

5-9-2015

Hidden Meanings: Troubadour Contrafacta in the Provençal Drama "Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis"

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Recommended Citation

da Rosa Guimaraes, Veronica Maria, "Hidden Meanings: Troubadour Contrafacta in the Provençal Drama "Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis"" (2015). *Master's Theses*. 755.
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Hidden Meanings: Troubadour *Contrafacta* in the Provençal
Drama *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*

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B.M., Escola Superior de Música e Artes do Espectáculo, Portugal, 2006

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

At the

University of Connecticut

2015

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Verónica Maria da Rosa Guimarães

2015

APPROVAL PAGE

Masters of Arts Thesis

Hidden Meanings: Troubadour *Contrafacta* in the Provençal Drama *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*

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2015

The song I can sing is but shreds one remembers

Of golden imaginings fashioned in sleep,

A whispered tale told by the withering embers

Of old things far off that but few hearts keep.

J.R.R. Tolkien

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The journey leading to this work was a long and rich one, but as is proper of long endeavors, challenges were often present. Although I believe that individual resilience is what allows us to move forward, I also know that no one can stand alone for too long. That is why I must express my gratitude to those who contributed in any way to this accomplishment.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Eric Rice, for questioning my overly ambitious initial project. His guidance was crucial for the successful conceptualization of this work. I thank him also for reading and editing this document, as well as for the lessons in idiomatic English writing. I would also like to thank Professor Glenn Stanley for all the support during the last three years, his words of encouragement, friendship, and honest criticism of my work both as a student and as a teacher. I am grateful to Professor Alain Frogley for his patience, which I am sure I tested once or twice in the last few months, and for his guidance on how to become a better teacher (with all that that involves). Language is far too limited a means to convey the importance of the opportunity these professors gave me when they admitted me into the Master's program, but they will certainly have my everlasting gratitude. I thank all the three for all the great intellectual worlds you opened up for me. I am also in debt to my colleague Heather de Savage for kindly helping me understand the dynamics of my job as teaching assistant and for sharing teaching materials. I thank Anna Kijas, former

music librarian at the University of Connecticut, for her assistance in finding various materials that were essential for my research.

As Thomas Aquinas wisely said, “without friends even the most agreeable pursuits become tedious.” That is why I must thank all my friends, in particular Sofia Fertuzinhos and Jon Arellano for the countless days of fruitful conversations, delicious meals soaked in wonderful wine and coffee, and for the trust to include me in decisive moments of their lives. I have to extend acknowledgement to their son, Mateo, for all the laughter and warmth only babies can provide, and for offering me opportunities to be a child again. I am also grateful to my dear friend Gustavo Subida for unconditional friendship and for being a safe haven when we both return to places and people whom we barely recognize.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family: to my grandmother Ofélia for her lifelong courage, example, and unconditional support, even in heart-aching situations; to my sister for having given me the most adorable nephew I could wish for; to my nephew Dinis for making the sun shine through my cloudiest days. Finally, and above all, I am eternally grateful to my loving husband, André Sousa. This journey would have never happened without his unconditional encouragement, constant support, and doubtless belief in my potential.

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ABSTRACT

The drama *Tragedia de Santa Agnetis* (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi C.V. 151) is a tantalizing medieval manuscript. It is a para-liturgical drama focused on the martyrdom of Saint Agnes, written in Provençal and Latin, and contains a total of sixteen musical melodies, all of which are *contrafacta*. Among these is the only extant melodic fragment of *Pos de chantar*, by Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine. The drama has been the subject of few studies, none of which has appeared recently. It is dated to the mid-fourteenth century, a fact that seems never to have been questioned. However, paleographic considerations, namely of the script used and of the notation employed, seem to point to the mid-thirteenth century as a more probable date. The context for the production of this play has also not been addressed, and the majority of the scholarship consists of editions, some of which do not include the musical pieces. Furthermore, a comparison between this account and the earliest account of Saint Agnes's martyrdom show that *Tragedia de Santa Agnetis* presents alterations to the original story that suggest an emphasis on conversion. The means by which the capital punishment was inflicted on Agnes was also changed from jugulation to burning at the stake, aspects that suggest an interpretation of a context of enforced conversion. The medieval inquisition, established at the aftermath of the Albigensian crusade, certainly spared no efforts to eliminate heresy and, surprisingly, prohibited bloodshed. The intertextuality of the traceable *contrafacta* seems to corroborate the interpretation of *Tragedia de Santa Agnetis* as an allegoric statement of the Medieval Inquisition.

I. INTRODUCTION

I. INTRODUCTION

Often, the only answer the historian hears in response to his/her questions is silence. The further back in time one wants to explore, the more silent the path becomes. Although in many fortunate instances past writers defied the weariness of time and refused to be forgotten, in many others cases what was left behind are unknown witnesses of particular circumstances, witnesses who seem to mock one's curiosity in pages filled with notated silence. The manuscript that is the focus of this thesis is one such "mockingbird."

The codex Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi C.V. 151 contains a medieval account of the martyrdom of Saint Agnes (folia 69r to 85v). There are few certainties about this manuscript, a fact illustrated by the conflicting information found in the few studies concerning it.¹ What can be established without doubt is that this version of the martyrdom of Saint Agnes is a drama and that it was written somewhere in the Occitan region by someone relatively learned, as it is written in both Provençal and Latin. It exemplifies a hybrid form of the dramatic genre demonstrated by a combination of

¹ For editions of the manuscript see Karl Bartsch, *Sancta Agnes. Provenzalisches geistliches Schauspiel* (Berlin: Verlag von W. Weber, 1869) [without music]; M.A.L. Sardou, *Le martyre de Sainte Agnès: mystère en vieille langue provençale* (Nice and Paris: Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts des Alpes-Maritimes, 1877); Ernesto Monaci *Il misteio provenzale de S. Agnese. Facsimile in Eliotipia dell unico manoscritto Chigiano* (Rome: Tipografia Marteli, 1880); and Alfred Jeanroy and Th. Gérold, *Le Jeu de Saint Agnès: Drame Provençale du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Édouard Champion, 1931). Studies on the work include M. Léon Cledât, "Le mystère provençale de Sainte Agnès: examen du manuscrit de la bibliothèque Chigi et de l'édition de M. Bartsch" in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc.1 (1877), 271-83; Victor Balaguer, *Un drame lyrique du XIII^e siècle: communication faite à la Real Academia de la Historia*, Charles Boy, trad. (Lyon: Chateaufort Library-Antiquaire, 1880); Alexander Joseph Denomy, *The Old French Lives of Saint Agnes and other vernacular versions of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 147-153; Nadine Henrard, *Le Théâtre religieux médiéval en langue d'oc* (Genève: Diffusion Librairies DROZ S. A., 1998), 62-84.

features characteristic of liturgical and vernacular drama. Lastly, the overwhelming majority of the melodies used are *contrafacta*, identified by the scribe, who cites the incipit of the original song. Of the nineteen identifiable melodies in the drama, sixteen are notated, three of them only partially. It is possible to establish the attribution of three melodies either by the incipit given or by the direct reference to the composer of the original melody. The original incipits of these melodies are *Rei glorios, verais lums e clartat* by Giraud de Bornelh, *Quisquis cordis oculi* by Philip the Chancellor, and the only extant melodic fragment of *Pos de chantar m'es prez talenz* by Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine. Every other fact about the manuscript, such as its date, provenance, context, or authorship, has not been easy to establish. The present study aims to offer a reading of the manuscript that brings to light some aspects that were not the focus of previous studies and that might shed light on some of these questions.

The account of the martyrdom of Saint Agnes in Chigi C.V. 151 is the first known hagiographic play from Occitan, and it is preserved among a variety of other texts.² The play is set in verse, and the text is interspersed with frequent and sometimes detailed stage directions in Latin. It recounts the story of Agnes, a thirteen-year-old girl from a noble Roman family, who refuses to marry the son of the Roman prefect in order to devote her life to Christ. After both families try in vain to persuade Agnes to marry several times, she is brought to trial and sentenced to live in a brothel. There, she is stripped of her clothes, but Jesus sends the archangel Michael to cover her naked body

² Nadine Henrard, *Le Théâtre religieux médiéval en langue d'oc* (Genève: Diffusion Librairies DROZ S. A., 1998), 62.

with a dress made of hair; a flash of divine light executes the son of the prefect for his advances on her, but she prays to Jesus and resurrects him. Confronted with Agnes's divinity, the courtesans, the prefect, and the prefect's son convert to Christianity and ask to be baptized. The prefect abdicates his position in order to avoid the political pressure to execute Agnes for witchcraft. The new prefect sends her to be burned alive, but she survives, as angels send the flames away from her and towards those who set the stake on fire. In the end, she dies peacefully and ascends to heaven surrounded by angels.

As Alexander Denomy has noted, this version of the legend of Saint Agnes is based largely on the Latin *Gesta Sanctae Agnes* (early fifth century) by an unknown author who signed the manuscript as if he was Saint Ambrose.³ The author of the drama in Chigi C.V. 151 added several new characters, such as Agnes's extended family, the archangels (the pseudo-ambrosian account only mentions one angel), and the courtesans, among others. There are also changes in the action. For example, in the *Gesta*, Agnes's hair miraculously grows to cover her nakedness, while in C.V. 151 archangel Michael presents her with a garment of hair; the pseudo Saint-Ambrose version suggests that Agnes's parents were Christians, whereas in the Occitan play they start by strongly denying their Christianity and opposing it and convert only later. The same difference in faith standards appears connected with the prefect, whose conversion is not mentioned in the Latin account. Finally, the means by which Agnes is

³ Alexander Joseph Denomy, *The Old French Lives of Saint Agnes and other vernacular versions of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), 24.

killed in the Provençal drama also differs from the Latin narration. In the *Gesta*, Agnes is jugulated, while in the Provençal play she is burned.⁴

These seemingly insignificant differences might shed some light on the context for which C.V.151 was produced and, consequently, help to establish a less questionable dating for the manuscript. In the preface of the first edition of the Provençal play, Karl Bartsch asserts “the manuscript ... was [written] in the fourteenth century,” without citing details that led him to that conclusion. It seems that he is referring to the whole codex and not to the particular case of the play.⁵ Either agreeing or not with Bartsch, the authors of subsequent studies offered equally unsubstantiated claims for dating the drama. Jeanroy was the only author who used the type of script as the basis for placing the manuscript in the middle of the fourteenth century, but he mentioned it only in passing in the description of the manuscript; no other attempts were made to justify the dating.⁶ The calligraphy is similar to the *gothic textura minuscule*, a script that was in use from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.⁷ One of the most interesting aspects of the Provençal play is that it includes a generous number of notated musical pieces. Intriguingly, Gérold, who transcribed the music in Jeanroy’s edition, did not use the musical notation to question the mid-fourteenth-century dating. The notation employed in C.V.151 does not conform to normative notational practices for plainsong in

⁴ Denomy, *The Old French*, 150-152.

⁵ “Die Handschrift ... ist im 14. Jahrhundert geschrieben und enthält folgendes:...” Karl Bartsch, *Sancta Agnes. Provenzalisches geistliches sachausspiel* (Berlin: Verlag von W. Weber, 1869), i.

⁶ “...[L]’écriture, du milieu du XIV^e siècle, est inélégante...” Alfred Jeanroy and Th. Gérold, *Le Jeu de Saint Agnès: Drame Provençale du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Édouard Champion, 193), iii.

⁷ The classification of the calligraphy was made with the help of *Fonts for Latin Paleography user’s manual*, 4th edition (2014) by Juan-José Marcos García.

fourteenth-century France, which raises questions about Jeanroy's dating. (See Chapter Two for a detailed discussion of the musical notation.)

If the notation does not corroborate the dating of the Provençal drama as mid-fourteenth-century, the emphasis on conversion to Christianity and the rewards of its unwavering practice would seem to point to the late thirteenth century, if not earlier. At this point, the Occitan region was in the final stages of decimating the Cathars, a branch of the Christian faith seen as heretics by the Catholic Church. Between 1209 and 1229, three popes — Innocent III, Honorius III, and Gregory IX — invested resources in a crusade against the Cathars, which came to be known as the Albigensian crusade. After the end of the military campaign, Gregory IX created the papal inquisition (a body that followed the 1184 initiative of Pope Lucius III creating the first Medieval inquisition, also in response to the growth of Catharism). As part of this effort, he appointed various inquisitors for the south of France and the north of Italy. These men were mostly Dominicans and Franciscans (the ecclesiastic orders Innocent III had designated to fight heresy), and their goal was to erase any trace of Catharism in the region. In 1252, Pope Innocent IV issued a bull authorizing the use of torture to obtain confessions. However, torture methods that led to bloodshed, mutilation, or death were not permitted.⁸ This avoidance of bloodshed may have played a role in the inquisitor's choice of burning as the principal means of capital punishment. This context seems to offer a possible

⁸ Bernard Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1981), 46.

explanation for the narrative alterations presented in the Provençal drama, particularly the replacement of jugulation with burning as the method used in Agnes's execution.

In thinking of a possible relationship between the aftermath of the Albigensian crusade and the context for the production of Saint Agnes's martyrdom included in Chigi C.V. 151, the *contrafacta* may offer additional clues. One can only speculate on the intentional use of *contrafacta* to allude to cross-referenced meanings between songs. It seems plausible to consider, however, that the audience, when listening to a new poem set to a popular and widely-circulated melody, would call to mind its original words, or at least the general message, tone, and feeling of the original composition. Inevitably, in a society in which oral traditions and, consequently, memory were keys to the transmission of knowledge, each member of the audience would draw the potential intertextual meaning of both works.⁹ The idea seems even more plausible when considering that the choice of a particular melody could carry specific intentions for conveying implied meanings. When a composer openly cites the particular work as a point of departure, as in the case of the unknown author of the Provençal play, that hypothesis seems even more compelling. The three identifiable melodies in the drama belong to the output of the troubadours (Philip the Chancellor's *Si quis cordis et oculi* is

⁹ For the importance of memory in the Middle Ages see, for example, Marry Carruthers, *The book of Memory* (Cambridge, New York, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 2008) and Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2005). For intertextuality see, for example, *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Giuliano Di Bacco and Yolanda Plumley Eds. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Music Culture: Learning from the learned*, Suzannah Clarck and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005); or Jennifer Saltzstein "Relocating the Thirteenth-Century Refrain: Intertextuality, Authority and Origins", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 135:2 (2010), 245-279.

itself a *contrafactum* of *Quan vei la lauzeta mover* by Bernart de Ventadorn). Their presence in a manuscript of this kind raises questions about the circulation of melodies at the time, especially when a melody that is two hundred years old (*Pos de chantar*) appears in writing, even if incompletely. How important was orality in the circulation of these melodies? The particular case of *Pos de chantar* Guillaume IX is also tantalizing in view of the possible connection of the Provençal drama with the Albigensian crusade. The message of *Pos de chantar* has been connected with Guillaume's involvement in a crusade.¹⁰ The melody is used in the Provençal drama to give voice to the Roman prefect's gratitude after his conversion. If the crusade connection in the original poem can be established, the meta-meaning of this *contrafactum* might support the context proposed above, as well as an intention in the choice of the melodies for the new texts.

The authors of previous studies have not endeavored to propose a context for which the drama was produced; nor did they explore the implications of the use of *contrafacta*. The present study aims to investigate the context and meaning of the Provençal dramatic account of the martyrdom of Saint Agnes. Chapter Two includes a detailed description of the manuscript. Codicological and paleographical analysis and a discussion of the musical content lead to a proposed date for a portion of the codex and for the work itself. Chapter Three focuses on the *contrafacta* — their musical and textual analysis as well as implications for intertextuality. Chapter Four offers a detailed context

¹⁰ *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies*. Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard Le Vot eds. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), 36.

for the possible connection of the manuscript with the Albigensian crusade. The concluding chapter offers a possible context for the play, the meanings associated with the *contrafacta*, the dissemination of the melodies as suggested by their presence in the drama, and the meaning of the drama as a whole.

II. Manuscript description and dating

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1. Paleographic Features

Chigi C.V. 151 contains a diversity of texts, primarily records of ecclesiastic councils and moral treatises. It is interesting to note that, in Karl Bartsch's listing of the manuscript's content, folio 3r contains the register of a meeting that took place in the year 1234.¹¹ Although the manuscript clearly dates from the medieval period, there is evidence that the codex was assembled in the seventeenth century. According to Alfred Jeanroy, the Chigi family's coat of arms appears in the volume's binding.¹² This would be consistent not only with the common practice of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance of re-assembling particular manuscripts into new codices to form personal collections, but also with the history of the formation of the Chigi library.¹³ Additional evidence for a late assembly of the volume is found in the title page of the play. The title of the drama is written on folio 68r in a seventeen-century hand (see Figure 1).¹⁴ Although the title states that the beginning and the end of the work are missing ("principium et finis desiderantur"), the play does seem to contain a proper ending.

¹¹ "Concilium domini Johannis celebratum anno domini M.CC.XXX.III..." Karl Bartsch, *Sancta Agnes. Provenzalisches geistliches Schauspiel* (Berlin: Verlag von W. Weber, 1869), i.

¹² *Le Jeu de Sainte Agnès*, iii, note 2. Because my study of the manuscript was done in a digital reproduction of the original, information concerning measurements, binding, and contents of the entire volume relies on previous *in loco* observations.

¹³ The Chigi family acquired the palace at Piazza Colonna in 1661. At the end of the seventeenth century, Agostino Chigi commissioned the construction of the library hall to hold the collection of cardinal Flavio Chigi. However, the majority of the library's manuscripts came from the personal collection of Pope Alexander VII, Flavio's uncle. For a complete description of the palace's history, see Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 1990), 291-320.

¹⁴ It reads: Tragedia/De S^{ta}. Agnetis Martyris/Rithmicis versibus/ Conscripta/Prisca Occitania lingua/ Cum notis Musicis quæ tunc in usu errant/ Incerto Authore/Principium et finis desiderantur (hereafter Tragedia de S^{ta}. Agnetis).

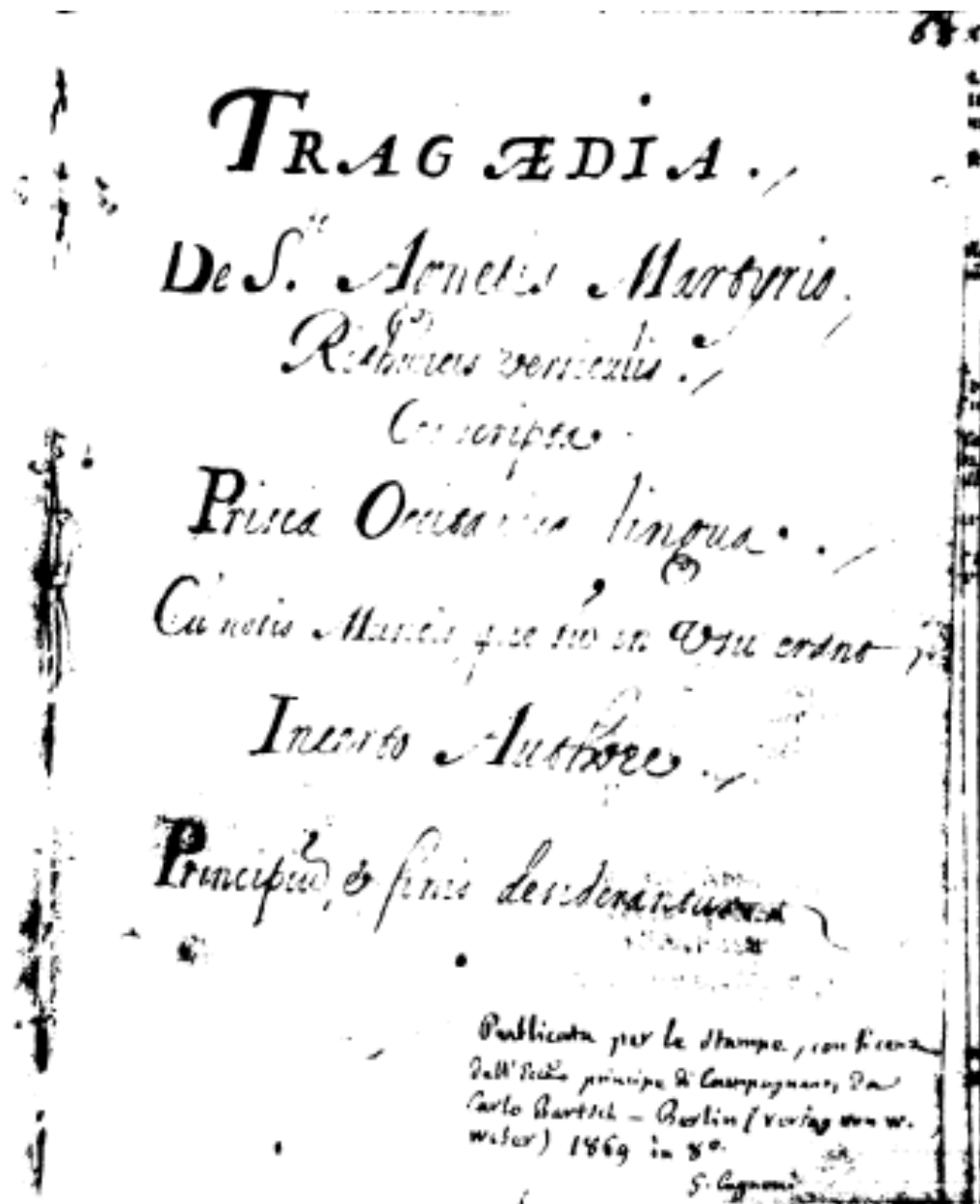


Figure 1. Title page of *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*. Rome, Vatican Library, Chigi C.V. 151, fol. 68r.

The end of the play deals with Agnes's ascent to heaven (the expected outcome of a martyrdom), and her heavenly reward is set to the sound of two antiphons from the

Vespers of the Common of Virgins — “Veni Sponsa Christi” and “Haec est virgo sapiens” — sung by a choir of angels. This is closely related to the practice of ending medieval dramas with the *Te Deum* (regardless of the ecclesiastic significance of the play’s text) as well as to representations of heaven through song in liturgical and vernacular plays. Moreover, the choirs of angels were given an important musical role in mystery plays by singing motets, hymns, or other relevant liturgical melodies.¹⁵

The manuscript is written on parchment and measures thirteen by eighteen centimeters (approximately five by seven inches).¹⁶ The numbering of the folia is consistent with the overall carelessness of the manuscript’s scribes. Either a contemporary hand or a later one failed to number the folia correctly, skipping an opening. What should be folio 72r is not numbered, and the number 72 appears on what should be folio 73r. The text is written in two columns, and it is clear from the writing that the scribe was often inattentive.

The dialogue of the play is written in Provençal and interspersed with stage directions in Latin. Some monologues were meant to be sung, as is evident from the sixteen notated melodies and the corresponding stage directions such as “facit planctum in sonu de...” (“he made the song to the sound of...”). Folia 70v and 71r contain extensive marginalia, but the entirety of their content is impossible to decipher because much of what was written on the top of folio 70v was lost due to trimming of the

¹⁵ Edmund A. Bowles, “The role of musical instruments in medieval sacred drama” in *Musical Quarterly*, vol. 45, n.1 (Jan. 1959): 67-84, 73, 82.

¹⁶ *Le Jeu de Sainte Agnès*, iii.

manuscript. Nevertheless, these text glosses attest to deliberation on the part of at least one reader, discussing whether or not the Roman prefect should have put Agnes and her family to death for their Christianity. Because of the centrality of the gloss in the Middle Ages, I believe that these annotations should be included along with the drama and not placed in an appendix, as Sardou and Jeanroy have done.¹⁷

There are attempts at decoration on most folios. These are mostly scribbled lines, which sometimes end in curly or floral shapes and other times swirl around to form faces and female figures (see Figure 2). These decorations seem to function primarily to separate the columns of text. However, they become scarce or non-existent from folio 78r to the end. Their presence neither disturbs nor enhances the reading of the text. Noticeable differences in the decoration, writing, and notation suggest that at least two scribes were involved in copying the play. Jeanroy points to a change of quill pen and ink, and possibly time constraints, as reasons for these differences.¹⁸ Although the text of the first column of folio 79v reveals that the scribe wrote in a hurry, the calligraphy is radically different on other folios. The overall calligraphy, as mentioned in the introduction above, is a compressed gothic textura minuscule, but on folios 82r and 82v, for example, the writing tends toward a more cursive style, with the letters not so equally drawn and more loosely spaced. In addition, the spacing of the writing and of the music gives clues about the organizational concept of the document.

¹⁷ Le Jeu de Sainte Agnès, 50-52. Le Martyre de Saint Agnès, 42, n. 3; 93-95.

¹⁸ Le Jeu de Sainte Agnès, n. 1 on p. iv.

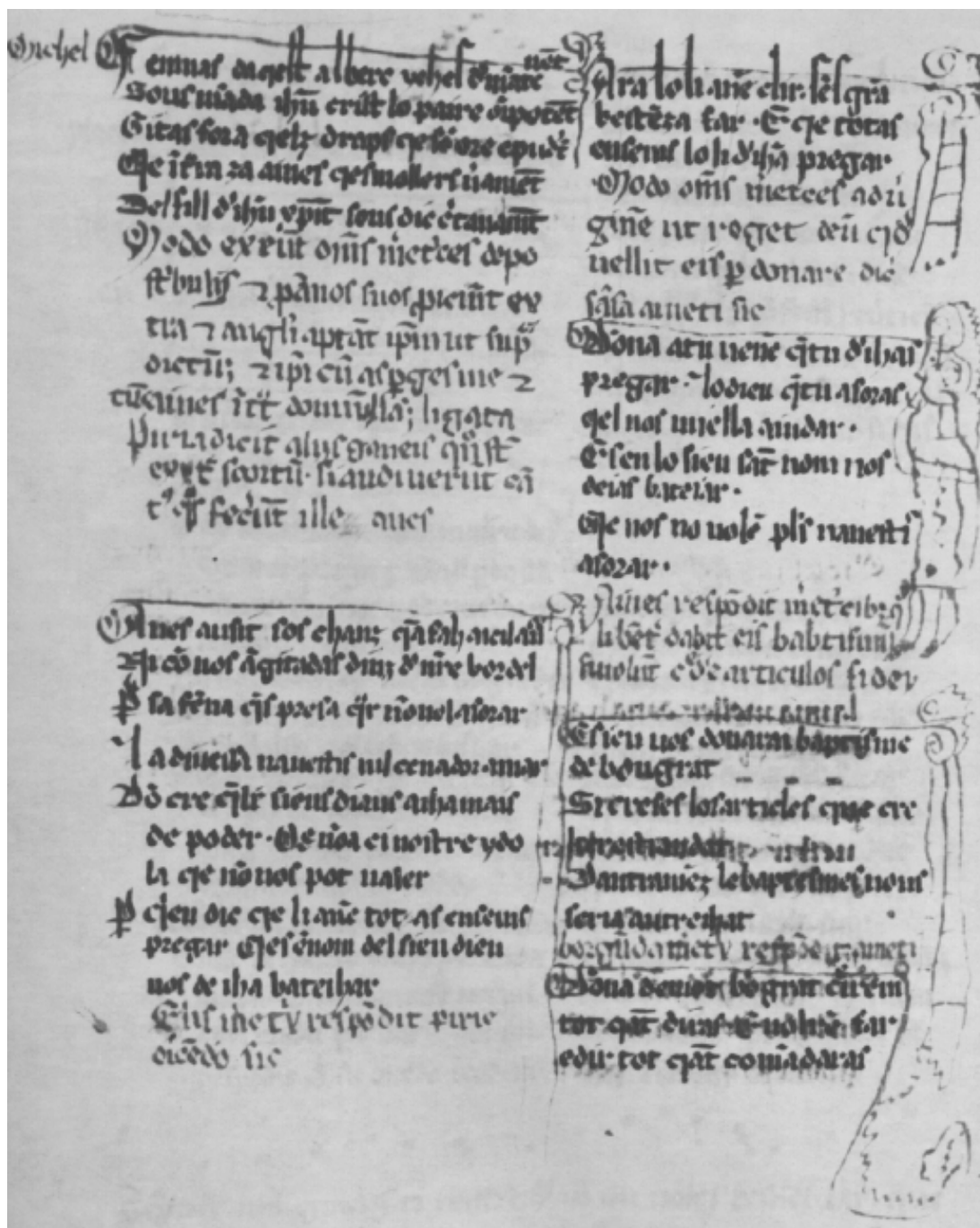


Figure 2. Example of decoration in the manuscript of the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* (fol. 73v)

Empty spaces are found throughout the manuscript. For example, on folio 72r, there is an empty space between the end of the text and the beginning of the musical notation.

Since the melody carries over to the verso, it is plausible to assume that the scribe who

wrote the text was not the same scribe who wrote the music, and that the scribe of the text left an empty space in which the music was to be entered. In addition, there are instances in which only the staves were drawn and the text placed underneath them (fols. 84r–v.); in other places, the melody was partially notated (fols. 78v–r, 80r–v, and 81r–v). This supports Jeanroy’s argument that at least some parts of the manuscript were written extremely quickly.¹⁹ But most importantly, it clearly indicates that there was more than one person involved in writing it.

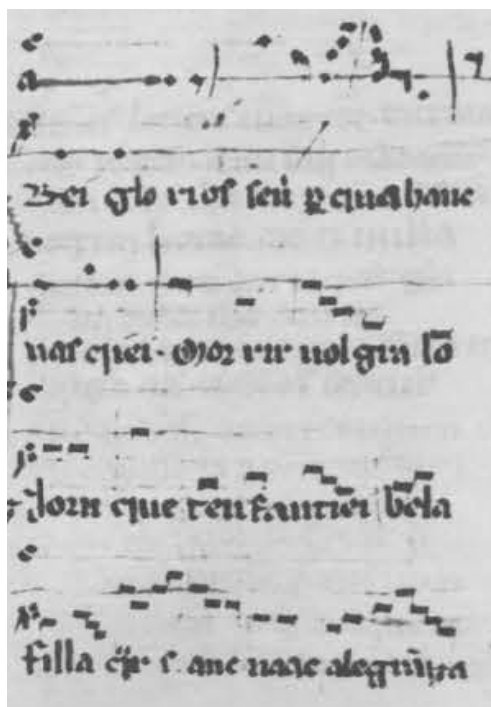
In fact, there is reason to believe that up to six people might have collaborated on this manuscript. Two scribes prepared the text and some of the musical notation, while the others were concerned solely with musical notation. This conclusion is based on visible differences in the notation itself. Square notation is used throughout the manuscript, but there are differences in the way the scribes wrote the same symbols. As with the verbal text, the musical notation writing reveals both personal quirks and the scribe’s level of familiarity with notational symbols that suggest identity. Musical scribe A seems not to have been familiar with the task of notating music or with the necessary quill pen technique. It is curious, nevertheless, that the style visibly changes one third of the way through the second stave. The neumes from this point on are very similar to those of scribe B. Whether a second person took over for the inexperienced scribe or scribe A suddenly improved in writing neumes is hard to tell for certain, but it seems more likely that a second hand took over (see Figure 3a). Scribe B connects the notes

¹⁹ See footnote 17.

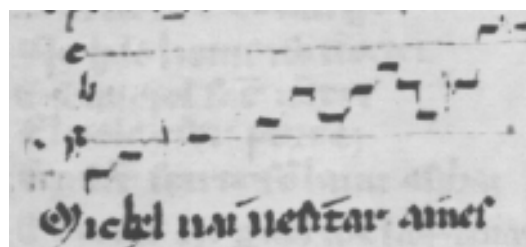
within ligatures with a thin but visible diagonal or vertical line (see Figure 3b), whereas scribe A seems to omit these lines, relying on proximity to indicate ligation. This trait is visible in Figure 3a over the word “alegranza.” Scribe C is identified by the shape of his F clef, and his writing is the neater than that of the previous scribes. He seems to distinguish between *virga* and *punctum*, but that distinction is not always clear (see Figure 3c). Scribe D is distinguished by his neat writing and clear knowledge of square notation conventions. His notation, in fact, is very similar to examples of pre-Franconian notation. He also employs a very particular shape for the F clef, particularly when he changes clefs in the middle of a melody (see Figure 3d). Finally, scribe E, like scribe C, seems to distinguish *punctum* and *virga*, but the difference is not pronounced, in part because he writes both almost as if they were *plicas*, i.e., he writes a stem to the right of the note and a smaller stem to its left (Figure 3e). Table 1, on page 19, shows the distribution of the melodies among the various scribes.²⁰

The manuscript was written in a particular order: the text was entered first, and then staves of three or four lines were drawn in the spaces left empty for the purpose.

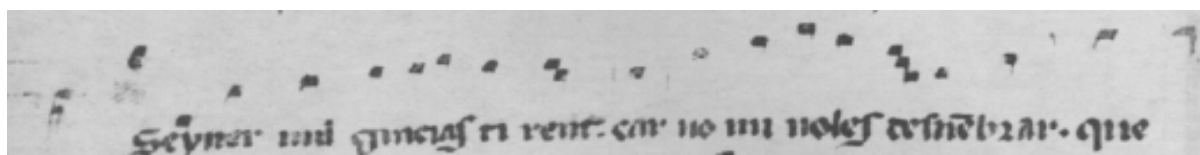
²⁰ Although there are only sixteen melodies notated in the manuscript, there is reference to a total of nineteen melodies. The melody numbers of table 1 refer to the number of each melody in the global context of the play.



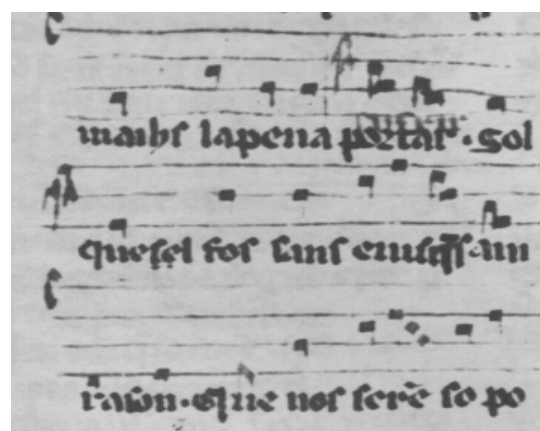
3a. Scribe A (and possibly B)



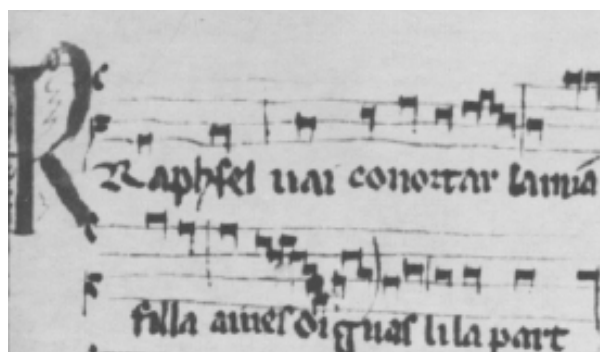
3b. Scribe B



3c. Scribe C



3d. Scribe D



3e. Scribe E

Figure 3. Examples of the various notational styles in the manuscript of the *Tragedia de Sancta*

Table 1. Distribution of Melodies among Scribes

Scribe A	Melodies 1, 2, 18, and 19 (fols. 72r, 72v, and 85v.)
Scribe B	Melodies 3, 4, 8, 10, and 11 (fols. 73r, 74v, 78r, 78v, 79v, and 80r)
Scribe C	Melodies 6, 12, and 15 (fols. 74v, 75r, 80r, and 84r.)
Scribe D	Melody 7 (fols. 76v–77r.)
Scribe E	Melodies 13, 16, and 17 (fols. 81r, 85r.)

As mentioned above, scribes did not always predict the space necessary for notating the melodies accurately, a fact that forced the scribes of the music to write compressed melodies in spaces that were clearly too small. In the process, the text placement suffered considerably. In some of these instances, however, the scribe provided some clarification by using lines to indicate which syllables were to be sung to a given ligature (see Figure 3a).

2. Genre and Musical Content

Medieval writers used various terms, such as *ordo*, *officium*, *ludus*, *festum*, *misterium*, or *representatio* (the most frequent), to refer to dramas. When referring to vernacular plays, the terms “miracle” and “mystery” were used interchangeably. But today, the corpus of medieval plays is divided in two types of religious drama: the liturgical drama and the vernacular drama. Liturgical dramas are those that have their entire text sung monophonically and in Latin, sometimes with a specific relationship to a prescribed liturgy (sung before mass, for example); vernacular dramas are defined by having the action spoken in the vernacular and interspersed with instrumental music,

songs, plainchant, and polyphony. From the thirteenth century onwards, in addition to plays with religious content, secular plays were also written.²¹

The *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* seems to fit the vernacular categorization, since a great portion of the action is spoken in Provençal, and musical pieces are present throughout the play. However, this classification poses some questions. Along with *Sponsus*, *The play of Adam*, and the *Shrewsbury fragments*, the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* belongs neither to the corpus of the liturgical drama nor to the “main traditions of vernacular drama” for two reasons: its author mixed Latin and Provençal, and he gave particular importance to the music.²² In fact, although the action is spoken and sung in Provençal, the drama is interspersed with stage directions in Latin. Moreover, the function of the music in the play is quite varied, serving to illustrate associations with the divine (the interventions of Jesus, the archangels, and the angels are all sung), as a means for lamentation (Agnes’s mother and the Roman prefect’s *plancti*), and as prayer (the prostitutes sing their prayers after their conversion and baptism, and Agnes sings most of her prayers and requests to Jesus). Music is, therefore, used to add symbolic meaning to the action. Though the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* has more characteristics of vernacular plays than of liturgical ones, it should be considered a hybrid of the two because it uses both Latin and a vernacular language. Although it is not sung

²¹ John Stevens and Richard Rastall. "Medieval drama, §I: Introduction". *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41996pg1>. (accessed on June 17, 2014).

²² Stevens and Rastall, "Medieval drama."

throughout and as part of the liturgy, music plays an important role that is clearly meant to sacralize the proceedings.

The drama contains nineteen pieces of music, all monophonic, the majority of which are based on known melodies, i.e. are *contrafacta*. The author of the play was explicit about the melodies he intended to have sung, specifying in the stage directions which melodies should be used to sing the new poems. He refers to the original melodies using their text incipits. He notes, for example, that one song “makes the lament to the sound of the alba *Rei glorios verai lums e clartat...*”²³ Of the nineteen songs, sixteen are fully or partially notated in the manuscript. Of the other three, one was clearly in the process of being notated, as the scribe or scribes drew the staff and placed the poem underneath it. Unfortunately, the music never found its way into the manuscript. Of the remaining two, one is referred by the same incipit — *De la pe de la montaina* — as a melody notated earlier in the manuscript, and the context of the third unnotated piece implies that it must have been performed to that same melody. The three situations in which the incipit *De la pe de la montaina* is mentioned are in the scenes in which Jesus addresses one of the archangels with either a message for Agnes or a task to help her. In verses 765 to 768, Jesus hears Agnes’s prayers and sends the archangel Raphael to resurrect the son of the Roman prefect. Although the stage directions read “and so Christ says to archangel Raphael,” the meter of the poem fits the melody of *De la pe de la montaina*. It is likely, therefore, that the poem “Rafel vai

²³ “... facit planctum in sonu albe Rei glorios verai lums e clartat...” Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi C.V. 151, fol.72r.

recitar lo fil del cenador” (“Raphael go resurrect the son of the senator”) was meant to be sung to that melody.

As previously noted, it is possible to attribute three of the melodies. Curiously, they all belong to the troubadour repertoire. They are *Rei glorios verai lums e clardat* by Giraut de Bornelh (ca. 1138–1215), *Quam vai la lauzeta mover* by Bernart de Ventadorn (ca. 1130–1200), and *Pos de chantar m’es prez talenz* by Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1071–1126). The case of Ventadorn’s melody is an impressive example of how popular melodies passed from generation to generation and how that continuity might have disguised the original authorship. In the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*, this *contrafactum* is to be performed “to the sound [of] *Si quis cordis oculi*” (“in sonu de Si quis cordis oculi”). This work, which is also known as *Quisquis cordis et oculi*,²⁴ is itself a *contrafactum* of Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Quam vai la lauzeta mover*. The Latin *Si quis cordis oculi* was set to Bernart’s melody by Philip the Chancellor (ca. 1160–1236).²⁴ As we shall see in Chapter Three, the use of *contrafacta* raises pertinent questions of meaning. From this perspective, the reuse of a melody associated with both Ventadorn and Philip the Chancellor is a tantalizing example of intertextuality in medieval song.

Appendix 1 lists the melodies, *contrafactum* incipits, and attribution, when possible. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to trace the texts for the majority of the incipits provided. Pertinent notes are added to some items on the list to denote the suggestions of previous studies relative to the provenance of certain melodies. I have

²⁴ Hendrik van der Werf, *The chansons of the troubadours and trouvères: a study of their melodies and their relation to the poems* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek’s Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1972), 91.

not been able to confirm the claims of Alfred Jeanroy and Elizabeth Schulze-Busaker concerning melodic provenance.²⁵

3. Dating

As noted above, the authors of the various studies on the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* do not agree on the dating of the manuscript. Karl Bartsch (1869) places the entire codex in the fourteenth century; Sardou (1877) is more cautious, dating the manuscript at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century; Victor Balanguier (1880), on the other hand, has no doubt that it dates from the thirteenth century; finally, Jeanroy (1931) unquestioningly dates the manuscript at the middle of the fourteenth century. What is troubling about the dating in each of these studies is that the authors present relatively slim evidence as the basis of their conclusions. Jeanroy dates the script and thus the manuscript to the fourteenth century. The few subsequent studies on this manuscript have relied heavily on Jeanroy's assertions without questioning his dating; as a result, it has become established that the manuscript was produced in mid-fourteenth century.²⁶ The script matches clear examples of *gothic textura minuscule*, which was used from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries. However, due to the increasing demand for manuscripts in vernacular languages, scribes from outside monastic communities traded uniformity for the "individual

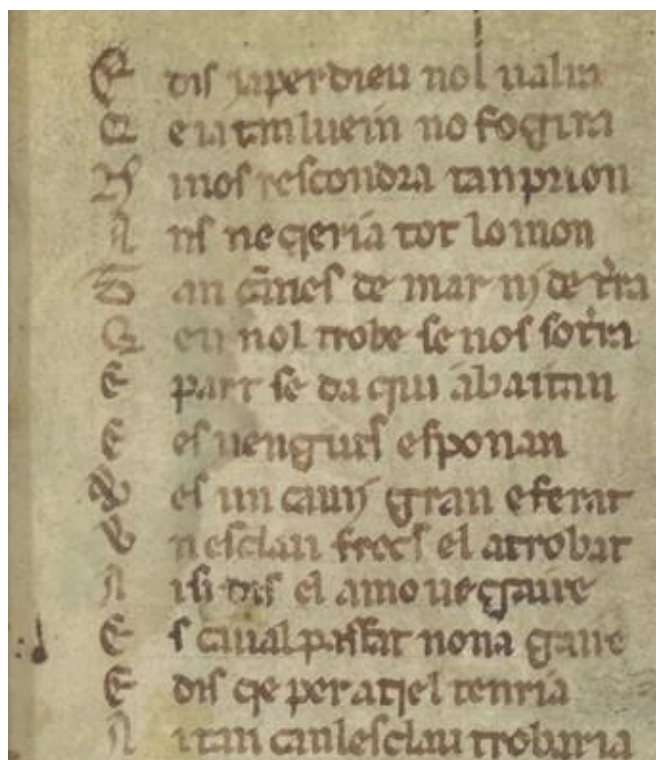
²⁵ *Le Jeu de Sainte Agnès*, xi-xiv. Elizabeth Schulze-Busaker, "Le Théâtre Occitan au XIV^e Siècle: Le *Jeu de Sainte Agnès*" in *The Theatre in the Middle Ages*, Herman Braet, Jahan Nowé, and Gilber Tournou, Eds. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 130-193.

²⁶ Schulze-Busaker, "Le Théâtre Occitan", 132; Nadine Henrard, *Le Théâtre religieux médiéval en langue d'oc* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège. Fascicule CCLXXIII, 1998), 64.

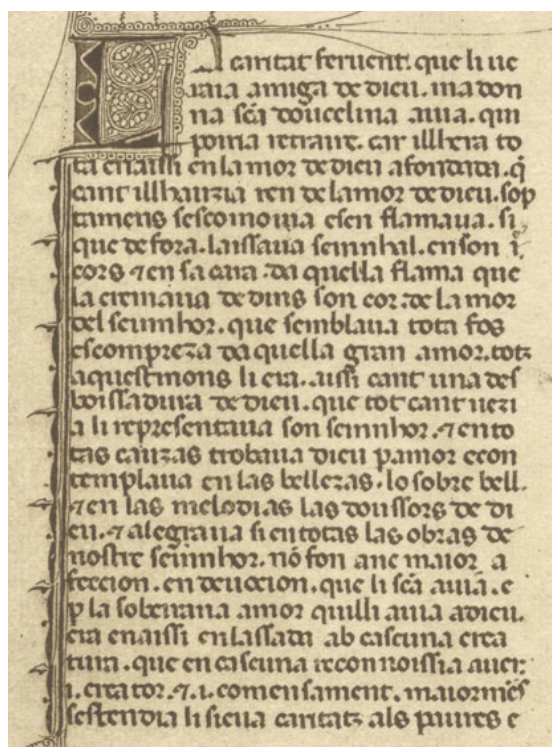
character of the scribe.” During the fourteenth century, “the writing of ordinary books becomes more slender, angular, and compressed.”²⁷ In fact, when one compares examples of the script in Provençal manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is possible to observe the tendency towards a more angular design in the exemplars of the fourteenth century. (see Figure 4). In addition, a comparison of a sample from the manuscript of *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* and the examples provided in Figure 4 demonstrates a similarity with the thirteenth century example (see Figure 5). The calligraphy, therefore, tells us that the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* dates from the thirteenth century.

The music is one of the most interesting aspects of the play. Intriguingly, Théodore Gérold, who edited the music for Jeanroy’s edition, did not use the musical notation either to question or to corroborate the latter’s dating. The notation employed in C.V.151 is square notation, with one example resembling pre-Franconian mensural notation. The thirteenth century was a period of transition from square notation with no rhythmic significance to Franconian notation, in which additional notational signs were added to those already in use, the difference between *longa* and *brevis* was made clear, and ligatures were imbued with rhythmic significance.

²⁷ Juan-José Marcos, *Fonts for Latin Paleography user’s manual*, 4th edition (2014), 52. Available in http://guindo.pntic.mec.es/jmag0042/LATIN_PALEOGRAPHY.pdf. Juan-José Marcos García is professor of classics at the University of Plasencia in Spain. I became familiar with his guide for Latin paleography through Harvard University online tutorial on Edition of Medieval Manuscripts.



Detail of a page from *Roman de Jaufré*, 13th.
 Century. BNF, fr. 2164, fol. 7



Page from *Vie de Sainte Douceline*,
 14th. Century. BNF, fr. 13503, fol. 24v

Figure 4. Examples of Occitan scripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

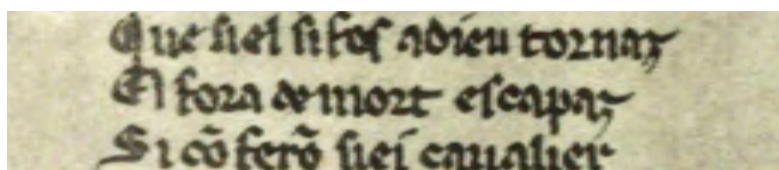
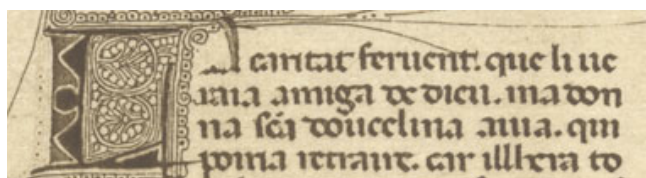
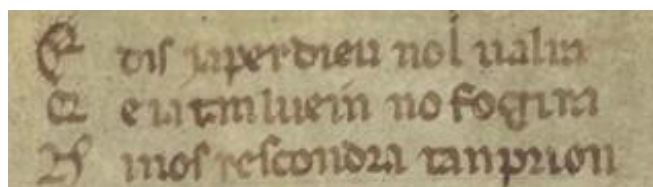


Figure 5. Comparison of scripts from BNF. Fr. 2164, BNF. fr. 12503, and Vatican Chigi C.V. 151



Montpellier fol.269v.



Huelgas Codex, fol. 61r



BNF Latin 11266 fol.35v

Figure 6. Examples of pre-Franconian notation



Chigi C.V. 151, fol. 76v.

Figure 6a. Pre-Franconian notation in Chigi C.V.151

This still non-mensural transitional system is usually referred to as pre-Franconian, for its similarities with the model Franco of Cologne described in 1260 in his *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*.²⁸ Again, a comparison of samples from the major sources of pre-Franconian notation, such as the Montpellier codex, Paris, BNF lat. 11266, or the Huelgas codex, with the notation of Chigi C.V. 151 is instructive (see Figure 6).

Principles of mensural notation dominated the mid-fourteenth century in Western Europe, but an important exception was Germany, where scribes continued to use neumatic *Hufnagel* notation “long after other countries adopted mensural notation.”²⁹ If the Provençal play dates from the mid-fourteenth century, one would expect it to include examples of square notation with a strong relationship to mensural notation. *Ars nova notandi*, the treatise that proposes additional rules of notation and new rules of proportion and is usually attributed to Philippe de Vitry, dates from the 1320s.³⁰ A manuscript from ca. 1350 would most likely include examples influenced by this new notation. This is not the case with Chigi C.V. 151, however. The fact that the manuscript of the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* includes examples of both square and pre-Franconian notation indicates that it might have been written during the thirteenth century. If one considers that the transitional notation system falls “approximately

²⁸ Willi Apel, *The notation of polyphonic music: 900 – 1600*. 5th ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1953), 282.

²⁹ Carl Parrish, *The notation of medieval music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Inc., 1957), 52.

³⁰ Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey. "Philippe de Vitry." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29535> (accessed on January 13, 2015).

between the years of 1225 and 1260,”³¹ it seems plausible to think of this manuscript as dating from the mid to late thirteenth century. Moreover, as demonstrated above, the script matches examples from the thirteenth century. Finally, the fact that the latest source of a melodic *contrafactum* is by Philip the Chancellor, who died in 1236, would seem to support the mid to late thirteenth century as a plausible date for the manuscript containing the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*.

³¹ Apel, *The Notation*, 282.

III. *Contrafacta* and analysis

III. *Contrafacta* and analysis

The application of new words to an existing melody was such a widespread practice during the Middle Ages that it can be regarded as a characteristic of the period. Known as a *contrafactum* (plural *contrafacta*), a melody that has been subjected to this practice is to be distinguished from the notion of “parody” that became prevalent during the Renaissance.³² *Contrafacta* are particularly associated with the secular monophonic repertoire of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although they can also be found among the plainchant and polyphonic repertoires of the same period. There were two distinct ways to treat the borrowed material: it either strictly follows the melody, rhyme scheme, metric scheme, and general meaning of the text of the original composition, or it simply departs from the original melody, sometimes disregarding metrical and rhyme patterns, and reworking aspects of the melodic contour in order to fit the new text better. This last type of *contrafactum* was more common. The most popular melodies were used countless times in a wide variety of contexts and languages.³³

In the particular case of the troubadours (and trouvères, for that matter), the relationship between words and music was one of codependence. They did not conceive of their poetry without a melody.³⁴ For this reason, among the troubadours and the trouvères, it was common to have musical and poetic *contrafacta*, i.e., to apply a

³² For the distinction between *contrafactum* and *parody*, and for a discussion of the history of both terms see, for example, Robert Falk, “Parody and Contrafactum: a terminological clarification”, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (Jan., 1979): pp. 1-21.

³³ Robert Flack and Marin Picker. “Contrafactum.” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06361> (accessed October 8, 2014).

³⁴ *The extant troubadours melodies: transcriptions and essays for performers and scholars*. Werf, Hendrik van der, and Gerald A. Bond, eds. (Rochester, New York: published by the author, 1984), 62.

different melody to an existing poem or to apply a different poem to an existing melody, respectively. The last option was far more frequent. It was used to pay homage to a patron (who, more often than not, was a poet) or to an admired fellow poet/singer. In the latter case, the melody and the structure of the poem would be imitated without any deviations. The fact that many of these *contrafacta* survived in a wide variety of manuscripts permits us to draw conclusions about influences within each circle and to surmise which songs and troubadours were the most popular.³⁵ The melody of *Quam vei la lauzeta mover* by the troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn, for example, was popular enough to have been set to texts in Latin, German, and both the *langue d'oi* and *langue d'oc*.

The categorization of *contrafacta* assumes that chronological aspects of origin do not raise (many) questions if the authors of both the original and the *contafactum* are known. Certainties of that kind, however, are often not easy to establish, particularly when dealing with very old melodies of unknown origin and authorship. Often, paleographic analyses of the manuscripts in which the pieces are preserved raise more questions than they answer. Fortunately, in the case of the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*, one can be sure that the overwhelming majority of the pieces are *contrafacta* of older melodies, because the unknown author of the drama consistently provides the title of the original melodies he used. Tracing the origin of the borrowed melodies and their original texts (particularly those that are not notated in the manuscript), is a very

³⁵ John Stevens, et al. "Troubadours, trouvères." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28468>. (accessed June 17, 2014).

different enterprise, however. Thus the discussion in the next section will focus on the melodies for which the author and the original source are known. My goal is to suggest an intertextual meaning for the use of the melodies by Guillaume IX, Giraud de Bornelh, and Philip the Chancellor in the particular context of the drama and possibly in the overall context of the manuscript's production. Along the way, the circumstances of the circulation of known melodies, particularly those of the troubadours, will be explored. The analysis of the *contrafacta* will be presented in the order in which the melodies appear in the drama.

1. Musical analysis

Giraud de Bornelh: *Rei glorios veri lums e clardat / Rei glorios, sener, per qu'hanc
nasqiei*

The first song to be heard in the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* is *Rei glorios, sener*, based on the melody of *Rei glorios veri* by Giraud de Bornelh (1138–1215). Unlike many *contrafacta*, *Rei glorios, sener* represents significant changes to the original melody, so much so that the structure and the length of the song itself are substantially different (see Example 1). A notable aspect of Bornelh's melody is the repetition of the first musical phrase to set the second line of the poem, reminiscent of sequences of the period. That first musical phrase establishes the Dorian mode beyond doubt: the opening fifth D-A establishes the *repercussio* between the final, D, and the reciting tone, A. The second phrase maintains the gravitas around A through a motive that will play a major role in the *contrafactum* – A-G-A-B(b)-A.

Rei glorios verais lums e clartatz /
Rei glorios, sener, per qua nasqiei

Bornelh
(BNF. fr. 22543)

Chigi 151

A

Rei glo - ri - os ve - rais lums e cla tatz

A

Rei glo - ri - os se ñer per qua hanc nas - quiei

A

Deus po - de - ros Se ner si a vos platz

B

Mor - rir vol gra lo jorn que t'en - fan - ti ei

B

Ai mieu com - panh si - atz fi - zels a - iu - dai

C

Be - la fi lla quar s' anc n'aic - a - le - gran za

C

Qu'eu non lo vi pos la nochs fo ven - gu - da

C

Ar n' ai mil tanz de dol e de pen - san sa

D

Et a - des se - ra l'al - ba

D

Que ma - la fo - sas na da.

Example 1: Compared transcription of *Rei glorios, verais* and its *contrafactum* in Chigi C.V. 151

Two thirds of the way into the phrase, a descending fifth from A to D reminds the listener of the final of the mode. A quick touch on C finishes the second musical phrase and begins the next, where an arch of stepwise motion brings the line back to D. At this point the characteristic elements of *Rei glorios verais* are reiterated with an upward fifth to A followed by the A-G-A-B(b)-A motive. The final phrase, although it starts on C, outlines the first species of fifth, ascending to and descending from A in stepwise motion. The final of the mode is confirmed, yet again, over the last two syllables of the stanza.

Rei glorios, sener does not include the repetition of the first musical phrase that is so representative of Bornelh's melody. Rather, it extends the first musical line by widening the upper range (from C4 in the original to D4) and by adding the motive A-G-A-B(b)-A at the end. The second musical phrase follows, bringing the focus from A down to D. The second half of this phrase is comprised of the second half of Bornelh's third musical phrase. The third and fourth phrases of *Rei glorios, sener* are very similar. It is almost as if the composer of this *contrafactum* shifted the idea of repetition to the third phrase of the piece, yielding an alteration of the form of the stanza from AABCD into ABCCD. Both the third and fourth phrases start with stepwise motion around D and then incorporate the characteristic D-A leap into the A-G-A-B(b)-A motive. The melodic line is then brought down to E, the pitch that Bornelh's melody rests upon at the end of the third musical phrase, to then skip down to C and, as in the original, cover the first fifth of the mode stepwise. Perhaps as a way of compensating for the addition of notes

in the first phrase, the reiteration gesture of the finale of the mode present in the original melody is absent from the *contrafactum*. *Rei glorios sener* seems to rely on the motive A-G-A-B(b)-A as an expressive device: since the B is an upper neighbor of A, it would probably be flatted to create a stronger attraction towards the reciting pitch, a practice that would be acceptable under the rules of hexachordal mutation. This, and the cross-relation that is established with the previous B natural, serves to express the feeling of lamentation present in both songs. Overall, the alterations to Bornelh's melody seem to have been made to favor a more melismatic style.

Bernart de Ventadorn / Philip the Chancellor: *Can vei la lauzeta mover / Quisquis cordis et oculi / Seyner mil gracias ti rendit.*

The melody of *Seyner mil gracias* departs substantially from the melody of *Quisquis cordis et oculi* by Phillip the Chancellor (1160–1236). This *contrafactum* is interesting not only from the standpoint of intertextuality, but also from the perspective of the transmission and the popularity of certain melodies. Philip's song is already a *contrafactum* of *Can vei la lauzeta mover* by Bernart de Ventadorn (ca. 1130–ca. 1200), one of the most circulated troubadour melodies. When comparing *Can vei la lauzeta mover* and *Quisquis cordis*, it is clear that Philip remained quite faithful to the original melody. The alterations comprise mostly the omission of a few notes — either repeated notes or small motives of modal reiteration — and occasional repetition of final notes (see Example 2).

Can vei l lauzeta mover/ Quisquis cordis et oculi/ Seyner mil gracias ti rendit

Ventadorn
(BNF. fr. 22543)

Philip the Chancelor
(Brit. Lib. Egerton 274)

Chigi C.V.151

A

Quam vei la lau - ze - ta _____ mo - ver

A

Quis - quis cor - dis et o - - cu - li

A

Sey - ner mil gra - ci - as ti rent_____

B

De joi sas a - las_____ con - tral_____ rai

B

Non sen - tit in se iur - - - gi - a

B

Car no mi vol - les des - - nem - brar

C

Que s'ou - blide_____ et_____ lais - se - ca - - der

C

Non no - vit qui_____ sint_____ sti - mu - li

C

Que nud' e - ra in - fr'es - ta gent

D

Per la dou - ssor qu'el cor li vai

D

Que cul - pe se - mi - na - ri - a

D

Ar suy ves - ti - da dum drap car

E

Ai! tan grans en - vey - a m'en ve

E

Cau - - sam ne - scit pe - ri - cu - li

E

Ay - tal se - ner tan co - noy - sent

F

De cui qu'eu ve - - ya jau - zi - on

F

Cur al - ter - nant con - vi ci a

F

Teu hom ser - vir e s'a - sor ar

Me - ra - vei - llas ai car de - sse

Cur pri - ca - ces et e - mu - li

Que s'al si - eus el no i - sol fay - llir

Lo cor de de - zi - rer nom fon

Re - pli - cent in se vi - ci - a

Als obs ans lur vol a - ju - dar

Example 2: Compared transcription of *Can vei la lauzeta*, *Quisquis Cordis*, and *Seyner mil gracias*

The fact that the composers were contemporaries might explain the fidelity of the *contrafactum*. *Seyner mil gracias* is not as faithful to the melody by Philip the Chancellor, its source as indicated by the rubrics in the manuscript, as Philip is to Ventadorn. The third musical phrase is cut by about one third because of the poem's meter. The final note of the phrase, however, was maintained.

Despite these differences, *Seyner mil gracias* maintains the original Dorian mode. The opening of the melody starts on D, skips a third upwards to F, and steps up to A. This gesture establishes D, F, and A as the tones around which the melody will develop. G is also emphasized, but only at the beginning to allow the repetition of the initial gesture a fourth above, a device not used in the original. The relatively few alterations to the models by Ventadorn and Philip the Chancellor model did not disturb the overall form: a nearly through-composed melody in which the penultimate musical phrase (D') is a variation of the fourth phrase (D), yielding the form ABCDEFD'G.

Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine: *Pos de chantar m'es prez talenz / Bel seiner dieus*

This *contrafactum* is the most tantalizing of the three, because it is the only extant melodic fragment by Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1071–1126), the first known troubadour. In reality, this fragment is as frustrating as it is enticing, given the tendency of the composer of the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* to alter the original melodies — a standard practice among *contrafacta*. Moreover, the time between the composition of *Pos de chantar*, 1117-9, and its inclusion in the Provençal drama is sufficient to have had an impact on at least some aspects of the original melodic contour, since transmission of troubadour melodies relied heavily on orality as well as literacy.³⁶

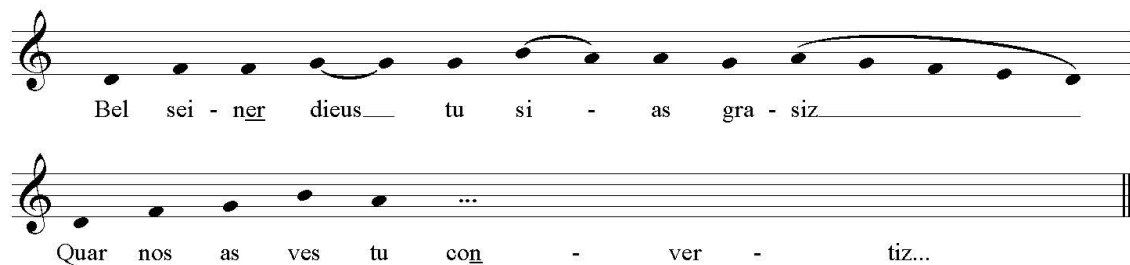
It is evident from the manuscript that there were plans to notate the entire melody — the staves were drawn and the text was written in its entirety, but the music was only

³⁶ Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères, 36.

notated for the first phrase and a half. Once more, the Dorian mode seems to govern this fragment, which starts in D, skips a minor third to F, and repeats G before skipping upwards to B(b) and resolving downwards to A (see Example 3). This motion points to A and D as the tones around which the melody was composed, as expected from a Dorian melody. The musical phrase ends with a descending melisma from A to D, reinforcing the relationship between the final of the mode and its reciting pitch. The following phrase repeats the initial motion D-F-G-Bb-A. It is worth speculating, however, about the possibility that this song was the source of Bornelh's somewhat unusual idea of repeating the first music phrase to set the second line of text.

Bel seiner Dieus

Guillaume IX



Example 3: Transcription of the *contrafactum* of *Pos de chantar* by Guillaume IX

Although Guillaume's second phrase is not exactly the same as his first, the fundamental melodic contour is the same. Since this fragment is probably a corruption

of the original melody, it is possible that the first and second phrases may have been much more closely related in Guillaume's original.

2. Textual analysis

Giraud de Bornelh: *Rei glorios verai lums e clardat / Rei glorios, sener, per qu'hanc
nasqiei*

Giraud de Bornelh's song is a *chanson d'alba*, but rather than describing the usual longing of lovers who must separate at dawn after spending the night together, it tells of the heartfelt longing of a lover who spends the night awaiting her beloved. She prays to God to protect the loved one and calls for him to join her at once, because the sun will soon rise. It is, therefore, a religious *alba*. Agnes's mother and sister sing *Rei glorios, sener* when Agnes is condemned to a brothel. They lament her decision to praise Jesus instead of the Roman goddess Vesta and suffer in anticipation of never seeing her again.

Superficially, both texts share a religious tone and the suffering of potentially losing a loved one. But comparing both poems might lead beyond this superficial level. (See Table 3 for the texts and translations.³⁷) The first stanza of both poems is a call for God's help. The citation of the original words *Reis glorios* assisted the audience of the *contrafactum* in remembering of the original text while also ensuring that the character of the prayer is preserved. It is also interesting to note that the author of *Rei glorios, sener* tries to maintain, as much as possible, the invocation of the subject at the

³⁷ Unless otherwise noted, the translations are mine.

beginning of each stanza, mimicking the structure of the original poem. Bornelh's poem calls for God, in the first line of the first stanza — "Rei glorios" — and then calls for the loved one in the first line of the subsequent stanzas — "Bel companho." This call for the loved one is anticipated at the beginning of the third line of the first stanza — "ai meu companh." The *contrafactum* does exactly the same, with the difference that the way the subject is addressed changes, because the character addressing it also changes: the first and second stanzas are sung by Agnes's mother, and the following two by her sister. The citations or structural allusions are denoted in Table 3 by the bold portions of the text.

The first two stanzas of the *contrafactum* contrast in tone with the original: Agnes's mother vehemently questions the choices of both God and her daughter: the former for giving her life only to make her suffer, and the latter for challenging Roman law. Her unsettled spirit contrasts with the acceptance of the original text — "if it pleases You, [Lord,] be a faithful aid to my companion" — reminding the audience that, even in moments of despair, faith in the power and wisdom of God will bring peace to the heart of the believer. The third and fourth stanzas are also contrasting, but in the opposite direction. While the original text calls for the lover to wake up and join her, becoming upset at the idea of him not recognizing her love, Agnes's sister expresses overwhelming pain for not being able to help her escape her destiny.

Table 3. Texts and translations of *Rei glorios verais* and *Rei glorios sener*

Rei glorios, verais lums e clartatz, [10a]
Deus poderos, Senher, si a vos platz, [10a]
Ai meu companh siatz fizels ajuda, [10b]
Qu'eu non lo vi pos la nochs fo venguda, [10b]
Et ades sera l'alba. [6b]

Bel companho, si dormetz o velhatz, [10a]
Non dormatz plus, suau vos ressidatz, [10a]
Qu'en orient vei l'estrela creguda [10b]
Qu'amena.l jorn, qu'eu l'ai ben conoguda, [10b]
Et ades sera l'alba. [6b]

Bel companho, en chantan vos apel, [10c]
Non dormatz plus, qu'eu au chantar l'auzel [10c]
Que vai queren lo jorn per lo boscatge, [10e]
Et ai paor que.l gilos vos assatge, [10e]
Et ades sera l'alba. [6b]

Bel companho, eissetz al fenestrel, [10c]
E regardatz las estelas del cel; [10c]
Conousseretx si.us sui fizels messatge [10e]
Si non faitz, vostres n'er lo damnatge, [10e]
Et ades sera l'alba. [6b]

Glorious king, true light and clarity,
 Almighty God, Lord, if it pleases You,
 Be a faithful aid to my companion
 For I have not seen him since the night came,
 And soon will be dawn.

Dear companion, whether you are asleep or
 awake,
 Sleep no longer, but softly rise,
 For I have see rising in the East the star
 Which brings the day, I know it well,
 And soon will be dawn.

Dear companion, I call you singing:
 Sleep no longer, for I hear the bird singing,
 Which goes seeking the day through the woods,
 And I fear the jealous one will surprise you,
 And soon will be dawn.

Dear companion, go to the window
 And look at the stars in the sky;
 You will know if I am your faithful messenger:
 If you do not, it will be the worse for you,
 And soon will be dawn.

Rei glorios, sener, per qu'hanc nasqiei [11a]
Morrir volgra lo jorn que t'enfantiei, [11a]
Bela filla, qar s'anc n'aic alegranza, [10b]
Ar n'ai mil tanz de dol e de pesansa. [10b]
Que mala fosas nada. [6b]

Bella filla, per que voles damnar [11c]
La tiua arma nil cors das tormentar [11c]
Per que non vols nostra diuessa onrar, [11c]
Q'il a poder ben o mal de tu far [10c]
Per que iest aici torbada. [6b]

Bela sore, ieu morai de dolor, [10d]
qar non vei res qe ti faza socor; [10d]
Per qe ai paor non prenas deisonor [11d]
Per cesta gent avol e sens valor, [10d]
Q'a mal iest destinada. [6b]

Bella sore, eu qal segle tenrai, [10e]
Pueh qe de tu tan fort mi luniarai [11e]
Ben sui certa que mais non ti verai. [10e]
Dona mi.l. bais al partir q'en farai. [11e]
Qe Dieus ti don s'aiuda. [6e]

Glorious king, Lord, why was I ever born?
 I would have wanted to die the day I borne you
 Dear daughter, because I have had joy,
 Now I have a thousand times more pain and
 wonder./What a shame you were born!

Dear daughter, why do you want to condemn
 Your soul and torment your body?
 Why don't you wish to honor our goddess.
 Who has the power of doing you good or evil?
 Why are you so tormented?

Dear sister, I shal die of pain
 As I don't see what can I do to rescue
 That is why I am affraid you are dishonored
 By these coward and worthless people,
 What desgrace were you destined for!

Dear sister, what life will I live
 After you have been taken away from me?
 I am sure I will not see you again.
 Give me a kiss as I will suffer from the departure
 May God offer you His help.

Ultimately, she becomes reconciled with the idea of not seeing her sister again and asks God to help Agnes. In a way, the second part of the *contrafactum* brings closure to the anxiety of the original text and to that of the mother as well.

Together, the original song and the *contrafactum* represent the pleasures, joys, fears, and doubts (unveiled in more or less effusive ways, but that inevitably end in acceptance of what one cannot change) that are part of all types of love — forbidden, blessed, earthly, or divine. If the original voice longs for the coming of the beloved, the *contrafactum* longs for one who is to go away. Both form a circle of longing in the face of what destiny might or might not bring. Finally, it is interesting to see that one of the most notable features of Bornelh's poem it is not imitated in the *contrafactum* — the refrain “Et ades sera l'alba.”³⁸ The six-syllable meter of this structural unifier is, however, maintained in *Rei glorios, sener*. The last line of each stanza is the only point of metrical confluence between the two poems. In terms of rhyme scheme, the first stanza is consistent between original and *contrafactum*, but the remaining stanzas are not. In Table 3, the numbers and lower case letters next to each line of text denote the metric and rhyme of the poems.

³⁸ For the fascinating role of the refrains in the music of the thirteenth and fourteenth-centuries see Ardis Butterfield's remarkable study *Poetry and Music in Medieval France* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Bernart de Ventadorn / Philip the Chancellor: *Can vei la lauzeta mover / Quisquis cordis et oculi / Seyner mil gracias ti rendit.*

As noted above, the *contrafactum* *Seyner mil gracias ti rendit* is a fascinating example of how authorship could be diluted by the use of popular melodies to set different texts. On folio 74v, the second column of text reads: "...et Aines induit indumentum quod misit ei dominus, et postea facit planctum in sonu Si quis cordis et oculi." ("And Agnes puts on the robe that the Lord has sent to her, and after this she sings a lament to the sound of *Si quis cordis et oculi*.") The author's source for the melody is clearly Philip the Chancellor.³⁹ However, according to Hendrik van der Werf, *Si quis cordis et oculi* is one of five *contrafacta* of Bernart de Ventadorn's *Can vei la lauzeta mover*.⁴⁰ Thus, the question is: which text would the audience recall when listening to *Seyner mil gracias ti rendit*? I believe that it would depend on how each individual member of the audience came to know the melody. Given that Bernart and Chancellor were contemporaries, it is likely that different people recalled different texts, and in some instances both. Nevertheless, if the performance of the drama included the narration of the stage directions the text that would probably come to mind first would be that of *Si quis cordis et oculi*. Interestingly enough, when comparing Bernart's text with Philip's, one has the feeling that Philip replied to Bernart when using his melody in order

³⁹ According to Thomas Payne, "Si quis cordis et oculi" and "Quisquis cordis et oculi" are two titles of the same melody by Phillip the Chancellor. Thomas B. Payne, "Philip the Chancellor." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21561>. (accessed on September 25, 2014).

⁴⁰ "The chansons of the troubadours and trouvères", 90.

to set the new text (see all three texts and respective translations in table 4 below).⁴¹

Bernart's text speaks of his envy of the joyful life those around him live because they are unencumbered by passionate love. He uses the wild flight of a lark as a metaphor for his feelings. Philip's text, on the other hand, calls attention to the conflict between reason and emotion as the seed of sin. Since the troubadour was talking about a forbidden relationship, it is hard to see Philip's text in a way other than as a commentary on Bernart's "sinful" wishes. Therefore, the message that arises from the crossover of these two poems is that regardless of the intensity of the feelings or the persuasiveness of the mind's arguments, one's actions should be ruled by virtue.

Agnes, already in the brothel, sings *Seyner mil gracias ti rendit* in gratitude to Jesus for sending her clothes to cover her naked body. She declares that all people should serve and adore a Lord who is so considerate as to never disappoint His children. Agnes's words align with the idea of living a life of rectitude — she could have easily succumbed to the emotional distress of being put in a brothel and agreed to marry the prefect's son, but she chose instead to stand by her faith in God and was rewarded. These words also add a judgmental tone to the choices of those who decide not to devote their lives to God. The irony here is that Agnes chose one emotion over another one — love over fear — but the righteousness of the choice is guaranteed by

⁴¹ The original texts were taken from Hendrik van der Werf. *The chansons of the troubadours and trouvères*, 93; and from Gordon A. Anderson, ed., *Notre Dame and related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. X (Henryville, PA: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1979), LXVIII. The translation of *Quisquis cordis et oculi* was adapted from Oroz, J. & Casquero, M., *Lírica Latina Medieval: Poesía Profana* (Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 1995), 612-613.

the object of her love. If, instead of choosing Jesus, she had chosen to marry the prefect's son through fear of the consequences, she would have committed a sin.

Table 4. Texts and translations of *Quam vei la lauzeta*, *Quisquis cordis*, and *Seyner mil gracias*.

Can vei la lauzeta mover [8a]
de joi sas alas contr'al rai, [8b]
que s'oblid e.s laissa chaser [8a]
per la doussor c'al cor li vai, [8b]
ai! Tan grans enveya m'en ve [8a]
de cui qu'eu veyau jausion, [8c]
meravilhas ai, car desse [8a]
lo cor de dezirer no.m fon. [8c]

When I see the lark flying
joyfully beating its wings towards the sun, /
[and] then forgetting and letting itself fall /
due to the sweetness which lives in its heart
/ Oh! Such great envy invades me / for all
whom I see joyous,
I am marveled, for on the ground / my heart
did not fall of desire.

Quisquis cordis et oculi [8a]
non sentit in se iurgia, [8b]
non nonvit qui sint stimuli [8a]
que culpe seminaria, [8b]
causam nescit periculi, [8a]
cur alternent convicia, [8b]
cur, pricaces et emuli, [8a]
respicient in se vitia. [8b]

Whomever between the heart and eye
Do not feel the conflict within
Ignores that these are the stings
Which are to blame as seeds of guilt
For the cause ignores the danger
Why do they disapprove of each other
Why, defamatory and rivals,
They throw their vices to each other's faces.

Seyner, mil gratias ti rent [8a]
Car no mi voles desnembrar, [8b]
Que nud'era infr'esta gent [8a]
Ar suy vestida d'un drap car. [8b]
Aytal sener, tan conoysent, [8a]
Teu hom servir e s'asorar; [8b]
Que s'als sieus el no i sol fayllir [10c]
Als obs, ans lur vol ajudar. [8b]

Lord, a thousand graces I give you
For you have not abandoned me,
I was naked in front of these people
Now I am dressed in a rich cloth.
Such Lord, so considerate,
All men should serve and adore
For to His own [people] He does not fail
[to deliver] his works, and to help them.

Therefore, the message seems to be that the “right” voice in the conflict of mind versus mind, mind versus emotion, or emotion versus emotion is whichever voice leads to God.

The eight-syllable verse of both Bernart's and Philip's poems is maintained, almost undisturbed, in *Seyner mil gracias*, with the exception of the penultimate line of the poem, which has nine syllables. That same line also disturbs the rhyme scheme that, up to that point, matches that of *Quisquis cordis* perfectly (although not with the same rhyming syllables).

Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine: *Pos de chantar m'es prez talenz / Bel seiner dieus*

Pos de chantar is a *planctus* expressing Guillaume's sadness about leaving his kingdom behind (probably to fight a crusade), and exposing his son to the dangers of governing (see Table 5)⁴². Put simply, the poem laments the inevitability of death. The *contrafactum* expresses a rather contrasting spirit. *Bel seiner dieus* is a song of praise to God for His mercy. The song gives voice to the Roman prefect's gratitude for his son's resurrection and for the resulting conversion of the entire family. Once more, it is possible to establish a dichotomy between an inner struggle and its resolution through the action that leads to the divine: Guillaume laments the prospect of his death and his son's; the prefect and his family, having faced death, are grateful for living and humbled by Christ's sacrifice to save humankind. In addition, the echo of past warfare against the infidel in *Pos de chantar* resonates in the victory of orthodoxy over heresy in *Bel seiner dieus*.

⁴² Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology, 36.

Table 5. Text and translation of *Pos de chantar* and *Bel sener Dieus*

<i>Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz</i> [8a] <i>Farai un vers don sui dolenz,</i> [8a] <i>Mais no serai obedienz</i> [8a] <i>En Peitau ni en Lemozi.</i> [8b]	<i>Bel seiner Dieus, tu sias grasiz</i> [10a] <i>Quar nos as vez tu convertiz,</i> [8a] <i>Que nos siam transtut perdut.</i> [8b] <i>Grasiz sias de nostra salut.</i> [9b]
<i>Qu'era m'en irai en eisil</i> [8c] <i>En gran paor, en gran peril,</i> [8c] <i>En guerra laisserai mon fil,</i> [8c] <i>E faran li mal siei vezi.</i> [8b]	<i>Seiner, que s'en croz fust levaz</i> [8c] <i>E morz per nostres grieus pecaz,</i> [9c] <i>Mil vez, Seiner, en sias lausaz</i> [9c] <i>Quar nos as mostrat ta vertut.</i> [8b]
<i>Lo departirs m'es aitan grieus</i> [8d] <i>Del senhoratge de Peitieu</i> [8d] <i>En garda lais Folco d'Angieus</i> [8d] <i>Tota la terra'e son cozi.</i> [8b]	<i>Seiner Dieus, nostru grieu pecat</i> [10d] <i>Non sian recastenat;</i> [7d] <i>Maih aihad de nos pietat,</i> [7d] <i>Pueh que s'a tu nos em rendut.</i> [8b]
Since I am being taken by a desire to sing I will make (compose?) a song about my sorrow; No more will I be obedient [Neither] in Poitieu nor in Lemousin.	Good Lord God, we are grateful to you For you have converted us to You [When] We were completely lost. We give you thanks for our salvation.
For now I shall go to exile: In great fear and in great danger, At war I will leave my son, And his neighbors will do him harm.	Lord, you who were lifted to the cross And died for our terrible sins A thousand times, Lord, we praise you For you have shown us your virtue.
The departure is so difficult for me Of the sovereignty of Poitieu: Under Folques d'Angers' guard I leave All the land and his cousin.	Lord God, [for] our terrible sins [May] We not be charged; But have mercy on us, For we surrender to You.

3. Implications for intertextuality

One can only speculate about the intentional use of *contrafacta* to create cross-referenced meanings. It seems plausible to consider, however, that the audience, when listening to a new poem set to a widely circulated melody, would recall the original

words, or at least the general message, tone, and feeling of the original composition. Inevitably, in a society in which oral traditions and, consequently, memory were keys to the transmission of knowledge, each member of the audience would draw his or her own intertextual meaning from the new work. It is fascinating to think that the choice of a particular melody could convey meaning by implication. When a composer openly cites the text of a particular work as a rubric in a manuscript, as in the case of the unknown composer of the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*, such a hypothesis seems even more compelling.

Moreover, as J. Michael Allsen points out, the intertextual study of two pieces may shed some light on the compositional process of composers, a topic that is still much debated: “Material held in common by a pair of works...can tell us a great deal about what a composer valued in an older piece of music, and how that composer went about creating a new piece.”⁴³ It is also interesting to note that even among the medieval scholastic works it was very common to use of widespread musical examples as a means to illustrate a theoretical idea. Franco of Cologne, for example, in his landmark treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis musicae*, used examples from pre-existing, widely popular pieces to support his new theoretical positions and to show that “his innovations were no more than a systematization of what was already part of contemporary practice.”⁴⁴ By drawing on well-known musical examples to support his

⁴³ J. Michael Allsen, “Intertextuality and Compositional Process in Two Cantilena Motets by Hugo de Lantins,” *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 11, no.2 (Spring, 1993), 175.

⁴⁴ Christian Thomas Leitmeir, “Types and transmission of musical examples in Franco’s *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis Musicae*” in *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning*

treatise, Franco facilitated the understanding of new concepts and, perhaps most importantly, made a much more persuasive case in favor of his theories.

The use of existing material to express a new or complementary idea is often discussed in the literature on the concept of intertextuality. The term, as Julia Kristeva coined it in her 1966 essay “Word, dialogue, and novel,” refers to the general idea of material and structural precedents for a given text. A narrative or a poem can only cross the boundary of the conceptual realm when such a boundary is articulated through comparison to another structure of the same kind. This presupposes the definition of the word’s status in two different ways: horizontally and vertically. The horizontal plan defines the word as belonging to both the writer and the reader/listener; the vertical plan defines the orientation of the word, either towards an anterior or towards a contemporary corpus. “Hence,” she concludes:

Horizontal axis (subject-addressee) and vertical axis (text-context) coincide, bringing to light an important fact: each word (text) is an intersection of words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read...any text is constructed as mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of *intertextuality* replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least *double*.⁴⁵

This notion of textual conception not only encompasses the idea of memory in the artistic creation, but it also provides relatively adequate terminology for a complex

from the learned, ed. Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva Leach (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 29-44, 41.

⁴⁵ Julia Kristeva, “Word, dialogue, and novel” in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 34-61, 36-37.

web of textual and musical cross-references that certainly occurred during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. *Intertextuality* developed to become a broad term that refers to notions of allusion, parody, or citation. This ambiguity is, however, the foundation of critiques of its usefulness. For example, William Irwin argues that intertextuality came to be a substitute for the notion of allusion without the necessary debate about the author's intention or lack of intention. He also criticizes the fact that the term "has come to have as many meaning as users, from those faithful to Kristeva's original vision to those who use it as a stylish way of talking about allusion and influence."⁴⁶ He points out that Kristeva's idea of texts as "mosaics of quotations" implies an abandonment of textual inner unity in favor of a textual social unity, which, by extension, suggests that all texts are intertextual. The generalist meaning of the term, he says, is the reason why "traditional notions such as allusion and source study" are now addressed as synonyms of intertextuality. Irwin also states that Kristeva's unclear writing derives from "the oppression of the French Academy, post holocaust pessimism, mistrust of communication, and Marxist principles."⁴⁷

Regardless of the poststructuralist linguistic visions of post World War II academia, dismissing the concept of intertextuality on the grounds of a political agenda seems to go too far. In fact, Irwin is caught in his own criticism: not only does he rely heavily on Kristeva's writings to make his arguments, he also twists the implications of her definition of intertextuality. The positive aspect of this is that he makes it clear that

⁴⁶ William Irwin, "Against Intertextuality", *Philosophy and Literature*, vol.28, n.2 (October 2004): 227-242, 227,228.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 229 -231.

what bothers him about the concept is the diminished role of the author in the construction of meaning. As Irwin puts it,

the motivation in claiming that texts refer only to other texts is to take the power of determining meaning away from the author and give it to the reader.... The reader can no more be an agent of producing meaning than the author.... Whereas the traditional notions of allusion and source study direct us to the intentions of the authors under consideration, intertextual theory declares those intentions unnecessary, unavailable, and irrelevant.⁴⁸

Kristeva's notion of intertextuality does not presuppose a disregard for the author's intention. In reality, it considers it within the implications of the vertical plan of the concept — the context in which the text either projects the past or the future. But even if this implication could not derive from the initial definition, it would not be sufficient reason to reject it in the context of medieval musical texts, in which the quotations or allusions were made intentionally in order to illustrate and/or confer credibility to a new argument. Moreover, the claim that intertextuality takes the power of determining meaning away from the author is based on the false assumption that the reader is a passive element of reception of the text. The author is only in control of meaning in the choice of language and structure. But there is no guarantee that the reader will grasp the exact intended meaning. It could be argued, however, that the quality of a writer is reflected in the extent of consensus about meaning he/she receives from the readers. But that has to do with how well the writer dominates the rules of style and language and not with influence of previous writings.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 235,236.

Meaning was much more associative during a time when the demonstration of knowledge of the classics was almost mandatory for those aspiring to be taken seriously and in a society that relied heavily on memory. Even if the concept does not work in any other context, in this one the notion of intertextuality seems useful. Therefore, in the case of the present study, instead of alluding to post-modern aesthetics, *intertextuality* refers to the non-literal meanings drawn by the intersection of an original text with that of a *contrafactum*. This notion should include the possibility that the composer consciously chose particular melodies based on the assumption that the audience would grasp the implied meanings of such an intersection. Viewing intertextuality this way takes the idea of memory as the starting point of a cultural experience shared between the composer/writer and the audience/reader, and, by extension, an attempt to be as close as possible to a medieval cultural experience.

An aspect that should also be taken into consideration is the means of dissemination of texts and melodies, particularly those of troubadours, during the late Middle Ages. There are forty manuscripts and fragments that transmit literature in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Occitan, among which are included some 2,500 troubadour lyric poems. Of these forty manuscripts, only two contain music.⁴⁹ The frequent variants among the texts and the music (when there is more than one source with music for the same poem) strongly suggests a tradition of primarily oral

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 26.

transmission.⁵⁰ That is not to say that there was not a demand for written preservation. On the contrary, troubadours such as Bertran de Born or Guiraut Riquier are known for wanting to have their poems written down. In some illuminations, troubadours are seen holding scrolls or pens, which indicates that at least some of them were literate members of medieval society.⁵¹ Christopher Page has shown that even some privileged *jongleurs* were able to read plainchant notation.⁵² But this is not enough evidence to attest with certainty that the notation of melodies was a priority. The melodies were usually short, and since the songs were strophic, memorization would have been impossible to avoid, since the same melody had to be repeated as many times as the number as stanzas in the poem. Moreover, a troubadour or a jongleur would have had a somewhat fixed repertoire for performance, which only added to the repetition. Therefore, many melodies were not notated because there was no need. The poetry, which lacked the heavy repetition of the music that set it and thus was much harder to memorize, had to be written down.⁵³

According to Elizabeth Aubrey, “a written tradition for the troubadours and trouvères probably began at least as early as the 1220s, but this tradition most likely was confined to the north.” Despite this fact, writing did not play a significant role in the performance of these songs, as they continued to be performed by memory at least until

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Aubrey, “Literacy, Orality, and the Preservation of French and Occitan Medieval Courtly Songs,” *Revista de Musicología*, vol. 14, n.4, del XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología: Culturas musicales del Mediterráneo y sus ramificaciones, vol. 4 (1993), 2355.

⁵¹ Aubrey, “Literacy,” 2356.

⁵² Christopher Page, *The owl and the nightingale: music life and ideas in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 74-75.

⁵³ Aubrey, “Literacy,” 2356-7.

the end of the thirteenth century. Writing served the function of collecting and preserving the songs.⁵⁴ If that practice was observed mostly among trouvères, what might have compelled the troubadours to start doing the same? The earliest source with music dates from mid-thirteenth century, which poses the question of what changed from that point on that resulted in an incentive to preserve melodies in writing. In reality, one cannot tell. The extant *chansonnières* of troubadour song (text, music, or both) show clues that they had been copied from existing sources. The fate of those earlier sources and of how many additional copies there were is a mystery, but they likely were lost through regional conflicts and the unforgiving passage of time. The Albegensian Crusade it is known to have negatively impacted the preservation of secular musical and poetical traditions, and it can be speculated that it may have even brought conditions unfavorable to the copying of manuscripts.⁵⁵ But that does not mean that songs, and particularly their music, were not notated earlier than the 1250s. What is important to retain for the discussion of the role of memory in meta-meanings emerging from *contrafacta* is that the transmission of these poems and melodies relied a great deal more on orality than on writing.

⁵⁴ Aubrey, *Literacy*, 2365

⁵⁵ Aubrey, *Troubadours*, 27.

IV. Religious upheavals in thirteenth-century Provence and the

Tragedia de Sancta Agnestis

IV. Religious upheavals in thirteenth-century Provence and the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnestis*

As discussed in Chapter Three, the intertextual meaning of the traceable *contrafacta*, as well as the alterations made to the Latin account of the life of Saint Agnes, suggest that the unknown author of the Provençal play intended to emphasize the subject of conversion. Given the paleographic evidence that points to a date for the *Tragedia de Sacta Agnetis* as the middle of the thirteenth century, the question arises concerning the context in which conversion was of particular interest. The period in question and the geography suggested by the play's Provençal text coincide with the persecution of the Cathars in the Albigensian Crusade and the Papal Inquisition that followed. In this chapter, I will briefly describe the major events that led to the crusade against the Cathars and to the establishment of the medieval Inquisition and also the general procedures of the latter. After providing this historical context, I will discuss its potential implications for the context of the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*, particularly in light of the alterations made to the *Gesta Agnestis* account.

By 1300, the Provençal region was one of the most multicultural and developed areas in Europe. Trade and culture prospered in places such as Toulouse and Carcassonne (surpassed only by Rome or Venice), and religious tolerance was common.⁵⁶ Such tolerance allowed for the establishment and growth of alternative views to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Catharism was one such alternative, and

⁵⁶ Sean Martin, *The Cathars: the most successful heresy of the Middle Ages* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2005), 71.

by the thirteenth century it was widespread, as its followers, known as the Cathars, could be found “from Aragon to Flanders, from Naples to Languedoc.”⁵⁷

Catharism is still seen as the greatest heresy to have challenged the integrity of the Catholic Church before Protestantism. Cathars were dualists, i.e., they believed that the devil (associated with the material world) was as powerful as God, which stands in contrast to the Catholic view that God is more powerful than the devil. They could not conceive of a god who was both omnipotent and eternal yet also responsible for the material world.⁵⁸ They rejected the Catholic and Orthodox Churches and all their sacraments; the only sacrament they observed was the *consolamentum*, which served as baptism and extreme unction. They refused to swear oaths. Church buildings were not acknowledged as sacred, and the adoration of the cross was rejected for celebrating the instrument of Christ’s torture. Cathars regarded women as equal to men, giving them the opportunity to participate in all religious rites and to achieve all levels of hierarchical positions. All forms of sexual intercourse, including within marriage, however, were seen as a trap of the material world and were forbidden among perfects, the members of the highest stratum of the hierarchy. They also abstained from eating meat and other animal products and from drinking wine.⁵⁹ They were required never to tell a lie, even if their lives depended on it; never to swear an oath; and never to take the

⁵⁷ The Cathars, 15.

⁵⁸ Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: dualist heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2000), 1.

⁵⁹ Martin, *The Cathars*, 52-54.

life of another man or that of a “warm-blooded beast.”⁶⁰ This asceticism, along with the egalitarian respect for women and the open criticism of the Catholic Church “as a false and fraudulent organization which had prostituted itself for power and ill-gotten wealth,” must have been very attractive, as the Cathars were able to gather an impressive following rapidly.⁶¹ Catharism was different from other sectarian groups in that it had a clear doctrine and a stable ecclesiastic organization: bishops ruled over local dioceses, and each diocese was subdivided into smaller communities ruled by deacons.⁶² Unlike other so-called heretic groups, Cathars “did not depend on the forceful personality of a leader.” For that reason, they were not easy targets for persecution.⁶³ Predictably, however, they were indeed persecuted for heresy.

Concerns about sectarian groups within Christendom had been raised since the late twelfth century. In 1179, Pope Alexander III and the other members of the Third Lateran Council discussed the problem of heresy and approved the use of force to stop it. In 1184, Pope Lucius III issued the bull *Ad abolendam* condemning a wide number of heretical groups — the Cathars among them — and their supporters. The task of enforcing Catholic principles was left to the bishops of each region. However, the Church faced the hard choice of fighting the “infidels” in the Holy Land or the Cathar heretics at home. Jerusalem in the hands of Saladin seemed more urgent, and the

⁶⁰ Bernard Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1981), 22.

⁶¹ Barber, *The Cathars: dualist heretics*, 1.

⁶² It is interesting to note that this organization is still present in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, at least in the southern European countries.

⁶³ Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition*, 21-22.

Cathars were given the opportunity to continue growing, particularly in Toulouse and Carcassonne.⁶⁴

When Pope Innocent III was enthroned in 1198, he realized the dimension of the threat. The next year, he issued the bull *Vegentis in senium*, which equated heresy with treason. The punishment for heresy included the confiscation of lands of proven heretics by secular lords, “without right to appeal, and without respect to the rights of Catholic heirs.” Capital punishment was not considered at first because the bull specified that heretics who converted to Catholicism might receive their property back.⁶⁵ Languedoc and Lombardy did not apply the papal punishments. In light of this, Innocent III sent monks from the Dominican and Franciscan orders to preach intensively in the region, hoping that persuasion would win over the Cathars.⁶⁶ This initial benevolence was rapidly abandoned in view of the resistance of Toulouse and Carcassonne to conversion. In 1204, he wrote to his legate, Arnald Amalric, granting him “the power to destroy, ruin, and root out that which [he] knows need[s] to be destroyed, ruined, and rooted out.”⁶⁷ The pope’s patience wore out when Peter of Castelnau, his legate to Toulouse, was assassinated in 1208 with the supposed complicity (if not personal involvement) of Raymond VI, the city’s count.⁶⁸ The Albigensian Crusade was launched in 1209 with the support of French and Aragonese armies.

⁶⁴ Barber, *The Cathars: dualist heretics*, 115.

⁶⁵ Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition*), 29.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶⁷ Innocentii III Registrorum sive Epistolarum as cited in Barber, *The Cathars*, 117.

⁶⁸ Martin, *The Cathars*, 81-83.

This was the only crusade undertaken on European soil, but it proved to be as devastating as any other. Béziers was the first town to be ravaged by the crusaders on 22 July 1209. The city had refused to turn in the Cathars to the Cistercians a few years earlier and paid the price with one of the greatest atrocities of the crusade. The news of such merciless bloodshed quickly reached Narbonne, which surrendered at the sight of the crusaders. Albi and Carcassonne followed. Carcassonne fell after losing its supplies of fresh water as a consequence of a siege. Raymond Roger, a vassal of Peter II of Aragon and ruler of the city, managed to save all inhabitants, including the Cathars. After the siege of Carcassonne, one of most implacable figures of the crusade, Simon de Montfort, emerged. Under his leadership, numerous cities were torn apart, and burning at the stake became the normative means for extermination of Cathars. The city of Minerve was first, with 140 Cathar perfects burnt on the anniversary of the massacre in Béziers. Montréal, Termes, Cabaret, Puylaurens, and Lavour followed, with Lavour as the stage of the largest mass execution of the entire crusade, with 400 Cathars burned, Toulouse was also besieged, and after nine months of siege, in 1218, Montfort was killed by a stone launched from a catapult while attacking the city's walls.⁶⁹

Innocent III had died two years earlier and his successor, Honorius III, faced the same old choice: fighting Islam in the East or heresy at home. Although the persecution of Catharism was not abandoned, papal priorities shifted towards the Fifth Crusade, which allowed for a slight re-emergence of Catharism. Nevertheless, Avignon was taken in 1226, and crusaders returned to Toulouse in 1229 to destroy all the crops and fields

⁶⁹ Martin, *The Cathars*, 83-95.

surrounding the city. At this point, the crusade was more about French domination over Occitan land than about Catharism per se. The crusade ended in that year, when Raymond VII had no choice but surrender Toulouse to the French king. The Albigensian crusade decimated countless numbers of Cathars, but it did not eliminate them. Pope Gregory IX, who succeeded Honorius in 1227, was well aware of this, and he decided to intervene in a more persuasive way. Since military intervention had proven less effective than expected, he created the Papal Inquisition in 1233.⁷⁰

The new Papal Inquisition was based upon the procedures set forth by Innocent III a few decades earlier and gave the Dominican friars the same enforcement role, with more latitude. Inquisitors had jurisdiction over all citizens of a given region, with the exception of bishops and their officials. They were accountable only to the pope, but they depended upon the cooperation of secular authorities to achieve their ends. Moreover, the aim of the inquisitors was to convert the heretics and not to establish guilt and apply appropriate sentencing, as would have been expected from a criminal court. This limited what would otherwise appear to be enormous administrative freedom.

The first step of the Inquisition procedures was to discover suspects before bringing them to trial. An inquisitor visited a town or a village and gathered the population in the local church to preach to them. Absence from the sermon could render one a suspect. The inquisitor declared a one-week grace period, during which anyone guilty of heresy or associated with heretics could come forward and confess. Such a

⁷⁰ Ibid., 101-105.

confession would simply require a standard act of canonical penance. Often, the population was not cooperative, in which case the inquisitor either left or asked for proof of faith from every man older than fourteen and every woman older than twelve. Mass interrogations were conducted. In the end, the inquisitor chose the people he wanted to interrogate further. These interrogations, along with information from informants, led to a list of suspects who would face trial. The trial itself was not public, and the only people allowed were the suspect, one or two inquisitors, a notary, and two witnesses. Technically, an accuser had the right to have a lawyer representing him or her, but no lawyer wanted to defend someone accused of heresy. If the accused was found guilty, the lawyer could face the same sentence as his client.⁷¹

It is easy to understand why most of the accused were not very cooperative, both because they were not guilty and because they were afraid of the consequences. In 1252, Innocent IV granted inquisitors permission to perform torture on suspects, provided that no mutilation, bloodshed, or death occurred.⁷² In addition, it was not permissible to subject the same individual to more than one session of torture. The ambiguity of what constituted a session proved to be important to the inquisitors, as most people were held for long periods of time during which repeated acts of torture were performed between periods of “rest.”⁷³

⁷¹ Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition*, 40-45

⁷² Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition*, 46.

⁷³ Henry Charles Lea, *The History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 1 (London: Harper Brothers, 1887), 427.

These methods were certainly effective in granting confessions of heresy, regardless of their truthfulness. When the suspect confessed, he or she was given the opportunity to convert to the Catholic faith. This seemed to be a strategy of condemnation, since the Cathar Perfects did not swear oaths under any circumstance. Those lower in the hierarchy could convert, however. If the accused rejected conversion, he or she was handed to the secular authorities, since the inquisitors were not permitted to carry out capital punishment. The accused was then publically burned.⁷⁴ The Inquisition in southwestern France lasted until 1324, at which point only disorganized and isolated small groups of Cathars, none of whom had formal instruction in the faith, were found around the region.

1. Implications for the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*

When analyzing the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* in light of the political events of the period, some of the alterations of in the narrative of Agnes's *vita* (in comparison to the Latin account first transmitted by Ambrose) seem to have an origin in the Albigensian Crusade in general and in the Papal Inquisition in particular. In *Gesta Sanctae Agnetis*, the Pseudo-Ambrosian account of Saint Agnes's martyrdom, the saint's parents are portrayed as Christians. In the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*, they begin denying Christianity and vehemently opposing it, only to convert in face of their daughter's divine powers. In this Latin account, there is no mention of the Roman prefect's conversion, and it is assumed that such a conversion does not take place. In the Provençal account, by contrast, not only does he convert, his entire family does as

⁷⁴ Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition*, 54-55.

well. Finally, Agnes's death is changed from jugulation to burning at the stake. The emphasis on conversion and the avoidance of bloodshed resonate with the principles of the Papal Inquisition. It is surely plausible that the change in the method of Agnes's death was due to staging considerations as well as to what was the most common common capital punishment of the thirteenth century. But that alteration, along with the emphasis on conversion and with the detail that ultimately Agnes was burned for witchcraft (a practice seen as heretical by the church) all seem to suggest that this drama was written as propaganda against Catharism.

The inclusion of the troubadour *contrafacta* also makes sense in this context, since there is evidence that there were troubadours involved in various crusades. Jaufre Rudel and Marcabru seem to have joined the Second Crusade (1147–1149); Guiraut de Bornelh, Gaucelm Faidit, and possibly Piere Vival participated in the Third Crusade (1189–1192); Faidit repeated his participation in the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), along with Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Peirol. There were also troubadours who were, at least, sympathetic with the Cathars' beliefs. Catharism reached Limousin as early as 1020, and its practitioners "enjoyed the protection of Guillaume IX." At the outset of the Albigensian crusade, "the nobles of the Midi eventually abandoned...their support of Catharism, and the troubadours who depended on their patronage followed suit."⁷⁵ The troubadours seem to have been used as yet another bastion of rectitude, either because they helped to fight "the infidel" or because they were capable of recognizing their mistake in supporting heresy. In this context, the apparent intertextual meaning of

⁷⁵ Aubrey, *Troubadours*, 4-5.

Guillaume's *Pos de chantar* and its *contrafactum* *Bel sener* — the victory of orthodoxy over heresy — seems all the more compelling.

V. Conclusions

V. Conclusions

The *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*, a Provençal drama based on the events of Saint Agnes martyrdom included in the codex Vatican, Chigi C.V.151, has been the subject of a few studies, most of them undertaken during the late nineteenth century (when it was discovered) and early twentieth century. The editions of the manuscript either disregarded the music (Bartsch) or did not explore the implications of its presence in the manuscript (Sardou, and Jeanroy/Gérolde). The context for its production was equally overlooked. It was long believed that the manuscript dated from the fourteenth century, and after Jeanroy's publication, most references to the play place it in that period (with some sporadic placements in the fifteenth century). Jeanroy also gives the region of Montpellier as the probable point of origin of the work. But all of these assertions of date and place were made by these authors without citing the paleographic and/or codicological evidence that led them to those conclusions. Jeanroy justifies his conclusions of origin with the presence of regional expressions, without citing any. A linguistic analysis of the text is outside of the scope of this work, but it would be interesting to pursue it in future studies. Few other scholars after Jeanroy seemed interested or willing to challenge the unsubstantiated assertions in earlier studies and to try to understand the context of *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis*.

An analysis of the musical notation does not corroborate a mid-fourteenth century dating. The notation employed is mostly square notation, with an isolated example of pre-Franconian notation. If the manuscript of the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* had been

produced ca. 1350, it would most likely include examples consistent with mensural notation, the principles of which had been defined by Philip de Vitry as early as 1320. The musical content may also shed some light on the dating. The play contains only monophonic songs. Would a drama from *Ars nova* not include polyphony? The most famous play from the fourteenth century to include music is the *Roman de Fauvel*, which contains numerous polyphonic works, but there may be others that do not. Finally, Jeanroy's primary justification for placing the manuscript in the mid-fourteenth century was the handwriting. A comparative analysis of the type of script used in Occitan during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries does not support Jeanroy's claim. All the paleographic evidence — both musical and textual — seems to place the manuscript circa 1250.

One of the most interesting aspects of *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* is that most of its songs are *contrafacta*. Using known melodies to set new texts is one of the most tantalizing subjects in the study of medieval music. As is the case today, using different words to sing a familiar tune would bring to the listener's mind the words of the original song. The transfer of the original meaning to the existing melody blends the message of the new text with that of the old, resulting in an intertextual message — a meta-meaning. The analysis of the texts of three of the *contrafacta* — those whose composers and original texts were traceable — revealed an interesting focus on acceptance of God's will, even in the harshest situations; actions determined to be

virtuous, regardless of the intensity of the feelings or the persuasiveness of the mind's arguments; and the victory of orthodoxy over heresy.

But what does this tell us about the context in which the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* was produced? If one takes the mid-thirteenth century as the probable date and examines the political and social context of Provence at this point, the one event that comes to mind is the Albigensian Crusade. The manuscript seems to bear other hidden clues. A comparison of the story told in the Provençal drama and the earliest version of the martyrdom of Saint Agnes reveals interesting changes in the story: Agnes's parents are changed from being Christians to denying Christianity and later converting; the Roman prefect, who is assumed not to have converted in the earliest account, is made to convert along with his family; and finally, Agnes's death is changed from jugulation to burying at the stake. The emphasis on conversion and the avoidance of bloodshed seem to echo the principles of the Papal Inquisition set forth in Occitan between 1233 and 1324. The involvement of the troubadours in both Catholic crusades and as sympathizers with the Cathar cause add congruence to this possible connection.

The inquisition raged in southern France for almost a hundred years without sparing efforts to wipe out the Cathars and to guaranty a widespread orthodoxy. Inquisitors came from an ecclesiastic context, namely from the Dominican order. One of the first steps into the inquisitional procedure was to gather the population to preach about the dangers of heresy. How much more effective could it be to transmit the message by means of theater and song to a population unwilling to cooperate? Even if

the *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* was not a tool of the Inquisition, it conveys the message the Inquisition brought to the Cathars: fear not; convert or burn. The *Tragedia de Sancta Agnetis* might very well be an allegorical statement about the Albigensian Crusade and its aftermath.

APPENDIX 1

Appendix 1

List of pieces in *Tragedia de Sancta Agnestis* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi C.V. 151, ff. 69r – 85v)

FOLIO	CONTRAFACITUM	INCIPIT	AUTHOR	NOTES
72v	Rei glorios, sener, per qu'hanc nasqiei	Rei glorios verai lums e clardat	Giraud de Bornelh	
72r	Rei poderos, q'as faz los elemenz	El bosc d'ardena just'al palaih	Unknown	Jeanroy: old "chanson d'histoire" already lost.
73v	Michel, vai vesitar Aines	Da la pe de la montaina	Unknown	
74r	Bel sener Dieus, ques en croz fust levaz	Bel paire cars, non vos vereis am mi	Unknown	"Chanson de femme". Jeanroy: based on a French model; E. Köhler: based on Occitan romances; E. Schulze-Busacker: on an Occitan religious model.
74r	Gabriel, vai des ors ma fila desliar	Da la pe de la montaina	Unknown	Melody not notated.
74r / 75v	Sener, mil gracias ti rent	Si quis cordis et oculi/Quam vei la lauzeta mover	Philip the Chancellor / Bernart de Ventadorn	
76r / 77v	Malvaisa mort, per q'as volgut aucir	Not given. Original?	Unknown	
78v	Ai! Que fara lo pecaires	Not given. Original?	Unknown	The music is notated for the first four lines only.

78r	Ai, marida! Que poirai devenir	Not given. Original?	Unknown	
79r	Ai! Fil de Dieu, ques en croz fust levaz	Jha non ti quier que mi fasas perdo d'aquest pecat	Unknown	E. Schulze-Busaker: possible connection to "Domine Dieus devems loder", a piece part of "La vie de Sainte Léger"
79r	Rafel, vai recitar lo fil del cenador	Da la pe de la montaina		
80v	Diable, guaras non tormentes	Veni creator spiritus		The melody is only based on the Pentecostal hymn.
80v /81r	Solamienz Dieus es que pot ben e mal far	Vein, aura douza que vens d'outra la mar	Unknown	Not fully notated. Schulze- Busacker: connects it with "Altas undas que venez suz la mar" by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (new incipit is the combination of the first line of stanza 1 and 2); Jeanroy: "chanson lyrique profane".
81v	Bel seiner Dieus, tu sias grasiz	Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz	Guillaume IX d' Aquitaine	Not fully notated.
84v	Seyner Dieus, qu'en croz fust levaz	Bel seiner paire glorios	Unknown	Not notated.
84r	Seyner, quel mont as creat	Lasa, en can grieu pena	Unknown	Schulze-Busacker: metric matches alba "quan lo rossinhol escria" (preserved without the melody).
85v	Raphel, vai conortar la mia filla	Da la pe de la montaina	Unknown	

85v	Filla de Dieu, ben as obrat	"illius romancii de Sancto Stephano"	Variant of the melody used in n° 11. Jeanroy: Provençal Epistle of Sainte Étienne - "Aniatz seinhors, per qual raron lo lapideron"(p.69); Schulze-Busacker Provençal Epistle of <i>Sainte Étienne</i> - "Sesta lesson que legirem" (p.183).	
85r	Veni sposa christi	Veni sposa christi	Antiphon	
85r	Hec est virgo sapiens	Hec est virgo sapiens	Antiphon	

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