JOHANNES DE GROCHEO'S 'MUSICA VULGARIS'

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JOHANNES DE GROCHEO holds a pre-eminent place in the history of medieval music. Throughout the present century, his treatise, and in particular the section dealing with secular monophonic forms (which he calls musica vulgaris), has, perhaps, been cited more than any other work of music theory of the Middle Ages. I might here refer to just a few of the approving opinions expressed in recent decades as an indication of the generally favourable response that his work has evoked not only among musicologists but also among literary historians: De Witt cites his unique place in music history; Stockmann his originality, his practicality, his authoritative pronouncements; and Page his liberal opinions. Of course there have been dissenting voices: Gennrich deemed Grocheo's statements unreliable. Van der Werf, too, is rather sceptical about the reliability of Grocheo's pronouncements. His unfavourable judgement in turn provoked a vigorous defence. De Witt considers that Grocheo's contradictions can be explained by his use of symbolism or our lack of sympathy for medieval attitudes, while Stockmann thinks that Van der Werf completely devalued in an unreasonable manner the entire work of this important theorist, having merely seized on single statements without trying to understand the work as a whole. Mandrell also contests Van der Werf's estimation of Grocheo's work and judges it to be a practical treatise. Yet even Grocheo's champions feel obliged to qualify their praise: De Witt opines that '... one suspects that Grocheio may have simplified reality in order to reduce it to a rule'; and Stockmann, ever lavish in her praise of this unquestionably unique treatise, admits its ambiguity.

The high esteem that Grocheo's treatise has generally enjoyed in this century is in marked contrast to that in which it was apparently held in his own time and in the

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1 The name may derive from Gruchy in Caen, Normandy: see 'Groceium', in Johann Graesse, Orbis latinus (1861), rev. Helmut Plechl & Sophie-Charlotte Plechl, Brunswick, 1972, ii. 188. Alternatively, the name may derive from Grouchy in the marquisate of Blainville, also in Normandy: see 'Grouchy', in Albert Dauzat, Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France (1951), rev. Marie-Thérèse Morlet, Paris, 1980, p. 310. This second possibility is particularly interesting, since Blainville is near Lessay and before writing his only extant treatise Grocheo had previously been in communication with a certain monk named Clemens Exaquensis ('Exaquensis' derives from the Latin for Lessay, as has been pointed out in a very timely manner by Christopher Page: see The Owl and the Nightingale, London, 1989, p. 171 n. 3). Grocheo's connections with Normandy are further strengthened later in his treatise by a reference to the singing of rotundelli in Normandy to which I refer below. I adopt the traditionally accepted version of his name, in preference to the form 'Grocheio'.


5 De Witt, op. cit., pp. 140-41; Stockmann, op. cit., p. 29 n. 33.


7 De Witt, op. cit., p. 245; Stockmann, op. cit., p. 22.
intervening centuries. Reaney has suggested that it was not widely disseminated. In fact it exists in only two manuscripts and was neither imitated nor cited by any other medieval writer. Its fame originates with the publication in 1899–1900 by Wolf of one of these manuscripts, housed at Darmstadt; although great credit must go to him for bringing the work to our attention, his edition, in Beck’s words, ‘teems with . . . errors in the readings that sometimes render the text unintelligible’. Moreover, the Darmstadt manuscript is the more recent of the two and is clearly inferior to the earlier London manuscript. It seemed inevitable, therefore, that this edition would be replaced by a more satisfactory one. The need was supplied by Rohloff, who devoted nearly half a century to a study of the work and produced two published editions, the second of which is now the one universally cited. Rohloff’s comprehensive publication provides not only a text with the usual critical apparatus, which includes a study of Grocheo’s Latin, but also a German translation and facsimiles of both sources. It would be gratifying to report that Rohloff had acquitted himself beyond reproach in all departments, but unfortunately that is not the case: in spite of his commendably exhaustive study, his work contains several shortcomings, not the least of which is that his edition is based on neither manuscript but presents a drastically emended text derived from both. It would have been preferable to have used the London manuscript as a base; quotations in the present article are from that one alone.

The work is untitled in both manuscripts. Wolf derived his title, Theoria, from the explicit in the Darmstadt manuscript, whereas others derived theirs from the London manuscript, giving it such names as Tractatus musicae, Tractatus de musica or De musica, from marginalia, or Ars musicae, from its incipit (‘Incipit Prologus in arte musice’). This last is the title that De Witt adopts, and since it has better textual authority, it is the one that I have adopted also, except that I use the original spelling.

One concept in the Ars musicae has been widely discussed: musica vulgaris. Whereas other musical theorists of the Middle Ages are mainly concerned with the process of musical composition, Grocheo, inspired by Aristotle’s discussion by categorization of the species of animals, is in this aspect of his work concerned with the product, that is to say, with musical forms. In his attempt to classify the music as practised in the Paris of his time (the avowed aim of his treatise), he divides music into three branches; the first is musica simplex or musica civilis, which he also calls musica vulgaris; the second is musica composita or musica regularis or musica canonica, which he also calls musica mensurata, and the third is musica ecclesiastica (f. 42r). There is no difficulty in identifying this last as liturgical music. It is equally clear that the main difference between the other two categories is that the first comprises monophonic secular music and the

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10 London, British Library, MS Harl. 281, ff. 39r–52r. On the dating of the manuscripts, see Heinrich Besseler, ‘Zur ‘Ars musicae’ des Johannes de Grocheo’, Die Musikforschung, ii (1949), 229–31. That the readings of this manuscript are superior to those of the Darmstadt one is manifest from the textual notes in Rohloff’s edition of 1972 (see n. 11, below), although Rohloff himself does not acknowledge the fact (ed. cit., p. 172).
11 Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo, ed. Ernst Rohloff (‘Media Latinitas Musica’, ii), Leipzig, 1943; Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo im Faksimile, ed. idem, Leipzig, 1972. See also Christopher Page, ‘Johannes de Grocheo on Secular Music: a Corrected Text and a New Translation’, Plainsong and Medieval Music, ii (1993), 17–41, which, however, is only a partial edition and one that merely emends Rohloff’s text.
12 De Witt, op. cit., p. 152.
second polyphonic secular music. It is the other names that Grocheo adopts for these two categories that give rise to diverse interpretations.

The significance of the terms *regularis* and *canonica* has been variously understood. Page takes *canonica* to be an antonym of *civilis*—governed by canon law as opposed to civil law.\(^{13}\) Stockmann, on the other hand, does not believe that the terms *composita*, *regularis* and *canonica* correspond to *simplex*, *vulgaris* and *civilis* in every way and, in particular, is of the opinion that *canonica* also adumbrates secular music.\(^{14}\) The interpretation of canonists of the thirteenth century and earlier, however, in writing about the Canon of the Mass leaves us in no doubt that the word *canon* in itself had no essentially religious significance but was merely a Greek word whose Latin equivalent was *regula*—a rule. Both *canonica* and *regularis* in our text can therefore be translated as simply ‘according to rule’, without any other connotation.\(^{15}\)

*Civilis*, it seems to me, cannot be defined so narrowly as ‘governed by civil law’,\(^{16}\) since, for example, Grocheo contrasts the polyphonic motet intended for a musically sophisticated audience with the *rotundellus* intended for a lay audience. *Civilis* cannot mean ‘lay’ merely in the sense of ‘secular’ because *civilis* in this sense could equally well be applied to the polyphonic motet and polyphony in general, which do not belong to the category of *musica vulgaris*. More probably, by *civilis* Grocheo intends music for society at large, since we later discover that its various forms are appropriate for a wide range of classes of people.

The generally accepted meaning of Grocheo’s use of the term *vulgaris* is that it signifies vocal music whose text is in the vernacular. For the translation of *vulgaris* as ‘vernacular’ one can cite, as Stockmann and Stevens do, the title of Dante’s treatise *De vulgari eloquentia*, composed about 1305 and therefore contemporary with the commonly accepted date of Grocheo’s work.\(^{17}\) As a further example of this meaning, we can turn to Franco of Cologne’s *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, which names a ‘cantum prius factum, licet sit vulgarem et latinum’ (‘a previously composed tune either in the vernacular or in Latin’).\(^{18}\) Page, however, prefers the translation ‘lay’ in Grocheo, since it seems to him that Grocheo is contrasting the audience of the polyphonic motet with that of the *rotundellus* performed at the feasts of the *vulgares layci*.\(^{19}\) But it is *laycus* that means ‘lay’ in this particular context, so another meaning must be found for *vulgaris*. The passage in question on the motet also contains the stricture ‘cantus autem iste non debet coram vulgaribus propinari . . .’, making it clear that this form should not be performed before a general audience but only before a select one (f. 46v). Furthermore, in the writings of music theorists of the thirteenth century *vulgaris* is used in a pejorative sense: in the *Discantus positio vulgaris* we read ‘Haec est prima positio. Qua quia quaedam nationes utuntur communiter et quia antiquior est omnibus vulgarem esse diximus. Sed quoniam defectuosa est, ideo positionem, quae Johannis de Garlandia est, subvectimus’ (‘This is the first position. Because some nations frequently use it and

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\(^{15}\) Joannes Belethus (d. 1165), *Divinorum Officiorum Rationale*, ed. V. D’Avino, Naples, 1859, p. 779; the editor appends this work to the main one in his publication—Guglielmus Durandus (c.1237–1296), Bishop of Mende, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, where *canon* is defined on p. 237. Adrian Fortescue (Durandus, (Duranti, Durantis), William, [the Elder]), *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, v (New York, 1909), 207 describes him as ‘canonist and one of the most important medieval liturgical writers’, adding that his *Rationale* was written in 1286.


\(^{19}\) Page, *Discarding Images*, pp. 79–80.
it is older than all the others, we have called it common. But because it is defective we have added the position of Johannes de Garlandia'),\(^{20}\) and the said Johannes writes 'item dixit Guido quod isti vulgares cantores bene in vanum laborant qui unisonum et semitonum discernere nesciunt .. .' ('likewise Guido said that these common singers labour in vain who cannot distinguish a unison from a semitone .. .').\(^{21}\) The clear implication of vulgaris in these citations is that the word means something that is not only widespread but also inferior. 'Common', therefore, seems an appropriate translation both here and in Grocheo. The motet, according to him, ought not to be performed before the common people because they do not appreciate its refinements, and it is contrasted with the rotundellus, which is sung at the feasts of the common lay people (loc. cit.).

Whichever of Grocheo's terms for monophonic music that we decide to use, simplex, civilis or his slightly preferred vulgaris, it is his treatment of this species that has given him his unique place in musicology. Whereas other theorists before 1400 mention popular forms (but merely in passing), Grocheo is the only one to discuss them at length, and this very singularity has encouraged modern commentators to rely greatly on his statements (in spite of the acknowledged ambiguity and contradictions in his work) as matters of fact. To what extent their confidence is justified can only be ascertained by an examination of Grocheo's statements in the context of the kinds of music to which he refers or seems to be referring.

Grocheo first divides musica vulgaris into vocal and instrumental music. He then divides vocal music into two types which he calls cantus and cantilena. He does not make it clear at the outset what the difference is between these two types; but he later states that every cantilena begins and ends with a refrain, implying that the cantus type has no refrain. All three, however, are each subdivided again into three: the cantus into the cantus gestualis, the cantus coronatus and the cantus versualis; the cantilena into the rotundellus, the ductia and the stantipes; and instrumental music into an instrumental rendition of the cantus coronatus and instrumental forms also called ductia and stantipes (f. 43v for all these divisions).\(^{22}\) In the case of the vocal forms particularly, Grocheo outlines their subject matter and, interestingly, their moral purpose and social effects, and then proceeds to make some observations on their form. I propose to deal with the content of the vocal forms and the structure of both vocal and instrumental forms first, postponing a consideration of the moral attributes until later.

According to Grocheo, the cantus gestualis relates the deeds of heroes and of our forefathers, such as the lives and martyrdoms of saints and the battles and adversities which men of old suffered for faith and truth. As examples, Grocheo cites St Stephen (the Protomartyr) and Charlemagne. The cantus gestualis consists of many versus, whose number, he says, is not fixed but can be varied according to the scope of the subject matter and the inclination of the composer (ff. 43v, 44r). Each versus consists of several lines which end in the same sound (i.e., they either assonate or rhyme). In some cantus gestuales, however, each versus ends with an assonance or rhyme different from the other lines in that versus. Grocheo offers, as an example of the form, Girart de Vienne (f. 44r).\(^{23}\)

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\(^{22}\) Grocheo also calls the cantus versualis the cantus versicularis, but, like the incorrect substitution of versus for versiculus in the discussion of the cantus gestualis (see Die Quellenhandschriften, ed. Rohloff, p. 132), the difference between the two may arise from scribal confusion of two contractions.

The author of this work, written about 1180, refers to it in his text as a *chançon* or, more particularly, a *geste*, that is, a *chanson de geste*. I therefore conclude that, by *cantus gestualis*, Grocheo means *chanson de geste*. His choice of example is highly significant, since it is this very work that defines the subject matter of the form as dealing with only three topics: the kings of France, Doon de Mayence and Garin de Monglane. The first is principally concerned with Charlemagne; the second deals with the exploits of a number of rebel barons such as Doon de Mayence and Renaud de Montauban; the third is more properly about the great-grandson of Garin de Monglane—Guillaume d'Orange. Other topics are thereby excluded, notably those concerned with the lives of saints, although it is true that the *chansons de geste* are imbued with a strong religious sentiment. Grocheo's inclusion of the lives of saints among the *chansons de geste* is patently an addition to the standard themes, but some modern commentators would have us believe that the lives of saints are related in some way to the form. Certainly, stories of the lives of saints were included at least in the repertory of some *jongleurs*. Thus an ecclesiastical setting provides the background in a late twelfth-century poem for the relation of the life of St Maurice. Thomas de Chobham, in his *Summa* of about 1216, writes approvingly of those *jongleurs* (‘ioculatores’) who sing of the deeds of princes and the lives of saints (‘qui cantant gesta principum et vitas sanctorum’). But these narratives are a different species; a *joculator* provided stories of more than one kind: *chanson de geste*, hagiography and romance. Thus, for example, Petrus Cantor observes that if a song about Alexander (and songs about Alexander are romances) did not please, the performer could change to one about Charlemagne (and songs about Charlemagne are *chansons de geste*). The lives of saints, however, are always cited in a clerical context. Such stories do not constitute any part of the subject matter of the *chanson de geste*. Indeed one thirteenth-century writer draws a clear distinction between the two types of narrative: ‘“Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus”. Viellatores gesta proborum militum utpote Karoli, Rolandi, solent libenter narrare; quanto magis predicatores, qui sunt viellatores Dei, gesta sanctorum que sunt laudabiliora in infinitum debent narrare’ (‘“Prayse ye our Lord in his holies”. Players of the vielle are always ready to relate the deeds of excellent warriors such as Charlemagne and Roland; how much more should preachers, who are the vielle players of God, be willing to relate the deeds of the saints which are infinitely more praiseworthy’). The clergy were anxious to promote

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29 See J. Techener, *Description raisonnée d’une collection choisie d’anciens manuscrits*, i (Paris, 1862), 273, for this item in a sale catalogue giving a quotation from a thirteenth-century manuscript of a sermon by a certain Biard. The translation is mine. The biblical quotation is from Psalm 150, verse 1, and the translation of it given here is from *The Holie Bible faithfully translated into English. . . by the English College of Duway, ii (Dowai, 1610; facs. repr. with introduction by David Rogers, ‘English Recusant Literature 1558–1640’, cclxvi (London, 1975)), 265.*
the narration of the lives of saints in competition with the chanson de geste, and that is obviously Grocheo’s intention too.

Grocheo states that the same tune should be repeated for every line (f. 44r), but we must of course note that where a versus (or laisse in French) ended in a line of different metre (now called the vers orphelin), a different musical phrase, or at least a variant of the same one, would be required for that line. There is no doubt that the chanson de geste was sung rather than recited. Unfortunately, no music survives, and the reason is obvious: only one musical phrase (or at most two if the work consisted of laisses ending in a vers orphelin) was needed for an entire chanson de geste, which could extend to thousands of lines; the music, therefore, could easily be memorized. In Adam de la Halle’s Jeu de Robin et de Marion (c. 1285), a character says that he knows how to sing a chanson de geste and proceeds to sing a line (slightly misquoted) from Audigier (late twelfth or early thirteenth century), which is not actually a chanson de geste but a scatological heroi-comical tale satirizing the form while imitating its literary and musical features. Langlois, Gennrich and Chailley have questioned the authenticity of the form of the tune as it appears in Adam’s work. Be that as it may, it is the closest approach that we can make to the music of this form. Some scholars have attempted to find analogies in the music of the chanteable (such as Aucassin et Nicolette), and various other narratives with extant music have been adduced as evidence pertinent to the chanson de geste, but, as Siciliano rightly points out, Aucassin et Nicolette has nothing to do with the form, and the same is true of the other supposed analogues. All the indications are that Grocheo’s statement about the music is substantially correct.

Rather more problematic are his statements on the two lyric forms of cantus: the cantus coronatus and the cantus versualis. The subject matter of the cantus coronatus, according to Grocheo, is friendship (amicitia) and kindness (karitas), which are delightful but difficult themes (although why they should be so he does not say) (f. 43v). This type of song consists of stanzas (he uses the word versus again) of several sections (puncta) which are mutually harmonious, and the total number of stanzas is fixed at seven—no more, no less (‘nec plus nec minus’), although later in his treatise Grocheo modifies this last requirement to seven or about that number (‘septem vel eo circa’) (ff. 44r, 49v). He cites two examples of the cantus coronatus: ‘Quant li roussignol’, generally assumed to be ‘Quant li roussignol jolis’, a song variously attributed to the Chatelain de Couci (d. 1203), Raoul de Ferrières (fl. c. 1209) or Gace Brulé (fl. 1179–1212), and one by Thibaut de Champagne (1201–53), ‘Ausi com l’unicorne’ (f. 43v).

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32 Apart from the work of Beck, Langlois, Gennrich (Der musikalische Vortrag) and Chailley (‘Etudes musicales’), already cited, additional monographs that relate the music of the chanson de geste to other forms include Hermann Suchier, ‘Der musikalische Vortrag der Chanson de geste’, Néophilologus, xii (1957), 82–100; René Louis, ‘Le refrain dans les plus anciennes chansons de geste et le sigle AOI dans le Roland d’Oxford’, Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature romanes à la mémoire d’Istvan Frank (‘Annales Universitatis Saraviensis’, vi), Saarbrücken, 1957, pp. 330–60. The dissenting view is taken in Italo Siciliano, Les chansons de geste et l’épopée; mythes, histoire, poèmes (‘Biblioteca di studi francesi’, iii), [Turin, 1968], 122 n. 2.
The surprising fact is that neither of the songs cited exhibits the features that Grocheo predicates of them. Both are concerned with the love between man and woman rather than with friendship or kindness. In ‘Quant li roussignol jolis’, the poet says that, when the cheerful nightingale sings on the flower in summer and the rose and the lily and the dew appear on the green meadow, full of goodwill he will sing with true love; and in an extended personification he addresses his eyes and tells them how they have already foolishly betrayed him to his lady and yet he cannot blame them, for when he reflects on how beautiful she is he is sad that they are so slow to act. In ‘Ausi com l’unicorne’, the poet says that, just as the unicorn is stupefied when he looks on a young girl and falls stunned into her lap and is captured and killed, so Love and his lady have captured and mortally wounded him. When he first saw his lady, his heart was cast without a ransom into a sweet prison whose pillars are desire, whose door is fair looks and whose chains are great hope. Love has the key of this prison and has placed three gaolers in charge of it—Fair Countenance, Beauty and Power—who treat the prisoner badly. He can be freed only by the mercy of his lady. In neither of these songs is the writer preoccupied with amicitia or karitas. That such songs are delightful must be a personal judgement of the reader, since Grocheo gives no indication why he finds them so; that they are difficult may most likely be attributed to the fact that they each make an extended use of figurative language and generally avoid very direct expression. The stanzas are not divided into musical sections—the usual meaning of punctum in Grocheo. Most striking, however, is the fact that neither song consists of seven stanzas; ‘Quant li roussignol jolis’ has four, ‘Ausi com l’unicorne’ five and an envoi. This last discrepancy has not gone unnoticed by commentators who explain Grocheo’s number as symbolic.\(^34\)

In contrast to the cantus coronatus stands the cantus versualis which, Grocheo informs us, is called by some the cantilena (loc. cit.). The alternative title seems to abolish the distinction that he has already established between the non-refrain song, the cantus, and the refrain type, the cantilena, but it may be that the resulting ambiguity is only apparent and that Grocheo is distinguishing between his own use of the term (and his terminology tends to be idiosyncratic) and that of others. At any rate, this species is merely defined as being inferior in verse and music compared to the cantus coronatus, although its stanzas are presumably similar in form. The number of its stanzas is not fixed but can vary according to the scope of the subject matter and the inclination of the composer (which recalls the phraseology used of the chanson de geste). To illustrate the cantus versualis, Grocheo once again cites two song titles; ‘Chanter m’estuet’ by Thibaut de Champagne and ‘Au repairier que je fis de Prouvence’, which has been attributed, without much justification, to Perrin d’Angecourt (fl. 1245–50) (loc. cit.).\(^35\) In both, the pains of love are detailed, with a brief simile in the first in which the poet compares himself to the phoenix seeking its own death. The language is direct rather than the figurative use observable in the cantus coronatus. ‘Chanter m’estuet’ has five stanzas and two envois and ‘Au repairier’ just the five stanzas. The number of stanzas in the form is therefore indistinguishable from the number found in the cantus coronatus. As for the music, Karp has compared Grocheo’s example of a cantus coronatus (‘Ausi


com l'unicorne') by Thibaut with his example of a *cantus versualis* ('Chanter m'estuet') by the same song-writer, noting that the second has a 'simpler, more symmetrical tune'. The difference between the two, as regards both the words and the music, is qualitative; there is no difference in form. The *cantus coronatus* is a better and the *cantus versualis* a less good example of what is generally known as the *chanson courtoise*. As Grocheo's analysis is essentially one of form, the distinction that he draws between the two is therefore largely irrelevant, but he has a purpose in making this distinction, which I discuss below.

If Grocheo's treatment of the cantus type is perplexing, his treatment of the cantilena type is even more so and seems to provide more problems than solutions. In dealing with forms under this heading, he is not concerned with subject matter but, rather, with formal elements. All forms of the cantilena type begin and end with a refrain, and this is the only feature predicated of the *cantilena entata* (f. 44r).

The title, *cantilena entata*, was wrongly emended to *cantilena entrata* by Rohloff; but the correct form appears to designate the monophonic song with interpolations—the *motet enté*. The word 'motet' itself was sometimes used to mean a monophonic refrain. One or more such refrains were occasionally interpolated into newly composed monophonic or polyphonic songs. In a sense, these refrains were grafted (enté) on to the new composition: hence the name *motet enté*. The refrain or refrains could be placed at any point in the new text. In some of these pieces, a single refrain is divided in two, with the first part placed at the beginning of the piece and the second part at the end. An example of such a procedure is the monophonic *motet enté* 'Jolietement m'envois', where both the text and the music of the dance refrain 'Jolietement m'envois / Jolietement' is divided so that the first part begins the song and the second ends it with the new material intervening. This is evidently the kind of composition that Grocheo had in mind. The form was possibly not much in vogue, which perhaps explains why Grocheo pays less attention to it than to the other forms described in his treatise to which I now turn.

The *rotundellus*, he says, is so called by many because it bends back on itself like a circle and begins and ends in the same way. He, however, only calls that piece a *rotundellus* whose partes do not have a different tune from the tune of the refrain. Furthermore the *additamenta* (lines not belonging to the refrain) agree—the words he uses are consonant et concordant—with this refrain. (Consonant here means that the non-refrain lines rhyme with the refrain lines; concordant means, in this context, that the non-refrain lines agree in metre with the refrain lines.) Finally he implies that the

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37 Grocheo here also calls this form *cantus insertus*, which clarifies the meaning of *entata* as pertaining to an interpolation but obscures the distinction that he is trying to draw between cantus and cantilena.
38 *Die Quellenhandschriften*, ed. Rohloff, p. 132; the form was correctly identified by Page: see Discarding Images, p. 73. The indispensable discussion of the *motet enté* is in Mark Everist, French Motets in the Thirteenth Century, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 75–89. Everist sees examples of the form defined by Grocheo in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr. 845.
40 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr. 844, f. 211c. There is a facsimile of both the text and music of this *motet enté* in Jacques Bretel's Le tournoi de Chauvency, ed. Maurice Delbouille ('Bibliotheque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège', xlii), Liège & Paris, 1932, l. 2524.
rotundellus has only one stanza (ff. 43v, 44r).41 The example that he cites is the anonymous ‘Toute seule passerai le vert boscage’, which turns out to be a normal eight-line rondeau and so has the rhyming scheme ABaAabAB (the capitals represent the refrain) in which the lines of the additamenta agree in rhyme and metre with the refrain.42 There is no doubt, then, that by rotundellus Grocheo means ‘rondeau’. The rondeau, according to the definition of others, is simply a form which begins and ends in the same way. This is obviously true, since it begins and ends with a refrain; but Grocheo’s consideration of a musical characteristic of the form restricts the definition further: its partes (which clearly in this context is the music of the parts which do not belong to the refrain) have the same tune as that refrain (f. 43v). The statement is correct: the entire music of a rondeau is contained in the refrain which begins the piece. In sum, all the rhymes and all the music of a rondeau are contained in its refrain.

Grocheo rejects the definition of others whereby the rondeau is simply a form that begins and ends in the same way (which must mean beginning and ending with a refrain), and the reason is evident: in his classification, all forms of the cantilena type begin and end with a refrain (f. 44r). The question remains, however, whether the rejected definition has any validity. It would seem that Grocheo is making a distinction that others failed to make. In fact, when we examine pieces (albeit irregular ones) by other composers called rondeaux, we find some that begin and end with a refrain but whose additamenta (to use Grocheo’s terminology) do not completely agree in rhyme with this refrain and whose music is not completely contained in that refrain. Among the pieces by Adam de la Halle entitled ‘Li Rondel Adan’ are two just such pieces: ‘Dieus soit en cheste maison’ and ‘Fines amouretes ai’. Likewise, among the ‘balades, rondeaux et diz entez’ by Jehan de L’Escurel two pieces (which by a process of elimination are evidently intended to be considered as rondeaux) fall into the same category: ‘Bien se lace’ and ‘Gracieusette’.43 ‘Dieus soit en cheste maison’ begins with a refrain which is repeated after each of what are, practically speaking, its two ‘stanzas’. Only the last line of the ‘stanza’ rhymes with the refrain. The same characteristics are observable in ‘Fines amouretes ai’, which, however, consists of three ‘stanzas’. The two pieces by L’Escurel, although each clearly consists of a single stanza, have no internal part-repetition of the refrain and introduce rhymes not in that refrain. Furthermore, all four pieces introduce music not already set out in the opening statement of the refrain as is normally the case, as Grocheo correctly says. As we have seen, Grocheo implies that the rondeau has only one stanza, and that is the general rule. In fact Adam’s two exceptional rondeaux are, so to speak, proto-virelais. Moreover, three additional pieces by L’Escurel, also evidently understood by him to be rondeaux, are really virelais in the standard form: they have, in effect, three ‘stanzas’; they begin with a refrain which is repeated after each ‘stanza’; they divide both the music and the rhymes of each ‘stanza’

41 On concordancia and consonancia, see Lloyd Hibberd, ‘Estampie and Stantipes’, Speculum, xix (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), 234–5 & n. 8. In Grocheo’s treatise, concordancia means a melodic interval and consonancia a harmonic interval when these terms are applied to music (f. 39’); concordancia means metre and consonancia means assonance or rhyme when applied to verse (ff. 43v–44r).


43 See The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle, ed. Nigel Wilkins (‘Corpus mensurabilis musicae’, xlv), [Rome], 1967, Nos. 4 and 16, for transcriptions of both these pieces; and The Works of Jehan de Lescurel, ed. idem (‘Corpus mensurabilis musicae’, xxx), [Rome], 1966, Nos. 10 and 32, which Wilkins (p. v) calls virelais, although they are really single-stanza rondeau variants.
into the form AAB (known as Bar form) with the ‘B’ section repeating the music and rhymes of the refrain.44 Even as late as about 1316, the virelai was not always recognized as a separate form, since, among the pieces listed as ‘rondeaux, balades et reffrez de Chançons’ in the Roman de Fauvel, although there are four that are clearly eight-line rondeaux two are in the standard form of the virelai.45 Grocheo, then, offers a more exact description of the rondeau and one that seems to make a distinction between the form proper and variations or derivations of that form. But here the difficulties begin.

Grocheo says that the rondeau is usually sung in the west of France, for example in Normandy, by girls and young men at their feasts and banquets to render them more agreeable (f. 43V). He does not say that the rondeau was a dance-song, and yet the form is, significantly, recorded in the late thirteenth century as accompanying the main French social dance of the time, the carole.46 Similarly, an English music theorist, Robertus de Handlo, in his Regule of 1326, dealing with French musical forms, also appears to distinguish rondeaux from dance-songs when he mentions ‘rundelli, ballade, coree . . . ’.47 Yet instances of the rondeau as a song for the carole are to be found in Le roman du Castelain de Couci, which is thought to date from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and in the rondeau quoted in Jean Le Court’s Le restor du paon, which probably dates from between 1310 and 1338.48 It seems highly unlikely that Grocheo simply failed to mention a most important function of the rondeau, but he then cites the vocal ductia as the dance-song used by young men and girls.

The ductia is a dance-song the number of whose stanzas is not fixed but which can be increased according to the scope of the subject matter and the inclination of the composer—phraseology recalling what Grocheo had said of the cantus gestualis and the cantus versualis. In contrast to the rondeau, some aspects of the metre and rhyme of its additamenta agree (‘consonant et concordant’) with the refrain whereas others differ. Elsewhere in his text, Grocheo says that the ductia, like the stantipes, has two partes (which must mean sections). But we cannot check these details against the song that Grocheo cites, ‘Chi encor querez amoretes’, because it is not extant. If, as Grocheo says of all forms of the cantilena type, the ductia begins and ends with a refrain and has a variable number of stanzas each of which partly agrees in metre and rhyme with the refrain, then what appears to be indicated is the proto-virelai or the virelai proper (ff. 44r, 52r).

The examples of the proto-virelai and the virelai by Adam de la Halle and by L’Escurel, however, are not dance-songs, because they do not exhibit the rhythmic features characteristic of such songs. Pieces that fulfil Grocheo’s requirements more closely, although we have no proof that they are dance lyrics, are to be found in the Oxford Chansonnier. This manuscript gives the lyrics of a very large number of songs grouped by form, one group being called ‘ballettes’, which is the Lorraine dialect form

44 Ibid., Nos. 20, 21 and 29.
48 Jakemes, Le roman du Castelain de Couci et de la Dame de Fayel, ed. Maurice Delbouille from notes by John E. Matzke, Paris, 1936, II. 989–99 and 3857–64; Jean Le Court called Brisebare, Le restor du paon, ed. Richard J. Carey, Geneva, 1966, ii. 2531–4. Only one of the numerous manuscripts of the latter contains the music which is reproduced in facsimile with a transcription in this edition (pp. 210–12), but both the text and the music of the rondeau are badly edited.
for ‘ballade’; but it is used here for all types of refrain songs except rondeaux, which are found elsewhere in the manuscript. Some of these refrain songs have a form which largely answers Grocheo’s description of the vocal ductia. In these cases all the lyrics begin with a refrain the repetition of which is indicated for a minority after every stanza; after others this repetition is indicated after one or more stanzas, but for the largest number there is only the initial statement of the refrain. It is obvious, however, that, for all these lyrics, it is intended that the refrain should be repeated after every stanza. The number of stanzas, although overwhelmingly three, can vary from one to five. In each stanza some rhymes and the length of some lines agree with some of those of the refrain at least. The stanza itself is clearly divided by its rhymes into two sections, which, in a forme fixe, implies a similar division in the now lost music; that is, the music must have been in binary form. In most songs the rhymes of the first section are repeated so that Bar form (AAB) is implied. Moreover, in a few cases the rhyming scheme of the second section is identical to that of the refrain, so that the entire piece is in the standard virelai form.

The situation seems to be that, by Grocheo’s time, songs in some kind of virelai form had come to rival or replace the rondeau as a musical accompaniment of the carole. The fact that Robertus de Handlo also distinguishes the rondeau from the corea, which, taken in collocation with rondeau and ballade, almost certainly means some kind of virelai, confirms that impression; this is further supported by the later evidence of Machaut’s Remède de Fortune (probably written c.1357) and of Froissart’s La prison amoureuse (late 1372 or early 1373) where social dancing is accompanied by songs in virelai form. The Roman du Castelain de Couci with its dance rondeau may therefore be earlier than has hitherto been supposed, and the Restor du paon may represent a late survival of the same practice, although it is possible, of course, that in the fourteenth century both rondeau and virelai coexisted as dance-songs and that the rondeau merely became less popular and thus was no longer considered as a dance-song by Grocheo and Robertus de Handlo.

There has been a general assumption that ‘stantipes’ is Grocheo’s term for the estampie and that the estampie is a dance. Grocheo says that the vocal stantipes is that form in which there is a difference between the non-refrain parts and the refrain both in

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49 A diplomatic edition of the ballettes is to be found in Georg Steffens, ‘Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift der Bodleiana in Oxford, Douce 308’, Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, xcix (1897), 339–88, where all lyrics are numbered as in the manuscript. Only some of these ‘ballettes’ are of the virelai type; others are in other forms including the ballade proper. See also Mullally, ‘The Ballade before Machaut’.

50 For example, the refrain is repeated after every stanza in Nos. 3, 75, 174, 175 and 178 and after one or more stanzas in Nos. 16, 29, 41, 59, 76 and 77; but there is only the initial statement of the refrain in, for example, Nos. 12, 18, 23 and 30.

51 For example Nos. 12, 77, 82 and 116.


the rhymes and in the music (‘est illa, in qua est diversitas in partibus et refractu tam in consonantia dictaminis quam in cantu’) (f. 43r). This statement appears to be modified later where Grocheo says that both in the ductia and in the stantipes some things are the same as in the refrain and some things are different (f. 44r). As in the ductia, the number of stanzas is not fixed. Grocheo cites two songs as examples, ‘A l’entrant d’amors’ and ‘Certes mie ne cuidoie’, but once again neither of these songs has survived (f. 43v). Nowhere in his treatise, however, does Grocheo say that the stantipes is dance music; on the contrary, he contrasts the two.54 But we must question to what extent his vocal stantipes corresponds with the vocal estampie.

The fact that Grocheo names both a vocal and an instrumental stantipes and that both a vocal and an instrumental form of the estampie existed has led many to identify the stantipes with the estampie. We need, however, to examine carefully what is meant by the two terms before we can prove or disprove this theory.

First we must consider separately the Provençal estampida and the French estampie, as there is no reason to assume that these forms are identical either. There are only five examples of Provençal pieces named in their sources as estampidas: one is the famous ‘Kalenda Maya’ by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras dating from about 1200; the other four are all by Cerveri de Girona and date from between 1275 and 1279.55 Only ‘Kalenda Maya’ is preserved with extant music, and this is divided for each stanza into three sections each of which is repeated immediately: AABBCC. The same implied musical structure obtains in the four pieces by Cerveri. In the second and fourth, the form of three double versicles for each stanza is obvious; but for the first and third the presence of this same form requires some explanation. In the first ‘estempida’, lines 13–14 of each stanza in Riquier’s edition need to be combined to make a line of seven syllables with an internal rhyme so that the first versicle of section C comprises lines 13–15 of the text and the second versicle lines 16–17. In other words, the last double versicle of each stanza is a7a7 + a7a7. In the third ‘estempida’ the problem is again with the third double versicle of each stanza. Here lines 9–11 need to be combined to make a line of fifteen syllables with internal rhymes so that the first versicle of section C comprises lines 9–12 and the second versicle lines 13–14. In other words, the last double versicle of each stanza is a15b5 + a15b5. The number of stanzas in all five Provençal pieces ranges from three to five.

Examples of the French form (thought to date from the beginning of the fourteenth century) are contained exclusively in the Oxford Chansonnier (mentioned above) in a part of the manuscript designated by the rubric ‘vesci l’abecelaira des estampies’.56

54 By the third quarter of the fourteenth century, however, instrumental estampies were evidently being used to accompany the hove danse (Froissart, La prison amoureuse, ll. 354–63), although it is even possible that ‘estampie’ in this context merely signifies any instrumental piece. In this passage the situation seems to be that the company first danced hoves danses to the music of estampies played on wind instruments and then danced canons to their own unaccompanied singing. The songs were probably virelais, as had been the case when Lionel, Duke of Clarence, was a guest at the court of Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy, in 1368 (ll. 363–460). On the hove danse, see Robert Mullally, ‘Houes Danses’, Neophilologus, lxxvi (1992), 29–34.

55 For the text with a facsimile of the music (found in only one manuscript) of ‘Kalenda Maya’, see The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, ed. Joseph Linskill, The Hague, 1964, No. XV. Linskill accepts on very tenuous grounds the authenticity of an additional stanza (stanza 5): it was added, as he says, in the lower margin of only one of the five manuscripts by a second scribe. The text (with a translation into German) and music are transcribed in Schima, Die Estampie, i, Appendix, pp. 3–5. For the other four ‘estempidas’, see Obras completas del trovador Cerveri de Girona, ed. Martín de Riquer, Barcelona, 1947, Nos. 24–7, and Schima, op. cit. (with a German translation), i, Appendix, pp. 8–15; my dates for Cerveri’s estampidas are taken from ibid., i, 38. Two other pieces are wrongly called estampidas in István Frank, Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours (Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Hautes Etudes; sciences historiques et philologiques, cccvii), Paris, 1957, p. 172, No. 427–3, and 176, No. 434a–51.

56 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308. A diplomatic text of the French estampies is to be found in the published version of this manuscript already cited (see n. 49, above): Steffens, ‘Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift’, at pp. 343–
There are nineteen texts in this section. Seventeen of them consist of three to five stanzas; each stanza has a different metrical pattern but is nevertheless divided into two sections.\(^57\) In three pieces (Nos. 2, 12 and 15) the second section repeats more or less the metre of the first; but in all the others the end of each section is marked by a distinctive metrical pattern which takes three different forms. Firstly, the same pattern is used for the end of every section throughout the piece (Nos. 11, 13); secondly, one pattern is used for all first sections and another is used for all second sections (Nos. 3, 4, 9, 10 and 17); but thirdly and most interestingly, there are pieces where the first section endings are of a different length from the second section endings, which usually have more lines (Nos. 5, 7, 8, 14, 16, 18 and 19). The fact that almost without exception in these French estampies every stanza has a different structure prompted Gérold to conclude that these texts were not intended to be set to music; but this is not necessarily true.\(^58\) What seems to be implied is a series of different repeated musical sections for each stanza, so the resulting musical form for the first two stanzas, for example, would be AA BB. Where the endings of each section differed, however, what appears to be implied is repeated sections with first- and second-time endings making the musical form for, for example, the first two stanzas \(A_xA_y B_xB_y\). There remain the two songs which are quite distinct in form from these seventeen. These are not estampies as has been assumed but are two songs which belong to some other form—misplaced lyrics are a characteristic of this manuscript. Thus in the Provençal form each stanza has three sections which are repeated immediately, but in the French form each stanza has only one section which is also repeated immediately but often with a second-time ending. Both the Provençal and French types, however, consist of three to five stanzas.

Neither the Provençal nor the French type, however, has a refrain which Grocheo requires of all forms of the cantilena. This discrepancy demands an explanation from those who believe that ‘stantipes’ is synonymous with ‘estampie’. Hibberd attempts to overcome this difficulty by positing two stages in the evolution of the form: an earlier one without a refrain and a later one with a refrain.\(^59\) Cummins tries another explanation: Grocheo’s ‘responsorium’ does not mean a refrain in the ordinary sense of the word but refers to the first- and second-time endings that we have noted in the French type.\(^60\) These explanations are, however, inadequate. There is no evidence for two stages of development of either the estampida or the estampie in the extant examples, although this fact does not exclude the possibility of developments in the course of the fourteenth century. In any case Grocheo plainly uses ‘responsorium’ to mean a refrain in the normal sense—the repetition of words and music. An interpretation of stantipes as a vocal form must be sought elsewhere.

The rotundellus is the rondeau, and the vocal ductia is in all probability some kind of virelai, which leads us to consider whether the vocal stantipes might be that other forme fixe, the ballade, although the two do not seem to resemble each other at first sight. The word ‘ballade’ was introduced from Provençal into French some time after 1250 and meant at first any song with a refrain. In the Oxford Chansonnier the word (in the form


57 The exceptions are Nos. 1 and 6.

58 Gérold, *La musique au moyen âge*, p. 289 n. 2. Gérold cites Paul Meyer (in 'Troisième rapport sur une mission littéraire en Angleterre et en Ecosse', *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 2nd ser., v (1868), 158) as concluding (as he himself does) that the estampies of Douce 308 were intended to be read and not sung. This is a misrepresentation of Meyer, who simply observes that the texts in this particular manuscript were intended to be read, since it leaves no space for music.

59 Hibberd, ‘*Estampie and Stantipes*’, p. 226.

60 Cummins, ‘*Le problème*’, p. 273.
‘ballette’) is demonstrably used in this sense; but about 1300 it began to assume the specific meaning of a song almost always of three stanzas each of which ended in a refrain almost always of one line.61 L’Escurel is probably the earliest source to use ‘ballade’ in this newer, more restricted way.62 The ballade, as a form, in many respects conforms to Grocheo’s vocal stantipes. Although the ballade usually consists of three stanzas, there appear to be examples in the Oxford Chansonnier and L’Escurel comprising a single stanza, and, in any case, it should be remembered that Grocheo is unreliable regarding numbers. In both L’Escurel and the Roman de Fauvel, for example, the refrain always repeats one or more of the rhymes that end the stanza immediately preceding it so that some lines of each stanza have the same rhyme or rhymes as the refrain but other lines have different rhymes. The refrain is, in a sense, set apart from the rest of the stanza but is, at the same time, because of its repeated rhyme, related to the rest of the stanza. In this way, Grocheo’s two statements about the vocal stantipes—that its refrain differs from the other parts and yet that some of these parts rhyme with the refrain but others do not (f. 44r)—can be reconciled. Thus so far there seem to be similarities between the stantipes and the ballade. But there are difficulties. Grocheo says that the verse and music of the refrain are different from the other parts (loc. cit.). But the refrain in the ballade merely ends the second musical section: in other words, the refrain is not distinct from the other parts. Furthermore the ballade, as a form, never begins with a refrain. It is possible that Grocheo has simply been as careless in defining these points as he is on other matters and that all he really means is that the music of the line or lines of the refrain is not repeated anywhere else in the stanza and that, in generalizing about the cantilena beginning and ending with a refrain, he overlooked the fact that one of them did not begin with a refrain—a point to which I shall return.

Grocheo extends his discussion of both the vocal ductia and the vocal stantipes in his treatment of musica ecclesiastica, where various parts of the Mass are compared to these two secular forms. Here we discover that the vocal ductia is sung cheerfully (like the Sequence), that it rises and falls lightly (like the Credo) and that in common with the stantipes it consists of two partes or sections (like the Pater Noster) (ff. 51v, 52r). The reference to the two sections of the Pater Noster must be a musical one, since the text is not noticeably divided into two sections. But De Witt, citing Wagner, notes that musical settings of the Pater Noster dating after the twelfth century divide it into two sections, the second beginning with ‘Panem nostrum quotidiam da nobis hodie’ (‘Give us this day our daily bread’).63 Thus we learn that both the ductia and the stantipes are also in two sections (i.e., in binary form), which is true of the stanzas of the virelai and the ballade. Although Grocheo clearly implies that the vocal ductia and the vocal stantipes are identical at least in the musical form of their stanzas, he also implies that the stantipes is a more solemn form by saying that the Responsory and the Alleluia are sung, like the stantipes or the cantus coronatus, to instil devotion and humility in the hearts of the congregation and again that the Offertory, too, is sung, like the stantipes and the cantus coronatus, to stir up the hearts of the faithful to make an offering in a devout manner (f. 51r).64

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62 L’Escurel was hanged in 1304: see Works, ed. Wilkins, p. ii.
63 De Witt, A New Perspective, p. 228.
64 In the passage on the Offertory the text has ‘et cantatur ad modum ductie vel cantus coronati’ for what should obviously be ‘et cantatur ad modum stantipes vel cantus coronati’. This error is revealed by comparing this passage with what Grocheo says elsewhere on folio 51v about the stantipes and the ductia with reference to the Responsory and the Alleluia.
Grocheo does not mention instrumental participation in vocal music. There is evidence, however, that the vielle was used in the performance of the chanson de geste. Some believe that Grocheo uses in connection with the form ‘circa sonos coronatur’ in support of the view that the phrase means ‘surrounded with instrumental sounds’. De Witt, on the other hand, doubts this interpretation, concluding that it is ‘a highly conjectural performance practice’. It is, in fact, incorrect, since ‘circa’ can mean ‘because of’ as well as ‘around or about’. Indeed, as far as vocal music is concerned, Grocheo speaks in terms of instruments replacing the voice rather than accompanying it. After a brief survey of the various kinds of instruments, he expresses a preference for the vielle. A good player of the vielle, according to him, can play any kind of cantus or cantilena, although I suspect that he is merely pointing out that it is physically possible for a good player to perform any kind of vocal piece because he proceeds to reduce the number of forms that are executed instrumentally to three: the cantus coronatus, the ductia and the stantipes (f. 44v).

The instrumental performance of the cantus coronatus simply involves the substitution of an instrument for a voice, so Grocheo dismisses this kind of rendition with the words ‘but I have already spoken about the cantus coronatus’ (‘sed de cantu coronato prius dictum est’) (loc. cit.). This statement clearly implies that the other two instrumental forms, the ductia and the stantipes, are not vocal pieces performed instrumentally (as we might have inferred from the fact that they also have the same names as the vocal forms) but are essentially different.

Of the instrumental ductia, Grocheo says ‘the ductia is textless music measured with an appropriate beat’ (‘est autem ductia sonus illiteratus, cum decenti percussione mensuratus’) (loc. cit.). He then explains that by ‘illiteratus’ he means that, although the music can be performed by the human voice and represented in musical notation, it cannot be written in words because there are no words or verse. Next he attempts to define ‘percussio’: it is with ‘recta [or decens] percussio’ because it is measured with beats; this excites the minds of human beings to move in a graceful and artistic manner which is called dancing, and this movement is measured in [instrumental] ductie and choree (choree here clearly means dances in general). Later he points out that this ductia is usually divided into sections called puncta each having two sections which are the same at the beginning but different at the end and that these endings are called apertum and clausum. These puncta, he says, are like two lines of which one is longer than the other, by which he seems to mean that, if one draws two lines of unequal length starting from the same margin, they will be identical up to the point where the shorter one ends and the longer continues. Finally he states that there are usually three puncta in a ductia, but there can be four, as in the ductia by Pierron (f. 45v).

It is beyond dispute that Grocheo is dealing here with an instrumental dance form. What he is evidently saying is that dance music in this form is divided into three sections each of which is played in turn twice, first with a first-time ending (the apertum, or ouvert in French) and then with a second-time ending (the clausum, or clos in French)—hence his comparison to the two lines. In fact, as Aubry observed, Grocheo's
ductia corresponds more or less with two textless pieces added to the Chansonnier du Roi some time before 1325.\textsuperscript{68} One of the two is entitled simply ‘Danse’ and actually has three puncta each of which is repeated with ouvert and clos endings; the other, called ‘Dansse Real’, also has three puncta, which, however, are not repeated, although all three have the same ending. The other defining element of the form is its ‘recta percussio’, also called ‘decens percussio’.

‘Percussio’ here has, of course, nothing to do with percussion instruments or indeed with any aspect of instrumental performance, since the immediate context relates the term exclusively to dancing.\textsuperscript{69} ‘Decens’ has been variously interpreted: ‘graceful’ is one suggested translation, but a graceful beat is meaningless. In any case the context requires ‘decens’ and whatever word is used to translate it to be a synonym of ‘recta’; ‘appropriate’ seems nearer the mark. But ‘appropriate’ in what sense? Sachs takes this to mean even beats. Levarie understands it to mean the same number of beats in each punctum.\textsuperscript{70} Neither of these interpretations answers the purpose, since Grocheo is obviously referring to the characteristic rhythm of dance music. One further point needs, perhaps, to be clarified in connection with the instrumental ductia. Grocheo says that it is ‘sonus . . . cum decenti percussione mensuratus’ (f. 44v). We should note the use of the word ‘mensuratus’ in this context, for it raises the question about what kind of mensuration is intended here. Grocheo explicitly says that beats (‘ictus’) measure movement in the ductia and in dances in general (choree) (loc. cit.). He mentions this fact in relation to the instrumental ductia, but the use of the wider term, choree, makes it clear that it must also refer to the vocal ductia because dances generally must have a regular beat. In all this discussion, however, Grocheo fails to indicate what kind of dance this instrumental ductia was supposed to accompany.

The vocal ductia (probably some kind of virelai), Grocheo seems to imply, was dance music, and the only social dance in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century France was the carole or its variant, the tresche.\textsuperscript{71} This dance, when it was performed in polite society, was invariably accompanied by the singing of the dancers themselves without instruments. The instrumental ductia must therefore have been another type of dance music. In fact instrumental music was used, at least on some occasions, for the other important type of dance, a theatrical type to which Bédier gave the title balerie.\textsuperscript{72} Several examples are cited by name in the narrative poem Le tournoi de Chauvency (dated 1285; see ll. 4181–92). One of these, ‘Le Tour dou chapelet’, is described in detail (ll. 4190–300): one of the participants is a ‘menestreus de vielë’, although whether he actually plays his instrument as well as singing is not clear from the context. In the ‘Danse robardoise’ (also called ‘Le Robardel’) described earlier in this text (ll. 2533–602), there is no doubt, since the music is provided exclusively by an instrumentalist (‘Perinnes d'Aixe violoit’; l. 2547). It is possible, then, that the ductia was used to accompany choreographies of this type, and perhaps the two examples in the Chansonnier du Roi are survivals of such dance music, although, of course, they could be art music developments.

\textsuperscript{68} Estampies et danses royales, ed. Pierre Aubry, Paris, 1907, p. 12. This edition contains facsimiles and transcriptions of both forms. There are also facsimiles in Le Manuscrit du Roi, ed. Beck & Beck, and transcriptions in Schima, Die Estampie, ii. 5–19.

\textsuperscript{69} Stockmann, ‘Musica vulgaris’, p. 40 n. 12, refuting Handschin, Rohloff and Salmen.


\textsuperscript{71} Mullally, ‘Cançon de carole’.

\textsuperscript{72} Joseph Bédier, ‘Les plus anciennes danses françaises’, Revue des deux mondes, xxxi (1906), 398–424; but not all Bédier’s examples of baleries are acceptable as such.
The vocal ductia and the instrumental ductia differ in form. The vocal version has two sections; the instrumental one has three. Thus we may note in passing that when Grocheo says that the ductia and the stantipes have two puncta, like the Pater Noster, he is clearly speaking of the vocal forms. The term ductia, then, is only applicable to both because both are forms of dance music. One must conclude, therefore, that ductia is simply Grocheo's term for this kind of music and does not in itself represent a form or forms.

The instrumental stantipes is also a 'sonus illiteratus' and is formally distinguishable from the instrumental ductia only by the fact that it lacks 'percussio' and can be recognized only by the different number of its puncta (f. 44v). The number of puncta in the ductia, it will be recalled, is usually three or four, but in the stantipes it has been set at six by some but at seven by others such as Tassin. Grocheo says that to compose both the ductia and the stantipes is to organize the music by puncta and 'recte percussiones' (f. 45r). This statement is obviously inaccurate, since Grocheo had previously made the lack of 'percussio' a defining element of the stantipes. The false generalization strengthens the argument that his statement that every cantilena begins and ends with a refrain is also wrong, so that not every cantilena actually began with a refrain as may have been the case with the vocal stantipes discussed above. The fact that the instrumental stantipes lacks a rhythmically defining beat rules out any interpretation of the term as dance music. As with most of the forms both of the cantus type and the cantilena type, no instrumental form called stantipes exists in the vernacular, and so one naturally seeks forms that might correspond to Grocheo’s definition elsewhere. The most obvious candidates are the estampies royaux added along with the danses to the Chansonnier du Roi.73 There are apparently eight of these; although the first is incomplete and lacks a title, the remaining seven are numbered in the manuscript from 2 to 8 and are entitled either estampie royal or estampie real (royal and real are simply different spellings of the same pronunciation). Of the seven complete pieces, one has seven puncta, one has six, two have five, and the other three have four. Furthermore, an untitled piece, which precedes the danse in another part of the manuscript, is probably also an estampie because, like three of the named estampies, it has four puncta, whereas the two danses have only three, although, of course, it could be a ductia with the exceptional number of four puncta like Pierrión’s. At any rate, all nine pieces have puncta with ouvert and clos endings which are the same for all the puncta. These estampies conform, then, to Grocheo’s description of the instrumental stantipes, although they do not have the number of puncta that he says the form should have. As his numeration has been found to be incorrect elsewhere, notably regarding the number of stanzas in the cantus coronatus, there is no reason to place much trust in his numeration here. There seems to be little cause to doubt that by instrumental stantipes Grocheo signified the instrumental estampie, and this has been the universally accepted interpretation. Furthermore, it can now be reaffirmed that the defining characteristic of all pieces of the estampie genre is the double versicle: three for every stanza in the vocal estampida, one for every stanza in the vocal estampie and four to seven in total in the instrumental estampie.

Just as the vocal ductia differs from its instrumental form (the one in all probability meaning some type of virelai and the other the instrumental danse) and the name common to both is ductia, which therefore must signify simply dance music, so we should surely seek a similar unity in diversity in the use of the term ‘stantipes’. But if

73 See n. 68, above.
one meaning of this name signifies the ballade and the other the instrumental estampie, then at first sight there seems to be no obvious connection. Yet on closer inspection there is a resemblance: just as the ballade consists of stanzas that always end in the same way (each stanza ending with the refrain), so the instrumental estampie consists of puncta each having the same endings. The stantipes, either vocal or instrumental, is a form which is continually stopped (Latin, stare, 'to stop'), so to speak, by a repeated ending.

Grocheo divides music into two principal types: polyphonic music (musica composita, also called musica mensurata) and monophonic music (musica simplex, also called musica vulgaris). He also points out that others make the same distinction between polyphonic music and monophonic music but that they call the first musica mensurabilis and the second musica plana (f. 42”). His musica composita (or mensurata) is synonymous with their musica mensurabilis because his comprises the motet, the organum and the hocket and theirs the polyphonic motet and the polyphonic conductus, that is to say, both musica composita and musica mensurabilis indicate secular polyphony. But Grocheo’s musica simplex (or vulgaris) is clearly not completely synonymous with their musica plana because, although both indicate monophony, his term signifies secular monophony and theirs signifies sacred monophony (plainchant).

The division between the two kinds of music is not merely between polyphony and monophony, however: as the names used by Grocheo and others imply, polyphony in both cases implies music measured in some way unlike monophony. Their polyphony is ‘mensurabilis’; his is ‘mensurata’ or, as he says elsewhere, it is ‘cantus precise mensuratus’ (f. 45”). In contrast their musica plana and, by implication (since it is opposed to the ‘cantus precise mensuratus’), his musica vulgaris is also apparently ‘non ita precise mensurata’. The question is, therefore, what is meant by ‘mensurabilis’ and ‘mensurata’.

Music theorists of the thirteenth century, and in particular the very three cited by Grocheo (Johannes de Garlandia, Lambertus and Franco of Cologne), called polyphony ‘mensurabilis’ because it was composed of notes of different values, in contrast to monophony (and the only monophony with which they were concerned was plainchant), which was composed of notes of equal value. If, then, this musica vulgaris is partly synonymous with musica plana (to the extent that both terms refer to monophony), then it would seem that it, too, is music composed of notes of equal value. This hypothesis is confirmed in one instance in Grocheo: the plainchant ‘Kyrie eleison’ in the Mass is composed of perfect longs like the cantus coronatus which Grocheo states in this context and elsewhere is also composed of perfect longs, but ‘long’ here can have no significance where all pitches are of the same duration, and ‘perfect’ is thus redundant too, so that the designation ‘perfect long’ can only be symbolic (ff. 43”, 51”). As the cantus coronatus is merely one sort of chanson courtoise, we may reasonably infer that this mensuration also applied to the other sort—the cantus

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74 See also those authorities cited elsewhere by Grocheo: Johannes de Garlandia, ‘Introductio’, ed. Cousemaker, p. 157; Cujusdam Aristotelis (i.e., Lambertus), Tractatus de musica, ed. idem, Scriptorum, i. 278; Franco of Cologne, Ars cantus mensurabilis, ed. Reaney & Gilles, pp. 23–5.
75 See n. 74, above.
76 An equal-note solution is adopted, for example, for the melodies of Nos. 1–4, 7 and 10–12 in Medieval English Songs, ed. E. J. Dobson & F. Ll. Harrison, London & Boston, 1979. Hendrik van der Werf, too, in his more recent writings, has come round to this view; see, for instance, his review of Stevens, Words and Music: The Journal of Musicological Research, viii (1989), 385. The significance of the perfect longs here may be that both the ‘Kyrie eleison’ and the cantus coronatus are sung slowly: ‘Iste autem cantus [‘Kyrie eleison’] cantatur tractim et ex longis et perfectis ad modum cantus coronati, ut corda audiencium ad devote orandum promoveatur’ (f. 51”); on the other hand, it is possible that the stated notation is symbolic of the perfect song form.
versualis. Grocheo offers no precise indication of what mensural interpretation might apply to most of his other forms of musica vulgaris, although he apparently distinguishes dance music from the other forms (‘... et [ictus] eius motum mensurant in ductiis et choreis’) (f. 44v). Dance music is differentiated from the cantus coronatus by its characteristic beat. The fact that dance music has such a beat is amply demonstrated by musical insertions designated as dance music in narratives of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Such tunes typically have a rhythmic pattern of a long followed by a breve imperfecting that long, which indicates a trochaic rhythm. This should not be taken, however, to imply a modern transcription in 3/4 time. Social dance of the period (the carole and the tresche) require music in duple time; to be correct, the music should thus be transcribed in 6/8 time.77

Grocheo’s musica vulgaris, then, is like musica plana to the extent that it includes monophonic music composed of notes of equal value (the chanson courtoise), but it is also partly musica mensurabilis in that it includes music composed of notes of different values, which means dance music and (by implication) music derived from it. Grocheo qualifies his original position that musica composita equates with musica mensurata when he says that all music is measured in some way and that what distinguishes musica composita is that it is precisely measured (‘cantus precise mensuratus’). The difficulty with his exposition is that he fails to clarify at the outset that ductia (both vocal and instrumental), although as monophony they belong to the category of musica simplex, are also precise mensurate and from this point of view belong to the category of musica mensurata.

A recurring feature in Grocheo’s discussion of the forms of musica vulgaris is his incorrect numeration. After appropriately dividing secular monophonic music into two branches, vocal and instrumental, and having subdivided the vocal into two—a cantus type and a cantilena type, the two distinguished by the fact that the second has a refrain—he then announces that the cantus, the cantilena and instrumental music can each be further subdivided into three forms: the cantus into cantus gestualis, the cantus coronatus and the cantus versualis; the cantilena into the rotundellus, the vocal ductia and the vocal stantipes; and instrumental music into an instrumental rendition of the cantus coronatus, the instrumental ductia and the instrumental stantipes (ff. 43v, 44v). These appear to be divisions by form. But there are not three forms of cantus: the cantus coronatus and the cantus versualis differ in quality not in kind, and so there are only two forms of cantus, a narrative one, the cantus gestualis, and a lyric one, the cantus coronatus—versualis. Neither are there three forms of cantilena: in addition to the rotundellus, the ductia and the stantipes, Grocheo mentions briefly the cantilena entata, so that there are actually four forms of cantilena. Nor are there three forms of instrumental music, because in this context the cantus coronatus is nothing more than an instrumental rendition of a vocal form, with the result that there are only two instrumental forms—the ductia and the stantipes. Thus Grocheo’s division by three proves to be inapplicable. More strikingly obvious is the fact that neither of the examples of Grocheo’s cantus coronatus contains the seven stanzas that he says the form should have; and if, as appears to be the case, the instrumental stantipes is the estampie, the form does not contain six or seven puncta but very often four. The incorrect number

77 That the choreography of the carole requires music in duple time is evident from the version of the prose Lancelot in London, British Library, Add. MSS 10292–4, the base manuscript for Anon., Le livre de Lancelot del Lac (‘The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances’, ed. H. Oskar Sommer, v), Washington, 1912, where (p. 123) Lancelot joins a carole and ‘commence a canter & a ferir lun pie encontre l’autre’, making it clear that he is stepping sideways with a double movement of the feet.
of stanzas in the *cantus coronatus* has been widely noted and has been explained away as symbolic or having some other significance for the author, but these discrepancies merit further examination.

Symbolism indeed plays a great part in Grocheo's approach to number. First he draws numerical analogies between musical features and facts and phenomena in a variety of situations. The eight ecclesiastical modes are compared to the eight Beatitudes (ff. 48v—49r). He cites those who draw analogies between the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven planets and the seven days of the week on the one hand and the seven melodic intervals on the other (f. 40v). Second, and more important, it appears that he sees two numbers as being particularly significant in themselves—three and seven. The number three recurs several times in the treatise. For example, three arts are needed to serve the Church: grammar (for language), astronomy (for calculating divisions of time) and the theory of music which is concerned with singing (f. 48v). These are examples of things counted in threes, which De Witt rightly observes 'are in reverence to the Trinity' and symbolically represent perfection. But in numerology the number seven is far more potent. Its importance in the spirituality of peoples goes back to Babylonian times. It is the mystical number of both the Old and the New Testaments. It is found time and again in the doctrines, rites and practices of the medieval Church. Grocheo points, as we have seen, to those authorities who cite things as occurring in sevens, and in the sphere of medieval symbolism seven is particularly significant, since it unites the spiritual (represented by the number three) with the temporal (represented by the number four) and so in itself represents totality (f. 40v). It is evident that for Grocheo numbers carry a spiritual significance that far outweighs their value in mathematical accuracy. It is more important for him to imply that there are three branches of *musica vulgaris* and that each of the three branches is divided into three even if this does not correspond with reality and he is later obliged to make qualifications. Similarly his overriding concern is to associate the better type of lyric, the *cantus coronatus*, with the mystically more significant number, seven, even though he is once again obliged to modify his statement and in any case this number is incorrect. The wrong number of *puncta* in the instrumental *estampie*, however, appears to be simply an error.

The realization that Grocheo is sometimes more concerned with symbolism than fact prompts one to examine other aspects of his handling of *musica vulgaris*. First the names *cantus coronatus*, *cantus versualis* and *ductia* have no French equivalents and seem to have been invented by Grocheo for his own purposes. He uses *cantus coronatus* and *cantus versualis* to divide what is patently the chanson courtoise into two grades, apparently so that he can produce three forms of cantus. The term 'ductia', on the other hand, serves to join two disparate forms of dance music—a vocal one and an instrumental one.

78 A fact noted by Handschin ('*Estampie*, col. 1551), Stockmann ('*Musica vulgaris*, p. 41 n. 15) and Rohloff (*Die Quellenhandschriften*, p. 35). De Witt (A *New Perspective*, p. 149) also considers symbolism as one possible explanation for Grocheo's incorrect number of *puncta*.

79 Three and seven rather than six and seven as cited in Hibberd, '*Estampie and Stantipes*, p. 242 n. 4.


81 On the significance of the number seven, see Hopper, op. cit., p. 79, citing St Augustine; see also Bromiley et al., op. cit.: 'The number seven is the most significant symbolic number in the Bible, appearing in some manner in almost six hundred passages' (loc. cit.).

82 See also Hopper, op. cit., p. 84, citing St Augustine.
Grocheo's particular use of titles, however, goes further; they have an etymological value too (f. 43v for what follows). Thus the cantus gestualis deals with the deeds of heroes ('gesta heroum')—a meaning clearly derived from the French chanson de geste, where the word 'geste' refers very specifically to the deeds of heroes. Grocheo gives the better sort of chanson courtoise the title 'cantus coronatus' because, on account of the quality of its verse and melody, it has been crowned ('coronatur') by masters and students. At least a dozen chansons courtoises are indicated in their sources as having been crowned, but the two songs cited by Grocheo are not among them; although if they had been, the fact might have gone unrecorded. Grocheo calls his inferior type of chanson courtoise the cantus versualis—a form which has the purpose of keeping young men from idleness. But the two songs that he cites, 'Chanter m'etuet' and 'Au repairier que je fis de Prouvence' (discussed on pp. 7-8, above) in no way fulfil this purpose—a point to which I shall return. Grocheo has simply detached the inferior sort of lyric from the superior to make his three 'forms' of cantus and then given the inferior one an improving title: 'versualis' is derived from the Latin versare, 'to busy oneself'. Grocheo is not alone in playing this etymological game. When we turn to the cantilena category, we find that others have explained the rotundellus by the fact that it bends back on itself like a circle. Here, unusually, Grocheo is less inclined to the etymological view but favours one that more accurately reflects the prosodic and musical characteristics of the form. His ductia, however, was probably inspired by the phrase 'choreas ducere' familiar from thirteenth-century Latin references to dancing. It seems that here Grocheo had not only the common sense of the Latin verb ducere, 'to lead', in mind but also the sense 'to guide', for he goes on to say of the vocal ductia that this form 'guides the hearts of girls and young men and draws them away from vain things and is said to be strong against the passion which is called erotic love' ('hec enim ducit corda puellarum et iuvenum et a vanitate removet, et contra passionem, que dicitur amor hereos, valere dicitur') (f. 44r). The etymological derivation once again seems highly implausible. Grocheo provides an equally unconvincing explanation of the vocal stantipes which he quite obviously derives from the Latin stare, 'to stand or to stop': 'because of its difficulty, this form makes the mind of the performer and also that of the listener stop and think and so makes them turn away from evil thoughts' ('propter enim eius difficultatem facit animum propter sui difficultatem circa hanc stare et eos a prava cogitacionem divertit') (ff. 43v—44r). Of the instrumental form, he says that 'because of its difficulty it makes the mind of the performer and also that of the listener stop and think and very often turns the minds of the rich away from evil thoughts' ('propert enim eius difficultatem facit animum facientis circa eam stare et etiam animum advertentis et multocieens animos divitum a prava cogitacione divertit') (f. 44r). Grocheo's explanations have a decided etymological tendency.

References to the patrons, the performers and the audiences of the various forms seem to provide an illuminating revelation of the social milieu in which these musical forms were sung or played (ff. 43v—44r). The audience of the cantus gestualis ought to be old people and the middle and working classes. The cantus coronatus is usually composed by kings and nobles and sung to kings and secular princes. The cantus versualis ought to be sung to young men. The rotundellus is usually sung by young people in the west of France to enhance their feasts. The audience of the vocal ductia and the vocal stantipes is also young people. The instrumental stantipes is apparently to be performed for the rich. It seems appropriate for the verb that Grocheo uses ('debet')
to be translated here as 'ought' rather than 'must' and that he is merely suggesting suitable audiences for the cantus gestualis rather than stating a requirement; likewise the statement that the cantus versualis ought ('debet' again) to be sung to young men appears simply to advocate a desirable practice. In fact it would appear that the chanson de geste was enjoyed by all classes of society and was performed even for a paying audience, as we discover from Huon de Bordeaux.\(^4\) Chansons courtoises were indeed composed by royalty and other nobles but not exclusively so; perhaps not even all of Grocheo's examples were. His references to classes of people associated with his forms are therefore not as reliable as might seem at first.

These forms of music, he says, have been devised to mitigate the adversities that are the inevitable part of man's lot. The cantus gestualis ought to be sung to old and to middle-class and working-class citizens resting from their toil so that, having heard of the misfortunes and calamities of others, they might be more easily reconciled to their own and undertake their work with greater alacrity; and so such songs are valuable for the preservation of the whole of society (f. 43r-v). Thomas de Chobham had seen the function of jongleurs who sang chansons de geste and of the lives of saints as giving consolation in sickness and in time of trouble.\(^5\) But the fact that chansons de geste were also sung in the streets, after banquets and even to a paying audience, implies that their function was more often one of pure entertainment.\(^6\)

According to Grocheo, the cantus coronatus is sung to kings and secular princes to inspire them with courage, bravery, fortitude, magnanimity and liberality—all of which qualities make for good government; whereas the cantus versualis ought to be sung to young men to deter them from idleness (f. 43r). But the chansons courtoises, even the very examples that Grocheo cites, were love-songs in no way calculated to inspire either princely qualities or to deter the work-shy. The vocal ductia is said to guide the hearts of girls and young men, to remove from them a desire for vain things and stand as a defence against amorous passions; but dance-songs, as the ductie are, have never been known to have such effects. The vocal stantipes is supposed to make young people stop and think and (because of its difficulty) drive evil thoughts from their minds while the instrumental stantipes exercises the same beneficial effect on the rich for the same reason (ff. 44r, 44v). As the examples of the vocal stantipes cited by Grocheo are not extant, we cannot know the import of their texts, nor can we deny the effects that he asserts both the vocal and instrumental forms had on their respective audiences, and he does not tell us what the difficulty in either form was that brought about such laudable effects. If the instrumental stantipes is the estampie, then one possible explanation is that such pieces can be considered to be difficult from the point of view that they are longer than any other instrumental pieces, since they contain numerous repeats and have no emphatic beat. But, on the evidence of the cantus coronatus and the cantus versualis, we can reasonably doubt if either form of stantipes, or indeed most forms of musica vulgaris, contributed much to the moral betterment of their listeners.

A constant theme, then, in Grocheo's treatment of musica vulgaris is his insistence on

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\(^4\) Sources referring to the audience of the chanson de geste and other narratives are surveyed in Edmond Faral, Les jongleurs en France au moyen âge ('Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes', clxxvii), Paris, 1910, pp. 55–60; see also Anon., Huon de Bordeaux, ed. Pierre Ruelle ('Université Libre de Bruxelles, Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres', xx), Brussels & Paris, 1960, ll. 4976–9 and 5510–18. The editor dates the work between 1216 and 1229 and writes of '... un public manifestement populaire...' (p. 53).


\(^6\) For examples of chansons de geste sung at banquets, see Anon., Le dit des mais, in Nouveau recueil de contes, dits fabliaux et autres pièces inédites des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles, ed. Achille Jubinal, i (Paris, 1839), 185, and Huon de Mery, Le toornoemenc antecrit, ed. Georg Wimmer ('Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie', lxvi), Marburg, 1888, ii. 480–97.
the ethical value of such music. This stance contrasts somewhat with that of moralists of the thirteenth century who had generally stressed the corrupting influence of popular music, although there were some who were willing to make concessions provided such music had a moral purpose. Petrus Cantor and Thomas de Chobham allow vocal music of an improving kind, and they both, like Robert Courson, permit instrumental music that did not excite immorality. Grocheo takes the views of such men even further and promotes *musica vulgaris* as a very positive influence. Indeed, he attempts to advance its cause by attributing to its various forms ethical values that they patently did not possess.

It is possible, but I think unlikely, that he was ill informed about the secular monophony to which he devotes so much attention. Can it be that he never heard or perused even the opening *laisses* of *Girart de Vienne*, where he would have discovered the subject matter of the *chanson de geste*, when, at the same time, he knew that the *laisses* in this very work ended in a *vers orphelin*? Did he really not know that his examples of the *cantus coronatus* and the *cantus versualis* did not deal with the subject matter that he claims they did? It is more probable that he wanted to divert attention from the true subject matter of all such songs and that the purpose of the more inscrutable names that he gives to some forms is to avoid any too obvious definition of love-songs and dance-songs, since these were a particular source of obloquy to preachers and moralists.

The *Ars musicæ* has been mainly of interest to musicologists; but it has not gone unnoticed by historians of French literature. Musicologists have considered it in the light of other medieval treatises on music; literary historians have examined its strictures on vocal form. Indeed, the attention that Grocheo gives to literary form and moral values, and the total absence of examples in musical notation, are aspects that distinguish the work from other treatises on music. It is worth, therefore, comparing Grocheo's treatment of lyrics with those found in contemporary literary treatises. The earliest in French is Deschamps's *Art de dictier* (dated 1392), which is too late for our purpose, but there are Provençal and Italian texts dating from the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. Grocheo, however, is only concerned with French forms, and indeed he further restricts himself to the music performed in Paris, so that it might be reasonably objected that such foreign commentary is irrelevant. This objection can, it is true, be largely sustained from the point of view of the forms discussed in them, but they throw some light on the method and accuracy of theoretical works dealing with lyric forms.

The earliest Provençal text is the *Doctrinal de compondre dictats* (second half of the thirteenth century). Among the sixteen forms defined there are the *alba*, the *descort* and the *estampida*. The definition of the *alba* is not comprehensive and does not mention its essential feature—the repetition of the word ‘alba’ at the end of each stanza. In the case of the *descort*, the author fails to point out that each stanza has different versification and gives an incorrect number of stanzas for the form—three, whereas in extant examples the number ranges from five to fourteen. The stated number of stanzas for the *estampida* is inaccurate: four with one or two *tornadas* (envois in French). But of the five known examples, the earliest, ‘Kalenda Maya’, has five, and of the remaining four (all by

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Cerverí de Girona) only one has four stanzas; two have five stanzas with two tornadas, and the remaining one has three stanzas.\(^8^9\) Two additional treatises, written between 1290 and 1350, fail to mention the repetition of lines in the dansa and the viadera, even though the example of the dansa quoted actually shows this characteristic. Marshall's comment on the reliability of the foregoing theoretical works is that 'the information contained in them is sometimes accurate, sometimes misleading . . .'\(^9^0\) What were considered to be minor forms are noted briefly in yet another treatise on verse, the *Leys d'Amors*, where, for example, the estampida is said to be about love and praise and to have an optional tornada but nothing is said about its principal feature, the repeated sections, although it is just possible that by the time that the *Leys* was written, this feature had been abandoned.\(^9^1\) It might be added that, in these texts, there can be no mitigating plea of symbolism to explain the incorrect numeration.

The earliest Italian treatise is Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*; but it remained unfinished, and the extant portion deals only with the cantio (the canzone which corresponds to the French chanson courtoise), and so this treatise offers little material for comparison. More important is Antonio da Tempo's *Summa* (dated 1332), the most influential treatise on the Italian lyric of the entire Middle Ages.\(^9^2\) Seven forms are discussed: the sonetus, the ballata, the cantio extensa, the rotundellus, the mandrialis, the serventesius (or sermontesius) and the motus confectus. The characteristics that the author ascribes to the basic form of the ballata are clear enough and agree with what has been generally recognized as its distinguishing features. His treatment of the sonnet (sonetus), in its division of the first eight lines into four distichs rather than two groups of four lines, may reflect a tradition different from the better-known Petrarchan form. His comments on the other forms, however, manifest numerous peculiarities. He does not analyse the stanza of the canzone (cantio extensa), and the rhyming scheme that he gives conflicts with that of other known examples of the period. He appears to be unaware of the serious character of the Provençal sirventes (serventesius). His pronouncements on the madrigal (mandrialis) are at variance with the structure of the form as understood by modern scholars basing themselves on an analysis of fourteenth-century examples. As for the rotundellus, the author points out that the French make great use of the form and that it is so called because it is completely closed in form like something round ("dicetur autem rotundellus quia totus uniformis sicut rotunditas").\(^9^3\) He notes that the French often use these rotundelli. He then offers another derivation of the name: they are so called because they are frequently sung in circular dances [clearly caroles], especially by the French ("Et ultramontani valde utuntur his rotundellis. Possunt etiam appellari rotundelli quia plerumque cantantur in rotunditate correhae sive balli, et maxime per ultramontanos").\(^9^4\) It would be easy to draw the conclusion at this point that Antonio is referring to the roindeau, but his subsequent discussion casts doubt on such an
interpretation. His form has a minimum of one stanza and a maximum of three. When it has more than one stanza, it resembles, both in this respect and in its versification, the ballata, which was identical in form to the virelai. We are now, it appears, being offered a description which covers not only the single-stanza rondeau but also one which seems to approach in form the virelai. Antonio's further discussion, however, together with the examples that he appends, reveals that the form that he has in mind resembles neither but is merely one of which the main feature is that the first line of a first stanza (consisting of two lines) is repeated as the second line of subsequent stanzas each consisting of four or more lines. Since this form does not correspond to any French one and the rondeau was not a form practised by the Italians, it is possibly a variant of the rondeau devised by the author himself; many other examples in the text are of his own composition. As for the motus confectus, it appears that this name is used for the frottola because Antonio wanted to avoid a too direct reference to a form of such a popular and unsophisticated character, thus providing a possible analogy for Grocheo's invention of the names cantus coronatus, cantus versualis and ductia to avoid a direct reference to controversial forms.95 Finally Andrews points out that two important forms of Italian verse are omitted altogether—the terza rima (the verse form of Dante's Divina comedia, a work to which Antonio actually refers) and the ottava rima; these two forms are mentioned only in later interpolations.96

Viewed in the light of such theoretical works, Grocheo's treatise appears more favourably and his errors and inconsistencies less remarkable. Yet the conclusion to be drawn from all writings of this kind is that on matters of fact they are very unreliable. Some of their information on forms may be accurate, but this can usually be gleaned from actual examples. More frequently, however, their statements are conspicuously at variance with the evidence available to us from such examples. Grocheo's treatise, then, is no better and no worse from the point of view of factual accuracy than other similar theoretical works of the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth—the broad period in which Grocheo's work was written. This brings us to the question of the date of the Ars musice.

Grocheo announces that he is going to discuss the music that is performed by the men of Paris of his time (f. 42v). This does not mean music exclusive to Paris or composed in his time. The rotundellus, as he tells us, is typically sung by young men and girls in Normandy, and his other forms were not exclusive to the capital either. The cantus pieces cited belong to a period before the earliest date proposed for the treatise (c.1275). The chanson de geste, Girart de Vienne, dates from about 1180, and the latest of the suggested composers of the chansons courtoises, Thibaut de Champagne, died in 1253. On the other hand, the songs of the cantilena type and the instrumental forms appear to belong to a period contemporary with the writing of the treatise.

The earliest date proposed for the treatise is Rohloff's one of c.1275.97 Rohloff based his dating on the dates assumed in his time for the thirteenth-century treatises cited by Grocheo—Johannes de Garlandia (c.1235), Lambertus (c.1250) and Franco of Cologne (c.1260)—and on the fact that later theorists were not cited. Moser offered the slightly later date of c.1280.98 More recent studies, however, have dated the Lambertus to c.1275 and the Franco of Cologne to c.1280 and have consequently preferred the most

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95 Ibid., p. 125, 'Motus confectus'.
96 Ibid., pp. 130–31, 'Serventesius'. Dante's 'comedia' is cited on page 78.
98 Hans Joachim Moser, 'Grocheo, Johannes de', Musiklexicon, i (Hamburg, 1955), 454.
commonly accepted date of c. 1300. Nevertheless Besseler suggests that Grocheo's treatise could just as well date from after 1300. He notes, for example, the correspondence between the rhythms of Grocheo's musica composita and those of several motets in the Roman de Fauvel (c. 1316) and implies that the treatise could date from as late as c. 1320. De Witt, following Besseler, while she prefers the commonly accepted date, also allows the possibility of the same late terminus ante quem. Indeed, if three cantilena forms can be identified with the rondeau, virelai and ballade, a date after 1300 seems likely. This later dating, in any case, gains support from the fact that Grocheo separates the rondeau from his dance-song like Robertus de Handlo in his Regule of 1326. The instrumental forms can be identified with those added to the Chansonnier du Roi, and these have been dated to before 1325. Add to this Besseler's observation of the similarity between Grocheo and Fauvel, and there seems to be strong evidence for dating the Ars musice to the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

Grocheo is a lone figure in the history of music. His work was not cited or imitated by any subsequent theorist. The heyday of his cantus forms (the chanson de geste and the chanson courtoise) was long past by the time he came to write the Ars musice. But the lack of interest in his work cannot be attributed to the fact that the forms discussed had become outmoded; if the identification of the cantilena forms suggested above is correct, these forms remained in use throughout the fourteenth century. Nor was extensive factual inaccuracy necessarily a hindrance to posthumous reputation—witness Antonio da Tempo's Summa. The most likely reason is that, although Grocheo broke new ground in electing to treat of musica vulgaris, such pieces were considered, as music, to be too trivial to be worthy of serious discussion by the music theorist. Such, at any rate, is the view of an anonymous late fourteenth-century English music theorist when he absolves himself from any obligation to deal with such unlearned forms as rondes, ballades, carols or springs, saying that he does not have to answer for such forms because they are fantastic and frivolous and music theorists have evinced no acquaintance with them or knowledge of them in their writings ('Roundellis, Baladis, Carolis, Springis ... Ad hec non habeo respondere quia sunt fantastica et frivola, quia nulli auctores musice in textu illorum cognicionem nec scientiam imposuerunt').

Most scholars in our century have, perhaps, esteemed the Ars musice too highly and trusted too much in it as a source of practical value about the forms of musica vulgaris. From a technical point of view, it offers us, it is true, some valuable information on certain aspects of monophony such as the music of the chanson de geste. It provides a basis for a critique of the music and verse of the chanson courtoise. Above all, it clearly proposes an equal-note interpretation for this form in opposition to other theories now held about non-mensural monophony. Too often, however (like other theoretical works), it either confused us or confirms what we already know. It is a unique treatise indeed but one to be used with caution.

99 Several are cited in Stockmann, 'Musica vulgaris', p. 22 n. 4.
100 Heinrich Besseler, 'Zur "Ars musicæ"', p. 230. For others who date the treatise to the fourteenth century, see Die Quellenhandschriften, ed. Rohloff, p. 172 n. 7.
103 For a survey of various theories, mensural and non-mensural, of secular monophony, see Stevens, Words and Music, pp. 492-503.