parallelism between the Psalm commentaries of the Patristic period and the much later, Middle Ages iconographic representations, concluding thus:

The illustrated Psalter of the Book of Psalms is the iconographical counterpart of the psalm commentary. The psalm commentary consists of the text of the Psalms with a verbal commentary, while the illustrated Psalter gave to the text of the Psalms a sort of pictorial commentary. Miniatures of instruments, for instance, illustrate only those psalms which mention instruments, and moreover depict precisely those instruments which are mentioned.¹⁹

¹⁷ For the minority of Church Fathers who did not follow this current preferring a more literal and historical interpretation of the Old Testament, as the School of Antioch for example, see: McKinnon (1968:7-8)

¹⁸ Both quote by Pseudo-Athanasius and St Augustine found at: McKinnon :4. Church Fathers have also suggested that the tympanum signified corporal affliction, while St Augustine commented upon Psalm 150:5 'Praise the Lord on cymbals' as:

Cymbals touch each other in order to play and therefore some people compare them to our lips. But I think is better to think of God as being praised on the cymbals when someone is honored by his neighbor rather than by himself, and in paying respect to one another they do indeed give praise to God.

¹⁹ McKinnon (1968:13)

Yet, there is a crucial difference between the Middle Ages depictions of musical instruments of the Psalms and the earlier verbal commentaries on them: the latter were referring to the Old Jewish instruments of the Psalms and not to Middle Ages ones. The relevant Middle Ages iconographic depiction of a music scene was not necessarily associated with the actual liturgy, as music was used in a metaphorical sense. In addition, Middle Ages artists were representing musical instruments of their time and not ancient ones. There is evidence proving that people of the Middle Ages were well aware of the existence of ancient musical instruments.²⁰ However, they still chose to represent contemporary instruments to accompany the ancient texts. The subjects of these depictions were based on a merger of religious and secular themes and ideas, representing the beliefs of the Church on one hand, and the everyday experience of Middle Ages society on the other. Musical instruments played a central role in this. The Biblical *citharas* of the Psalms were reproduced visually as vièles, symphonies and harps, all instruments familiar to the nobility of the time, as also revealed by contemporary literature. A consistency in the choice of specific musical instruments within the depicted religious environment is noticeable:²¹ vièles, organistra/symphonies, harps, bells, organs, the figure-of-eight viol, psalteries and monochords are consistently depicted in the religious-related iconography of the 11th, 12th, 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries. They are all associated with the Heavenly stratum,²² placed either in the hands of King David, his four musicians, or the twenty-four Elders of the Revelation. The figure-of-eight viol is often placed in the hands of King David replacing the

²⁰ For further reading see: Page (1977)

²¹ As is in literature of the time as well, on the hypothesis regarding the existence of a fixed list of musical instruments see chapter 3.

²² As they are associated with a noble environment in contemporary literatures.

instrument most closely associated with his personage, the harp.²³ This consistency in the choice of specific musical instruments in iconography however, although illustrates the instruments' social importance,²⁴ does not prove a relation to actual usage (in terms of musical performance practice). Bowles has examined a considerable number of Middle Ages Psalters concentrating on the depictions of musical instruments; when discussing possible evidence on musical instruments and performance practice in the Middle Ages liturgy as revealed by these artworks, he admitted that:

The portrayal of numerous and varied instruments was founded upon psychological, not practical, considerations.²⁵

Certainly iconography can be misleading and even contradictory, especially when it is the only source of information. However, and as has been shown in chapter three, contemporary literary references to musical instruments support and enhance the impression created by iconographic sources regarding their social significance. Undeniably influenced by the broader philosophical current of the time, 12th-century artists sought to reconcile Biblical authority with observation and to rationally explain religion. They visually decoded the complex literary text of the Bible according to their own aesthetics resulting thus in the humanisation of Biblical representation. The insertion of items from everyday life, including contemporary musical instruments, objects and accessories, all placed within a realistic physical setting, led to the representation of Biblical narratives as contemporary events. Lewis writes:

²³ A discussion on the representations of King David and his musical instruments is presented later on this chapter.

²⁴ For a diligent examination of the possibility of musical instruments been associated with liturgical usage during the Middle Ages, as seen by several of allusions to instruments in medieval Psalm commentaries and depictions of them in Psalters, see: McKinnon (1968)

²⁵ Bowles (1957:40-56)

In the Middle Ages [a sense of the past] did not exist. It was known that Adam went naked till he fell. After that, they pictured the whole past in terms of their own age.²⁶

This iconographic 'initiative' was grounded on Christian religion itself that admits its eternal and unchangeable nature; however, this nature was illustrated as very much natural, human and changeable. The artists of Psalters inspired and guided by the meanings of the text they illustrated, created a dynamic between text and image, which was dependent on the reader's participation. The repeated insertion of contemporary characteristics, in other words the fusion of the eternal with the ephemeral and of the sacred with the secular, was used to remind the viewers that:

The world represented in religious images is indeed the world of common sense.²⁷

As early as the 6th century, Pope Gregory the Great wrote two letters to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, in which he was defending iconographic depictions as the "Bible of the poor who cannot read".²⁸ Gregory's words were unclear and so open to various interpretations throughout the centuries. Kessler comments:

According to the venerable Pope, like other material things, pictures must not be adored; but they should also not be destroyed because **representations of sacred events and saintly persons are useful for teaching the faith to gentiles and illiterate Christians, "who read in them what they cannot read in books", and serve to recall sacred history to the minds of the indoctrinated. Moreover,**

²⁶ Lewis (1964:183)

²⁷ Alexander (1993:6)

²⁸ Alexander: Ibid. The English version of Gregory's *Credo*, translated by Duggan, reads as follows:

Pictures are used in churches so that those who are ignorant of letters may at least read by seeing on the walls [of churches] what they cannot read in books (codicibus). What writing (scriptura) does for the literate, a picture does for the illiterate looking at it, because the ignorant see in it what they ought to do; those who do not know letters read in it. Thus, especially for the nations (gentibus), a picture takes the place of reading [...] Therefore you ought not to have broken that which was placed in the church not in order to be adored but solely in order to instruct the minds of the ignorant.

Duggan (1989:227 – 51)

they activate emotions which, when properly channeled, lead the faithful toward contemplation of God.²⁹

Regarding the influence of Gregory's views on following generations of scholars

Kessler writes:

Transmitted in various forms, Gregory's defense was taken for granted by the twelfth century when it was quoted by Gratian, Honorius Augustodunensis, and others. At mid-century, Herman-Judah put it into the mouth of Rupert of Deutz to justify Christian art to a skeptical Jew; and 50 years later, **the Cistercian author of the Pictor in Carmine began his tract with condensed paraphrases of Gregory's claims that images can serve pedagogical and affective roles.** In the thirteenth century, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas promulgated **three basic arguments in support of images, the so-called triplex ratio, that Honorius had distilled from the letters: instruction, affect, and recall.**

The idea of iconography evoking emotions (or better affections), known as the *sensus anagogicus* [anagogical sense], recognises that images provide stimulation for personal devotion, and food for thought and meditation.³⁰ This presumes the active participation and respond of the viewer to the visual, which triggers a chain of reactions: first comes the initial recognition of the visual message (even if this is a subconscious procedure); this in its turn leads to the self-identification with the underlying message; finally, this creates the grounds for further meditation and self-reflection. The identification with, and the self-projection within the depicted scenes facilitated Christian moral teaching through the

²⁹ Kessler (2006:151)

³⁰ Personal devotion by deep introverted meditation (else known as the technique of affective meditation) based on the excitation of all senses was a 12th-century theological current supported by men such as St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury and the Cistercian monk St Bernard. For more information on this see: "Understanding the miniatures" an essay found at the project's website by Dr Jane Geddes where it is mentioned that:

the technique of affective meditation can be applied directly to these miniatures. Aelred presents the whole Christ cycle as a spiritual exercise for a solitary woman. Whereas Aelred's exercises were mental and he repeats the Cistercian disapproval of images, these miniatures provide an illustrated Benedictine precursor to the same spiritual sentiments.

reader's personal experience. An example of this can be found in the writings of the Cistercian Aelred of Rievaulx (middle-12th century):

Meditation will arouse the affections, the affections will give birth to desire, desire will stir up tears so that your tears may be bread for you day and night until you appear in his sight and say to him what is written in the Song of Songs 'My Beloved is mine and I am his'.³¹

As has been already mentioned, although St Bernard openly expressed his opposition to the employment of art for a spiritual response, his contemporary, Otto of Freising (12th century), wrote:

And yet for the sake of the simple – who must be nourished on milk, not on solid food, whose understanding is not yet exercised and who cannot as yet comprehend spiritual delights – these things are frequently set down by certain teachers that **the simple may thus be directed through the visible to the understanding and discovery of the invisible.**³²

Almost a century later, Guillaume Durand, Bishop of Mende (d.1296) deferred to Gregory's words by quoting the Serenus letter:

Pictures and ornaments in churches are the lessons and scriptures of the laity. Pictures are used in churches so that those who are ignorant of letters may at least read by seeing on the walls what they cannot read in books (*codicibus*). What writing (*scriptura*) does for the literate, a picture does for the illiterate looking at it, because the ignorant see in it what they ought to do; those who do not know letters read in it. Thus, especially for the nations (*gentibus*), a picture takes the place of reading [...]³³

Emile Mâle has summarised these Middle Ages views in his classic statement:

To the Middle Ages art was didactic. All that was necessary that men should know – the history of the world from the creation, the dogmas of religion, the

³¹ Compiled information by Dr Geddes. Original source indicated as: Aelred, 'The Rule of Life for a Recluse', trans. Mary Macpherson, in *Aelred of Rievaulx, Treatises, The Pastoral Prayer*, Cistercian Fathers Series: no2, Kalamazoo (1982:41-103)

³² Otto of Freising was the brother of the Emperor and a great historian of his time. He wrote one of the most important medieval historiographical works, the *Two Cities*, a chronicle covering events from the time-period of Adam and Eve to the coming of the last day. Microw [trans] (1966)

³³ Duggan (1989:1)

examples of the saints, the hierarchy of the virtues, the range of the sciences, arts and crafts – all these were taught them by the windows of the church or by the statues in the porch [...] There the simple, the ignorant, all who were named 'sancta plebs Dei', learned through their eyes almost all they knew of their faith [...] Through the medium of art the highest conceptions of theologian and scholar penetrated to some extent the minds of even the humblest of the people.³⁴

Following all the above, Middle Ages iconography can be considered within a much broader sphere of interpretation: according to the *sensus literalis* [literal sense], and following Gregory the Great's words, the pictures of any Church or Psalter, tell a story replacing the text for the "poor who cannot read"; if examined under the broader *sensus allegoricus* [allegorical sense], then the images reveal "what is to be worshipped"; finally, under the *sensus anagogicus* [anagogical sense] they provide stimulation for personal devotion and meditation.³⁵ Alexander discussing Gregory the Great's words comments:

Discussion of this phrase has tended to concentrate on questions of response on the part of the illiterate and on the images once again as conveyors of Christian dogma. But the phrase also indicates that these Christian images had a very real power and authority as partaking of biblical truth. **Insofar as their audience was "the poor" who were necessarily in no position to pay for them directly, they were likely in their content to embody the values and reflect the interests not of the "poor" but of the "rich".**³⁶

McGuire states that "artists are products of their time",³⁷ while Forster argues that "history develops, art stands still".³⁸ Accordingly, and as art is indeed a reflection of history, artistic creations reflect the currents, beliefs, hopes and aspirations of a society or a specific social class at a given time. The superior class had a particular social behavior based on specific ethics, morals, manners

³⁴ Mâle (1958:7)

³⁵ See footnote 30

³⁶ Alexander (1993:36)

³⁷ McGuire (1989:3-9)

³⁸ Quoted in Blacking (1973:54)

and aspirations, and it was the task of illustrators to show this through their art: due to their power, wealth and close association with the Church, representations of the nobility reveal a strong favoritism. Their ephemeral traditions, customs, and the courtly social behavior were all mirrored in the representation of the ideal and eternal world of Heavens. Alexander writes:

Christian images [...] served as markers with resonances within the social practices of medieval society. [...] The secular and the religious overlapped and interacted in every way and at every level in medieval art as in medieval society.³⁹

It could be safely argued that artists actually projected their own world and society in their depictions of Biblical scenes; thus the medieval earthly court was elevated in the 'Court of Heaven'. Clearly, music was important to the Middle Ages artist, as it was important in Middle Ages society and philosophy. As will be shown, musical instruments, among all other items, became the eminent iconographic attributes of social status.⁴⁰

The idea of the material cosmos being a symbol, an idea prevailing during this time, was reinforced by the development of scholastic ideas. Consequently, iconographic depiction acted as a medium for the suggestion of deeper and abstract meanings. This metaphorical thinking was centered on a purely anthropocentric basis which led to the explanation and representation of abstract meanings through the employment of personifications, i.e. *Musica* and *Harmonia* (or even the creation of new ones, i.e. *Fortuna*), allegorical figures, i.e. King David, and symbols and attributes, such as certain musical instruments, the figure-of-eight viol included. Middle Ages iconography reveals a

³⁹ Alexander (1993:13 - notes 1 and 5)

⁴⁰ This point will be fully discussed later on and evidence to support it will be presented.

preoccupation with the 'portrayal' of abstract, invisible and non-tangible ideas and concepts within definable contexts.⁴¹ Examples of this include several depictions of the Seven Liberal Arts, Good Fortune, and Love. For their transformation from spiritual concepts to apt and immediate visual messages, artists have formed substitutes, or else personifications. Van Straten writes:

The creation of new personifications became an intellectual game for scholars, artists, and patrons. This sort of "metaphorical thinking", or thinking in abstract terms and symbols, was a legacy of the Middle Ages.⁴²

It is not always possible to draw a clear line for the differentiation between symbols, allegories and attributes. Generally speaking, a symbol in the visual arts is an object (in the broadest sense) that contains, in a certain context, a deeper meaning.⁴³ Herméren emphasises that a symbol should meet the following three conditions:

1. It makes informed beholders think of whatever it symbolizes, if they contemplate it under standard conditions.
2. Those for which it is a symbol, including the artist, are able to specify what it symbolizes, at least on demand.
3. It does not depict or portray whatever it symbolizes.⁴⁴

A symbol's meaning, and so its interpretation by each viewer depends on various factors such as the context, the purpose, the time and place in which the symbol was employed. In addition, the meanings of symbols depend upon two further aspects: first, the knowledge of the artist, as he is responsible for the making of evidence, and then the understanding of the viewer, as he is responsible for the appreciation, and even the distortion of evidence. Peterson comments:

⁴¹ Rather than their depiction as isolated ideas as has been the case with Ancient iconography.

⁴² Van Straten (1994:26)

⁴³ Van Straten (Ibid.:45)

⁴⁴ Hermeren (1969:78)

The interpretation of a pictorial repertory as literal illustration falters when scenes are viewed as visualizations of exegesis [...] the practice of locating precise textual equivalents for images embedded in a biblical book which was subjected to extravagant allegorizing and moralizing.⁴⁵

This implies that the viewer must be in a position to comprehend the meanings attributed to an image by the artist; otherwise, symbols would not be understood. However, as values, aesthetics, beliefs, and even morals are subject to a continuous change, it is often difficult to recognise and interpret iconographic symbols of previous centuries.

Attributes in their turn are a special kind of symbols. In the words of Van Straten:

Personifications are usually accompanied by certain objects [...] that then become part of the personification [...] attributes may belong not only to personifications but also to saints, mythological and biblical figures, and even historical personalities.⁴⁶

Attributes enable the identification of a portrayed person or personification by pointing the viewer's attention to specific qualities, or the social rank, or a biographical episode of the figure. Middle Ages artists have often associated more than one attribute to specific figures, as seen for example in the representations of King David, one of the most important personages of the Bible, and so a prominent figure in Middle Ages iconography. Van Schaik discusses:

In the Middle Ages he [King David] was regarded as a real king, *David rex*. In this guise David embodies the medieval idea of a just, wise Christian king. His kingship is, therefore, indicated with the same insignia as those which pertain to the ruler-status of the worldly monarch: among other things by the orb and scepter.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Peterson (2004:350)

⁴⁶ Van Straten (1994:48)

⁴⁷ Van Schaik (2005:39)

King David's Biblical role as the Father of the Psalms is iconographically indicated by his association with three musical instruments: a set of bells (earlier than the 12th-century), the harp and the figure-of-eight viol. The particular individual attributes, in this case the orb, the scepter and the musical instruments aimed at the positive identification of the portrayed figure.

In their efforts to depict the heavenly realm suggested by the Biblical texts they illustrated, artists created an idealised image. This was achieved through the constant transition from the known and natural to the ephemeral and ideal, and then to the abstract and symbolical. A symbolic and allegoric meaning was given to almost all figures, and the relationships between different figures in the same image suggested ideals and values well beyond the visible.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, this symbolism was by no means 'hidden' as Panofsky has suggested in the past.⁴⁹ As has already been mentioned, its reason for existence was to morally educate the laity, and therefore it must have been appreciated not only by the clergy but the laity as well. If it was 'hidden' it would not have the desired effect. Alexander has suggested a semiotic approach for the examination of medieval iconography: this recognises a parallelism between modern advertising and medieval iconography.⁵⁰ However, if his theory is applied for the interpretation of musical instruments' illustrations in Psalters then interesting remarks could be made. The author argues:

Modern advertising is [...] a representational system that is directly aimed by its makers at us and that both reflects our social organizations, our life styles and values, and also manipulates them. [...] Why should we not aim to read

⁴⁸ Foster (1977)

⁴⁹ Panofsky (1955)

⁵⁰ Alexander (1993)

medieval imagery in the same sort of way [as advertising] in terms of models, social practices, and an encoded value system of social mores?

Discussing the relationship between image and text in both modern advertisement and medieval imagery he concludes:

The text glosses the image to apply it in a particular direction. But the image is readable to us without any text. In some ways, such texts, like their medieval counterparts, contradict or at least cover different terrains from the images they accompany. In any case what is imaged is as powerful in its resonances as is what is written in the advertisement.⁵¹

In these terms, the iconographic representation of the 'Court of Heaven', folio 5v from the *Cloisters Apocalypse* could be seen as the Middle Ages visual translation of John's vision of the Apocalypse, based on Chapter 4:1-8 (fig. 1).⁵²

⁵¹ However, in page 4 of the same article, the author makes clear that:

The advertising is concerned with the consumption of a product or with selling something in a way that the medieval image is not.

⁵² Cloisters "Apocalypse" no.68.174. Circle of the Manessa Codex, Normandy 1300-25.

Fig.1



In this, John is looking through the open door of Heaven and sees The Son of God surrounded by the four evangelists and the twenty-four Elders of the Revelation.⁵³ The text that he -presumably- wrote runs as follows:

After this I looked, and behold, a door standing open in heaven, and the former voice, which I had heard as of a trumpet speaking with me, said "Come up hither, and I will show thee the things that must come to pass hereafter". Immediately I was in the spirit; and behold, there was a throne set in heaven, and upon the throne One was sitting. And he who sat was in appearance like to a jasper stone and a sardius, and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in appearance like to an emerald. And round about the throne are twenty-four seats; and upon the seats 24 Elders sitting, clothed in white garments, and on their heads crowns of gold. And from the throne proceed flashes of lightning, rumblings, and peals of thunder; and there are seven lamps burning before the throne, and around the throne, and four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind. And the first living creature is like a lion, and the second like a calf, and

⁵³ For a reproduction copy of the Cloisters "Apocalypse" see: Deuchler, Hoffeld, and Nickel (1971)

the third has the face, as it were, of a man, and the fourth is like an eagle flying. And the four living creatures have each of them six wings; round about and within they are full of eyes. And they do not rest day and night, saying, "Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of mighty, who was, and who is, and who is coming.

In the above text John did not mention anything about musical instruments (with the exception of the trumpet that is used as a metaphor), or anything about praising the Lord through the singing of the Psalms. The Middle Ages artist however, took the liberty to introduce new elements in the visual representation of John's vision. Thus, musical instruments were used to reinforce the status of these figures and their importance within the cosmic hierarchy. The Elders sitting in the first row are all holding musical instruments including the: portative organ, psaltery, harp, vièle, French cor, medieval lyre (or *kithara*), the figure-of-eight viol (although the whole body of the instrument is visible, no crank is shown as to assume that it could be an organistrum), bell and trumpet.⁵⁴

Concentrating on the depiction of the figure-of-eight viol a few points should be mentioned. The instrument is placed in the hands of the Elder sitting in the first row, first from the right of the lower register. He is bearing a distinctive characteristic thus standing out from the rest of the Elders: his white garment is closed but also adorned and fastened by a large golden cross. It could be assumed that the attribution of certain particular characteristics to this Elder was aiming at his discreet distinction and separation from the others. The figure-of-eight viol is placed sidewise on the lap of this Elder, while he is resting

⁵⁴ The Elder sitting in the second row at the top right corner is holding or pointing at an item that is difficult to distinguish. It could be a pear-shaped musical instrument, or even one of a figure-of-eight.

his right hand on the instrument's side, an iconographic feature also encountered in King David's depictions.

Musical instruments occupy a prominent place in this image. The eight Elders sitting frontally in the four corners of the image, and the Elder sitting at the second row of the bottom right register, are all holding musical instruments. The Elders are not facing the reader of the Psalter but each other. On the contrary, the front of the musical instruments they are holding is straight in front of the reader. The manner in which the Elders are holding the instruments is indeed realistic but although music is suggested, no music-making is represented. This could explain the absence of a bow, although bowed instruments are depicted.⁵⁵ Therefore, the present author's judgment is that musical instruments are used here in a metaphorical manner, to highlight and enhance the importance of the specific Elders and their status in the Hierarchy of Heavens.⁵⁶ Music is only suggested through its medium of production that is the musical instrument, and is used in straight association with the singing of the Psalms. This metaphorical use of music and musical instrument within the Court of Heaven is furthermore supported by the evident parallelism between iconography and literature: the particular depicted instruments are also encountered in contemporary literary references in relation to a religious or courtly environment. To recall one example of this, in *Les Miracles de la Vierge* it is mentioned that:

The vièle serves for the adoration of God [...] the people of the Church appreciate its sounds, as they do with those of the organ, of the psaltery, and of

⁵⁵ Such as the vièle and the figure-of-eight viol.

⁵⁶ For the idea of the 'medieval hierarchy' of musical instruments in the Middle Ages according to the understanding and classification of sociological circumstances in which certain instruments were played see: Bowles (1958) and McKinnon (1968)

the gigue. The clear, pleasing, and beautiful voice, the sound of harp and of the vièle, of the psaltery and of the gigue, God does not hold them worth a fig unless there is devotion in the (musician's) heart.⁵⁷

A similar approach to music is suggested in a 12th-century French iconographic item, the 'Cup-shaped Plate' now located at the Museum of Louvre in Paris (fig.2).⁵⁸

Fig. 2



In this, an elderly man is represented with the accustomed attribute of sanctity, the halo. The inscription mentions the name Iacob (Jacob), and the letter P is depicted on the man's side. On his left arm, he is holding the figure-of-eight viol; this is upside-down and it seems to be rested on Jacob's shoulder. Only the outline of the instrument is drawn. It has the clear figure-of-eight shape with the slender shoulders, decorated waist, long neck and a pronounced tailpin. The

⁵⁷ Chapter 3:86

⁵⁸ Plantagenêt domain? Second half of the 12th century. Louvre: *Ancienne collection Révoil*, acquisition 1828. Département des Objets d'art. MRR 247: 'Plaque concave: Jacob'.

strings, bridge and tailpiece are not depicted, while only part of the spade-shaped pegbox is visible. Oddly enough, the soundholes are clearly drawn.⁵⁹ A bow is not present, and no evidence of playing is suggested.

Once again, the figure-of-eight viol is iconographically associated with a religious figure. Yet, this is the only known instance where this instrument is placed in the hands of Biblical Jacob. In fact, no apparent reason has been found for the relationship or even remote connection of Jacob with music; unless, the represented man is not the Biblical Jacob, son of Isaac and Rebecca. The identification of this man could help to clarify the figure-of-eight viol's significance within this depiction. After extensive research on the possible identity of this man a new hypothesis can be put forward. This identifies the depicted Jacob with Saint Jacob of Serugh⁶⁰ (*Jacobi Sarugensis*), a celebrated author of the Syrian Church and bishop of Batnan who lived during the late 5th and early 6th centuries.⁶¹ The reason for the possible identification of this man with the depicted figure is based on Saint Jacob of Serugh's connection with music: because of his learning and holiness he was referred to as "the flute of the Holy Spirit and the harp of the believing church".⁶² This hypothesis is further enhanced by the depiction of a halo around his head (for he became a Saint) and the illustration of the letter P next to the figure. The letter P could, of

⁵⁹ Could it be that the soundholes are emphasised as they transmit the sound of the instrument, in a similar way as the prophet's mouth transmit his words of wisdom? This idea might sound like an unsupported, far-fetched allegory; yet, thinking of St Augustine's words: "cymbals touch each other in order to play and therefore some people compare them to our lips", it might not be completely out of order to suggest an iconographic correspondence between the sound of the instrument and the Prophet's words.

⁶⁰ Or else known as St James of Saruq.

⁶¹ He was a Monophysite not involved in the Christological polemics of his time, and devoted all his time to literary work.

⁶² For biographical information on the life of Jacob of Serugh see: Malech (2006)

course, mean Prophet; however, it could also stand for Patriarch, as Jacob of Serugh was indeed a Patriarch.⁶³

It is certain that the presence of the figure-of-eight viol in the hands of Jacob, which ever Jacob it may be, has a symbolic meaning which is still not clear. If it is, indeed, Jacob of Serugh, it is interesting to note that both instruments associated with him in literature, the flute and the harp, were visually replaced by the specific 12th-century instrument, which has also replaced King David's Biblical harp and *kithara* in Middle Ages iconographic sources. Its close association with King David and a religious environment is examined in the following section.

King David & the figure-of-eight viol

King David is one of the most prominent figure in Middle Ages iconography.⁶⁴ According to the Bible, when the Ark had been brought to Jerusalem, David was deemed responsible for the organisation of religious worship; it is clearly indicated that music played a central role in the worship of the temple.⁶⁵ This is further supported by David's poetic and musical abilities

⁶³ In the 'Syriac Manuscripts' from the Vatican Library it is mentioned that:

[The Patriarch] Jacob and [the apostle] Aday were sent to Aram-Nahrin, so that they would fulfill both the New and Old [Testament words].

Syriac Manuscripts from the Vatican Library: Volume 1, VatSyr. 117 number 108, *On Addai the Apostle and Abgar the King of Edessa*.

⁶⁴ The Middle Ages representations of King David is a subject exhaustively discussed in several writings of the past (notably by Marchesin, Foster, Benett, Seebass and Bowles). The present author's intention is not to claim any new scholarly contribution to the subject; the focus of the present discussion is the association of specifically the figure-of-eight viol with particular high-ranked religious figures, King David included. Any other information offered in here with regard to King David or his four musicians could be seen as a mere collection of scattered information.

⁶⁵ The sacred functions were entrusted to 24,000 Levites; 6,000 of these were scribes and judges, 4000 were porters, and 4000 singers. John Corbett, transcribed by Judy Levandoski. In Memory of Andrew Levandoski. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume IV (1908)

recorded on a number of occasions;⁶⁶ it has also been claimed that he was the creator of the Book of Psalms.⁶⁷ However, and although he was first the King, his personage acquired different meanings in iconography all relative to and reliant upon the text. The multiplicity of his character inspired artists, as it allowed them to incorporate different elements and to compile various meanings in one image, always dependent on his connotation. Bennett characteristically comments on King David's *sensus moralis*:

David was established as the '**biblical imitation of repentance**' due to his sins of adultery and murder.⁶⁸

The author further suggests:

The Davidic word-illustrations tended to be simple in composition and generic in meaning; motivated by the opening verses, they emphasised penitence, deliverance, prayer, and salvation, which were major moral and pastoral concerns [...] They are eminently comprehensible and suitable for the pious to emulate their biblical forebear. **In a way the word-illustrations are laicized, for they are presented as relevant to the contemporary, personal life of the recipient, and they appear as guides, exhorting the viewer to lead a virtuous Christian life.**⁶⁹

As King David's multiple meanings relied upon the interpretation of the text,⁷⁰ the four doctrines of scriptural meaning were integrated in the Biblical depictions.⁷¹ Seebass writes:

In the literal sense, the figure of David is the musician in his various roles according to the story (shepherd, court musician, composer-performer of psalms, founder of the liturgy in the Temple). In the allegorical sense, he is the

⁶⁶ Such as in 1 Samuel 16:18 and Amos 6:5:

You that sing to the sound of the psaltery: they have thought themselves to have instruments of music like David.

For the Clementine-Vulgate Latin see: Appendix

⁶⁷ Poems of his composition are found in Samuel 1, 3, 22 and 23.

⁶⁸ Bennett (2004:215)

⁶⁹ Bennett (Ibid:217)

⁷⁰ Both Marchesin (2000) and Foster (1977) have conducted extensive research on the importance and allegorical meaning of King David's Middle Ages representations.

⁷¹ These are the: *sensus literalis*, *sensus allegoricus*, *sensus tropologicus* and *sensus anagogicus*.

precursor of Christ and the founder of Christian liturgy, accompanied by his four liturgists (Asaph, Eman, Ethan and Idithun) as precursors of the four evangelists. In the tropological sense, he is the model musician, knowledgeable in music theory and modality (*musicus*) and the perfect singer (*cantor*). In the anagogical sense he is the leader for singing the celestial Alleluia.⁷²

As Foster argues, King David's diversity was based on the merging of characteristics of the ancient Greek figure of Pythagoras, the mythological Orpheus and Musica, and the Biblical Jubal.⁷³ In Middle Ages iconography the constant parallelism between the different figures is evident. Orpheus was the Father of the art of music, while King David was the Father of the Psalms, and the representative of Judaic thought.⁷⁴ In ancient illustrations Orpheus is represented seated holding a *cithara* and a plectrum⁷⁵ (fig.3). In this way, the perfect order of the universe, the cosmic balance and the harmony of the spheres, controlled by and secured through Orpheus's music, are all symbolised in one illustration. Orpheus had the power to tame wild animals with his music,⁷⁶ while King David tamed the evil spirits with his *cithara*.⁷⁷ However, the effect music had upon Saul is not only the work of David; his music was blessed by God himself as in I Samuel 16:15 it is explained that:

15. And the servants of Saul said to him: Behold now an evil spirit from God troubleth thee. 16. Let our lord give orders, and thy servants who are before thee, will seek out **a man skilful in playing on the harp**, that when the evil

⁷² Seebass (GMO)

⁷³ Foster (1977)

⁷⁴ Foster (Ibid.)

⁷⁵ Here the word 'plectrum' is used with its original ancient Greek meaning of 'plucking stick' and not its medieval Latin definition as 'tuning key'. For an example of the latter see verses 3547-61 of *Tristan* (by Gottfried of Strasburg, ca.1210).

⁷⁶ The influence of *lyra*-playing by Orpheus is discussed by several medieval theoreticians such as Cassiodorus in his *Institutiones* (c. 490-583), Aurelianus in the *Musica disciplina* (c.580) and Johannes Aegidius of Zamora in his *Ars Musica* (ca.1300)

⁷⁷ in I Samuel 16:23 we read:

So whensoever the evil spirit from the Lord was upon Saul, David took his harp, and played with his hand, and Saul was refreshed, and was better, for the evil spirit departed from him.

For the Clementine-Vulgate Latin see: Appendix

spirit from the Lord is upon thee, he may play with his hand, and thou mayst bear it more easily. 17. And Saul said to his servants: Provide me then some man that can play well, and bring him to me. 18. And one of the servants answering, said: Behold I have seen a son of Isai, the Bethlehemite, a skilful player, and one of great strength, and a man fit for war, and prudent in his words, and a comely person: **and the Lord is with him**. 19. Then Saul sent messengers to Isai, saying: Send me David, thy son, who is in the pastures.⁷⁸

Van Schaik discusses the Middle Ages symbolic interpretation of the above Biblical quote:

In the Middle Ages an important symbolic explanation was given to the *historia* of I Samuel 16:23; it was seen as a reference to the imposition of order on the microcosmos by David. This explanation has its roots in Greek philosophy. According to Pythagorean teaching, numbers are the basic principles of all things. Things relate to each other in certain ways which can be expressed in numbers. The Greeks saw numerical relationships in the movement of the stars, in the elements, the seasons and music as well as in other things. In the philosophy of Plato, a healthy human soul is also made up of musically consonant intervals which can be expressed by simple numerical relationships. Undoubtedly the interpretation of David's harp-playing before King Saul would have played a role analogous to the Greek idea of the harmony of the soul.⁷⁹

As early as the 3rd century BCE, the Church Father Clement of Alexandria associated the organisation of both the macrocosmos and microcosmos to David. He wrote:

He [David] arranged this great world, harmoniously through the power of the Holy Spirit; yes, and also the small world, that of body and soul. And he makes music for God on this many-voiced instrument of the cosmos, and he sings together with the human instrument.⁸⁰

From the 10th century on, King David's ordering role in cosmos through his music became the main subject of iconography: he is almost always depicted

⁷⁸ For the Clementine-Vulgate Latin see: Appendix.

⁷⁹ Van Schaik (1992:40)

⁸⁰ Clement of Alexandria, c.150 – 215. Quoted in Ibid:40. Original source stated as: *Protreptikos*, cap.1, 1. 13-7; translation based on the text edition LCL 92:13.

seated holding a musical instrument.⁸¹ Two instruments are mostly associated with his personage: the harp and the figure-of-eight viol.⁸² Van Schaik writes:

On the basis of iconographical research I distinguish three general ways in which the harp is depicted in relation to (King) David: -the harp is held by David without being played, or is depicted together with David as a separate object; -the harp is tuned by David; -the harp is played by David.⁸³

Foster discusses the parallelism between Orpheus and King David and suggests that when King David is holding a harp, the plectrum of the ancient *cithara* is replaced by the pronounced tuning bar of the harp.⁸⁴ Indeed, there are several examples of King David tuning his harp, e.g. the French Psalter presented here as fig. 3.⁸⁵

Fig. 3



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⁸¹ There are instances where King David is represented standing or dancing; however, these are limited in number compared to the ones where he is seated. See: Reuter (1938:18)

⁸² Less frequently, a set of bells and hammers is depicted instead of the aforementioned instruments.

⁸³ Van Schaik (1992:38)

⁸⁴ Foster (1977)

⁸⁵ Associated text: BEATUS UIR QUI NON ABIIT IN CONSILIO IMPIORUM [...] (Incipit, OT, Psalm 001:01 (Vulg., 001:01), Latin; associated with: Initial B).

Orpheus⁸⁶

However, it was Van Deusen who made further interesting remarks based on the Middle Ages allegorical interpretation of the textual *cithara* and the visual harp.⁸⁷ These remarks could also be applied for the interpretation of the depictions of the figure-of-eight viol in the hands of King David, his musicians, or the twenty-four Elders:

Cithara (allegory – medieval)

I. Allegorical interpretation

II. Based on *text*⁸⁸

III. Persuasion through *reason*

IV. Allegorical *mode*

V. Contemplation releases
meaning -Reflection gives sign

Harp (symbol)

I. Symbolic interpretation

II. Non-textual

III. Persuasion through *vision*

IV. Symbolic system or *vocabulary*

V. Sign provokes reflection

In both ancient and medieval iconography, these specific musical instruments were used as visual references, denoting the particular high-rank status

⁸⁶ 'Bell-krater' (24.97.30), ca. 440 b.c.; red-figure attributed to the Painter of London E 497. Greek, Attic, Terracotta. H. 11 5/8 in. (29.49 cm) Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.30) Obverse: Orpheus playing lyre for Thracian men. Reverse: libation scene. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

⁸⁷ Van Deusen (1989:406)

⁸⁸ Text = Word of God interpreted by the Holy Spirit.

Orpheus and King David had within both earthly society and the cosmic hierarchy. This however, does not mean that these instruments were used as insignia of social power; the role of the art of music –explained within their philosophical and cosmological frame- was the ground for the allegorical association of instruments with Orpheus and King David.

The allegorical meaning of the depictions of the harp and the figure-of-eight viol could explain why King David is not always represented as in fact playing music, and also why the bow is missing from certain depictions of the figure-of-eight viol (fig. 4), although there is no evidence to suggest that it might have been plucked as well.⁸⁹

Fig. 4



detail



⁸⁹ "Jesse Tree". MS M.163.32, fol.6r. Initial L at start of Matthew. Department: Pierpont Morgan Library Dept. of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts.

This is an illustration of the 'Jesse Tree' from a Latin Bible with a prologue by St Jerome and interpretations;⁹⁰ the Bible was created in Northern France, Picardy, possibly in Corbie, as late as 1229.⁹¹ In the historiated initial opening Matthew Chapter 1: 'The genealogy of Christ: he is conceived and born of a virgin', Jesse reclines in bed asleep.⁹² Selected parts of the text might help to understand the symbolism of the image; these run as follows:

1. The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham [...] 5. And Obed begot **Jesse**. 6. And Jesse begot **David the king** [...]
16. And Jacob begot Joseph the husband of **Mary**, of whom was born **Jesus**, who is called Christ [...] 20. for that which is conceived in her, is of the **Holy Ghost**.⁹³

Intertwined branches emerge from Jesse's loins, representing the following from bottom to top: David, crowned, holding the figure-of-eight viol while pointing to the text with his left hand; Virgin Mary, crowned and holding a Book; the Son of God, blessing and holding a Book; the Dove or Holy Ghost. The instrument is not depicted in great detail, yet its outline is well defined. Symbolic elements are underlying this image, in reminiscence of Gregory the Great's words: the Holy Ghost is represented by the Dove which penetrates the register where Christ is depicted; God's Wisdom is represented by the Book placed in the hands of the Son of God and of the Virgin Mary; the Book is closed, yet faces the reader.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Chabrowe (1967:35-40) writes:

The Tree of Jesse was a frequent theme in the sculpture, the stained glass, and the painting of the time. However, it was usually given the form of a tree growing out of Jesse with branches bearing medallions or portraits of Christ's forebears and Christ or the Virgin at the top. This theme was based on Isaiah XI:1-3, while the figures constituting the genealogy came from Matthew I:1-16.

⁹¹ Associated text: INITIUM SANCTI EUANGELII SECUNDUM MATTHEUM (Rubric, Latin; associated with: Initial L). LIBER GENERATIONIS ... (Incipit, NT, Matthew 01:01, Latin; associated with: Initial L). Publications on: Luba Eleen (1982:76-8, 83-91, 116)

Catalogue of manuscripts and early printed books from the libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram, fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and other sources: manuscripts / M.R. James. London: Chiswick Press, 1906, no. 1. Information from: Piermont Morgan Library, CORSAIR Project.

⁹² In the Corsair catalogue this image is described as Jesse's dream in five medallions

⁹³ English text (Douay-Rheims). For the Clementine-Vulgate text see: Appendix

⁹⁴ The reason for this lies in 1 Corinthians: 2 (Paul). See: Appendix

Finally, the figure-of-eight viol is depicted to suggest and support King David's role as the Father of the Psalms. Therefore, this image could be seen as a pyramid representing the Biblical hierarchy which is represented from the bottom register to the top based on the genealogical relation between David and Christ: first is the ancestor of the Messiah, the founder of the liturgy through which God is praised; then the mother of the Son; then comes the Son of God; finally, on the top of the pyramid one reaches the Holy Ghost.

The following example of the figure-of-eight viol in the hands of King David presents special interest (fig. 5). It is the last full-page illustration of the St Albans Psalter.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Ample textual and iconographic evidence indicates that the Psalter was effectively created during the 12th century by Geoffrey de Gorham, Abbot of St Albans (1119-1146), for an anchoress, Christina of Markyate (b. c.1096-d. after 1155). The outstanding illuminations, and in particular the miniatures painted by a man named Alexis Master, are now considered the most excellent examples of English Romanesque language, as the 'Chanson of Alexis' is the earliest surviving example of Old French literature and is a key text for the development of the French language. 'Introduction to the St Albans Psalter' in *The St Albans Psalter's* website. A project founded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board. A website, containing the full digital version of the St Albans Psalter, now stored in Dombibliothek, Hildesheim, Germany, transcription and translation, plus commentary, and essays, in English and German. A collaboration between the History of Art department and the Historic Collections of the University of Aberdeen, <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/index.shtml>. Copyright by the University of Aberdeen.

Fig. 5



This image is the work of Alexis Master, who is, apparently without a doubt, the first western artist who has replaced the traditional *cithara* of King David with this instrument.⁹⁶ In this, King David sits on a high chair (a throne perhaps). His clothes and crown are lavishly decorated with fine colorful material and precious stones respectively. The Dove is whispering in his ear while a sheep and a goat are placed by his side opposite each other. The figure-of-eight viol is depicted in great detail and accuracy. King David is holding the instrument and the bow in a manner indicative of music-playing. The fingers of his right hand are stressed upon the strings while his thumb cannot be seen – suggesting that it could be holding the back of the neck. Geddes' commentary on the illustration is as follows:

⁹⁶ Marchesin (2000:92); also mentioned in: Pächt, Dodwell, Wormald (1960:154-55)

David sits on a fine folding chair playing a viol or rebeck [*sic*] held between his knees. The instrument is very accurate: David holds the bow and neck correctly; the strings are convincingly attached over a hook at the bottom and tuning keys project from the top. **His music and psalms are inspired by the dove of the Holy Spirit whispering in his ear.** On either side of David are a sheep and goat, reminders that the humble shepherd became king. David the musician (playing the harp), inspired by the dove of the Holy Spirit is depicted earlier in the Anglo-Saxon manuscript, London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.VI, f18. The presence of the sheep and goat (albeit the wrong way around) also implies a reference to the Last Judgement [*sic*] (Matthew 25:3).⁹⁷ This fits in to the discourse at the start of the Psalms (p71-2) where the main theme of the Psalter is defined as the fight between good and evil, sin and redemption. It also makes a fitting conclusion to the life of Christ, ending in judgement and redemption.⁹⁸

Page 417 of the St Albans Psalter presents another illustration of King David, this time surrounded by six musicians (fig. 6).⁹⁹

⁹⁷ *The parable of the ten virgins and of the talents. The description of the last judgment.* "But the five foolish, having taken their lamps, did not take oil with them". Matthew 25:3.

⁹⁸ <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/commentary/page056.shtml>. Copyright by University of Aberdeen.

⁹⁹ There are three miniatures depicting King David as musician in the St Alban Psalter, p. 56, p. 72 and p. 417. Only in the last one, a collective musical activity is represented. In p. 56 and p. 72 King David appears on his own, with the Dove whispering in his ear.

Fig. 6



Although this is the last image of the Psalter, it has been proposed that it was originally composed as the introductory page of the psalms.¹⁰⁰ The image is divided into three registers. In the middle register, King David plays on a quite realistically depicted figure-of-eight viol, while two harpists are located at his sides. King David reclines towards the harpist on the left while looking straight at him, in the same way that Christ reclines towards His psalmist (see Appendix:p.242), His disciples (Appendix:p.260), or the praying cleric

¹⁰⁰This means that the Psalter would have had a different assemblage, in the following sequence: miniatures, calendar, psalms, and then the diptych of St Alban and David. For more information see: "Conclusion: How the Book was assembled", <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/essays/conclusion.shtml>.

(Appendix:p.411). As King David holds the bow, his index is pointing at the harpist at the left. The harpist in his turn is looking up at King David while his thumb and middle touch two strings of the harp simultaneously. The harp of the musician on the right presents particular interest as it has a unique feature: two crossing rows of strings. This harpist is touching two different strings with his thumb and middle, however he is holding them by their crossing point; in other words, although they are two strings he is turning them into one. The meaning of this is not clear. Yet, Marchesin, the first to point out these observations, has suggested that it could possibly imply the voice crossings of the new organum.¹⁰¹

At the lower register, two percussionists are placed underneath the two harpists. Only two bells on each side are depicted, which is a rather odd number. The percussionist on the left strikes two bells with his hammers simultaneously (perhaps in correspondence with the harpist touching two strings above him). The percussionist on the right strikes only one bell, while the other hammer is placed on his shoulder and next to his ear. Finally, at the top register, two musicians play on wind instruments. The iconographic parallelism between those two wind players and the percussionists of the lower register should be noted. The combination of the purely rhythmic with the wind instruments highlights the opposition between the *rhythmi* and *spiritus* or *pneuma*.

¹⁰¹ Marchesin (2000:92)

King David's musicians

In Middle Ages iconography, King David is very often surrounded by four musicians,¹⁰² each one of these four men is not exclusively associated with only one particular instrument, or even with instruments of the same instrumental family. Asaph for example, is occasionally represented as a percussionist, while in other sources he plays on wind or string instruments. Therefore, musical instruments cannot be perceived as attributes in these representations since, although they imply that these men are musicians, they do not reveal the identity of each personage. There are several mentions of these four Levites in the Old Testament and the Chronicles, yet these four men are never mentioned all together;¹⁰³ in iconography however, they form one musical group. Marchesin states:¹⁰⁴

The historians have generally resorted to two explanations. The first one proposes that the names and the number of the personages comes from one of the prefaces of the Psalter (*Origo psalmoreum* or *Origo prophetiae*) which names the four men. The second suggests that this choice was dictated by the wish to

¹⁰² There are instances where King David is surrounded by a larger number of musicians (up to 6), dancers and jongleurs performing tricks. These are limited examples though and do not concern the research on the figure-of-eight viol. The musicians always depicted at King David's side are not the authors of the Psalms, but co-psalmists. In a few of these representations the names of the musicians are explicitly written; the reading of the names -starting at the top register from right to left and then the lower register from right to left- has as follows: Asaph – Aeman, Aethan – Idithun. See: Marchesin (2000:18)

¹⁰³ As for example in I Chronicles 25. For the Latin (Vulgate Clementine) text see: Appendix The number and divisions of the musicians. [Douay – Rheims]

1. Moreover David and the chief officers of the army separated for the ministry the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Idithun: to prophesy with harps, and with psalteries, and with cymbals according to their number serving in their appointed office]. References to these musicians are also to be found in: I Ch 39-42; I Ch 25, 1; II Ch 35, 15. Asaph: psalms 49, 72-82; Idithun: psalms 38, 61, 76; Aeman: psalm 87; Aethan: psalm 88.

¹⁰⁴ Marchesin (2000:14). Original text reads:

Les historiens ont généralement recours à deux explications. La première soutient que les noms et le nombre des personages proviennent de l'une des prefaces du Psautier (*Origo psalmoreum* ou *Origo prophetiae*) qui cite les quatres hommes de concert. La second avance que ce choix a été dicté par la volonté de créer une relation analogique entre les quatres musiciens et les quatre evangelists.

create an analogical relation between the four musicians and the four Evangelists.¹⁰⁵

The number of David's musicians was chosen because of the symbolic meaning Christians have attributed to it: the number four can symbolise Creation, written revelation and redemption.¹⁰⁶ St Augustine explicitly wrote:

Now it is plain that the number four has relation to the body, from the four well known elements of which it consists, and the four qualities of dry, humid, warm, cold. Hence too it is administered by four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, winter. All this is very well known.¹⁰⁷

Thurston following on from the above commented that "four, the number of the elements, typifies the number of the material world".¹⁰⁸ The analogy between the four Evangelists and David's musicians is evident in the next example, a 12th-century French Psalter (fig. 7).¹⁰⁹ In this image the parallelism between the Son of God and King David is evident. Christ occupies the most important, central part within the image, a place where King David is normally to be found. Christ replaces His personification, David, and so David becomes one of the musicians.

¹⁰⁵ According to pseudo-Bede the *Origo Psalmorum* (c.8th century of a Greek origin) mentions that:

Et unus quidem eorum feriebat cymbala, alius cynira, alius *cithara*; alius vero tuba cornea exaltans. In medio autem illorum stabat David tenens ipse Psalterium. [And one of them struck the cymbala, another the kinnor, another celebrated on the *cithara*, another with a trumpet which resembles a horn. In their midst stood David holding the psalterium himself].

Pseudo-Bede, PL 93, 478D.

¹⁰⁶ Van Schaik (1992:49)

¹⁰⁷ St Augustine, *Exposition on Psalm 6, To the end, in the hymns of the eight; a psalm to David*.

¹⁰⁸ Thurston, Herbert, 'Symbolism', *The Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol XV (1912)

¹⁰⁹ Psalter, Northern France or Flanders, end of the 12th century. Paris, Bibl. Nationale de France, MS. Lat. 238, fol.114v.

Fig. 7



The Son of God's hand is raised in blessing, while holding the closed Book with his other hand (once again, the Book faces the reader). An angel with open wings is placed on top of this border, looking straight at the reader; another angel is placed at the bottom of the image, however he is not in direct contact with Christ's border and his wings are firmly closed. Four musicians surround Him. Clockwise, they play: trumpet, figure-of-eight viol¹¹⁰, harp and vièle.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ The musician of the figure-of-eight viol holds the bow in an awkward way; however, it could be a misrepresentation of the underhand position.

This image depicts an actual music scene. The musician at the top left corner is clearly blowing air in the trumpet, King David's fingers are touching the strings of the harp in a manner suggestive of playing; the bows of the two stringed instruments are placed upon the strings, while the left hand of both musicians touch the strings on the neck.

What is interesting to note in all the above illustrations (and in the ones soon to be presented) is the grouping of musical instruments according to the principle of the Middle Ages *division instrumentorum* [instrumental division]: this was based on the 'tripartite classification' system of late antiquity which was introduced and established in the medieval West by Boethius. In the *De Institutione musica* Boethius wrote:

The third kind of music is that which is said to rest in various instruments. This music is governed either by tension, as in strings, or by breath, as in the aulos or those instruments activated by water, or by a certain percussion, as in those which are cast in concave brass, and various sounds are produced from these.¹¹²

This *division instrumentorum* has been also described in the Middle Ages Psalm Commentaries. One such example is the 12th-century *Commentarium in Psalmos* of Gerhoh of Reichersberg. At the end of an exposition on the musical instruments mentioned in Psalm 80, the author wrote something that seems to be a justification of the use of musical instruments from the religious point of view:

It must be noted that we are commanded to praise God by means of musical instruments. The ancients [the Greeks and Romans] used to use these arts [or: instruments] at their sacrifices: that is why we too use the organ in religious

¹¹¹ Each one of David's musicians is not exclusively associated with only one particular instrument, or even with instruments of the same instrumental category. For example, Asaph is depicted playing wind and string instruments as well as a percussionist.

¹¹² Boethius, *De Institutione Musica*, Palisca (1989:10)

ceremonies.[...] The art of music is, after all, a heavenly science of which the first part consists of the harmonic, the rhythmic, and the metric divisions. The second part is divided into percussion instruments, such as the cymbala; stringed instruments, such as the *cithara*; and wind instruments, such as the organ. The third part consists of the seven symphoniae [=musical intervals]' and the fourth part is that of the fifteen tones.¹¹³

The author then continues:

That is why, having been instructed in this art [=music], we accompany sacred words like hymns etcetera with this praise and serve God with instruments of this art, such as the organ, the cymbala and the bells; because we know that also the Psalms were performed by means of musical instruments.¹¹⁴

St Bruno of Cologne (c.1030-1101) describes a similar classification of instruments in his commentary on Psalm 150: 'Non solum, o fideles, laudetis Deum in chordis et organo et cymbalis' [That, o ye faithful, you do not merely praise God with stringed music and the organ and cymbala]. Van Schaik discusses the iconographic depictions of musical instruments after taking the above sources into consideration, and concluding thus:

The tripartition into stringed, wind and percussion instruments [...] represents a symbolical line of thought. It symbolises perfection. [...] The instruments represent the threefold exaltation of God. [...] Gerhoh of Reichersberg and Bruno of Cologne did not make an arbitrary choice of instruments to use as examples. They not only represent all instrument classes recognised in the Middle Ages, but also all the known forms of tone production, these being tone production by 'tension' (*intentione*), by 'air current' (*spiritu* or *flatu*) and by 'stroke' (*percussio* or *pulsu*).[...] It is improbable that instrumental combinations occurring in initial illuminations should be seen as actual ensembles. The exegesis on which such combinations are based cannot be counted as evidence, because it was written as the result of an allegorical thought-process and therefore does not attempt to describe reality.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Quoted by Van Schaik (2005:136). Original source stated as: Gerhoh of Reichersberg. *Commentarium in Psalmos*. Ed. Migne. PL 193: 619-1814. For the Latin (Clementine Vulgate) text see: Appendix

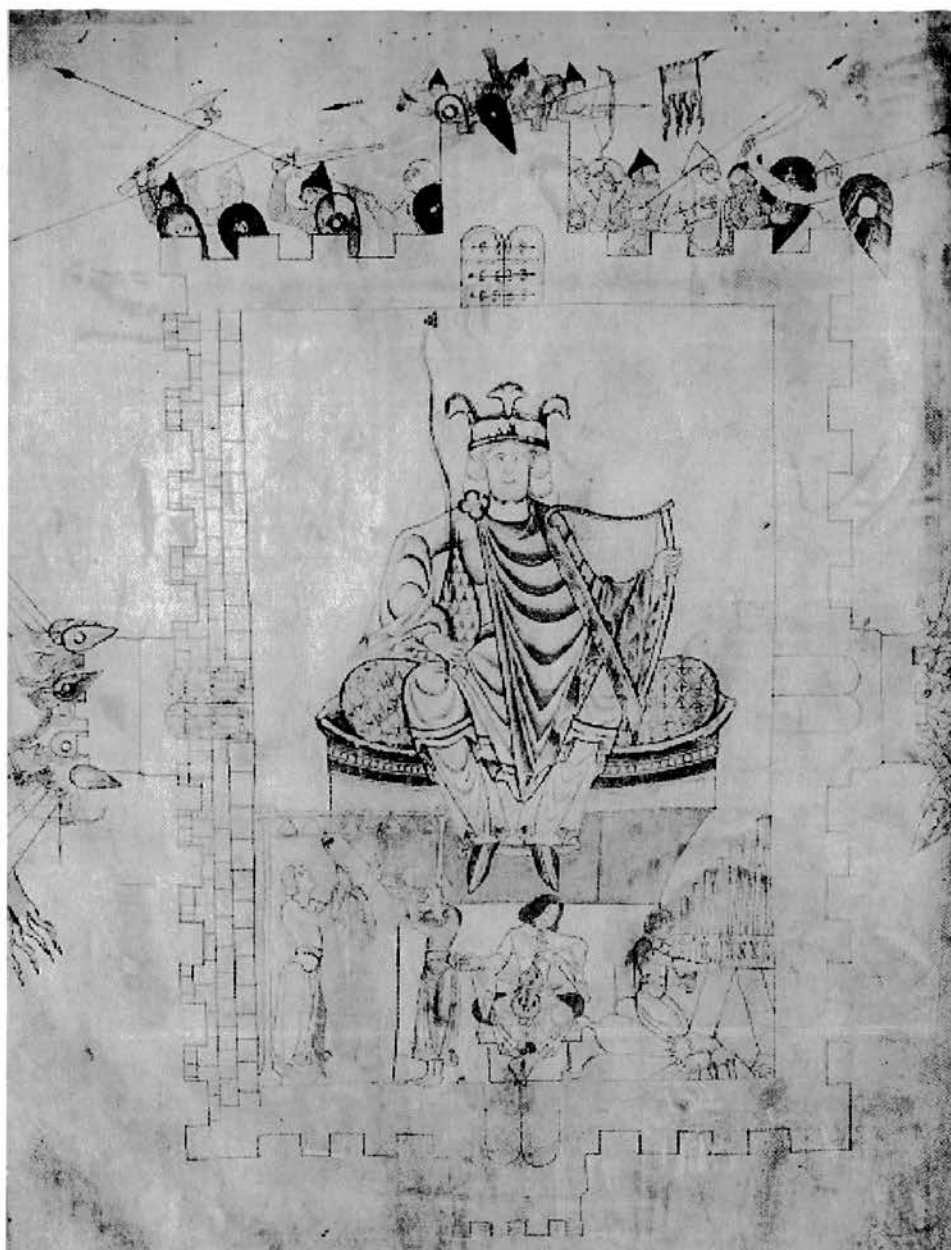
¹¹⁴ For both quotations see footnote above.

¹¹⁵ Van Schaik, (1992:138-40)

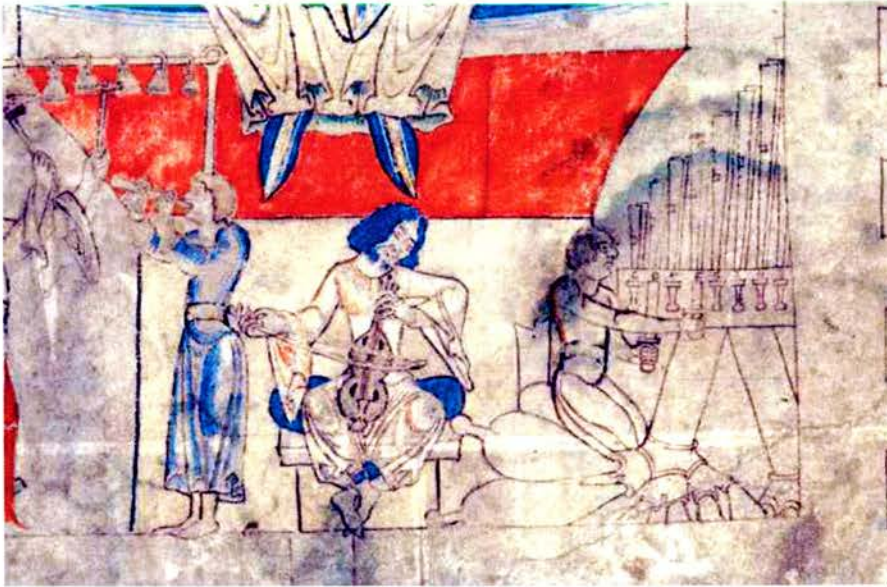
The Middle Ages iconographic instrumental grouping associated with King David and his musicians (and the idea of the trinity of *mensura*, *numerous* and *pondus*) symbolises the divine *ordo* of musical instruments: what Boethius explained as the *musica mundana*. This idea is also projected through the earliest known depiction of the figure-of-eight viol in fol.13v of the Cistercian Bible of St Etienne Harding from the Abbey of Citeaux, dated 1108-9 (fig. 8).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Dijon Biblioteque publique, MS. 14, Vol. III, fol. 13v.

Fig. 8



Detail of lower register



A giant King David is represented at the middle of the image seated on an ornamented bench. In his left hand he holds a harp; in his right hand there is a *virga*, the floret-symbol of God's Wisdom.¹¹⁷ King David is not playing on the harp. He is holding it as an insignia of his role as the Father of the liturgy, displaying the sixteen strings of the instrument to the reader.¹¹⁸ Below King David and at the middle of the lower register of the image there is a musician playing on the figure-of-eight viol. Next to him, a man plays on an organ with

¹¹⁷ First mentioned in Isaiah 11:1-3:

1. And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. 2. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness. 3. And he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord, He shall not judge according to the sight of the eyes, nor reprove according to the hearing of the ears.

For the Latin (Clementine Vulgate) text see: Appendix

¹¹⁸ According to Marchesin, the sixteen strings of the harp reflect the ancient Greek musical systema ametabolon: 1. the Greater Perfect (or else Complete) System (Systêma Teleion Meizon) comprises the Tetrachords Hypatôn, Mesôn, Diezeugmenôn and Hyperbolaiôn. 2. The Lesser Perfect System (Systêma Teleion Elasson) comprises the Tetrachords Hypatôn, Mesôn and Synêmenôn. 3. The complete system above, comprising the Greater and Lesser Perfect Systems, is called the Unmodulating or Immutable System (Systêma Ametabolon). For a detailed analysis on the Ancient Greek musical systems see: West (1992:218-254)

eight pipes; at the left side, a musician plays on the *aulos*, while a percussionist strikes two of the eight handbells hanging from a bar. This is an actual music making scene in which an analogy is noticeable: the organ player operates on two pipes; the percussionist hits two bells simultaneously, while the *aulos* player has both hands on the keyholes. It is difficult to see what the figure-of-eight player is doing, however his right hand appears to be playing a chord, or at least his fingers are touching multiple strings. Noteworthy is the presence of two string instruments, a feature also found in several other manuscripts. It has already been mentioned that these representations were based on the 'tripartite classification' system; however, often, more than one instrument of the same category is depicted, giving the impression that the artist has sub-divided one major instrumental category into two, depending on the way the instruments were played. In this case, two string instruments are depicted: the harp and the figure-of-eight viol. Although they belong to the same category there is a clear differentiation between them: the harp, a plucked instrument, is not being played as it is used as an attribute; on the contrary, the figure-of-eight viol is realistically represented as being played with a bow. Therefore, two different kinds of music are suggested in this image: 'real' and symbolic music.¹¹⁹ 'Real' music is implied by the depiction of the musician playing on the figure-of-eight viol, an actual music making scene. Purely symbolic music (or music as a concept) is represented by the harp in the hands of King David.

Another interesting example illustrating the significance of specific musical instruments, the figure-of-eight viol included, is to be found in the

¹¹⁹ Both types of music share the same basis that is the importance placed upon the 'Ars Musica'. As Monelle has suggested, anything suggested by a symbol is only a qualification or patterning of the real world. Monelle (1979, 19:24-37)

famous Hunterian Psalter (at one time known as the York Psalter) now at the Special Collections department of Glasgow University (ca.1150-1170).¹²⁰ The calendar is followed up by a sequence of full page illustrations, all magnificent examples of Romanesque art, prefacing the Psalter.¹²¹ This sequence concludes with a double page opening of the Psalms. The left image of these is one of the most famous illuminated scenes of all Middle Ages iconography due to the meticulous depiction of Middle Ages musical instruments (fig. 9).

¹²⁰ Sp.Coll. MS Hunter U.3.2 (229). Although it is not known where the Psalter was created, a northern English origin has traditionally been assumed; still, the hypothesis that it has been produced in South East England (Canterbury perhaps) seems now more possible. In May 2007, Glasgow University's Special Collection department curated the exhibition "Hunter: Man, Medic and Collector" hosted at the Hunterian Museum; the 'Hunterian Psalter' was on display for a four-month period. The department's website 'Book of the Month, May 2007: the Hunterian Psalter' presents valuable analysis and commentaries on the Psalter, as well as a selection of its finest images. Julie Gardham, senior Assistant Librarian, composed the relevant article on the aforementioned website and mentioned that:

The overall feeling of the experts who have examined its artwork is that it was probably not a monastic production, but more likely to have been made by professional - perhaps even itinerant - craftsmen.

Julie Gardham acknowledges a long bibliography of books and articles written on the 'Hunterian Psalter' and has also included a web manuscripts catalogue record.

¹²¹ This practice is found in England from the 11th century onwards.

Fig. 9



The theme of this image is the representation of a symbolic pedagogic scene, similar in nature with the last page of the St Albans Psalter (fig. 6). The illustration is divided into three different parts, based on a hierarchical pyramid:

from the lowest rank of the Hierarchy –that of the humans who are still learning- to the highest –represented by the Divine hand and the angels. King David occupies the central part of the image following the iconographic tradition of giant Jesus: he wears a crown, yet a halo surrounds his head while a rainbow encloses his body; these features leave no doubt for his real personification: he is the mediator of Christ. David is placed in the middle of the image, in between the earthly world and the celestial sphere. His is not playing on his harp (which is beautifully and in great detail depicted) but he is tuning it with a T-shaped tuning hammer at his left hand.¹²²

Above David, there are fifteen handbells hanging from a bar where the following sequence of musical notes (hexachord) is written: *ut re mi fa sol la fa mi la sol fa mi re ut*. The Divine hand in blessing emerges from the top of the image (coming from below the Temple) and touches the bar with the written melody on. More precisely, the Divine hand touches (or points at) the fifth bell from the left. Two men balanced on a thick white horizontal rod strike the bells; the man on the left strikes the fifth bell with a hammer (the same bell that is touched by the Divine hand), while the musician at the right strikes two bells simultaneously. Marchesin has pointed out the symbolic connection between this musician and King David. King David has three fingers extended on the strings; however, only two of them actually touch them. The distance between his thumb and the index covers five strings. The musician at the right strikes two bells at the same time, producing a consonant sound identical with that produced by King David on his harp.¹²³ Therefore, five is the ‘hidden’ symbolic

¹²² The importance of this is discussed later on.

¹²³ Marchesin (2000:94)

number of this image as there are fifteen bells, and so there are five bells between the hammers of each percussionist.¹²⁴ Two ladders are placed on the rod where the two percussionists stand, that could be seen as symbolising the ascension of the human soul into Heaven.¹²⁵ The theme of the ladder was common in western Christian iconography of the Middle Ages as described in Genesis 28:10-13.

Medieval commentators saw in this scene a symbol both of a stratified and hierarchical order, and Middle Ages artists projected this through their art. On the roundels at the top of the image, two angels are to be found; the one at the left points at the Temple, while the one at the right holds the *floret*, the symbol of Wisdom. The second and third parts of the image present great interest. A lively musical activity is portrayed, and the communication between the performers is evident. Beneath David's footstool and at the left side a mature looking musician plays on an oval *vièle*; in the middle two children play on a pan pipe and what seems to be a double flute. The child with the pan pipes looks straight at the musician with the *vièle*, while the one with the bagpipe seems to be practicing on the keyholes. The younger musician at the right side

¹²⁴ Marchesin (2000:94) also suggests that:

the ornamental knot put at the right side of the harp is highly symbolic: it links the royal instrument to the whole forward motion of the percussionist, as well as to the ladder which allowed him to raise himself up to the divine numbers.

¹²⁵ For an extensive study on the symbolic meaning of the ladder in Christian iconography see: Heck (1997). The only significant Biblical source for the celestial ladder is mentioned in Genesis 28:10-12, at 'Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia: his vision and vow':

10. But Jacob being departed from Bersabee, went on to Haran. 11. And when he was come to a certain place, and would rest in it after sunset, he took of the stones that lay there, and putting under his head, slept in the same place. 12. And he saw in his sleep a ladder standing upon the earth, and the top thereof touching heaven: the angels also of God ascending and descending by it. 13. And the Lord leaning upon the ladder saying to him: I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: The land, wherein thou sleepest, I will give to thee and to thy seed.

For the Latin (Clementin Vulgate) text see: Appendix

plays on the figure-of-eight viol while looking at the vièle player; the impression created is that the children are the music students of the two older string players. In the left roundel two musicians are depicted playing on handbells and a psaltery, while looking straight at the musician with the figure-of-eight viol; finally, in the right roundel two people operate an organistrum. It is important to note here that this is the first known extant depiction of an organistrum being played.

The above example is centered on the symbolic meaning attributed to the Art of music in the Middle Ages. The harmony of the universe is, for once and evermore, secured through music. The Divine hand is above all controlling the celestial melody. Christ (depicted though as David, the Father of the liturgy) is responsible for keeping the balance through the perfect tuning of his harp. The gradual ascension of the human soul to Heaven is represented, where celestial Wisdom, achieved through music, prevails. The figure-of-eight viol is placed within such a deeply symbolic and spiritual environment. Its use for didactic purposes is suggested but this could also be an allegory. Nonetheless, its association with the harp, the organistrum, the psaltery, the handbells and the vièle, and its connection with the celestial Wisdom and the cosmic order, clearly emphasise the instrument's symbolic iconographic nature.

The idea projected through all the images discussed is that King David is the cosmic ruler; he is responsible for the establishment and spread of the New Law on earth; he maintains the perfect order of the universe through his celestial music; he is guided by the Holy Spirit to secure the *harmoniae* of the cosmos by taming the evil spirits in the same way as medieval royalty was

considered to be blessed by God and was deemed responsible for securing the social balance. To recall Frederic II's words:

Princes of nations were created through whom the license of crimes might be corrected.

Evil – grotesque figures & the figure-of-eight viol

In the iconography of the Middle Ages a repetition of the main visual messages is noticeable. For instance, the depiction of grotesque and bestial figures is common even within a religious context. Bovey suggests:

The monstrous creatures [...] appear in images painted or drawn on the pages of medieval manuscripts. [...] Other types of monsters were symbolic expressions of ideas in which medieval Christians believed devoutly, whether or not they believed that monsters existed in the physical world. The majority of medieval people most certainly believed in the demons and devils who lurk in the margins of manuscripts. These metaphysical monsters represented spiritual dangers.¹²⁶

Taking this into account might facilitate the understanding of the symbolical meaning of fol. 32r of the 13th-century 'Huntingfield Psalter' (fig. 10).¹²⁷ The historiated initial depicts the figure of a seated Christ. His right hand is raised in blessing while he is holding the closed Book of Wisdom in the left hand. At the right margin –emerging from the initial D- a dragon appears, biting the tail of a horned bestial Devil who plays on the figure-of-eight viol.

¹²⁶ Bovey (2002:6)

¹²⁷ The occurrence of the name of Roger de Huntingfield is the basis of a very probable conjecture that the volume is connected with Mendham Priory in Suffolk, a Cluniac House, cell to Castleacre, of which the Huntingfield's son William was the founder (d. 1155). Information as appears at CORSAIR catalogue, www.corsairmorganlibrary.org

Fig. 10



This image accompanies the text of Psalm 7:1 (Vulgate Psalm 7:2), a meditation by David which he sang to God, concerning the words of Chusi, the Benjamite son of Jemini. The understanding of the meaning of the text is essential for an insight of the allegorical image. The historiated initial D opens the section:

Domine Deus meus, in te speravi; salvum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me, et libera me. [O Lord, my God, in thee have I put my trust; save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me].

The meaning of the Psalm is revealed at the first three lines:

1. The psalm of David, which he sung to the Lord, for the words of Chusi, the son of Jemini.
2. O Lord, my God, in thee have I put my trust; save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me.
3. Lest at any time he seize upon my soul like a lion, while there is no one to redeem me, nor to save.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ For the Latin (Clementine Vulgate) text see: Appendix
The Psalm explicitly mentions:

It is understood, therefore, that Psalm 7 is a meditation seeking the protection of God from the hidden traps of life that lead to evil deeds. The iconographic translation of this text in the 'Huntingfield Psalter' is of particular interest. Within the initial a surprisingly smiling Jesus is shown. This is a quite strange feature as there is not a single mention of Jesus smiling in the Bible. The only exception to this is found in Chapter 31 of the 'Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew; the book of the Birth of the Blessed Mary and the Infancy of the Saviour', in which a reference to a smiling child Jesus is included.¹²⁹ Within the initial a pronounced

4. O Lord, my God, if I have done this thing, if there be iniquity in my hands: 5. If I have rendered to them that repaid me evils, let me deservedly fall empty before my enemies. 6. Let the enemy pursue my soul, and take it, and tread down my life, on the earth, and bring down my glory to the dust.

While St Augustine comments on the above passage:

4. By again naming the enemy in the singular number, he more and more clearly points out him whom he spoke of above as a lion. For he persecutes the soul, and if he has deceived it, will take it. For the limit of men's rage is the destruction of the body; but the soul, after this visible death, they cannot keep in their power: whereas whatever souls the devil shall have taken by his persecutions, he will keep... since You have enjoined humility, appear in humility; and first fulfill what You have enjoined; that men by Your example overcoming pride may not be possessed of the devil, who against Your commandments advised to pride, saying, "Eat, and your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be as gods", Genesis 3:5.

St Augustine has composed the 'Exposition on Psalm 7; a psalm to David himself, which he sung to the Lord, for the words of Chusi, son of Jemini', in which he analyses and explains the introductory lines:

2. O Lord my God, in You have I hoped: save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me (verse 1). As one to whom, already perfected, all the war and enmity of vice being overcome, there remains no enemy but the envious devil, he says, Save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me. 3. Lest at any time he tear my soul as a lion. The Apostle says, "Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walks about, seeking whom he may devour" (1 Peter 5:8). Therefore when the Psalmist said in the plural number, Save me from all them that persecute me: he afterwards introduced the singular, saying, lest at any time he tear my soul as a lion. For he does not say, lest at any time they tear: he knew what enemy and violent adversary of the perfect soul remained. Whilst there be none to redeem, nor to save: that is, lest he tear me, while Thou redeemest not, nor savest. For, if God redeem not, nor save, he tears.

¹²⁹ Written in Hebrew by the Blessed Evangelist Matthew, and translated into Latin by the Blessed Presbyter Jerome. The text runs as:

Then Jesus, smiling at him with a joyful countenance, said in a commanding voice to all the sons of Israel standing by and hearing: Let the unfruitful bring forth fruit, and the blind see, and the lame walk right, and the poor enjoy the good things of this life, and the dead live, that each may return to his original state, and abide in Him who is the root of life and of perpetual sweetness. And when the **child Jesus** had said this, forthwith all who had fallen under malignant

halo bearing a cross surrounds Jesus' head. The marginal Devil is grinning, or more precisely has a big smile on his face, while he has a pair of sharp and distinct horns on his head. Jesus is holding the Book of Wisdom at His left hand, while the Devil holds the figure-of-eight viol at his left hand. Jesus' right hand is raised in blessing while the Devil's right hand is slightly raised away from his body holding the bow. The evident parallelism in the depiction of Jesus and the Devil is interrupted by a difference: Jesus' body is completely covered by rich and colorful garments while the Devil appears naked with hair covering his whole body. Bovey writes on the common appearance of the Devil in Middle Ages iconography:

In the New Testament, Satan appeared to Jesus during his forty days in the wilderness, evidence that no-one –not even Christ himself- was safe from the Devil's attempts to corrupt human souls. But, unlike Adam and Eve, Jesus resisted the Devil's advances; thus, images of Christ being tempted by Satan would have inspired viewers to follow Christ's example. In their depictions of devils and demons, medieval artists made them as ghastly as possible. Covered with hair, medieval demons grin and snarl; they often have pig-like snouts, asinine ears and tails, and frequently grotesque faces stare out their bellies and bottoms.¹³⁰

In the vast majority of the examined Middle Ages iconographic evidence, the figure-of-eight viol -here placed in the hands of the Devil- was associated with Biblical figures. For many men, this image of the grinning Devil with such a musical instrument must have been much more effective than any theological debate on good and evil. The controversy outlined in this image is based on the depiction of an instrument mostly associated with the Heavens -in the symbolical sphere- and the higher social strata -which was 'blessed'- in the

diseases were restored. And they did not dare to say anything more to Him, or to hear anything from Him.

¹³⁰ Bovey (2002:36)

hands of a dangerous evil creature; this controversy aimed at moral teaching, and at alarming the reader about the wicked and veiled tricks of the devil and his beautifully disguised traps. The figure-of-eight viol acts therefore as the visual and 'tangible' representative of the abstract and transcendental nature of music. The use of music by the Devil to seduce humans was an idea very well embedded in peoples' minds during the Middle Ages, having its roots at the older Patristic writings. Such an example is found in the theological 'Treatise 10; on Jealousy and Envy' of Cyprian of Carthage where he mentioned:

He [Devil] presents to the eyes seductive forms and easy pleasures, that he may destroy chastity by the sight. **He tempts the ears with harmonious music, that by the hearing of sweet sounds he may relax and enervate Christian vigour.**

Another Church Father, Athanasius, wrote in the 'Life of St. Anthony' for the brethren in foreign lands encouraging them against the wiles of demons:

25. 'Again they are treacherous, and are ready to change themselves into all forms and assume all appearances. Very often also without appearing **they imitate the music of harp and voice, and recall the words of Scripture.**

It is with this perspective that the depiction of the Devil with the figure-of-eight viol should be examined. The instrument's unexpected, perhaps, association with the Devil does not affect the instrument's social significance; on the contrary, it is the latter alongside the highly symbolic meaning artists have attributed to it that highlights the underlying controversy and emphasise the Christian visual message. It is like an allegorical code that would be easily understood by the Middle Ages reader of the Psalter, who was, without doubt, a member of the high social rank. As Bennett also indicates:

Gestures, poses, and presence of the characters often refer to the words of the introductory lines of the psalms, but they also portend moral significance. In fact, what may have been overlooked are the spiritual and penitential aspects of the word-illustrations which relate to the book recipient. The devotee, who was

also a sinner and a penitent, was admonished by psalms that the senses alerted the devotee to dangers of evil. To remedy temptations in thought, word and deed, one recited, meditated, and recollected psalms and contemplated word-images as acts of penance.¹³¹

The following example of the figure-of-eight viol placed in the hands of a monstrous figure is also taken from the Huntingfield Psalter (fig. 11). Fol. 71v. illustrates Psalm 42 (Vulgate 41) 'A Psalm for David; the prophet aspires after the temple and altar of God'.¹³² Verses 5 and 6 of the translated text run as follows:

5. To thee, O God my God, I will give praise upon the **harp**: why art thou sad, O my soul? and why dost thou disquiet me? 6. Hope in God, for I will still give praise to him: the salvation of my countenance, and my God.¹³³

¹³¹ Bennett (2004:216)

¹³² The historiated initial Q opens the verse 'Quia tu es, Deus, fortitudo mea: quare me repulisti? Et quare tristis incedo, dum affligit me inimicus?' [Judge me, O God, and distinguish my cause from the nation that is not holy: deliver me from the unjust and deceitful man].

¹³³ For the Latin (Clementine Vulgate) text see: Appendix

Fig. 11



Within the historiated initial Q a three-faced male is depicted. He is seated, holding the figure-of-eight viol. The tail of the foliate ornament is also pulled by a grimacing man, in the left margin. In Fol. 32r discussed above, the figure-of-eight viol is played by the Devil; here, it is placed in the hands of a monstrous figure, the identity of which is the key for the de-coding of the image. The three-headed or three-faced creatures have been described by several 20th-century art-historians as 'diabolical', 'satanic' and 'evil'. However, this has not been the Middle Ages view as their aesthetics recognised the coexistence of Christology with monstrosity. In his 'Chronicle' Gizebert of Gembloux recorded in the entry for the year 1121:

In the Church of the Premonstratensians, at Matins, the Demon appeared to a friar who was reflecting profoundly on the ineffable Trinity, who is God (*de ineffabili trinitate, quae Deus est*), and he appeared to him wearing three heads, pretending that he was the Trinity and affirming that the friar, thanks to the

merit of his faith, was worthy of this vision. But the friar [...] recognised the enemy's ruse and, insulting him, forced him to depart.¹³⁴

From the above passage it is understood that at least by the 12th century, the Trinity was visualised as a three-headed creature. The much later account of the Archbishop St Antoninus of Florence, the 'Summa Theologica' (1477) mentions:

Painters [...] are blameworthy (*reprehensibiles*), when they paint things which are against faith (*contra fidem*), when they make an image of the Trinity one person with three heads, which is monstrous in the nature of things (*quod monstrum est in rerum natura*).¹³⁵

Mills discusses:

Though the medieval Imagination developed an array of solutions to the knotty problem of visualizing 'three-in-one', a concept sanctioned by the Church doctrine since the Council of Nicaea in 325, depicting the Trinity as three-headed hybrid was actually quite common in late medieval art and could be taken to extraordinary lengths. Usually artists deploying the polymorphous model depicted a Trinity with three faces: such images commonly feature a single head with triple visage – four eyes and three noses- like the mid-thirteenth century sculptural head-stop in Salisbury Cathedral. But more rarely the Trinity is actually shown with three heads [...]¹³⁶

The real meaning of this depiction can only be postulated. The comments of St Augustine on verse 5 'Yea, upon the harp will I praise You, O God my God' might help to shed some light on this, as he concentrated on the religious symbolism of two musical instruments, the psaltery and the harp. Interestingly enough, the figure-of-eight viol has, once more, visually replaced the original literary mention of the *cithara* and its Middle Ages common counterpart, the harp:

¹³⁴ Quoted in Mills (2003:43). Original source stated as: Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicle* (continuation), *PL* 160, COL. 365.

¹³⁵ Mills (2003:38). Original source: St Antoninus, *Summa Theologica*, 4 Vols, (Verona: Ballerini, 1740; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck & Verlagsanstalt), 1959, iii, col. 321 (s. 8, ch. 4).

¹³⁶ Mills (Ibid:39)

Yea, upon the harp will I praise You, O God my God. What is the meaning of praising on the harp, and praising on the psaltery? For he does not always do so with the harp, nor always with the psaltery. **These two instruments of the musicians have each a distinct meaning of their own, worthy of our consideration and notice.** They are both borne in the hands, and played by the touch; and they stand for certain bodily works of ours. Both are good, if one knows how to play the psaltery, or to play the harp. But since the psaltery is that instrument which has the shell (i.e. that drum, that hollow piece of wood, by straining on which the chords resound) on the upper part of it, whereas the harp has that same concave sounding-board on the lower part, there is to be a distinction made between our works, when they are upon the harp, when on the psaltery: both however are acceptable to God, and grateful to His ear. **When we do anything according to God's Commandments, obeying His commands and hearkening to Him, that we may fulfil [sic] His injunctions, when we are active and not passive, it is the psaltery that is playing.** For so also do the Angels: for they have nothing to suffer. But when we suffer anything of tribulation, of trials, of offences on this earth (as we suffer only from the inferior part of ourselves; i.e. from the fact that we are mortal, that we owe somewhat of tribulation to our original cause, and also from the fact of our suffering much from those who are not above); this is the harp. **For there rises a sweet strain from that part of us which is below: we suffer, and we strike the psaltery, or shall I rather say we sing and we strike the harp.**

Monumental Sculpturing & the figure-of-eight viol

Personifications were human or anthropomorphic allegorical figures; most often these figures were females because the abstract concepts they represented had feminine endings in Latin. Personifications are almost always associated with particular objects, the so-called attributes already discussed in this chapter. *Musica*, the personification of music for example, is always represented with a musical instrument. The right portal of the West front of the Notre Dame Cathedral in Chartres is called alternately the Doorway of the

Virgin, or the Doorway of the Childhood of Christ, or the Incarnation Door.¹³⁷ At the voussours, the Seven Liberal Arts are represented by female figures, while the men below them correspond to the classical authority of each one of them (fig. 12).

Fig. 12



¹³⁷ The Cathedrale de Notre Dame in Chartres marks the high point of French Gothic art. The three portals are thematically interlinked with Christ's entry into the world, his leaving at the North Portal depicting the Resurrection, and the end of time in the Central Portal.

The personification of Music in this particular example presents special interest (fig. 13):

Fig. 13



She is a young woman, fully and lavishly clothed, seated on an ornamented throne. Beautifully detailed musical instruments are also depicted. At the head level, three handbells are hanging from a platform. Musica is striking the first bell from the right with a hammer at her right hand, while looking straight at it. Below that bell, and hanging from a nail on the wall, there is the figure-of-eight viol. This is hung upside down by what seems to be a long hook attached to its tailpin. Finally, a rather large psaltery is placed on her lap and resting on her torsos. The depictions of the musical instruments are quite realistic. This illustration reflects the ancient Greek idea, so popular in the Middle Ages, of

music having a mathematical basis. According to the Greeks, Pythagoras was the 'discoverer' of the relationships of consonant intervals in the sound of the hammers and the plucking of stretched strings. Here, Musica is striking the bell with a hammer, while at the archivolt just below her, a mature Pythagoras is portrayed. Musica is tuning –in an allegorical sense similar to King David's depictions- and not actually playing on any of the instruments, which are used as her attributes. The representation of a purely ancient Greek idea on a Christian tympanum might seem awkward. However, during the Middle Ages two versions existed regarding the origin of music: the Greek non-Christian Pythagorean legend, and the Biblical reference to Jubal and Tubalcain.¹³⁸ At the voussoir next to Musica, a statue of a female figure representing Grammar and two young children all holding open books are to be found; at the archivolt below Grammar there is the statue of Donatus, the Roman grammarian and teacher of rhetoric, tutor of St Jerome, and author of the 'Ars Grammatica', the most influential schoolbook during the Middle Ages.

The theological idea possibly projected through this tympanum is that secular learning, essential as it is, still depends on Divine Wisdom. The presence of the figure-of-eight viol within such a highly allegorical scene next to the ancient bells and the Biblical psalter, highlights its symbolic nature, and so provides further evidence for the high social esteem it must have enjoyed.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Both versions were closely connected, as in Genesis 4:21-2 it is mentioned that:

21. And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of them that play upon the harp and the organs. 22. Sella also brought forth Tubalcain, who was a hammerer and artificer in every work of brass and iron.

For the Latin (Clementine Vulgate) text see: Appendix

¹³⁹ A further hypothesis could also be put forward: there might not be enough evidence to support it at this stage of research, yet it is essential to be discussed. This new hypothesis supports the possible use of the figure-of-eight viol for pedagogical purposes. This idea is also reflected in the already discussed fol. 21v of the Hunterian Psalter, as well as in St Alban's Psalter. In addition, Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad von

The twenty-four Apocalyptic Elders and the figure-of-eight viol

One recurring theme in Middle Ages iconography is that of the twenty-four Apocalyptic Elders. The Bible offers several references to those figures; from these, it is obvious that they are of a highly allegorical significance, the interpretation of which, however, remains a bit of a mystery.¹⁴⁰ The Bible clearly

Landsberg promotes the same idea in its depiction of the Seven Liberal Arts (Appendix: fig. x). Philosophy sits in the center of the circle and is personified by a Queen. Three heads emerge from her crown representing the three parts of the teaching of philosophy: Ethics, Logic and Physics. Philosophy is holding a streamer which reads: "All wisdom comes from God; only the wise can achieve what they desire". Below Philosophy, seated at desks, are Socrates and Plato. Seven streams emerge from Philosophy's two sides, three on the right and four on the left. According to the inscriptions these are the Seven Liberal Arts, inspired by the Holy Spirit: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. The inscription reads: "I, Godlike Philosophy, control all things with wisdom; I lay out seven arts which are subordinate to me". Musica is represented as part of the quadrivium; she is a young woman lavishly dressed in the fashion of nobility of the time; she is holding a harp (entitled as *cithara*), while in the same roundel there is a lira with a bow and an organistrum. The inscription surrounding the roundel reads: "I teach my art using a variety of instruments". The purpose of this image is to expose the necessary knowledge for coming closer to God's wisdom. The figure-of-eight viol is not represented here; instead an organistrum, the instrument so closely associated with the figure-of-eight one, is depicted. Only stringed instruments are illustrated in this depiction; however, all three are played differently. The harp is plucked, the lira bowed (the depiction of the hand with a bow leaves no doubt about this), while the organistrum is the most technologically advanced, as it uses a combination of two different techniques: plucking and bowing (in the form of a rotating wheel). *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsberg, Abbess of Hohenburg, ca. 1180.

¹⁴⁰ Their first description is in Revelation Chapter 4, 'The vision of the throne of God, the twenty-four ancients and the four living creatures':

4. And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats, four and twenty ancients sitting, clothed in white garments. And on their heads were crowns of gold.

Douay-Rheims Bible refers to the twenty four 'ancients', while King James Bible referrets to the twenty four 'elders'.

For the Latin (Clementine Vulgate) text see: Appendix

The great Church Father St Victorinus, in his 'Commentary on the Apocalypse' has offered his interpretation of the above passage:

The four and twenty elders are the twenty-four books of the prophets and of the law, which give testimonies of the judgment. Moreover, also, they are the twenty-four fathers— twelve apostles and twelve patriarchs.

St Victorinus, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. According to St Jerome, St Victorinus was one of the most important ecclesiastical writers who lived during the 3rd and 4th centuries and suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, probably in 303. Source: Clugnet, Léon. "St Victorinus." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. XV (1912). In his commentary *On the Creation of the World* the author wrote:

The day, as I have above related [Creation], is divided into two parts by the number twelve— by the twelve hours of day and night; and by these hours too, months, and years, and seasons, and ages are computed. Therefore, doubtless, there are appointed **also twelve angels of the day and twelve angels of the night, in accordance, to wit, with the number of hours. For these are the twenty-four witnesses of the days and nights which sit before the throne of God, having golden crowns on their heads, whom the Apocalypse of John the apostle and evangelist calls elders, for the reason that they are older both than the other angels and than men.**

associated the Elders with the adoration and praise of God; their visual representations have, perhaps surprisingly, remained very close to this textual association: they are depicted in relation to John's Heavenly vision,¹⁴¹ the Four living Creatures and the Second Coming. In Revelation Chapter 5 'The book sealed with seven seals is opened by the Lamb, who thereupon receives adoration and praise from all' it is mentioned that:

6. And I saw: and behold in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures and in the midst of the ancients, a Lamb standing, as it were slain, having seven horns and seven eyes: which are the seven Spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth. 7. And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat on the throne. 8 **And when he had opened the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty ancients fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.** 9. **And they sung a new canticle, saying: Thou art worthy, O Lord, to take the book and to open the seals thereof: because thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God, in thy blood, out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation.**¹⁴²

St Victorinus comments on the above passage:

Twenty-four elders and four living creatures, having harps and phials, and singing a new song. **The proclamation of the Old Testament associated with the New, points out the Christian people singing a new song, that is, bearing their confession publicly. [...] The harp, and the chord stretched on its wooden frame, signifies the flesh of Christ linked with the wood of the passion. The phial signifies the Confession, and the race of the new Priesthood. But it is the praise of many angels, yea, of all, the salvation of all, and the testimony of the universal creation, bringing to our Lord thanksgiving for the deliverance of men from the destruction of death.**

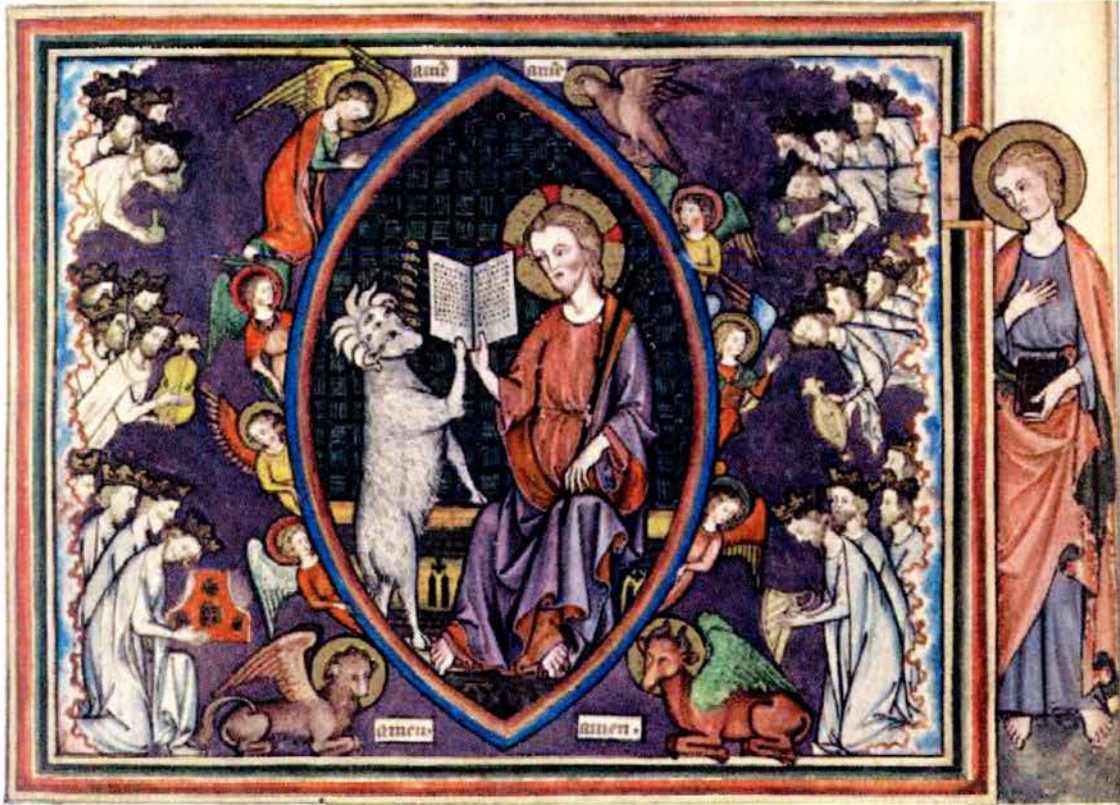
Fol. 7r of the Cloisters Apocalypse *The Opening of the Book* is based on the aforementioned Biblical passage (fig. 14). John is looking through the door as the Lamb with Christ open the Book. The angels sing 'Amen' while the twenty-

¹⁴¹ As in the already discussed 'Cloisters Apocalypse', fol. 5v.

¹⁴² For the Latin (Clementine Vulgate) text see: Appendix

four Elders, many of whom carry musical instruments, join them in the song of praise.

Fig. 14



The Elders are depicted at along the two sides of the image; they are divided in small groups of four, each group carrying either a vessel with incense or a musical instrument. In addition, it is one of the very few instances where they are represented standing and not seated on thrones. As the Apocalyptic text specifies, they are wearing long white garments and golden crowns on their heads. Only one instrument is mentioned at the relevant passage by, presumably, John: the *cithara*. However and for once more, the Middle Ages artist took the liberty to introduce contemporary instruments, such as the figure-of-eight viol and a vièle, next to the Biblical *psalterium* and *cithara*. The Elders are

not playing on the instruments, which next to the white garments and the crowns, act as attributes. Moreover, the four Elders carrying the instruments are all respectfully bowing towards Christ and the Lamb, giving the impression that they are offering the musical instruments as a gift. The abovementioned illustration is merely one example of the figure-of-eight viol's association with the Apocalyptic Elders. In the vast majority of Middle Ages iconography, including both monumental sculptures and illuminated manuscripts, the Elders are represented carrying (and not playing on) certain musical instruments; the figure-of-eight viol is often found in their hands.

The Cathédrale de Saint Maurice d' Angers in Western France (Loire) is a good example of this: each one of the twenty-four Elders carries a musical instrument: the figure-of-eight viol and possibly a vièle (fig. 15).¹⁴³

¹⁴³ <http://www.sacred-destinations.com/france/angers-cathedral.htm>. Public domain photograph.

Fig. 15



The Elders are placed at the outer roundel of the tympanum of the West front façade, surrounding Christ and the symbols of the four Evangelists. The sculpture is in Romanesque – Gothic style, and inspired by the Royal Portal in

Chartres it depicts an Apocalyptic scene (detail fig. 15). The figure-of-eight viol is also depicted in the hands of one of the Elders at: the Notre Dame Cathedral in Chartres (fig. 16), the Santiago de Compostella (fig. 17), the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris (fig. 18), St George de Boscherville (fig. 19), the Cathedral of Sainte Marie in Oloron, Westminster Abbey, the Iglesia de San Martiño de Noia and in the Church of St Nicholas at Bafrestone.¹⁴⁴

Fig. 16



¹⁴⁴ For more illustrations see: Appendix

Fig. 17

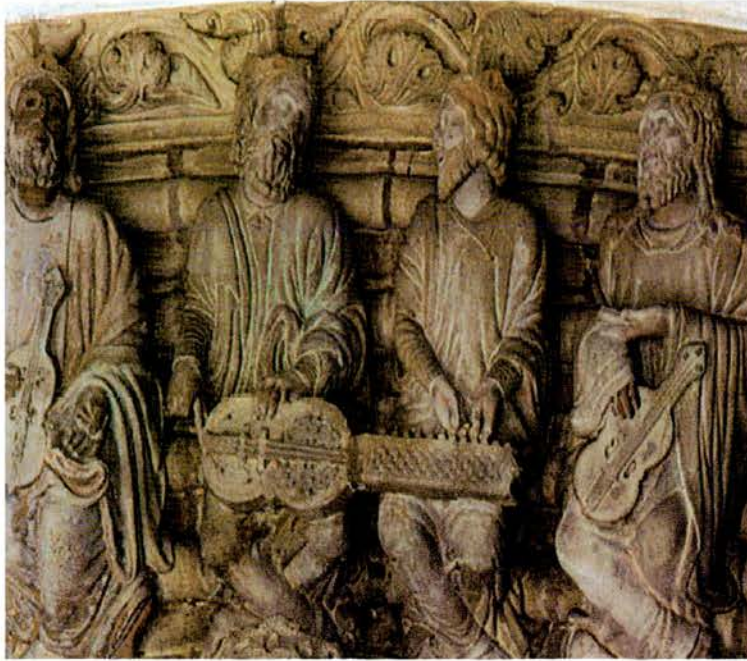
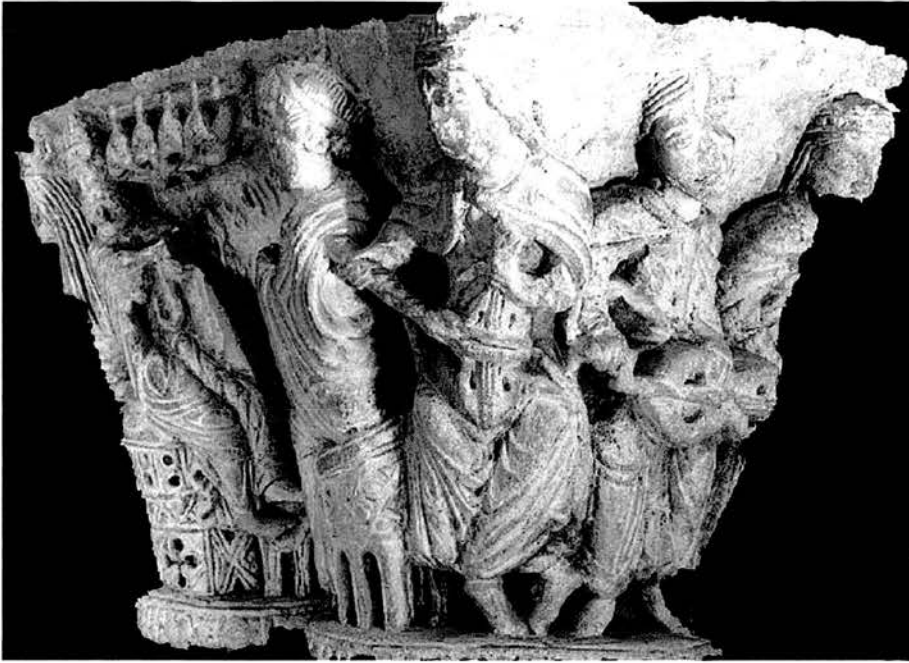


Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Conclusions

In this chapter, documentary sources from France, Spain, England and Germany have been examined,¹⁴⁵ and a period of approximately three hundred years, from the 11th to the 14th centuries, has been covered. The representations of the figure-of-eight viol have been considered within a broad context; this was defined by Middle Ages aesthetics which established the employment of symbolism for the suggestion of deeper and abstract meanings, and recognized allegorical connotations to all represented figures.

Such a spherical approach allowed for the consideration of the significance and symbolic nuance of the figure-of-eight viol within Middle Ages

¹⁴⁵ For various depictions of the figure-of-eight viol from different countries, see: relevant Appendix.

iconography; this in its turn, facilitated an insight into the potential social context the figure-of-eight viol was associated with: the fact that it was one of the instruments associated with high-ranked Biblical personages, and as an extension to this related to the celestial harmony of the Court of Heaven, and given the symbolic nature of these images, suggests that the figure-of-eight viol must have been considered of a high social esteem.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Especially if one considers the representations of the Court of Heaven as a mirror image of the earthly court.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORGANOLOGICAL EXAMINATION

A medieval viol has yet to be discovered, but due to the early period at which this instrument flourished (c.1080-c.1320) the chances of a find are remote, although not impossible.¹

Very few western bowed instruments have survived from the Middle Ages, and so, a physical study of them is not feasible. Most instrument collections display a number of surviving Renaissance instruments but only few pre-16th-century ones, with the exception of some bone flutes and various rattles. A number of instrumental body parts such as bridges and broken tailpieces have also been excavated, and successful efforts to date them were made by organologists, art historians and archaeologists.²

However, these findings do not reveal anything in detail regarding the instruments' proper appearance, or anything concrete about the instruments' performance practice, even in terms of if they were bowed or plucked. Furthermore, due to the Middle Ages tradition of orally transmitted music,³ and so the lack of surviving instrumental written music, there is inadequate information for an overall picture of Middle Ages instruments, and their use. As has been repeatedly emphasised in the thesis, in certain cases, answers to several relevant issues are based almost exclusively on scholarly opinion.

¹ Remnant (1986:2)

² An example of this is the amber bridge found in a chieftain's grave in Broa, Sweden. Dated from the second half of the 8th century. Crane (ibid:xi) classifies it as 313 (lyres), catalogue number 313.13, that is according to the Hornbostel-Sachs system of musical instruments classification. Yet, these findings have been scattered in archaeological museums and several historic collections and not in specialised musical instruments' museums. Crane (1972:ix)

³ Bachmann (1969:124) discusses:

[...] no manuscripts of instrumental music survive from the period up to the thirteenth century – the medieval musicians played without music.

As no specimen of the figure-of-eight viol has survived to our days iconographic evidence is the only proof of the instrument's existence. The plethora of Middle Ages iconographic depictions of this instrument allow for its detailed observation. Yet, not all depictions can be considered as trustworthy; iconography can be misleading and even contradictory, especially when it is the only source of information. Each individual's personal perception of reality and his taste, and not necessarily his scientific awareness, are factors that, in the case of the artist, form the evidence which then in the case of the viewer, leads to its interpretation. Leppert comments:

We also need to remember that as historians, by definition we are not the same audience as the one for whom the artist painted, that the images we see may well have meant something different to the original audience of the artist's own time and place than they mean to us.⁴

Brown comments:

Medieval artists normally depicted instruments more schematically than later artists. [They] did not include sufficient detail and were in any case not interested in revealing the functional structure of the objects they represented. Even the most schematic representations can tell us some significant facts: the kinds of instruments in common use and some information about their construction and use, such as their approximate shapes and how they were held and played.⁵

While Downie argues that:

Art is more than a reflection of the thing it depicts, that it is the reflection of an idea [...] a work of art, then, no matter how accurate or realistic seems the portrayal, can not be taken literally, but must be understood within its own historical context as art [...]⁶

Artists may have also taken certain liberties for highlighting the symbolic element within an image. Winternitz writes:

⁴ Leppert (1978:3)

⁵ Brown and Lascelle (1972:4-5)

⁶ Downie (1981:28)

An artist is style-bound, born into a definite tradition with all its pictorial devices, tricks, and mannerisms [...] ⁷

As an extension to the above to the above, it is probable that artists have often worked from memory; in certain cases (as apparently in the Bestiaries) artists have worked without even having seen the instruments they depicted. In addition, the iconographic medium plays an important role for the accuracy of the representations: manuscript illumination, mostly due to the restricted space available, has limited potential, while monumental sculpturing allows for multi-dimensional representations of a great scale and so a more complete and realistic image of the instrument depicted. Quite often though, certain details of the instrument, such as strings, bridges and even soundholes have been omitted, resulting in a schematic representation:

Fig. 1, Westminster Abbey



There are also depictions of physically impossible constructions where the number of strings and pegs is not matching: ⁸

⁷ Wintemitz (1979:38)

Fig.2, Psalter

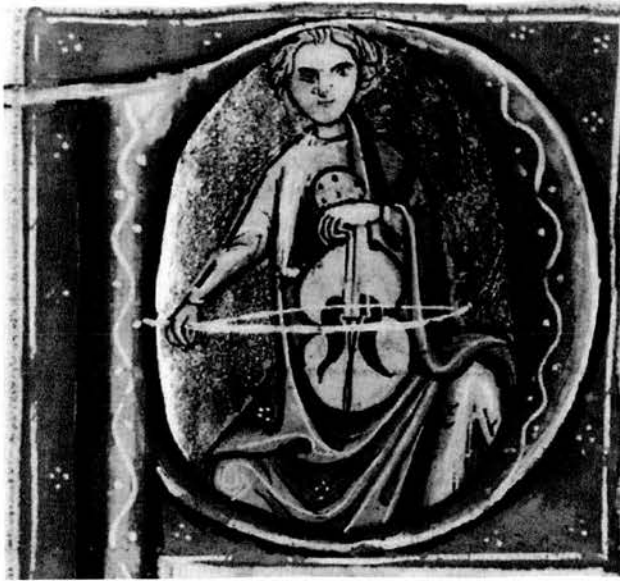


Fig.3, Amesbury Psalter – monk playing



However, when significant features are repeatedly found in works by various artists it could indicate that these representations were to an extent realistic. Moreover, if the artist has been accurate in basic structural characteristics, meaning not only the shape of the instrument, but also the existence of a fingerboard, a 'reasonable' number of properly placed soundholes, a realistic judgment in the analogies of the different parts of the instrument, and finally a realistic way of holding the instrument and the bow, then it is safe to assume that he must have been aware of the true appearance of the instrument he depicted. Another point to be noted is the Middle Ages tradition of copying older iconographical models, often adjusting them according to contemporary aesthetic standards.⁹ As has been discussed in chapter three in relation to literary

⁸ Remnant (1957:47) writes on the un-matching number of strings and pegs:

Even the aspect of an inconsistent number of strings and pegs must be treated with caution if they are carefully represented. Some modern Hungarian hurdy-gurdies have three strings and four pegs, apparently to create a symmetrical effect in the pegbox.

⁹ The 16th-century artists Filippino Lippi and Piero di Cosimo are well known for their depictions of pseudo-ancient musical instruments.

sources, “what might be considered an original source is, most often, the result of a long series of copying”,¹⁰ can also be applied to iconography of the time.¹¹ This tradition means that instrumental forms that might have not been in use for many years could appear in a, for example, 14th-century work.¹² This, of course, creates further questions, making the regional and chronological origins of certain instruments difficult to trace.¹³

Iconographic sources reveal minimum concrete about the figure-of-eight viol’s origins. The constant interweaving of different cultures during those years complicates the situation even further.¹⁴ Nonetheless, iconography undeniably testifies that by the mid-12th century, the figure-of-eight viol was widely known in most countries of the Continent. This could only mean one thing: that the figure-of-eight viol emerged earlier; there is no information as to whether it was developed from a much older instrument, or if it was a 12th- (or even 11th-) century creation; there is also no information regarding the country the instrument originated from. However, if a close connection between the organistrum and figure-of-eight viol is thought of as a convincing one,¹⁵ then a European rather than an Eastern origin seems more feasible.¹⁶

¹⁰ A short discussion on this has already taken place at chapter 3:54

¹¹ This is true for both manuscript illumination and monumental sculpturing. The Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris is a good example of this. The west façade was destroyed in a big fire during the French Revolution, and was restored during the 19th century. Among the rebuilt statues is that of an Elder holding the figure-of-eight viol. Obviously the restoration team has worked from a much older archetype, yet the representation of the instrument although is not imaginary, it is not a medieval creation but a 19th-century work.

¹² The present author believes that the Cloisters Apocalypse might well be a copy of a much older archetype; this could explain the representations of the figure-of-eight viol in fols. 5v and 7r, as this particular instrument fell out of favor in iconography during the late 13th century.

¹³ Winternitz (1979:31) refers to this long procedure of copying older models as “complete denaturalisation of the original object”. In fol. 5v and 7r of the Cloisters Apocalypse, next to the representations of the figure-of-eight viol there are also a few ancient citharas and a contemporary portative organ.

¹⁴ The phenomenon of the travelling musicians facilitated the induction of new musical styles and musical instruments to foreign cultures, practices and customs.

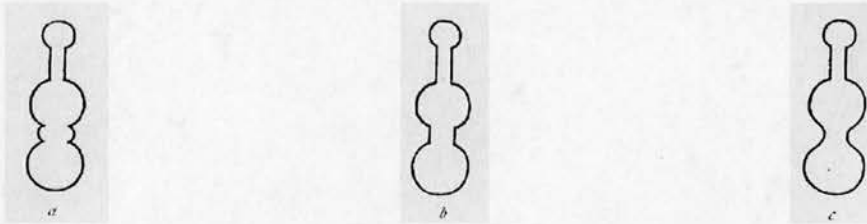
¹⁵ This is discussed further in page x.

¹⁶ Page (1982:41) suggests:

The development [of the organistrum] would appear to have taken place in Germany.

The vast majority of the figure-of-eight viol's depictions in both monumental sculpturing and illuminated manuscripts present a surprising homogeneity of its characteristics. The shape of the figure-of-eight viol was not particularly varied. There were three distinctive shapes, presented below as types a, b, and c (fig. 4). By the mid-12th century, the most characteristic shape had evolved, here presented as type a. This is distinguished by slender, down-sloping shoulders that form a clear line cut with the neck, high hollowed-out ribs, and an ornamented waist. A significant number of examples found in both illuminated manuscripts and monumental sculptures indicate that this shape became the most popular one during the 12th and 13th centuries.

Fig.4, Types of the medieval viol



The figure-of-eight viol would not have been lightly constructed. Based on the examples of fiddle-type instruments as recorded by Palmer, the figure-of-eight viol is most likely to be made carved out of a solid piece of wood;¹⁷

However, Palmer (1983:130) replied as:

One must therefore keep an open mind in respect of countries where the preservation of knowledge was not so strongly maintained throughout the centuries. As the hurdy-gurdy is encountered more or less at the same time in Spain, France, Germany and England, it could be logical to argue that some other, unidentified, central point of dispersal may have been involved; other areas of Eastern and Central Europe could be considered, and it may be a little premature to say with conviction that 'the development would appear to have taken place in Germany' [Page].

¹⁷ Palmer (1983:4) writes:

The only medieval type fyddles surviving from archaeological digs are the two Mary Rose fyddles dating 1536 (Renaissance in time but medieval in type and construction) and the Kiev fyddle remains of the 13th century from a dig. The evidence is less than complete but several things are clear – the instruments were carved out of a solid piece of wood (from whole blocks of wood – not pieced on a mold or form from bent wood strips).

following the medieval method of stringed instrument construction, the entire body, the ribs and the neck must have been produced from a single block of wood, whereas the soundboard would be made of a thinner piece of finer timber; the soundboard would be then attached to the body. In the majority of its depictions, only the front of the instrument is visible (rarely the sides too), eliminating thus the examination of important morphological details, and so allowing for a restricted organological study. However, when an image does not represent an actual music scene, but the figure-of-eight viol is illustrated for allegorical purposes (fig. 5 & 6) the instrument is shown in various positions and from different angles:

Fig.5, Angers Cathedral



Fig.6, Oakham Castle



Whenever the back of the instrument is visible it is clear that it is flat, a morphological feature consistent with a block carved instrument; the belly is also clearly flat:

Fig.7, Chartres Cathedral



Fig.8, Chartres Cathedral



The ribs appear to be deep, while as neither the belly nor the back projects beyond the ribs there are no 'edges'. The neck is long, thick and rounded. Not a single representation of the instrument having frets has been found, and consequently, it could be safely supported that the figure-of-eight viol was an unfretted instrument. A quite high nut creating a long distance between the strings and the fingerboard making 'stopping' impossible is also noticed. The characteristics of the figure-of-eight viol, as shown in both Middle Ages monumental and manuscript iconography, have as follows:

Characteristics

Size: It seems that there were various sizes varying from medium to large (approximately from 45cm to 59cm).

Body shape: It consists of two connected circular bouts forming the distinctive figure-of-eight. At their meeting point a pronounced waist is shaped; often the waist is ornamented with bumps. The upper circular bout is analogically smaller than the lower one.

Neck: Long, slightly rounded, unfretted and thick.

Neck Joint: There are two main variations:

1. The slender and sloped shoulders create a clear line with the neck.
2. The body and the neck blend softly.

Pegbox: It is either flat or in an angle, and comes in different forms; it can be round, diamond/spade shaped, or greatly ornamented. The most decorative features of the instrument are the tailpiece and often the pegbox.

Pegs: There are three pegs adjusted from the back of the pegbox. The shape varies from round to spade-like.

Ribs: In the few cases that the sides of the instrument are visible it is evident that these were high.

Shape of Back: The back of the instrument is rarely visible. When it is shown it is clearly flat.

Shape of Front: The soundboard is flat, a feature mostly found in plucked instruments such as lutes and guitars.

Strings: There are three rather thick strings running through the neck, passing over the high nut and meeting up directly with the pegs at the front of the pegbox. The strings are attached to a tailpiece.

Nut: The nut is quite high, creating thus a large distance between the strings and the neck. In some illustrations a nut is not depicted; however, this might well be a morphological detail not noted by the artist.

Bridge & Tailpiece: There are several examples to show a pronounced and flat bridge. However, not all illustrations portray the same type of bridge; a deviation is noticeable. The figure-of-eight viol of page 417 of the *St Albans Psalter* (fig.9) displays a U-shaped integral bridge/tailpiece: no separate bridge is depicted while the strings emerge from the flat-topped tailpiece. In this case, the bridge and the tailpiece could be one and the same: the two small 'feet' would lift the tailpiece away from the soundboard, and so would allow for the strings to vibrate; then, this vibration would be transferred to the soundboard, in a manner reminiscent of a bridge. A clear, flat and arched bridge is to be found in fol. 3v of the *Worms Bible* (fig. 10). The figure-of-eight viol of fol. 21v of the *Hunterian Psalter* shows a flat-topped, footed tailpiece (fig.11); two parallel lines are seen at the string end indicating an integral bridge/tailpiece.

Fig.9, St Albans Psalter



Fig.10, Worms Bible

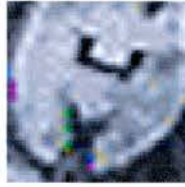


Fig.11 Hunterian Psalter

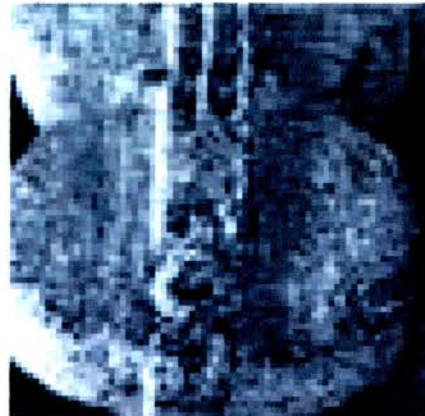


On the other hand, the instrument found at Chartres and the one at the Great Hall of Oakham Castle clearly depict a separate, flat and pronounced bridge.

Fig.12, Chartres Cathedral



Fig.13, Oakham Castle



The tailpiece is of a rectangular or trapezoidal shape, and often greatly decorated. An interesting feature often encountered is the presence of two parallel lines at the end of the tailpiece. It seems that these two lines were used as an anchor, to secure the tailpiece to a tailpin. It is not possible to determine the material used for these two lines; however, the most likely used material must have been gut, or possibly a thin metal chain.¹⁸

¹⁸ As could be seen in the figure-of-eight depiction found at Chartres, where a clear weaving pattern can be observed.

Soundholes: The number of soundholes varies from two to four (always symmetrical through the centre line) with occasionally some additional small circular holes at the waist height. In the case of one pair of soundholes this is located at the waist level. When there are two pairs of soundholes (with a combination of different shapes) then the first pair is located in the upper circular bout of the body, while the second pair is to be found at the lower circular bout. The most frequent shapes are: half moons, reversed B or D, a group of two or three small holes, rosettes, and swords of fire. Rarely, a variation of the usual appearance of the instrument is encountered; this has two soundholes placed in the middle of the instrument's soundboard and underneath the strings, a feature reminiscent of a guitar. It is perhaps due to this characteristic, alongside its figure-of-eight, that the name guitar-fiddle was attributed to the instrument:¹⁹

Fig.14, Psalter



Playing position: When the musician is represented as actually playing on the instrument, then this is almost exclusively played *da gamba*, on the knee, between the knees or held against the player's chest.

¹⁹ Sachs (1940)

Bow: The bow is distinctively curved, long and held palm-down. A long handle is also depicted which appears to be decorated.

Playing technique: It is not always possible to observe the fingers of the player's left hand, and so the instrument's playing technique is not clear. However, the reconstruction of the figure-of-eight viol has allowed for experimentation with various potential playing techniques; these are shortly discussed below:²⁰

1) Sliding nail technique

Fig.15, sliding technique



In the sliding nail technique the nail is sliding on the back of the string to alter its vibrating length. This can be easily applied to the strings producing a clear sound; nonetheless, this position must have not been applicable as iconographic evidence shows multiple fingers above the strings. If the back of the nail is used to slide on the string then only one finger can be used at time. The sliding nail technique is still used today for the Greek Lyra.

²⁰ Reconstructed instrument based on the archetype found in Chartres Cathedral.

2) Stopping technique

Fig.16, stopping technique



Close up



Fig.17 (below), Ms Latin 11509 BN





Fig.18 (above), St Albans Psalter:417

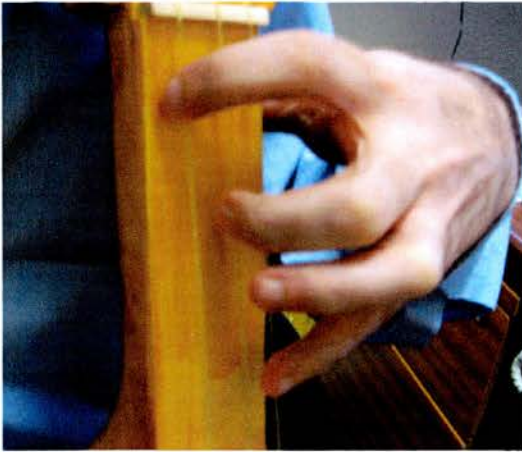
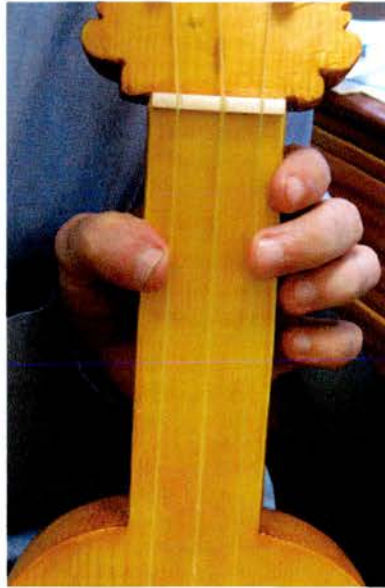


Fig.19 (above), St Etienne Harding

Evidence suggests that the stopping technique must have been applied to the figure-of-eight viol. Indeed, experimentation has shown that it is possible to apply the stopping technique to produce a clear sound. However, due to the large distance (approximately half an inch) between the strings and the neck created by the high nut, great tension and vibration are produced and so stopping is impossible as strings cannot be pressed all the way down to the fingerboard.

Due to the chord structure and stringing arrangement, double stopping is also possible, at least in theory as no evidence has been found yet:

Fig.20, double stopping



3) Fastening technique²¹

Fig.21, fastening technique

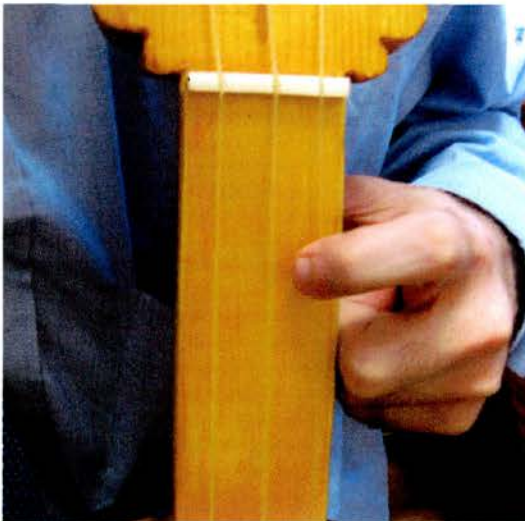


Fig.22, Hunterian Psalter



In this, the first phalanx of the finger wraps around the string (almost three quarters) and pulls it to the side and slightly up (without pressing down),

²¹ The first phalanx of the finger acts like a hook on the string by pulling it away from the neck.

creating thus a quite clear sound. This playing technique has now disappeared from the west, yet it is still applied on bowed instruments of North Africa and Middle East. However, observed morphological details of the figure-of-eight viol indicate the practice of the fastening technique. These details are:

1. The absence of a fingerboard.
2. The absence of frets.
3. The high bridge and nut.
4. The large distance between the strings and the neck.
5. The flat bridge.

However, when applying the fastening technique there is a tendency that the instrument turns to the treble which makes it not secure in its playing position. This issue is solved if the instrument is held firmly in the shoulder and the thumb is placed at the back of the neck, a feature apparent at fig.22.

The bow of the figure-of-eight viol is always long and curved, a feature indicating that it would create a 'swell' sound which would go louder while playing:

Fig.23 – 25, curved bows

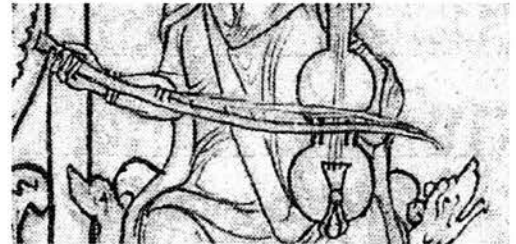
23. Worms Bible, detail



24. St George de Borcheville



25. St Jerome's Commentaries on the Old Testament



Further experimenting with various potential playing combinations has shown that although the instrument could utilise two melody strings and one drone, it

plays well with one melody string and two drones. It is easier to use the top string (the one on the left from the player's perspective) as a melody string; however, given the construction of the instrument, there is great flexibility to use all three strings as melodies, one at the time. In addition, if the middle string is pressed down then this will push it away from the bow; this means that the bow would not have contact with the string. If a hooked method is applied to the middle string (fastening) then the contact with the bow may even improve as this will keep the string in line with the other two.

Commentary

The two connected circular bouts create such a distinctive outline, that the figure-of-eight viol stands out from all other depicted instruments. The lack of frets and fingerboard, and the pronounced bridge and nut, are also noticeable features of this instrument. A close examination of certain depictions of the figure-of-eight viol has suggested that most possibly it was a block of wood, carved, with an attached soundboard.²² Indications for this include the appearance of a completely flat back, and the rather curved (or rounded) ribs; in addition, whenever the side of the instrument can be seen then a distinctive line running across the sides of the instrument between the soundboard and the ribs is observed.²³ It should be mentioned that none of the depictions of the figure-of-eight viol reveal anything about the interior of the instrument.

²² As seen in Portico de la Gloria of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella, Portail Royal of the Cathédrale de Chartres (representation of Musica, and depiction of one of the Elders), Cathédrale de Saint Maurice d' Angers.

²³ Appendix:fig.4

Reconstructing a specimen - Measurements of the figure-of-eight viol

The reconstruction of the figure-of-eight viol was merely based on iconographic evidence.²⁴ The sculpture of the figure-of-eight viol found at the Royal Portal of the west façade of the Notre Dame Cathedral in Chartres outside Paris was chosen as the archetype.²⁵ The particular depiction is of a great realism testifying that the artist must have either worked without a model but was aware of the instrument's appearance (perhaps a figure-of-eight viol player himself), or that he worked while observing an instrument in front of him. The figure-of-eight viol is of a large size and only partially destroyed; the instrument is of the characteristic type *a* with the slender sloped shoulders, the long and rounded neck, and the bumps at the waist:

Fig.26, archetype



Fig.27, reconstruction



²⁴ In general, for the reconstruction of instruments, monumental sculpture, due to the three-dimensional possibilities and the large-scale representations, is considered more appropriate than manuscript or any other form of two-dimensional illustration.

²⁵ The architectural style of the west portal is a transition from the Romanesque to the Gothic styles. It is known virtually since its completion as "La Porte Royale" [the Royal Portal], and was carved between 1145 and 1150. In June 10, 1194, a fire destroyed the biggest part of the cathedral; however, the west towers, the façade between them (and so the statues of the Elders) and the crypt survived the fire.

Fig.28, archetype



Fig.29, reconstruction



The Elder is holding the figure-of-eight viol with his left hand against his chest and in an angle, and so part of the bottom, the ribs, the side of the waist, the neck, the pegbox and the back can be clearly observed. The back appears to be completely flat, and the pegbox is not round and straight but greatly ornamented and in an angle; the number of the pegs and strings is matching: three strings are running through the long, rounded and unfretted neck, passing over the high nut and meeting up directly with the pegs at the front of the pegbox.²⁶ Although the three pegs are placed on different levels, with the middle string being placed

²⁶ Interesting to note is the realistic way by which the strings are passing over and inside the pegs.

higher, the presence of a pronounced nut secures the same vibration length for all strings.

One of the several remarkably realistic features of this depiction is the distance between the strings and the front part of the instrument: the distance is getting longer as the strings pass over the soundboard approaching the pronounced bridge. The bridge and the tailpiece are the only parts of the instrument which are seriously damaged, and so a close examination is not feasible; however, it is clear that the bridge was straight and placed in the middle of the soundboard, at the waist level. The tailpiece appears to be floating and anchored to a tailpin by the two characteristic lines. An observation of these lines reveals a pattern reminiscent of the weaving of a metal chain. It is possible that such a material was used in real life, as it would provide the necessary support to the large tailpiece. Finally, two pairs of soundholes of different shape (rosettes and 3) are symmetrically placed at the two circular bouts.

The fact that the whole representation of the façade was made to be looked at from the ground and within a specific periphery had to be taken into account; as a result of this, everything depicted is of a very large scale, occasionally inclined towards the front and with a somewhat exaggerated perspective. In addition, the Elder is holding the figure-of-eight viol in an awkward angle; to get a straight image of the instrument this inclination had to be corrected using multimedia effects to restore the instrument's vertical position. Therefore, the measurements of the figure-of-eight viol used as guidelines for the reconstruction are merely indicative.²⁷

²⁷ A recent study (2007) carried by researchers of the Bristol Royal Infirmary has shown that from the 10th through to the 19th centuries the height of adult English people has not changed considerably. As part of their study, scientists researched 3000 skeletons from the medieval St. Peters Church in Barton upon

Table 1, measurements of reconstructed figure-of-eight viol

Total length	54.8 cm
Neck length	15.5 cm
Upper circular bout length	11.6 cm
Upper circular bout maximum width	15.7 cm
Lower circular bout length	16.5 cm
Lower circular bout maximum width	17.0 cm
Narrowest point width (meeting point of the two circles)	Waist part is <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • top circle minimum: 12.2 cm • across wide part of centre circles 14.2 cm • lower circle minimum (meaning where the circles meet the waist circles) 11.2 cm
Waist height	From bottom to centre of waist circles 17.1 cm
Ribs depth	4.50 cm (body) and 4.85 cm (including soundboard 0.35 cm)
Pegbox length	10.0 cm
Bridge height	2.60 cm
Nut height	0.5 cm
Strings vibrating length	28.5 cm

Humber, North East Lincolnshire, and found that the average height of adult men was 5 feet and 7 inches, just 2 inches below the average height of the present day, while that of women averaged 5 feet 2 inches [158cm], just over an inch shorter than today. The Dutch physical anthropologist George Maat and his co-workers have concluded to similar results regarding the height of the late-Middle Ages Dutch population De Beer (2004:45-55)

Morphological differences with the vièle

The *vièle* (fig. 30 & 31) is the most commonly represented stringed bowed instrument in western iconography of the Middle Ages.²⁸

Fig.30, Hunterian Psalter



Fig.31, Portico de la Gloria



Fig.32, Great Canterbury Psalter



²⁸ It is also the most commonly mentioned instrument in literature of the time.

The figure-of-eight viol is very often depicted next to the *vièle* (fig.32).²⁹ The differences between these two instruments are hard to miss. The table below juxtaposes the characteristics of both the *vièle* and the figure-of-eight viol:

Table 2, characteristics of the *vièle* and figure-of-eight viol

Characteristics	Vièle	Figure-of-eight viol
Size	Small to medium	Medium to large
Shape	Oval	Figure-of-eight
Neck	Long fretted	Long unfretted
Back	Flat	Flat
Front	Flat	Flat
Strings	Four to five, occasionally three	Three, rarely four or five
Pegs	Four to five adjusted from the front	Three adjusted from the back
Nut	No nut	Pronounced nut
Fingerboard	Flat, extending to the belly	No fingerboard
Soundholes	Two placed symmetrically at the waist level	Four placed symmetrically at the two circular bouts
Tailpiece	Trapezoidal	Trapezoidal
Ribs	Hollowed-out	Hollowed-out
Bridge	Separate bridge	Pronounced, often connected to tailpiece
Playing position	<i>Da braccio</i>	<i>Da gamba</i>
Playing technique	The finger presses the string on the fingerboard	The same, or the phalanx of the finger fastens the string
Bow	Small, curved, held palm-up	Long, curved, held palm-down

²⁹ As seen in fig.32. The *vièle* depicted here is of an exaggerated size – it would be difficult for the performer to play on such a large instrument while standing.

Comparison of the figure-of-eight viol with a treble viol³⁰

The reconstruction of a specimen for the figure-of-eight viol permitted its physical comparison with a 17th-century treble viol now located at the Royal College of Music (UK).³¹ The table below presents the observations made in brief:

Table 3, characteristics of the figure-of-eight viol and treble viol

Characteristics	Treble Viol	Figure-of-eight viol
Overall length	67.75 cm	54.8 cm
Body length	42.4 cm	42.8 cm (including the neck)
Upper circular bout maximum width	19.5 cm	15.7 cm
Lower circular bout maximum width	24.3	17.0 cm
Shape	Waisted	Figure-of-eight
Neck	Long unfretted	Long unfretted
Back	Flat	Flat
Front	Flat	Flat
Strings	Flat	Three, rarely four or five
Strings vibrating length	(present, in viol configuration) 37.3 cm	28.5 cm
Pegs	Four adjusted at the side	Three adjusted from the back
Nut	Small nut	Pronounced nut
Fingerboard	Long extending to the belly	No fingerboard
Soundholes	Two placed symmetrically at the waist level (C shape)	Four placed symmetrically at the two circular bouts

³⁰ Treble viol, England, c. 1600 (Royal College of Music, no. RCM184)

³¹ Such an examination did not have an immediate relevance to the current thesis; however, it presented material that will be used in future research. The brief commentary is included here for mere consideration and a complete image of the figure-of-eight's appearance and dimensions.

Tailpiece	Trapezoidal	Trapezoidal
Ribs depth	6.8 cm	4.85 cm
Bridge	Separate pronounced bridge	Pronounced, often connected to tailpiece
Playing position	<i>Da gamba</i>	<i>Da gamba</i>
Playing technique	The finger presses the string on the fingerboard	The same, or the phalanx of the finger fastens the string

Relationship of the figure-of-eight viol with the organistrum (or else symphonie)³²

Throughout the thesis, it has been repeatedly mentioned that although there is a plethora of iconographic representations of the figure-of-eight viol, these do not reveal much on the actual usage of the instrument. Given the fact that these representations were often of an allegoric nature, the pragmatic information on music playing and anything related to this, is very limited. As has been shown, whenever the figure-of-eight viol is not depicted on its own it is exclusively placed next to the vièle, psaltery, organistrum, organ, aulos, bells and cymbals. At first, these instrumental 'combinations' could be thought of as random; then, from the organological point of view they could be explained as an iconographic reflection of the tripartite division of instruments, an ancient idea also prevailing during the Middle Ages; under a broader aesthetical prisma they could be merely seen as a mirroring of the elevation of the earthly court to

³² The present author is recognising that both names 'symphonie' and 'organistrum' were referring to one and the same instrument. The distinction between these two names was not based on chronological deviation, or different number of musicians required for its performance, or its exclusive association with a particular environment. As Page has first suggested:

All the evidence suggests that the distinction between the two names was one of provenance and distribution. *Symphonia* names were distributed throughout the whole of Europe. *Organistrum* was largely confined to areas of Low and High German speech.

Page (1983:84)

the Court of Heaven; yet, regardless of which approach of interpretation is followed, a careful examination of these depictions can actually reveal much more than the apparent.

In both sculptural and manuscript illustrations, the figure-of-eight viol is often depicted next to the organistrum; they are both associated with a religious context, placed in the hands of either Biblical authoritative figures, such as the Twenty-Four Apocalyptic Elders, or members of the clergy, such as monks. The close similarities between the two instruments are hard to miss: both instruments are of the characteristic figure-of-eight, often with ornamentation on the waist. An examination of the representations of both the organistrum and figure-of-eight viol (presented below as fig. 33 – 34) prove that it can often be difficult to distinguish between the two instruments if the lower body of the organistrum is isolated in the image:

Fig. 33 – 37

33. Santiago De Compostella (Organistrum)



34. Abbey de St George (Organistrum)



35. Burgos Cathedral (Organistrum)



36. Compostella (Figure-of-eight viol)



37. Chartres Cathedral (Figure-of-eight viol)



A second common characteristic of the figure-of-eight viol and the organistrum is that both instruments have three strings. The figure-of-eight viol is a bowed instrument, while the organistrum could be thought of as a technologically advanced version of the figure-of-eight viol, with the wheel acting as a mechanical bow and the tangents as the fingers controlling the length of the strings.³³ Evidently, this theory suggests that the figure-of-eight viol preceded the organistrum. This idea could be further supported by iconographic observation suggesting that although both instruments appeared within the same geographical area and setting, the first depiction of the figure-of-eight viol

³³ For studies on the organistrum and symphonie see: Bröcker (1977), Montagu (1980), Rault (1980), Page (1982 & 1983) and Palmer (1980 & 1983)

precedes that of the organistrum.³⁴ The first known depiction of the figure-of-eight viol is in fol. 13v of the *Bible of St Etienne Harding*, which dates as early as 1109, and comes from the Cistercian Abbey of Citeaux in France:

Fig.38, Bible of St Etienne Harding



So far, it has been believed that the first known representation of the organistrum dated much later, from c.1170;³⁵ this referred to a carving at the Abbey of St George de Boscherville in Normandy (France), near Rouen (fig.38, also shown as fig.31). Although this might be the first carving of the organistrum, a new dating of the 'Hunterian Psalter' (previously known as the 'York Psalter' and dated shortly before 1173) indicates that the representation of the organistrum found in

³⁴ This is an observation based on the estimated dating of iconographic representations. However, it has to be made clear that the dating of such chronologically remote documents is a difficult task: in most cases, and especially in manuscript illuminations, there is no information on the actual date of creation of the document; therefore, several factors have to be considered, such as the style and school of illumination, the dedication to a patron (potential owner of the item), or any reference to names and events on the Calendar. The dating of monumental representations, such as Cathedrals, has the advantage that such a considerable action for a town would be recorded in various town records, including payments for the architect and his workers, references to the progress of the work, and mentions of any celebrations following its completion. Yet, it is often the case that the dating of both manuscript illumination and monumental sculpturing is limited to a merely indicative mention of the time-period, i.e. 'early part of the 12th century'.

³⁵ Page (1983:39)

the last page of the Psalter must be the earliest depiction of the instrument, dating between 1150-70 (fig.39, also discussed and presented as fig.11 in chapter 4). Interestingly enough, in both cases the organistrum is depicted next to the figure-of-eight viol:

Fig.39, Hunterian Psalter



Fig.40, Abbey of St George de Boscherville



The experimentation with the potential playing techniques applied to the figure-of-eight viol and the examination of iconographic representations of the organistrum have shown that there is a correspondence between the two basic

playing techniques of the two instruments: the fastening and the stopping techniques applied to the figure-of-eight viol are in effect similar to the pulling and pressing of the organistrum keys respectively:³⁶

Fig.41 – 43, examples of pressing the organistrum keys

Fig.41, Burgos Cathedral



Fig.42, San Juan Cathedral



³⁶ In fact, this is also supported by Pont, a French instrument maker specialising on early instruments, who has also reconstructed a figure-of-eight viol, and so has been experimenting with various potential playing techniques. In a private meeting with Pont back in 2006, the maker admitted to the present author that due to the construction of the instrument (see footnote above) the most feasible playing technique appears to be the Oriental fastening of the strings. Mr Pont has also suggested that this would be an element supporting a realistic relationship between the organistrum and the figure-of-eight viol.

Fig.43, Toro Cathedral



Fig.44 – 46, examples of pulling the organistrum keys

Fig.44, Toro Cathedral

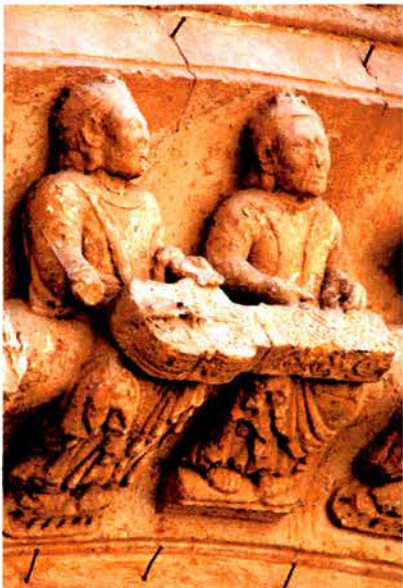


Fig.45, Compostella



Detail



Detail



Fig.46, Hunterian Psalter, detail



It is interesting to note that at the Toro Cathedral there are two sculptures of organistra. The one at the *Portal Majestat* (fig.43) is operated by one man who is responsible for both turning the crank and pressing the keys. The second organistrum at the *Portal Norte* (fig.44) is a two-men instrument; one man is turning the crank, while the other is pulling the keys with both hands. Although the presented examples of pulled keys refer to the larger, two-men organistrum, iconographic evidence proves that both the pulling and pressing techniques were employed for this particular type:

Fig.47 - 48, examples of pressing the two-men organistrum keys

47, Lindesey Psalter

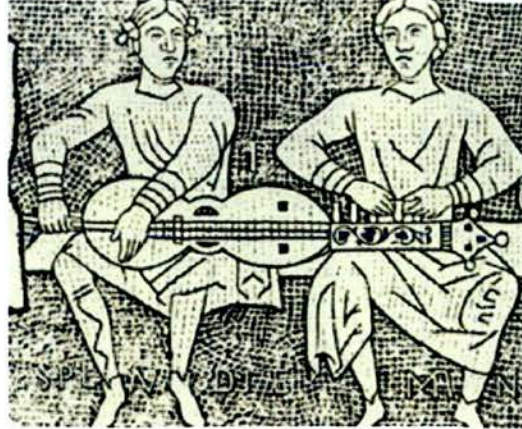
48, Mosaic³⁷

Table 4

Comparison of the characteristics of the organistrum with the figure-of-eight viol

Characteristics	Organistrum	Figure-of-eight viol
Size	Large	Medium to large
Shape	Figure-of-eight	Figure-of-eight
Neck	Box with internal mechanism	Long unfretted
Back	Flat	Flat
Front	Flat	Flat
Strings	Three	Three, rarely four or five
Pegs	Three	Three adjusted from the back
Nut	Non-visible, covered	Pronounced nut
Fingerboard	n/a	No fingerboard
Soundholes	Four placed symmetrically at the body	Four placed symmetrically at the two circular bouts
Tailpiece	Trapezoidal	Trapezoidal
Ribs	Hollowed-out	Hollowed-out

³⁷ 19th-century engraving/copy of the Italian 12th-century mosaic.

Bridge	Pronounced, often connected to tailpiece	Pronounced, often connected to tailpiece
Playing position	On the lap	<i>Da gamba</i>
Playing technique	Either for one or two players: one turns the crank causing the wheel to rotate, while the other presses the keys on the keyboard fingerboard.	The finger presses the string on the fingerboard, or the phalanx of the finger fastens the string

So far, six points have been discussed in order to support a possible relationship between the figure-of-eight viol and the organistrum. To recapitulate, these have as follows:

- 1) Both instruments appeared, were used, and fell out of favour during the same time (12th – 14th centuries) and in the same geographical region.
- 2) Both instruments have the characteristic shape of the figure-of-eight.
- 3) Both instruments have three strings.
- 4) Given the construction of both instruments the organistrum can be thought of as a technologically advanced figure-of-eight viol with the crank and the wheel acting like a mechanical bow.
- 5) The above idea is further supported by the equivalence between the two playing techniques applied to both instruments: the strings of the figure-of-eight viol are either stopped or fastened; the keys of the organistrum are either pressed (stopped) or pulled (fastened).
- 6) The figure-of-eight viol and the organistrum are associated in iconography with the same environment: they are both placed in the hands of authoritative Biblical figures and monks.

Accepting the relationship between the figure-of-eight viol and the organistrum, then important information on the origin, use, importance, tuning and construction of the figure-of-eight viol can be surmised. Although there is no information on the figure-of-eight viol's origin, it seems quite possible that the organistrum originated in the clerical circles of Western Europe. Page presents sufficient evidence for a hypothesis on the origin of the organistrum in connection with the 11th and 12th-centuries' technological advancements and the contemporary clerical musical practices; he argues:

Several 11th-century Latin musical treatises attach great importance to learning chant *sine magistro* [...] the traditional instrument for this purpose was the monochord, an oblong box with a string stretched upon it shown in numerous medieval illustrations. In all probability, the hurdy-gurdy [*sic*], was devised as an improved monochord; the rapidly fading note of the monochord was replaced in the *schola* by the sustained tone of the hurdy-gurdy, a development in technology doubtless based upon the example of the fiddle bow (distributed throughout Europe by c.1000). The development would appear to have taken place in Germany and may have been connected with the monastic reforms of the tenth and eleventh centuries.³⁸

The hypothesis suggesting the use of the organistrum, and in extension the figure-of-eight viol, for didactic purposes (with the organistrum used as a mechanised teaching device)³⁹ has potentially its iconographic counterpart in the last page of the 'Hunterian Psalter' (the theme of which is a symbolic pedagogic scene, in page 417 of the 'St Alban's Psalter' (chapter 3, fig.8), and in the 'Amesbury Psalter' (fig.3) where the figure-of-eight viol is played by a man who is clearly a monk.

Tuning

The fact that often the figure-of-eight viol is depicted next to the organistrum might not be a coincidence at all. By examining various depictions

³⁸ Page (1982:41)

³⁹ See Page (1983:83)

of both instruments (the ones presented above included), it is not illogical to state that the length of the organistrum strings is approximately twice the length of the figure-of-eight viol's strings. If this was indeed the case, then they would have to be tuned an octave apart, with the organistrum being tuned one octave lower than the figure-of-eight viol. Bachmann writes:

We know little about the structure of medieval hurdy-gurdy melody. We know even less about the tuning of the instrument. In view of the close relationship between the hurdy-gurdy and the early fiddle, we can assume that the strings of both were originally tuned in roughly the same manner.⁴⁰

Nine treatises on the construction of the organistrum have survived from the Middle Ages to the present day.⁴¹ These discuss in detail the note measurements of the instrument, presenting nothing else than a pure Pythagorean method:

How the organistrum is put together

Firstly, measure from the nut which is next to the first tangent up to the other nut placed after the wheel and divide the distance into two parts; put *c* at the middle point; the half lying beyond *c* will not contain pitches. Now measure from *c* to the end and divide the distance by 3; having established this unit count back four units from the nut beyond the wheel and you will establish *G*; treat *G* as you treated *c* and you will establish *D*; measure from *D* to this nut, divide by 3 and

⁴⁰ Bachman (1969:111)

⁴¹ These are:

- *Wolfenbüttel* Manuscript. Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 334, Gud. Lat, 110v - 111r. Produced ca. 1100, at the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Ulrich-et-Afra, Augsburg.
- *Wolfenbüttel* Manuscript. National Library, Vienna, Austria, C.p.v.2502, fol.38v – 39r. 13th-century reproduction of the original text.
- *Mensura Organistri*. Staatsbibliothek, Munich, C.L.m. 9921, fol.18 – 19. Original text dates from 1160. Reprinted by Martin Gerbert: *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, Vol.II:286 (1774).
- *De Mensura Organistri. Si organistri regulariter mensurandi*. National Library, Vienna, Austria, C.p.v.51, fol.55v. 12th-century text from Austria or South Germany.
- *Si organistrum regulariter mensurandi*. Library of Congress, Washington, M.L.171 C, 77 case fol.31v, 32. 12th century.
- *Organistrum. Organicam quicumque liram metiendo laboras a magada...* British Museum of London, Ms. Arundel 339, fol.110v. First half of the 13th century.
- *Quomodo organistrum construatur*. Reproduced by Martin Gerbert: *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, Saint-Blaise, 1784, Tome I:303.
- *De divisione organisti. A magada usque ad retinaculum...* Kassel Landesbibliothek, 4th Math. I, fol.28v. Austria or South Germany, 12th century.
- *Regula mensure organistri. Quicumque mensurare cupis organistrum...* Bamberg Staatsbibliothek, lit.115, fol.77v. 13th century.

Rault provides additional information on each one of the above manuscripts. Rault:167 – 168.

put *a* one unit beyond *D*, measure from *a* to the nut and divide the distance by 3; having established this unit count back four such units from the nut beyond the wheel and you will establish *E*; measure from *E* to this nut, divide by 3 and put *b* one unit beyond *E*; again, measure from *c* to the nut and divide the distance by 2; having established this unit count back three such units and you will establish *F*; divide the distance from *F* to the nut by 4 and put *b* on the first step.⁴²

The above quote, as well as all surviving treatises on the organistrum, does not reveal anything regarding the actual tuning of the instrument. Rault⁴³ has presented a short study on the subject⁴⁴ relating the tuning of the organistrum to the Middle Ages practice of the vocal *organum*, guided by the following quote by John Cotton in which he clearly stated that the organum was based on the instrumental techniques of the time:

Qui canendi modus (diaphonia) vulgariter organum dicitur; eoquod vox humana apte dissonans similitudinem exprimat instrumenti, quod organum vocatur.⁴⁵

Following on from the above, Rault has presented the various types of organum from the parallel one of the *Musica Enchiriadis* to the Parisian developments by Leonin. The conclusion drawn by Rault is that the intervals suggested for all types of *organa* were in agreement with the information given by Jérôme de Moravie on the tuning of the vièle in his *Speculum Musica* (ca. 1250). According to Jérôme, the vièle was tuned as:

⁴² Page (1982:77). The author comments on the above passage:

This is nothing more than a means of establishing a Pythagorean diatonic scale. These organistrum treatises thus belong in the tradition of the bell, monochord and organ texts.

Original text given by Page (ibid) reads:

In primis a capite iuxta primum plectrum infra usque ad aliud plectrum quod ponitur post rotulam* per duos passus metire et in primo passu pone *c*. Secundus finit. A *c* ad finem metire per III et III retro reddit *G*; a *G* ad finem per III et III retro pone *D*; a *D* ad finem per III et in primo passu pone *a*; de *a* ad finem per III et III retro pone *E*; et ab *E* ad finem per III; in primo passu pone *b*; item a *c* ad finem per II et III retro pone *F*; ab *F* ad finem per IIII; in primo passu pone *b*.

*= Rault gives 'rotulum'.

⁴³ Rault:120-122.

⁴⁴ Rault (1985:115)

⁴⁵ Original text quoted in: Bachmann (1954:58). The whole text can also be found online at the School of Music (Indiana University) website. Entry as: JOHMUS TEXT, Johannes Affligemensis, *Musica*.

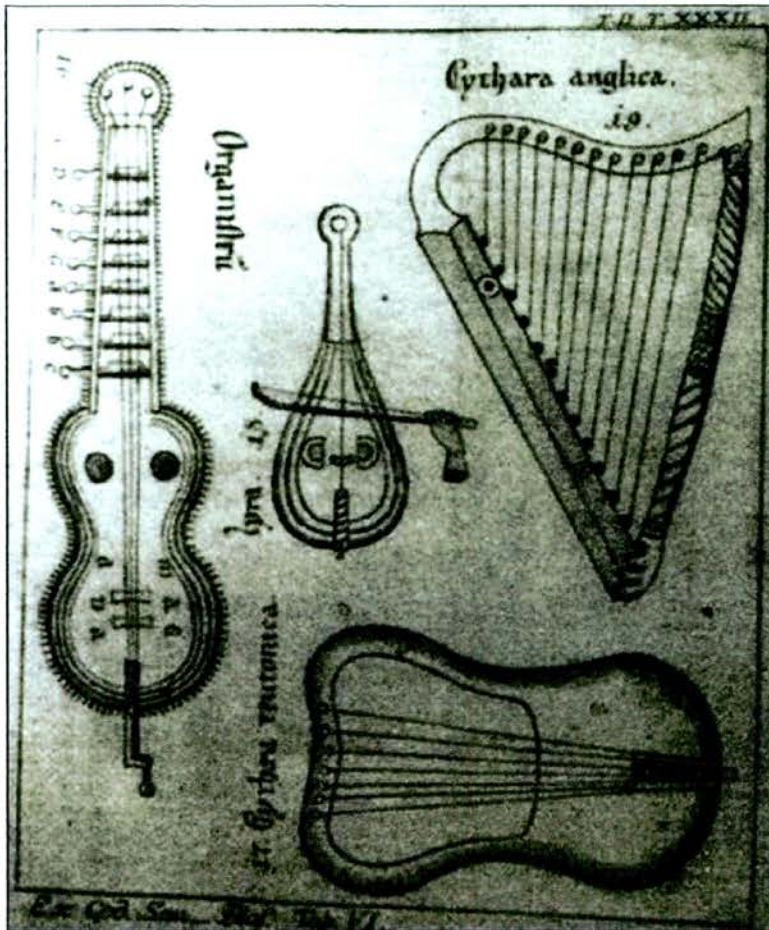
Source: *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3 vols., ed. Martin Gerbert (St. Blaise: Typis San-Blasianis, 1784; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 2:230-65.

- 1) d.G.g.d'.d
- 2) G.d.g.d'.g'
- 3) G.c.g.d'.d'

The reconstructed figure-of-eight viol has been conventionally tuned in c.g.d'.

In addition, Bachmann comments on the manuscript found in *De Cantu*:

Fig. 48



Conclusions

The two last chapters of the thesis have a common subject-matter: the examination of various depictions of the figure-of-eight viol; yet, both chapters have followed a different approach. The previous chapter concentrated on the

symbolic connotations attributed to this instrument in iconography, and as an extent, aimed at the understanding of the instrument's status within medieval society. The last chapter has looked at various representations of the figure-of-eight viol from an organological point of view. From this, much important information has emerged: first, the reconstructed specimen of the figure-of-eight viol, based on the archetype of the Chartres Cathedral, has allowed for a physical examination and experimentation with potential playing techniques.

Second, the relationship between the figure-of-eight viol and the organistrum has been investigated resulting thus in information on the potential origin, use and tuning of the figure-of-eight viol. It seems very possible that both instruments originated at the North (and not the East as has been believed in the past)⁴⁶ and were used for similar – if not the same – purposes. From the study of both iconography and literature it is evident that the organistrum was associated with two different environments: iconography strictly indicates the use of the organistrum within the clerical circle, while the name 'symphonie' is always present in the long lists of instrumental ensembles in courtly literature (next, not surprisingly, to the gigue). Iconographic evidence clearly shows that the figure-of-eight viol was associated with a religious environment; it is not clear whether this portrays reality of the time or if due to its prestigious social esteem the figure-of-eight viol was iconographically 'quoted' in such an environment.

⁴⁶ Page (1982)

SUMMARY

The research presented in this thesis has been concentrated on the attribution of the most likely correct name for the medieval viol. The discovery of new evidence has led to a new hypothesis identifying the medieval viol with the Middle Ages instrument called a gigue.

The thesis comprises five chapters, each one examining a different subject:

Chapter one, *Previous Research*, presented all known research pursued in the past on both the medieval viol and the gigue. Although no critical comments have been made by the present author, it has been made apparent that the main established theory recognising the gigue as a European name for the rebec presents several flaws.

Chapter two, *Historical Perspectives*, provided a short account of the historic and sociological circumstances and philosophical currents of the time, setting thus the ground for the consideration of the medieval viol within a broad context of ideas.

Chapter three, *Examination of Middle Ages Literary Sources*, has concentrated on literary references to the instrument called a gigue; courtly-related writings from France, Spain, Italy, Germany and the Nordic countries, covering a period of approximately four hundred years, have been considered. It has been established that the gigue was used for courtly entertainment, while new evidence has been brought to light, suggesting that next to the vièle (and organ) the gigue -an altered vièle itself- must have been used in the Church. In addition, it has been noticed that in several literary examples the gigue was symbolically associated with the celestial music of the

Court of Heaven as well as the structure, hierarchy and balance of the universe, as in reminiscence of the ancient lyre of Apollo. Thus, the instrument's social role and highly symbolical nature has been highlighted.

Chapter four, *Examination of Iconographic Sources*, has looked into selected iconographic depictions of the medieval viol; these documentary sources came from France, Spain, Italy, England and Germany covering a period of approximately three hundred years. The main outcome of this has been an insight to the symbolic connotations attributed to this particular instrument. The medieval viol has been associated with a highly spiritual environment: found in Apocalyptic scenes in the hands of the Twenty-Four Elders; replacing King David's Biblical cithara of the Psalms; used in straight reference with the celestial music of the Court of Heaven. All the above suggest that the medieval viol possessed a prestigious social esteem.

Chapter five, *Organological Examination*, discussed several organological aspects of the figure-of-eight viol as revealed by both the reconstruction of a specimen and the close study of iconographic sources. The relationship between the figure-of-eight viol and the organistrum has been examined resulting in additional information on the instrument in examination, such as its potential origin, use and tuning.

An overall comparison of the information gathered on both the figure-of-eight viol and gigue has shown the following:

1. When looking at Middle Ages iconography the figure-of-eight viol is the only musical instrument for which no name has survived to the present day.
2. When examining literature of the time the only unidentified name for a musical instrument is that of the gigue.

3. In literature, the gigue is referred to next to the organ, vièle, psaltery and symphony.
4. In contemporary iconography the figure-of-eight viol is placed next to the aforementioned instruments.
5. As revealed by literature, the gigue was apparently played by princes, trouvères and high-status jongleurs, while it was allegorically related to the celestial harmony of the Court of Heaven.
6. As seen through iconography, the figure-of-eight viol was always placed in the hands of authoritative high-ranked Biblical figures, while it was clearly related to the harmony of the Court of Heaven.
7. Both the figure-of-eight viol and the gigue appeared, were in use and disappeared during the same time-period.
8. Both instruments were in use at the same geographical region.

After taking the above into consideration, one can safely support that these are indications which strongly suggest the identification of the figure-of-eight viol, previously known as the medieval viol, with the gigue.

APPENDIX

Chapter three

• Reference 1

(Ex. 2:51)

*Le Bel Inconnu***Original Text**L' uns estive,
l'autre vièleLi autres gigle
et calimele**Modern English**One plays a hornpipe,
another one a **vièle**The other plays a
gigue and a shawm**Modern English**

[Trans. Donagher]

One played the
bagpipes, another a
hurdy-gurdy,Another a **fiddle,**
another a shawm

• Reference 2

(Ex. 22:112-113)

Verses: 2035 – 2065 (v.1845 – 2765: 'Le jeune époux' – *Le mariage*)**Original Text**Quant la corz fu tote
assanblee,
N'ot menestrel an la
contree
Qui rien seust de nul
deduit,Qui a la cort ne
fussent tuit.An la sale mout grant
joie ot,
Chascuns servi de ce
qu'il sot:Cil saut, sil tume, cil
anchante,Li uns conte, li autre
chante,**Modern French**Quand la cour fut
toute assemblée,
Tous les ménestrels
de la contrée,
Tous ceux qui
connaissaient
quelque
divertissement,
Accoururent.La grande salle lic
était tout en fête,
Et chacun produisait
ce qu'il savait faire:L'un danse, l'autre
fait de la clichés,
l'autre des tours de
passé-passé;L'un raconte, l'autre
chante,**Modern English**When all the court
was assembled,
All the minstrels of
the region,
All those which
knew some
entertainment,Started moving with
haste.The great hall was all
celebrated,
And each one
offered what he
could do:One dances, one
plays with stunt-
flying, one is doing
some juggling acts;One recites a story,
the other sings,

Li uns sifle, li autre note,	L'un siffle, l'autre joue d'un instrument:	One speaks softly, the other plays an instrument:
Cil sert de harpe, cil de rote, Cil de gigue, cil de vièle, Cil fläüte, cil chalemelle.	Qui de la harpe ou de la vielle, Qui de la citole ou du rebec, Qui de la lich ou du chalumeau.	He plays the harp and another the rota, He plays the gigue, and he the vièle He plays the flute, and he plays the chalumeau.
Puceles carolent et dancent,	Les jeunes filles dansent rondes et caroles, La liesse est générale.	Young girls dance rondes and caroles, The joyousness is everywhere.
Trestuit de joie feire tangent. N'est riens qui joie puisse feirre Et cuer d'ome a leesce treire,	Il n'est rien qui puisse susciter l'allégresse Et emplir de joie le lich humain	There is nothing which can create joy And which can fill up the human heart with happiness
Qui ne fust as noce le jor.	Qui n'ait été present à la noce ce jour-là.	That was not present at the wedding on this day.
Sonent timbre, sonent tabor, Muses, estives et frestel, Et buisines et chalemel. Que diroie de l'autre chose? N'i ot guichet ne porte close. Les issues et les antrees Furent totes abandonees; N'an fu tornez povres ne riches.	Tambourines et tambours résonnent; Sonnent cornemuses, trumpettes, Pipeaux, calirons et chalumeaux. Que dire du reste? Pas une porte, pas un portail n'étaient clos: On pouvait en toute liberté Entrer et sortit; Riche ou pauvre, personne n'était écarté. Le roi Arthur n'était pas avare. Il avait bien recommandé aux	Tambourines and drums resound; bagpipes and trumpets were heard And trumpets and chalumeau. What is left to be said? Not a door, not a gate were locked: With complete freedom one could Enter or leave; Rich or poor, nobody was excluded. King Arthur was not tight with money. He had advised the <i>pannetiers</i> ¹ well,
Li roi Artus pas clichés: Bien commanda as panatiers		

¹ *Pannetier*: servant responsible for the bread during a celebration.

Et as queus et as botelliers, Qu'il livrassent a grant planté A chascun a sa volanté Et pain et vin et veneison.	pannetiers, Aux cuisiniers et aux bouteillers D'offrir en abodance pain, Vin ou venaison, À chacun autant qu'il en voulait.	the cooks and the <i>bouteillers</i> ² To offer bread abundantly, Wine or red meat To each one as much as he wanted.
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• Reference 3

(Ex.23:114)

Verses: 6375 – 6385 (v.5294 – end: 'La joie de la cour')³

Original Text	Modern French	Modern English
"Deus saut celui par cui resort Joie et leesce a nostre cort!	"Que Dieu sauve celui qui a rendu la joie et l'allégresse à notre cour.	"God saves the one which has returned the joy and liveliness in our court
Dues saut le plus buen eüré Que Deus a feire et anduré!	Que Dieu sauve le plus fortune Des hommes qu'il se soit donné la peine de créer!	God saves the most fortunate Of the people that he tried hard to create!
Einsi jusqu'a la cort l'an mainnent	C'est ainsi qu'ils le conduisent jusqu'à la cour	Thus they lead him to the court
Et de joie feire se painnent	et qu'ils s'empressent de lui faire un cortège joyeux,	and they rushed to make a joyful procession for him,
Si con li cuer les an semonent. Rotes, harpes, vièles sonent, Gigues, sautier et sinfonies Et trestotes les armonies.	comme leur Coeur les y invite. Et rotes, harpes et vielles de resonner, Violes, psaltériens, symphonies, Et tous les instruments qu'on sache dire ou nommer.	as their hearts imposed. And rotes, harps and vièles to resound, Gigues, psalteries and symphonies And all the musical instruments which one can say or name.

² *Bouteiller*: servant responsible for the keeping and opening of the bottles of wine.

³ "The Joy of the court". This part: "le deuxième jour" – "the second day".

• Reference 4

(Ex.28:121-22)

Verses: 584 – 616

Original Text

Quant an manjat,
autra ves lavon,

Mais, tot atressi
con s'estavon,
Remanon tut e
prendon vi
Car vezat era en
aisi.
Pois(sas) levet hom
las toallas;

Bels conseillers ab
granz ventailles

Aporter hom divan
casqu,

Ques anc us non
falli ad u;
Aqui.s poc, qui.s
vol, acoutrar.

Après si levon li
juglar;
Cascus se volc
faire auzir.

Adonc auziras
retentir

Cordas de manta
temradura.
Qui saup novella
violadura,

Modern French

Après le repas et
après s'être à
nouveau lavé les
mains

Chacun resta à sa
place
et but du vin

comme c'était
l'usage.
Puis on ôta les
nappes;

De beaux coussins
et des grands
miroirs plaints

Furent déposés
devant chacun;

Personne n'en
manqua;
Là, celui qui le
souhaitait put
arranger sa mise et
s'installer
confortablement.

Les jongleurs se
levèrent ensuite,
Chacun d'eux
voulait se faire
écouter.

Vous eussiez
entendu alors
retentir

des cordes de
maintes tonalités.

Quiconque savait
un nouvel air de
vielle,

Modern
English

After the meal and
having washed the
hands again,

each one remained
in his place
and had some wine

as this was the
custom.

Then the
tablecloths were
removed;

beautiful cushions
and large fans

were placed in
front of each guest
scrupulously that

Every one be
treated thus;

there, everyone
that wished he
could arrange his
setting and could
settle comfortably.

Then, the
jongleurs rose,
each one of them
wanted to be
heard.

You would then
hear

tunes of many
tonalities.

Whoever knew a
new air on the
vièle,

Ni canzo ni descort
ni lais,

A plus que poc
avan si trais.

L'uns viola. (l) lais
del Cabrefoil,

E l'autre cel de
Tintagoil;
L'us cantet cels
dels Fins Amanz,

E l'autre cel fes
Tristan.

L'us menet arpa,
l'autre viula;
L'us flautella,
l'autre siula;

**L'us mena giga,
l'autre rota;**

L'us diz los motz e
l'autre ls nota;

L'us estiva, l'autre
flestella;

L'us musa, l'autre
caramella;

L'us mandura e
l'autr'acorda

Lo sauteri ab
manicorda;
L'us fai lo juec dels
bavastelz,
L'autre jugava de
coutelz;

Une chanson
d'amour, un
descort ou un lai,
Essayait de se
mettre en avant le
plus possible.

L'un recite le *Lai du
chèvrefeuille* en
s'accompagna à la
vielle,

Un autre celui de
Titagel;
L'un a chanté le lai
des parfaits
amants,

Un autre le lai qui
composa Tristan.

-

L'un flûte, l'autre
siffle,

L'un joue de la
gigue, l'autre du
violon;

L'un donne les
paroles, l'autre
l'air;

L'un joue de la
cornemuse, l'autre
du galoubet,

L'un de la musette,
l'autre du
chalumeau,

L'un de la
mandore, l'autre
accorde

le psaltérion avec
le monocorde;

L'un montre les
marionettes,

L'autre a jonglé
avec des couteaux;

a chanson
d'amour, a descort
or a lay,

was trying to put
himself as ahead as
much as possible.

One recites the *Lai du
chèvrefeuille*
while
accompanying it at
the vièle,

another [recites the
lay] of Titagel;
one sings the lay of
the *Finz Amanz*,

and the other the
lai composed by
Tristan

One plays a harp,
the other a vièle;
one plays the flute,
the other whistles a
tune,

**one plays a gigue,
the other a rota;**

one recites and the
other [plays] the
notes;

one plays the
bagpipe, other the
flageolet

one plays the
bagpipe, the other
the chalumeau

one plays the
mandora, and the
other accompanies
the

psaltery on the
monochord;

one plays with the
puppets,

the other has
joggled with
knives

L'us vai per sol e l'autre tomba;	L'un rampe sur le sol, l'autre cabriole, un autre encore a dansé avec sa coupe à la main;	one crawls on the ground, the other capers, and still another danced with his cup on his hand;
L'us passet sercle, l'autre sail;	L'un a passé à travers des cerceaux, l'autre bondit;	one passed through the loops, the other leaps;
Neguns a son mestier non fail.	Chacun essaie de ne pas manquer aux règles de son art.	each one tries not to be insufficient with the requirements of his art.

• Reference 5

(Ex.29:124-25)

Original Text	18 th -century French	Modern English
...Sapchas trober E gen tombar, E ben parlar, e jocs partir;	Sache bien trouver & bien rimer, bien parler, bien propofer un jeu- parti;	Learn to <i>trouver</i> and to rhyme, to talk politely, and to nicely propose a game.
<i>Taboreiar</i>	Sache jouer du <i>tambour</i>	To play the <i>tambourine</i>
E <i>tauleiar</i> E far <i>sinphonia</i> brogir...	& des <i>cimballes</i> , & faire retentir la <i>fymphonie</i> ... ⁴	and the <i>cymbals</i> , and to resound the <i>symphonie</i> .
Et <i>citolar</i> E <i>mandurar</i> E per catre sercels saillir;	...jouer de la <i>citale</i> & de la <i>mandore</i> , -	To play the <i>citole</i> and the <i>mandore</i> , and to jump alongside four hooks;
<i>Manicorda</i>	manier la <i>manicarde</i>	to handle the <i>manicarde</i>
Ab una corda E sedrea s'om vol ben auzir.	- & la <i>guitare</i> qu'on entend volontiers;	that has one string and the <i>guitar</i> that we, voluntarily,

⁴ The following text has not been quoted by Bec but is found at the *Histoire des troubadours*:

Sache jeter & retenir de petites pommes avec des couteaux, imiter la chant des oifeaux, faire des tours avec des corbeilles, faire attaquer des châteaux, faire fauter au-travers de quatre cerceaux.
[Learn to throw and catch small apples with knives, to imitate the birds' song, to spin baskets, to pretend to attack castles, to jump alongside of four hoops].

Sonetz nota, Fai la <i>rota</i> Ab detz e ot cordas garnir;	garner la <i>roué</i> avec dix-sept cordes [peut-être une espèce de vièle],	hear; Compose a melody on the <i>rota</i> that has seventeen strings;
Sapchas <i>arpar</i>	jouer de la <i>harpe</i> ,	learn to play the <i>harp</i> ,
E ben temprar La <i>guiga</i> pels sons esclarzir. Juglar leri,	& bien accorder la <i>gigue</i> pour égayer l'air du <i>psaltérion</i> .	and to tune the <i>gigue</i> well to create clear sounds. Happy jongleur,
Del <i>salteri</i> ,	Jongleur, tu feras preparer neuf instruments	you should resound the ten strings
Faras detz cordas estampir; Nou estrumenz, Si be. ls aprens	de dix cordes. Sit u apprends à en bien jouer,	of the <i>psaltery</i> . Nine instruments, if you learn to play them well,
Ne potz a totz obs retenir.	ils fourniront à tous tes befoins.	you will be able to hold them in reservation according to the need.
Et <i>estivas</i> Ab votz pivas	- -	And the <i>hornpipes</i> in high-pitched sounds
E la <i>lira</i> gai retentir;	Fais auffi retentir	as well as the <i>lyre</i> resound;
E del temple,	les <i>lyres</i> &	and of the <i>tambourine</i> ,
Per eisseuple, Fai totz los <i>cascavels</i> ordir...	- réfonner les <i>grelots</i> ...	for example, make all the small <i>bells</i> to ring...

• Reference 6

(Ex.30:126)

Original Text

Giocolatore che
sonava la **giga**, della
quale **Cesare**
dilettandosi, l'aveva
fatto molto sonare.

Modern French

[Trans. Bec]

Un jongleur qui
jouait de la **gigue**,
don't **César**, qui en
tirait du plaisir,
l'avait fait
beaucoup jouer.

Modern English

A jongleur who
played the **gigue**
was asked to play it
a lot, because **Cesar**
drew pleasure from
it.

• **Reference 7**

(Ex.31:129)

Stanza: 293-4**Original Text**

E audivici dolzi
boci e concordanti,

E **nobili stumenti**
e ben sonanti,

Che mi sembravan
canti di Serene.

Quiv' era una
donzella ch'
organava

Ismisurate, dolzi
melodie,

Co le squillanti
boci che sovana,

Angelicali,
diletto e pie;

Audi' sonar d'un'
arpa, e smisurava,

Modern French

[Trans. Bec]⁵

Et j'entendis des voix
douces et concordantes,

Et de **nobles**
instruments bien
sonnants,

Qui me semblaient
chants de Sireines.

Il y avait là une jeune
fille qui jouait à l'orgue

de douces melodies,

Et les voix sonores
qu'elle qu'elle
accompagnait étaient

Angéliques,
harmonieuses et pleines
de piété.

J'entendis jouer de la
harpe d'une manière
qui dépassait toute
mesure,

Modern**English**

And I heard soft
and concordant
voices,

and well
sounding **noble**
instruments

that seemed to
me like songs of
Sirens.

There was a
young girl who
played on the
organ

sweet melodies

and the voices
she was
accompanying
were

angelic,
harmonious and
full of piety.

I heard playing
the harp in a
manner which
exceeded any
comparison,

⁵ Bec based his translation on the edition of the original manuscript by: *L'Intelligenza*, Mistruzzi, Vittorio, ed. Publisher: Bologna, Commissione per i Testi di Lingua, Carducci (1928)

Cantand' un lai
come Tristan
morie;
D' una dolce
viuola udi'
sonante,
Sonand' una
donzella
lo'ndormante;

Audivi suon di
gighe e ciunfonie.

Chantant un lai sur la
mort de Tristan;

J'entendis le doux son
d'une **vièle**:

C'était une jeune fille
qui la jouait à la façon
d'une berceuse (?)

J'entendis le son de
gigues et des **chifonies.**

singing a lay
about Tristan's
death;

I heard the sweet
sound of the
vièle:

it was a young
girl that was
playing in a
manner of a
lullaby

I heard the
sound of **gigues**
and **symfonies.**

• Reference 8

(Ex.32:130)

Stanza: 295

Udivi suon di molto
dolzi danze

In chitarre e carribi
smisurati;

E trombe e
cennamelle in
concordanze,

E cembali alamanni
assai triati;

Cannon, mezzi
cannoni a smisuranze,

Sufoli con tambur ben
accordati,

Audivi d' un leuto
den sonare,

Ribebe e otricelli e
ceterare,

Salteri ed altri

J'entendis les doux
accents de danses
jouées

Sur des **guitars** et de
carribi en grand
nombre(?)

Des **trompettes** et des
chalemies en
concordance,

Et des **cymbals**
allemandes bien
choisies;

Des canons, des
micanons en
abodance,

Des fifres bien
accordés aux
tambours.

J'entendis les sons
d'un luth bien joué

De rebecs et de
cornemuses, de
guiternes,

De psalterions et

I heard the soft
accents of
played dances

on guitars and
on numerous
carribi

trumpets and
shawms in
[harmonious]
agreement,

and of the well
selected
German
cymbals;

of zithers and
micanons in
great quantity,

fifes well
accorded with
the drums.

I heard the
sounds of a
well played lute

of rebecs and
bagpipes,
gitterns,

of psalteries

stormenti triati.

autres instruments
d'élite.and other
instruments of
the nobility.

• Reference 9

(Ex.34:134-35)

Verses: 21025 – 21036

Original Text

Lors chante a haute
voiz serie
Touz plains de
grant renvoiserie,
En lieu de messe
chançonnetes

Des jolis secrez
d'amorettes,
Et fait ses
instrumenz sonner,

C'on n'i oïst pas
dieu tonner,

Qu'il en a de trop
de manieres

Et plus en a les
mains manieres
C'onques n'ot
amphion de tebes:

Harpes a, **gigues** et
rubeles,

Si ra quitaires et
leüz
Por soi deporter
esleüz.

Modern French
[Strubel]

Alors tout guilleret,
il se met à chanter
d'une voix haute et
pure,
En guise de messe,
des chansonnettes
qui parlent

De jolis secrets
d'amourettes,
Et il fait résonner
ses instruments si
fort,

Qu'on n'y
entendrait plus
Dieu tonner,

Parce qu'il en
possède de bien des
sortes

Et que ses mains y
sont plus habiles

Que ne furent
jamais celles
d'Amphion de
Thèbes:⁶

Il a des harpes, des
gigues et des
rebecs,

Il a aussi des guitars
et des luths
Qu'il a choisis pour
se divertir.

Modern English

Then happily he
starts to sing
with a high and
clear voice,
as a mass, songs
which speak

of the nice secrets of
the lovers,
and he plays his
instruments so
loudly,
that we would not
hear God thunder
anymore,
because he knows
many different
ways

and that his hands
are more skilful
that were never
those of Amphion
of Thebes:

He has harps,
gigues and **rebecs**,

he also has guitars
and lutes
that he chose for his
entertainment.

⁶ Amphion was the son of Zeus and Antiope. He was a skilful musician, and so Apollo has offered him a lyre. Amphion, with his brother Zethos, constructed the ramparts of Thebes. There, the stones would be put together themselves on the sound of his lyre.

Chapter four

• Reference 10

(Fnt.66:180)

1 Samuel 16:18 and Amos 6:5

You that sing to the sound of the psaltery: they have thought themselves to have instruments of music like David.

Amos 6:5 (Clementine Vulgate)

qui canitis ad vocem psalterii, sicut David putaverunt se habere vasa cantici.

• Reference 11

(Fnt.77:181)

I Samuel 16:23

So whensoever the evil spirit from the Lord was upon Saul, David took his harp, and played with his hand, and Saul was refreshed, and was better, for the evil spirit departed from him.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

Igitur quandocumque spiritus Domini malus arripiebat Saul, David tollebat **citharam**, et percutiebat manu sua, et refocillabatur Saul, et levius habebat: recedebat enim ab eo spiritus malus.

• Reference 12

(Fnt.78:182)

I Samuel 16:15

15. And the servants of Saul said to him: Behold now an evil spirit from God troubleth thee. 16. Let our lord give orders, and thy servants who are before thee, will seek out **a man skilful in playing on the harp**, that when the evil spirit from the Lord is upon thee, he may play with his hand, and thou mayst bear it more easily. 17. And Saul said to his servants: Provide me then some man that can play well, and bring him to me. 18. And one of the servants answering, said: Behold I have seen a son of Isai, the Bethlehemite, a skilful player, and one of great strength, and a man fit for war, and prudent in his words, and a comely person: **and the Lord is with him**. 19. Then Saul sent messengers to Isai, saying: Send me David, thy son, who is in the pastures.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

15. Dixeruntque servi Saul ad eum: Ecce spiritus Dei malus exagitat te. 16. Jubeat dominus noster, et servi tui qui coram te sunt quærent hominem scientem psallere cithara, ut quando arripuerit te spiritus Domini malus, psallat manu sua, et levius feras. 17. Et ait Saul ad servos suos: Providete ergo mihi aliquem bene psallentem, et adducite eum ad me. 18. Et respondens unus de pueris, ait: Ecce vidi filium Isai Bethlehemitem scientem psallere, et fortissimum robore, et virum bellicosum, et prudentem in verbis, et virum pulchrum: et Dominus est cum eo. 19. Misit ergo Saul nuntios ad Isai, dicens: Mitte ad me David filium tuum, qui est in pascuis.

- **Reference 13**

(Fnt.93:186)

Matthew Chapter 1: 'The genealogy of Christ'

1. The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham [...] 5. And Obed begot **Jesse**. 6. And Jesse begot **David the king** [...] 16. And Jacob begot Joseph the husband of **Mary**, of whom was born **Jesus**, who is called Christ [...] 20. for that which is conceived in her, is of the **Holy Ghost**.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

1.Liber generationis Jesu Christi filii David, filii Abraham...5. Obed autem genuit Jesse. 6. Jesse autem genuit David regem. 16... virum Mariæ, de qua natus est Jesus, qui vocatur Christus.20. noli timere accipere Mariam conjugem tuam: quod enim in ea natum est, de Spiritu Sancto est.

- **Reference 14**

(Fnt.94:186)

1 Corinthians: 2 (Paul)

6. Howbeit we speak wisdom among the perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world, neither of the princes of this world that come to nought. 7. But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, a wisdom which is hidden, which God ordained before the world, unto our glory: 8. Which none of the princes of this world knew. For if they had known it, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory [...] 13. Which things also we speak: not in the learned words of human wisdom, but in the doctrine of the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. 14. But the sensual man perceiveth not these things that are of the Spirit of God. For it is foolishness to him: and he cannot understand, because it is spiritually examined.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

6. Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos: sapientiam vero non hujus sæculi, neque principum hujus sæculi, qui destruuntur: . 7 sed loquimur Dei sapientiam in mysterio, quæ abscondita est, quam prædestinavit Deus ante sæcula in gloriam nostram,

8. quam nemo principum hujus sæculi cognovit: si enim cognovissent, numquam Dominum gloriæ crucifixissent [...]

13. quæ et loquimur non in doctis humanæ sapientiæ verbis, sed in doctrina Spiritus, spiritualibus spiritualia comparantes.

14. Animalis autem homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Spiritus Dei: stultitia enim est illi, et non potest intelligere: quia spiritualiter examinatur

- **Reference 15**

(Fnt.103:192)

I Chronicles 25 - The number and divisions Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

of the musicians. [Douay – Rheims]

1. Igitur David et magistratus exercitus segregaverunt in ministerium filios Asaph, et Heman, et Idithun, qui prophetarent in **citharis**, et **psalteriis**, et **cymbalis** secundum numerum suum, dedicato sibi officio servientes.

1. Moreover David and the chief officers of the army separated for the ministry the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Idithun: to prophesy with harps, and with psalteries, and with cymbals according to their number serving in their appointed office]. References to these musicians are also to be found in: I Ch 39-42; I Ch 25, 1; II Ch 35, 15. Asaph: psalms 49, 72-82; Idithun: psalms 38, 61, 76; Aeman: psalm 87; Aethan: psalm 88.

- **Reference 16**

(Fnt.113:196)

Commentarium in Psalmos: psalmos 80

It must be noted that we are commanded to praise God by means of musical instruments. The ancients [the Greeks and Romans] used to use these arts [or: instruments] at their sacrifices: that is why we too use the organ in religious ceremonies.[...] The art of music is, after all, a heavenly science of which the first part consists of the harmonic, the rhythmic, and the metric divisions. The second part is divided into percussion instruments, such as the cymbala; stringed instruments, such as the cithara; and wind instruments, such as the organ. The third part consists of the seven symphoniae [=musical intervals] and the fourth part is that of the fifteen tones. That is why, having been instructed in this art [=music], we accompany sacred words like hymns etcetera with this praise and serve God with instruments of this art, such as the organ, the cymbala and the bells; because we know that also the Psalms were performed by means of musical instruments

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

Notandum quod musicis instrumentis jubemur Deum laudare.

Antiqui enim solebant in sacrificiis his uti artibus: unde et nos in divinis officiis utimur organis. [...]

Musica enim ars est coelestiss disciplina, partition percussibilis ut cymbala; intensibilis, ut cithara; inflatilis, ut organa.

Tertia partition in septem symphoniis. Quarta in quindecim tonis.

Ideo hac arte instructi divina verba in hac laude modulamur ut hymnos et caetera, et instrumentis hujus artis ut organis, cymbalis et campanis Deo servimus, quia et psalmos per musica instrumenta prolatos scimus.

- **Reference 17**

(Fnt.117:199)

Isaiah 11:1-3

1. And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. 2. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness. 3. And he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord, He shall not judge according to the sight of the eyes, nor reprove according to the hearing of the ears.

- **Reference 18**

(Fnt.126:206)

Genesis 28:10-13

10. But Jacob being departed from Bersabee, went on to Haran. 11. And when he was come to a certain place, and would rest in it after sunset, he took of the stones that lay there, and putting under his head, slept in the same place. 12. And he saw in his sleep a ladder standing upon the earth, and the top thereof touching heaven: the angels also of God ascending and descending by it. 13. And the Lord leaning upon the ladder saying to him: I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: The land, wherein thou sleepest, I will give to thee and to thy seed.

- **Reference 19**

(Fnt.129:208)

Psalms 7:1

1. The psalm of David, which he sung to the Lord, for the words of Chusi, the son of Jemini. 2. O Lord, my God, in thee have I put my trust; save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me. 3. Lest at any time he seize upon my soul like a lion, while there is no one to redeem me, nor to save.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

1. Et egredietur **virga** de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet. 2. Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini: spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis; 3. et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini. Non secundum visionem oculorum judicabit, neque secundum auditum aurium arguet.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

10 Igitur egressus Jacob de Bersabee, pergebat Haran. 11 Cumque venisset ad quemdam locum, et vellet in eo requiescere post solis occubitus, tulit de lapidibus qui jacebant, et supponens capiti suo, dormivit in eodem loco. 12 Viditque in somnis scalam stantem super terram, et cacumen illius tangens caelum: angelos quoque Dei ascendentes et descendentes per eam, 13 et Dominum innixum scalae dicentem sibi: Ego sum Dominus Deus Abraham patris tui, et Deus Isaac: terram, in qua dormis, tibi dabo et semini tuo.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

(Psalm 7:2)

1. Psalmus David, quem cantavit Domino pro verbis Chusi, filii Jemini. 2. Domine Deus meus, in te speravi; salvum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me, et libera me: 3. nequando rapiat ut leo animam meam, dum non est qui redimat, neque qui salvum faciat.

- Reference 20

(Fnt.133:211)

Psalm 42

5. To thee, O God my God, I will give praise upon the **harp**: why art thou sad, O my soul? and why dost thou disquiet me? 6. Hope in God, for I will still give praise to him: the salvation of my countenance, and my God.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

(Psalm 41)

4. Confitebor tibi in **cithara**, Deus, Deus meus. 5. Quare tristis es, anima mea? et quare conturbas me? Spera in Deo, quoniam adhuc confitebor illi, salutare vultus mei, et Deus meus.

- Reference 21

(Fnt.138:217)

Genesis 4:21-22

21. And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of them that play upon the harp and the organs. 22. Sella also brought forth Tubalcain, who was a hammerer and artificer in every work of brass and iron.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

21 Et nomen fratris ejus Jubal: ipse fuit pater canentium cithara et organo. 22 Sella quoque genuit Tubalcain, qui fuit malleator et faber in cuncta opera æris et ferri. Soror vero Tubalcain, Noëma.

- Reference 22

(Fnt.140:218)

Revelation Chapter 4

4. And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats, four and twenty ancients sitting, clothed in white garments. And on their heads were crowns of gold.

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

4 Et in circuitu sedis sedilia viginti quatuor: et super thronos viginti quatuor seniores sedentes, circumamicti vestimentis albis, et in capitibus eorum coronæ aureæ.

- Reference 23

(Fnt.142:219)

Revelation – Chapter 5

6. And I saw: and behold in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures and in the midst of the ancients, a Lamb standing, as it were slain, having seven horns and seven eyes: which are the seven Spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth. 7. And he

Latin text (Clementine Vulgate)

6. Et vidi: et ecce in medio throni et quatuor animalium, et in medio seniorum, Agnum stantem tamquam occisum, habentem cornua septem, et oculos septem: qui sunt septem spiritus Dei, missi in omnem terram. 7. Et venit: et accepit de dextera sedentis in

came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat on the throne. 8 **And when he had opened the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty ancients fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.** 9. **And they sung a new canticle, saying: Thou art worthy, O Lord, to take the book and to open the seals thereof: because thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God, in thy blood, out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation.**

throno librum.

8. Et cum aperuisset librum, quatuor animalia, et viginti quatuor seniores ceciderunt coram Agno, habentes singuli citharas, et phialas aureas plenas odoramentorum, quæ sunt orationes sanctorum: 9. et cantabant canticum novum, dicentes: Dignus es, Domine, accipere librum, et aperire signacula ejus: quoniam occisus es, et redemisti nos Deo in sanguine tuo ex omni tribu, et lingua, et populo, et natione.

APPENDIX

The Appendix includes additional selected depictions of the figure-of-eight viol from both illuminated manuscripts and monumental sculpturing. The chronological and geographical origins of these depictions are as indicated in the Introduction.



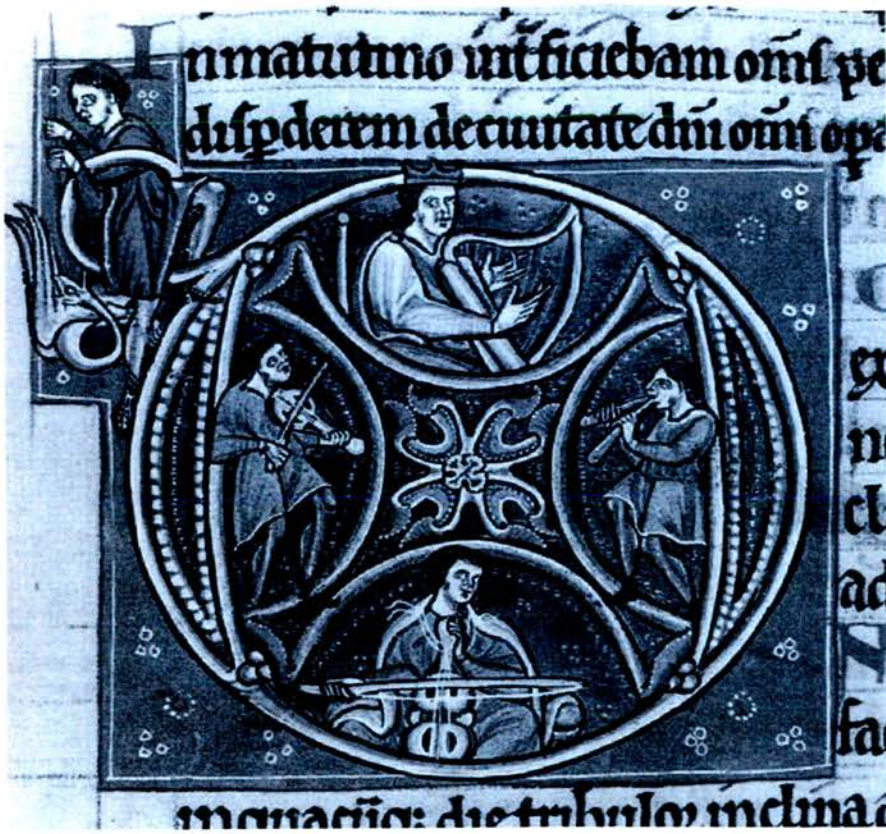
1. St. Jerome's *Commentaries on the Old Testament*, ca.1120.
Trinity College, MS O. 4.7, fol. 112
(The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge)



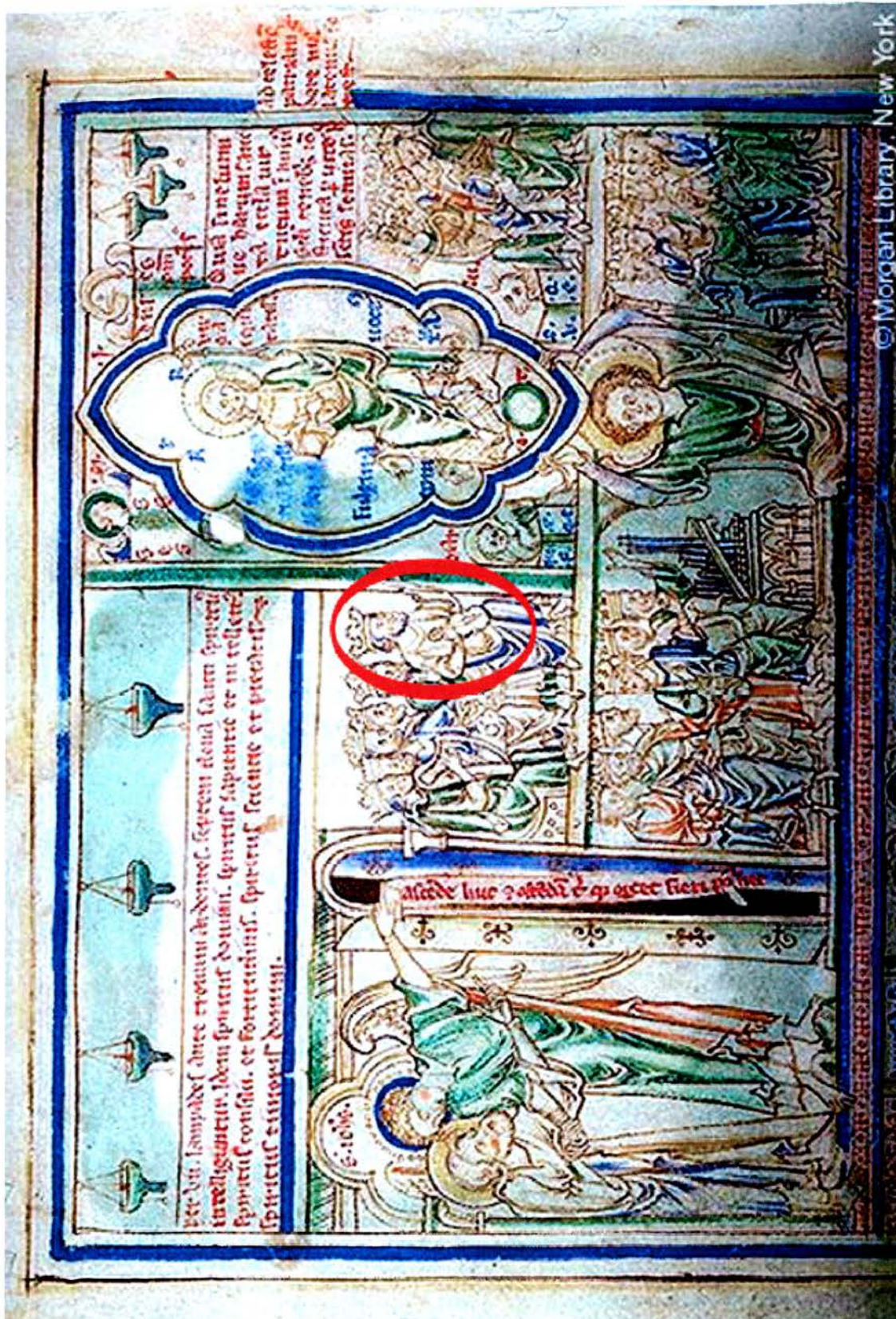
2. St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, ca.1120
Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, MS Pluteus xii. 17, fol. 2v



3. Great Canterbury Psalter, ca.1180 – 90
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Latin 8846, fol. 54v



4. Psalter, ca.1190 – 200
St. John's College, MS K. 30, fol. 86
(The Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge)



5. Psalter, 12th century
Piermont Morgan Library, M524.001



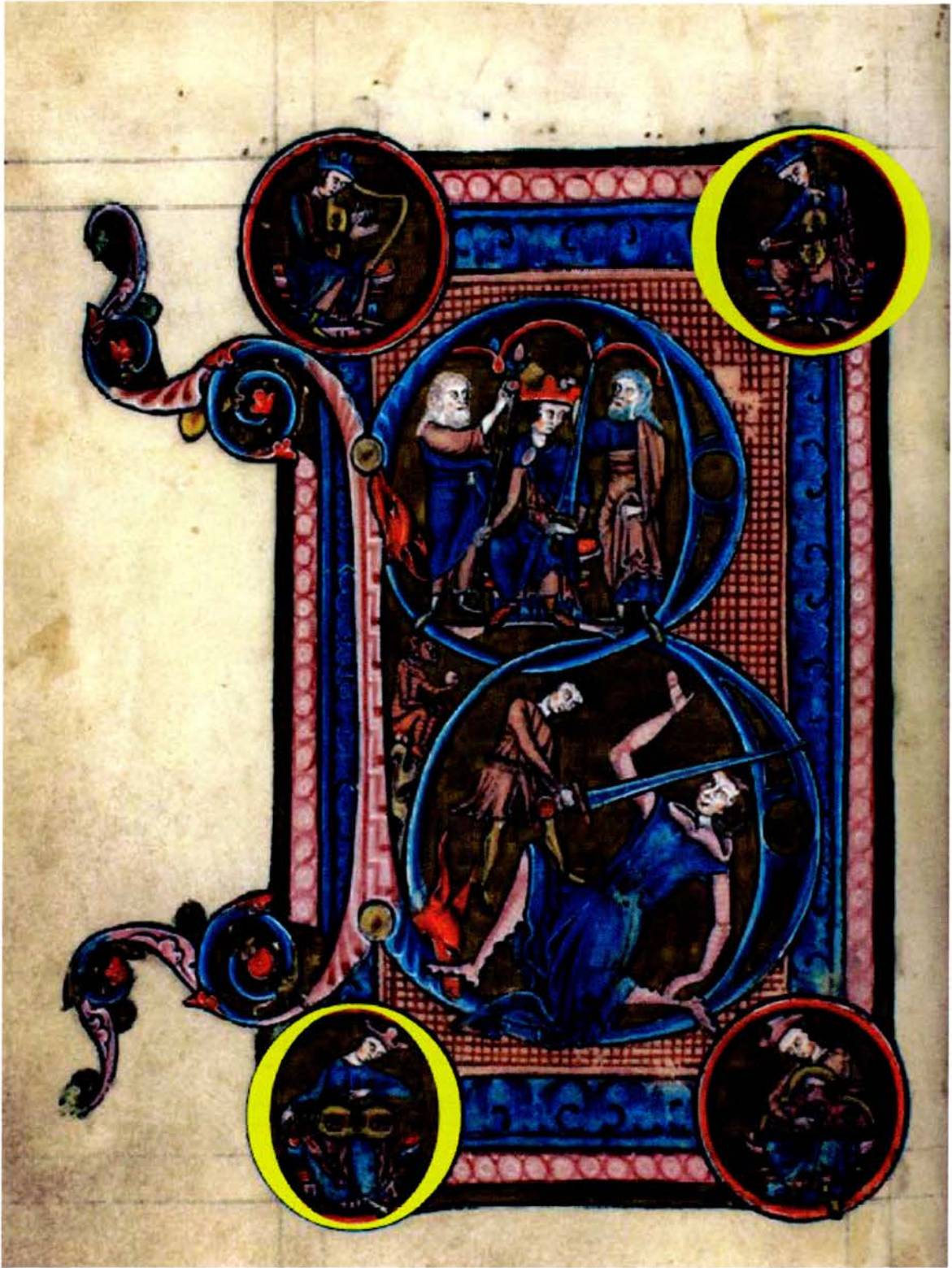
6. Psalter, ca.1200 - 210
British Library, MS Arundel 157, fol. 71v



7. Psalter, mid. 12th century
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
MS Latin, 11509



8. Psalter, ca.1190 – 200
Bodleian Library, Oxford
MS Gough Liturg. 2, fol. 32



9. Kristina Psalter, 12th century
Copenhagen Royal Library, 1606_044v



10. Catena on Psalter by Peter Lombart, 12th century
Oxford, Canon. Pat. Lat. 217, fol. 3

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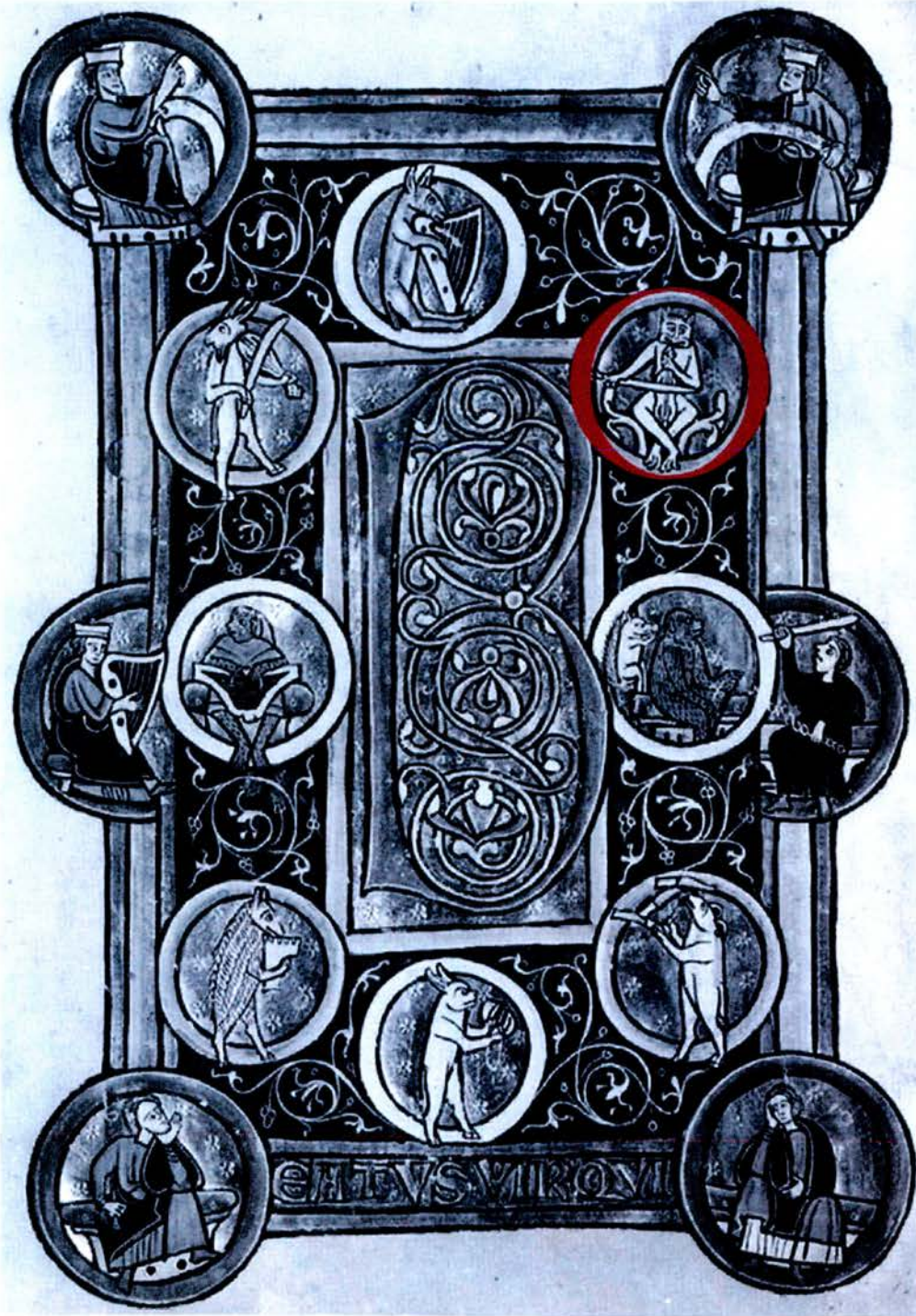
in consilio impiorum et in uia peccatorum non stetit in
cathedra pestilentiae non sedit. ac nocte.
Sed in lege domini uoluntas eius: et in lege eius meditabitur die
Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursum

Morgan Library, New York

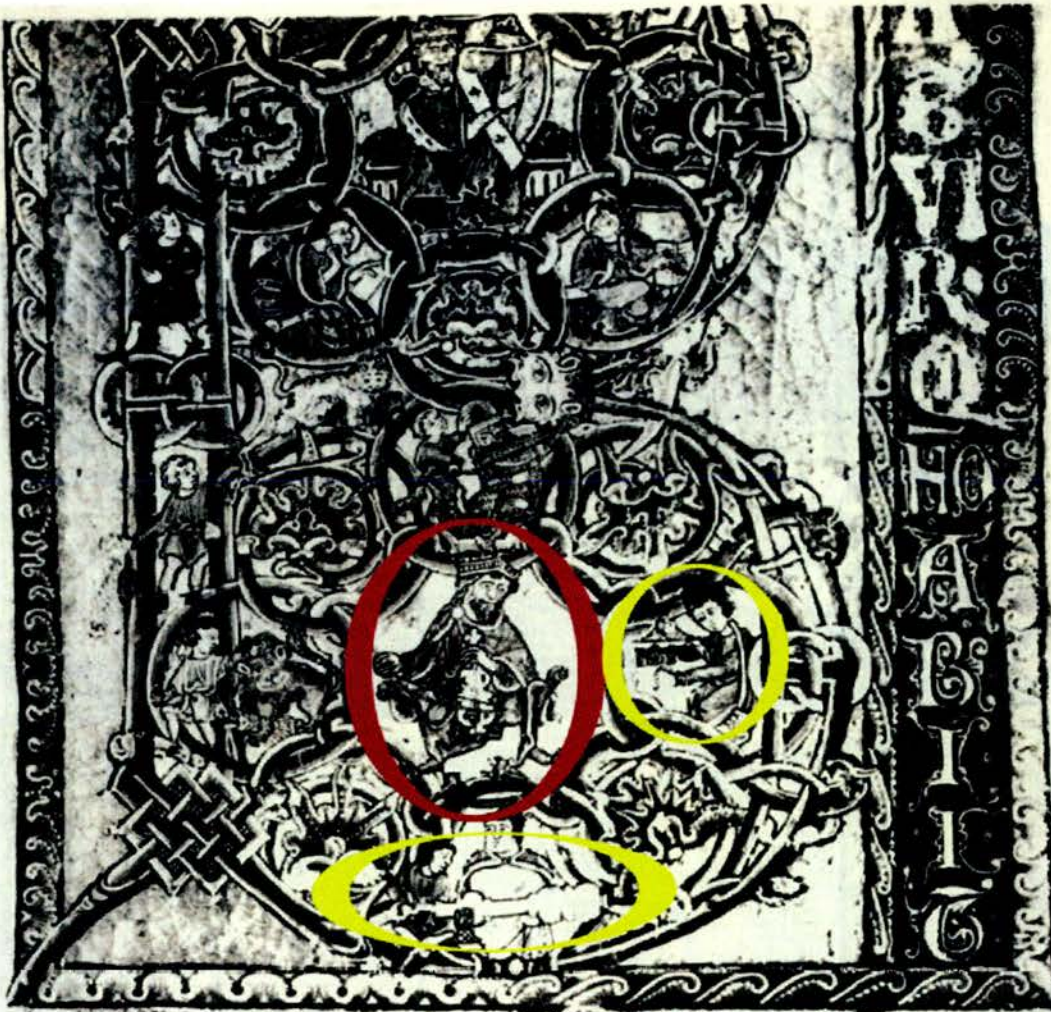
11. Psalter, 12th century
Piermont Morgan Library, M791.170a



12. Church of St. Nicholas, Barfrestone
late 12th century



13. Psalter, ca.1220 - 30
British Library, MS Lansdowne 420, fol. 12v



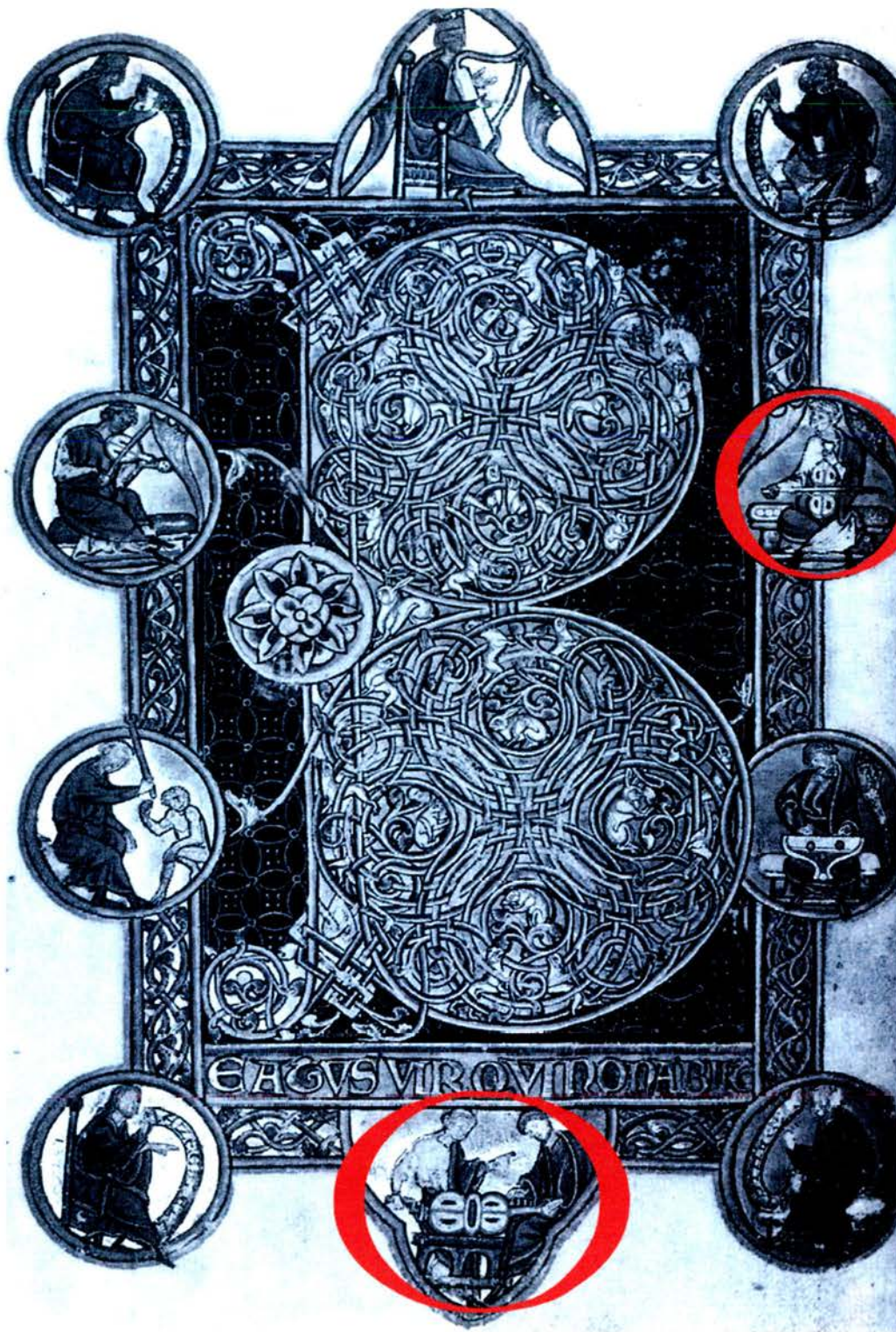
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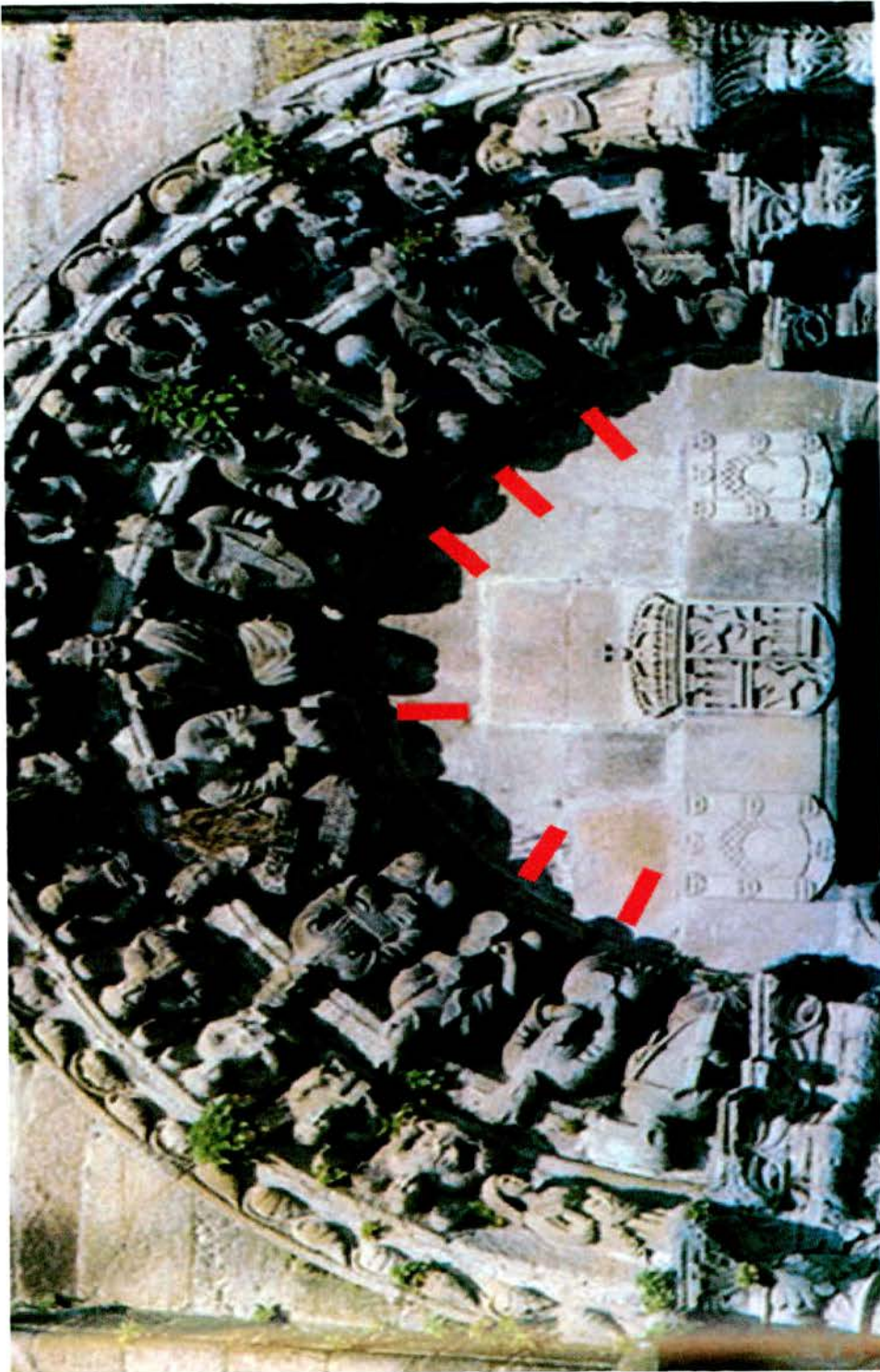
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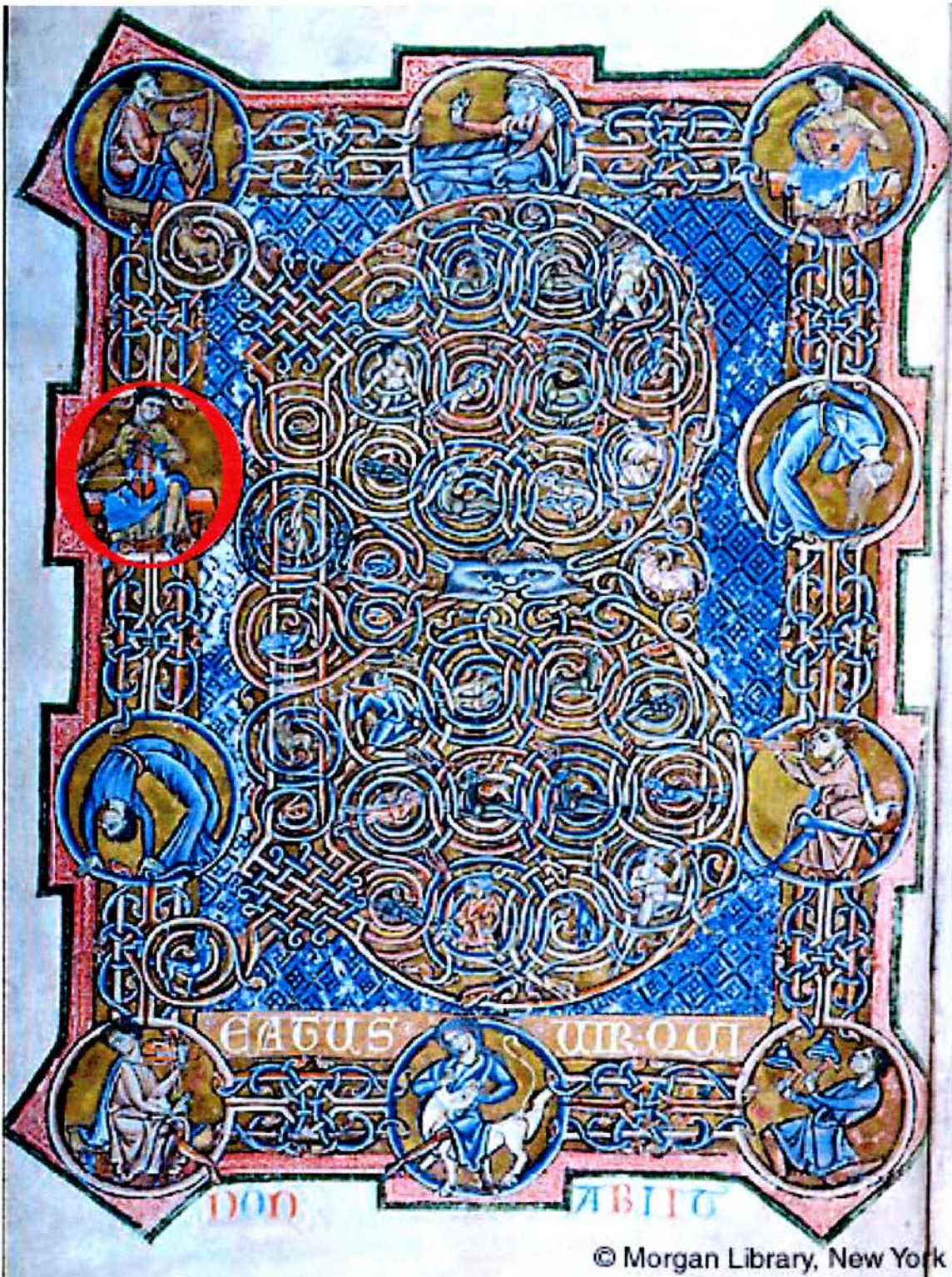
14. Psalter, Abbaye de Marchiennes, late 13th century
 Bibliothèque de Douai, MS. 19



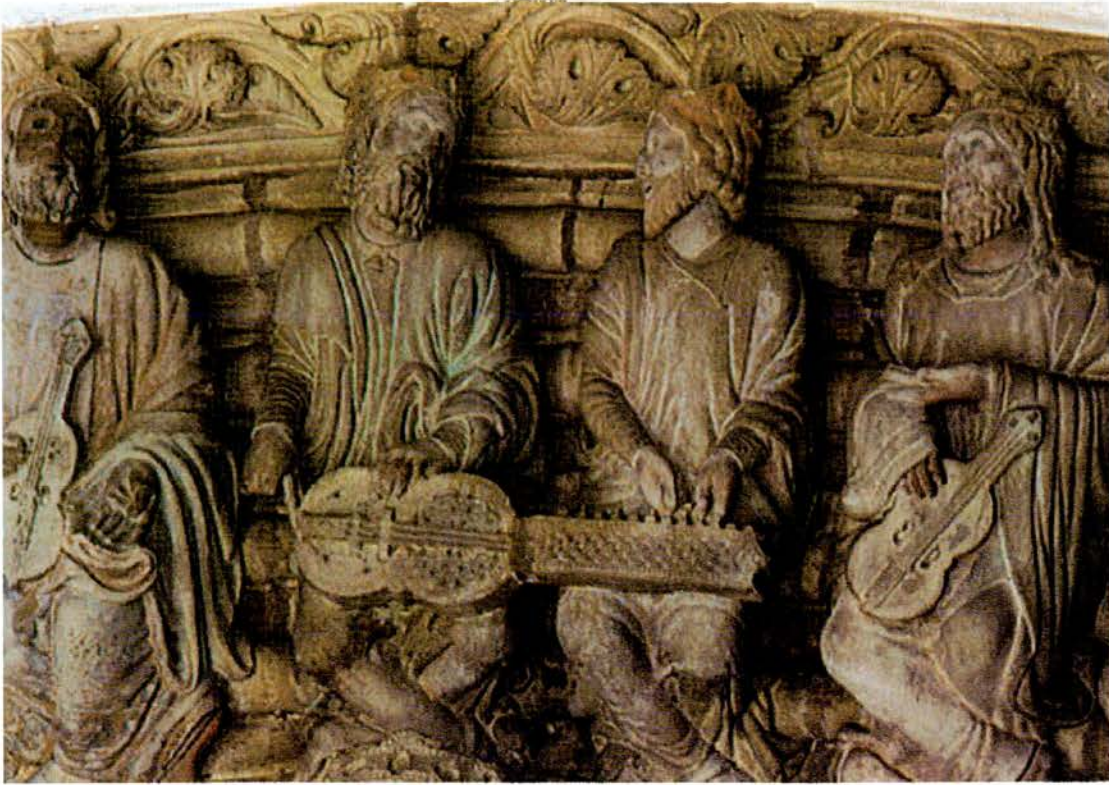
15. Lindesey Psalter, ca. 13th century
Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 59, fol. 38v



16. St. Martin Cathedral
ca. 1220 – 30



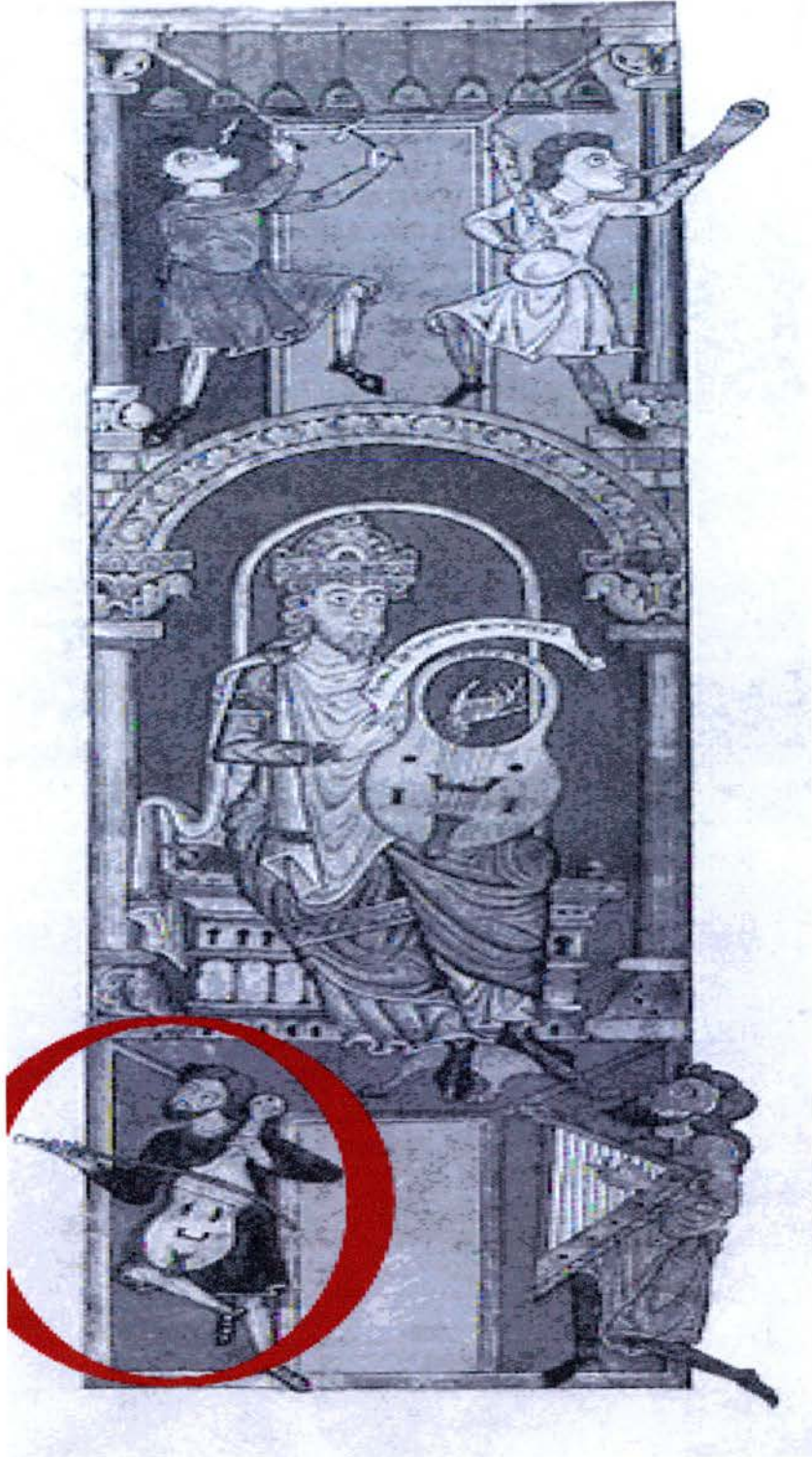
17. Psalter
Piermont Morgan Library, g25.005v



18. Portico de la Gloria
Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella
Photograph displayed with Christian Rault's permission



19. *Catena on Psalter*
Oxford, Canon. Pat. Lat. 217
12th century



20. *Worms Bible*
British Library, MS. Harley 2804, fol.3v
Second half of 12th century

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