ANGLO-SAXON *HEARPAN*: THEIR TERMINOLOGY, TECHNIQUE, TUNING AND REPERTORY OF VERSE 850-1066

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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to clarify our understanding of the terminology, techniques, tuning and repertory of the Anglo-Saxon lyre and harp. The important literary issues traditionally associated with these instruments - including oralcy and literacy in versemaking, problems of function, delivery and presentation of poetry - have been deliberately assimilated to a new approach to the study of medieval instruments. This approach may be simply defined: a determination to pursue the question of instrumentalists' repertory into the poetry manuscripts without being obstructed by the musicologist's reluctance to deal with materials preserved without musical notation, and whilst refusing to share the literary historian's reluctance to associate lettered poetry with the world of performance.

Chapters 1 and 2 establish the meaning of *hearpe* during the period under consideration. The conclusion is reached that between c850 and c1050 in the West Saxon and Kentish areas where much OE poetry must have been circulating in written copies *hearpe* denoted a lyre and a pillar-harp, the latter meaning becoming increasingly dominant as the millennium was reached.

Chapter 3 gives an account of the technique and tuning of these instruments based on literary and iconographical evidence. This is the first attempt to understand the capacities of the late Anglo-Saxon pillar-harp and lyre and to characterise their music.

Chapter 4 examines the evidence relating to the musical and poetic interests of St. Dunstan (d.988), the only Anglo-Saxon *hearpe* player whose activities can be documented. The date and locale of his activities allow us to conclude that his *cithara quam lingua paterna hearpam vocamus* was a pillar-harp. By comparing the accounts of his playing I shall argue that Dunstan performed pagan vernacular songs derived partly from oral, and partly from written tradition.

Chapter 5 widens the enquiry to embrace the Junius manuscript of OE poetry, viewed in the light of the *Beowulf* poet's reference to *hearpe*-accompanied scriptural narrative in Heorot. It will be argued that marks in *Genesis B*, formerly assumed to be accent marks, are actually traces of *virgae* taken from contemporary chant notation, descending from an earlier copy marked up for singing.

Chapter 6 is a theoretical excursus inspired by a remarkably circumstantial account of vernacular song accompanied by the *hearpe* in Eadmer's *Vita Sancti Dunstani*. It is designed to clarify the ways in which OE poems can be considered as songs. Taking in later traditions of vernacular and Latin song, the chapter attempts to ascertain what is actually implied by any claim that an OE poem was sung.

INTRODUCTION

> I shall first then inform my readers, whose ideas of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers may have been formed from the perusal of popular historians, that the Anglo-Saxons previously to their arrival in England possessed an Epic Poëm. From this Poëm we may learn that music was a most favourite amusement of our ancestors, and was perpetually called in to aid the festivities of the banquet hall. On these occasions the voice was generally accompanied by the harp, and of the nature of this accompaniment I shall have occasion hereafter to speak.
>
> Francis Wackerbath (1837)[1]

When Wackerbath wrote these lines the first scholarly edition of *Beowulf* had just appeared.[2] Thorpe's pioneering editions of the Junius manuscript (1832) and the Vercelli Book (1836) were still new.[3] The Exeter Book

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1 Wackerbath, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 2-3. Wackerbath's interest in Anglo-Saxon music was partly inspired by a desire to expose the errors of Nineteenth century church musicians whilst emphasising what Englishmen had achieved in a remote era. Such practical purpose for Anglo-Saxon erudition recalls the Sixteenth century pioneers in the field, who turned to early English legal and ecclesiastical documents with reform in mind.

2 G.J. Thorkelin's edition (*De Danorum rebus gestis...*, Havniae, 1815) ranks as the *editio princeps*, but the edition by J.M. Kemble (*The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf...*, London, 1833) stands as the 'first real edition' according to Klaeber (*Beowulf*, cxxvi). Wackerbath knew Kemble's edition and was greatly impressed - even inspired - by it (*Anglo-Saxons*, p. 3).

3 A complete text of the Junius manuscript had been published by Franciscus Junius the Younger in 1655, but the edition by B. Thorpe (*Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of The Holy Scripture*, London, 1832) is the first modern text. Thorpe's edition of the Vercelli Book appeared in an appendix to *Mr. Cooper's Report on Rymer's Foedera*, printed in London, 1836, and published there in 1869.

had yet to find an editor. Thus the importance of the harp to Old English studies was realised as soon as the literary monuments began to arouse interest. Wackerbath's *Music and the Anglo-Saxons* appeared in the middle of a decade that saw all the major monuments of OE verse put into print, mostly for the first time. So it was that an illustrated account of pre-Conquest musical instruments was put before a public that had yet to be offered editions of *The Wanderer*, *Christ*, and other major OE poems.

This thesis is an attempt to enrich our knowledge of two Anglo-Saxon plucked instruments, the lyre and the harp, and to elucidate the repertory of verse associated with them, by establishing a cross-fertilisation between literary history, musicology and organology. These three disciplines have been developed largely independently of one another, and this is mirrored in the range of materials with which each one deals. Yet they share a common concern in the problem of repertory: who performed what, and with what?

This relationship emerges clearly enough if we compare the previous studies in our field undertaken by literary historians (principally Wrenn and Bessinger) with the most sophisticated study of medieval instruments yet written: Werner Bachmann's *The Origins of Bowing*.[4] All these authors are concerned with the physical properties of their chosen instruments, their performing capacities,

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4 Bachmann, *Origins*, *passim*. For an examination of the contributions by Wrenn and Bessinger see below, p.36f.

their repertory, and the social position of their players (a reflection of the status of the instruments). Indeed, there is so much common ground that I discerned two possible ways of writing this thesis: on the model of Wrenn and Bessinger, a literary study absorbing musical and organological material where necessary; on the model of Bachmann, an organological study in which exhaustive enquiry into verse repertory is crucial to adequate historical description.

I have adopted the second course. The simplest reason for my decision is that no adequate account of the basic source material exists. An almost total neglect of the pictorial sources, short-sighted use of glossary evidence and literary texts, terminological muddles and ignorance of the full range of sources available has led to a gross accumulation of error that demanded to be cleared away. To perform this task special expertise in medieval organology was required, having a significant commitment to that subject I was unable to let matters rest.

Yet there is a more complex reason for my decision to make the instruments the centre of enquiry and to absorb the literary issues into them. This thesis is the first in what I trust may be a series of attempts to view areas of English poetry through the technical history of instruments and their repertory. One of the principal innovations of this approach is the determination to pursue questions of instrumentalist's repertory into the poetry manuscripts, refusing to be obstructed, on the one hand, by the musicologist's reluctance to deal with

material lacking musical notation, and refusing to be discouraged, on the other, by the literary historian's frequent unwillingness to associate lettered poetry with the world of performance. The value of the approach lies in the way it directs interest to the mass of miscellaneous source material upon which this conception of instruments rests, much of which sheds light on instrumentalists' involvement with literary genres, as we shall see.

Since this approach demands some knowledge of medieval music, early instruments, and the range of source material proper to each, I have decided to assimilate it to the kind of comprehensive and rigorous organology that Bachmann and others have developed. According to this approach, an instrument is not simply an object or noise maker; it is a social organism with its own terminology, symbolism, social function, and involvement in the arts of poetry and song. In other words, an instrument is a potent force, and to write a proper account of it is to undertake an enquiry that becomes absorbent, drawing upon many different areas of investigation. It is within this framework that I have assimilated traditional questions about Old English verse and the harp to organological study. By this adjustment I have integrated the much-needed study of sources pertaining to the instruments with the literary enquiry, for my conception of instrument history demands both types of investigation.

This new approach also has an important musicological application. To put the matter at its simplest, many scholars are increasingly wary about assuming that musical remains traditionally associated with instrumental playing were actually so performed. Thus Van der Werf has recently proposed that troubadour and trouvère *chansons* were not habitually - or even generally - performed to instrumental accompaniment,[5] though this has long been the traditional position. This is only one of a number of similar cases. It would seem that many long-accepted views concerning instrumental participation in medieval music have yet to be substantiated. It is also time to emphasise that the evidence for instrumental involvement in the delivery of narrative verse is abundant (we shall sample some of it below), and that a fresh look at the whole question of whether medieval lettered narrative poetry was *performed* in any way is long overdue.

This reference to 'lettered' poetry serves to sharpen our focus further. I have deliberately established the field of enquiry within datelines surprisingly late for the subject matter. That is because this thesis is about a continuing instrument-culture; it is not concerned with ancient Germanic phenomena. It is my contention that the performance of songs about heroes to instrumental accompaniment endured throughout the Middle Ages, and was

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5 Werf, *Troubadours*, p. 19. For similar reservations about the French polyphonic chanson of the Fourteenth century see Page, 'Machaut's Pupil'.

in no way confined to the 'Heroic Age'. The issue of whether OE narrative poems were so performed rests less upon our ability to demonstrate that a Germanic tradition survived after the migration, as upon our recognition that the Germanic tradition is but one manifestation of a performing art with an immense and diversified history lasting to the Fifteenth century and beyond. The advent of lettered poetry is only an obstruction to our reasoning - and signs of ancient tradition intact are only a boost - if we believe that the reconstruction of very early, Germanic techniques is the goal of our enquiry. If we put aside the quest for Teutonic antiquities and approach the art of Ninth and Tenth century Anglo-Saxon singers as an aspect of the mixed and many-sided song-culture of Europe, looking forward to better documented central medieval practices as well as backwards to vague and remote Teutonic ones, then the picture we find is not at all what we encounter in previous studies of the subject. We have decipherable sources of liturgical and non-liturgical Latin monody at our disposal, together with treatises on musical techniques and, from traditions that date back to the Norman Conquest, English words with music. There are scattered but telling insights into the techniques and tunings of instruments and the activities of lettered players such as Dunstan and Tuotilo of St. Gall. We no longer seem to be looking exclusively northwards. We have something to learn from the traditions nurtured in the south at St. Gall, in central Europe at St. Martial,

in the north at St. Amand. Our materials are drawn from the rich traditions of literary and musical activity undertaken by the international lettered community of the West.

To accomplish this shift of focus I have chosen to open the enquiry in the second half of the Ninth century. This is the period that saw the Ælfredian reforms of learning and when the earliest literary materials which I discuss in detail (*Genesis B*) were probably compiled. I shall argue that the cultural milieu established by these reforms is crucial to our knowledge of accompanied verse delivery in Ninth century England. It is also the Ninth century that has left us the earliest depiction of a pillar harp that we have (plate 20), from the Utrecht Psalter.[6] By the end of the Tenth century this instrument had supplanted the lyre as the token of King David, a development that can scarcely have less than a century of history behind it. I shall be closely concerned with this instrument in Chapters 1-5.

The *terminus ad quem* of this study, the year of the battle of Hastings, is inevitably a somewhat arbitrary one. I am not strictly concerned with the instrument-culture of Norman England, and when I draw upon post-conquest source material (as in Chapter 6 with Eadmer's account of Dunstan's minstrelsy) it is in the hope of shedding a retrospective light on to the practices of

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6 Folio 83r. Further on this manuscript see below p. 101. It is not certain that the instrument on the far-right is a pillar-harp, since the dark line where the pillar should be may be a string. However, no other instrument in the Utrecht Psalter appears to have this clear 'shoulder' between the soundbox and stringarm (though the example on Folio 48r is close), and I incline to the view that we are dealing here with a pillar-harp.

the pre-Norman era.

THE ISSUES FOR INVESTIGATION

Our investigation into the plucked instrument-culture of later Anglo-Saxon England will embrace the following main areas:

1. The terminology of the instruments
2. Their tunings and techniques
3. Their repertory of music and verse

These issues incorporate many different areas of investigation, yet at this point it will be helpful to have a very brief exposition of the first two, which embrace technical matters of organology. The third issue deserves far fuller treatment in this introduction since it is by far the most complex and controversial, and we are obliged to locate our investigation in the context of a large and diversified literature.

TERMINOLOGY

The terminology of medieval instruments has long been a vexing concern. Countless investigators have thrown up their hands at what they perceive to be the confusion of medieval usage. The following remarks by Marcuse are typical of many:[7]

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7 Marcuse, *Survey*, p. 370.

As the Latin terms for antique and obsolete or obsolescent instruments continued to be used, their significance was gradually lost and the old word was bestowed on a new instrument or on one whose name was unknown...and, with the introduction of vernacular terms or of new instruments, confusion was compounded.

The fundamental mistake which Marcuse makes is to assume that the sources are confused because they are confusing. What we miss in this and so many related expositions is a patience with the different terminological traditions, and a readiness to disentangle their many layers according to date, provenance, and popular or learned influence.[8]

The investigation presented here rests upon a collation of all the available pictorial and literary material with, it is hoped, a sensitivity to the register of words in terms of the literary tradition to which they belong. The objective is to determine what *hearpe* meant between 850 and 1066 by examining the range of instruments and words known, and by attempting to unravel the layers of each body of material.

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8 See below p. 121f.

TUNING

Almost no work has been done on the tuning of medieval stringed instruments; a glance at the standard surveys of Montagu, Munrow, Marcuse and others shows that very little information is available.[9]

This situation has arisen - in part - because written sources have been neglected. It is obvious that a drawing of an instrument cannot reveal any information about tuning unless pitch letters are written upon the strings. We do not find such drawings until late in the Fourteenth century,[10] so we must rely on textual evidence. Yet while the study of visual materials has long been fundamental in medieval organology, the systematic investigation of written evidence is a relatively new departure. The tenor of much research seems to be embodied in what Curt Sachs, a leading authority on the history of instruments, wrote in 1940:[11]

> Investigation of medieval instruments is dependent principally on the interpretation of contemporary art works. The contribution of literary sources is comparatively small.

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9 For these works see the bibliography. None of these authors has anything to say about the tuning of the plucked lyre. In contrast, the statement that the harp was tuned diatonically in the Middle Ages is frequently made (e.g. by Montagu, *Instruments*, p. 33), but invariably without supporting evidence.

10 For an edition of the earliest known such material see Page, 'Fourteenth Century Instruments'.

11 Sachs, *Instruments*, p. 260.

In recent years an attempt has been made (principally by German scholars) to remedy this neglect of the written evidence;[12] but the matter of tuning has been largely overlooked. As a result, most medieval instruments have yet to be characterised in terms of their capacities as noisemakers. To undertake this work here for the harp and the lyre it was necessary to search for all the available evidence for the tuning of open-stringed instruments. The method adopted was to collate all the available testimonies in the hope of reconstructing traditions whose coherence may permit deductions about earlier periods. In the event materials were found that lay within the datelines of this thesis, and whose content is confirmed by examination of notational systems and scales associated with instruments.

TECHNIQUES

Detailed study of the playing-techniques of medieval instruments is relatively new.[13] As we shall see, their elucidation is partly a matter of common sense supported by an understanding of artistic conventions and an acquaintance with reconstructions. It is doubtful, for example, whether specialist knowledge is needed to deduce that the lyre shown in plate 2 could not be played in the

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12 See the studies by Steger, Bachmann and Seebass listed in the Bibliography.

13 By far the most sophisticated exposition yet undertaken (dedicated to bowed instruments) may be found in Bachmann, *Origins*, *passim*.

manner depicted, yet any attempt to explain why the artist has taken liberties with reality, or to conjecture what the genuine holding position may have been requires an understanding of Eighth-century English artistic procedures and some experience with reconstructions.

The investigation undertaken here reaches fresh conclusions which rest upon a description of the available pictorial materials which, it is hoped, is fuller and more accurate than any hitherto presented, together with a fresh investigation of the textual sources which some previous investigators seem almost to have buried under a thick crust of error.

REPERTORY

The preceding sections have been set out with deliberate brevity. This is because the subjects covered there are new and therefore the quantity of significant literature that they have called forth is small. However, when we turn to the problem of repertory, we are at large with our interest in the relation of organology and literary history in the stream of a very large literature, much of which perpetuates assumptions that must be examined at once before we may proceed. In comparison with the problems surrounding the manner in which Old English poems were composed, delivered and received, and with the complexities of literate and illiterate mentalities, of integrity in song-traditions and of chronology, the terminology, tuning and technique of harp and lyre seem

positively routine matters resting upon a very limited amount of evidence that can be described and interpreted up to a point and no further - a state of affairs that yields one kind of certainty. We must now turn to examine this large field before we attempt to make an entry.

The Datelines of the Enquiry

During the period covered by this thesis literate skills were exercised by the clergy, and the higher nobility were coming to rely increasingly upon written materials to discharge their social functions. In a penetrating discussion of literacy and illiteracy in the Middle Ages Bäuml has argued that in drawing distinctions between oral tradition and literacy[14]

> it is essential to define one's terms: distinctions must be drawn between the processes and constituents of composition, dissemination, reception. . . [differences] in genre dictating differences in expectation, length, compositional techniques, and types of performance...

In his discussion Bäuml distinguishes several important concepts that relate to OE verse. The remote origins of Germanic poetry clearly belong to a time when

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14 Bäuml, 'Medieval Literacy', p. 246, n. 23. Another survey of medieval literacy, Clanchy, *Memory*, incorporates many points that find a parallel in this thesis. See especially p. 7f on the inevitable prejudice of scholarship against illiteracy.

the members of a tribal social elite needed "oral tradition, and particularly oral narrative, for the knowledge necessary to execute their social functions in a culturally acceptable manner,"[15] while the development of lettered verse implies a shift of audience and purpose:[16]

> A narrative from the oral tradition which assumes written form...changes its public: it makes its appeal, in part, to a stratum of society different from that which neither has, nor requires, access to literacy for the performance of its social functions.

It is with this shift of cultural condition that we shall be concerned. We shall ask whether the contexts established by social dependence upon the new written skills necessarily affected the character, or the concept, of performance. The issue is not a simple one, for the subtle uses of literacy that Bäuml distinguishes in his study equip us to ask many further questions. In the extract quoted above he argues that when the oral heritage comes into contact with a lettered culture, it makes its appeal 'in part' to a new social stratum. The qualifying phrase hints at the complications that present themselves when we examine Bäuml's proposition. Fresh questions emerge from it. What, for example, are we to make of lettered verse serving the needs of preachers and homilists and thus directed to a largely illiterate audience, though it may spring from the most lucubrious methods of composition and may also serve for the

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15 ibid. p. 243.

16 ibid. p. 244-5.

entertainment of monastic listeners? How did experience of accompanied performances in which texts might be modified in non-verbal ways by "vocal inflection, gesture, stance or appearance" affect perception of texts that were privately read? How did different types of performing styles - some perhaps traditional, others perhaps innovatory - serve to characterise texts and distinguish different genres of writing?

Definitions of Terms

Definition of terms is essential here, especially as ill-defined and protean concepts abound in the literature on our subject. What follows rests upon the contention that the prevailing association of instruments with oralcy and improvised verse-making is a relic of an era when oral-formulaic theory commanded more support amongst Anglo-Saxonists than at present. Only when we confuse *performance* with concepts in what Pearsall provocatively calls 'the proliferating fantasy of 'oral-formulaic' theory'[17] does the learned and lettered provenance of most extant OE verse necessarily point away from music and accompanied delivery.

The Meaning of 'Performance'

We must not allow the term 'performance' to become confused in this, or in any other way. Stevick has

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17 Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 17.

emphasised that a 'performance' is both an act and an object for many oral-formulaists, the former because it denotes the process of simultaneous composition and performance (improvisation), and the latter because a written text descending from such a process is in itself a 'performance' within the bounds of the theory.[18]

I will consider a *performance* to be the rendition of an instrumentally accompanied composition in verse. Correspondingly, a *performer* is a musician who delivers learned repertory; once before an audience he is obliged to recall, to deliver and to entertain; he is not required to compose.[19]

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18 Stevick, 'Oral-formulaic analyses', p. 386. Stevick's opinions are discussed further below, p. 47f.

19 For my purposes it is not of the first importance to distinguish performers who deliver their own compositions from those who adopt a text in circulation. Bäuml ('Medieval Literacy', p. 250) attempts to characterise some of the ways in which literacy affects the relation between author/scribe and text, but these factors need not influence a dimension of performance, *per se*, and Bäuml acknowledges throughout his discussion that texts are delivered by a "reciting reader" who may, or may not, be the poet. It is always possible, of course, that a poet can endow a reading of his own work with meaning that will be lacking (or exchanged for different meaning) when his poem is read by another, but this is a critical problem that is not affected by whether we are talking about readers or performers with instruments.

Leisured Composition: Lettered and Unlettered

By 'composition' I understand the leisured act of verse-making viewed as the creation of a poem which is to be the same every time it is elicited, whether from the memory or from the manuscript page. The poets who compose in this way may be lettered or unlettered: it is easy to imagine an illiterate Anglo-Saxon author who could "prepare parts of a longer poem on solitary walks, or resting in the dark, memorise them, or later link them together."[20] The relevance of literacy to the notion of leisured composition is far from clear, for it is a delicate matter to discern the effects of writing materials upon a medieval verse-maker. We think of the deliberation and consciousness of serious purpose inherent in tracing the characters, of the stimulus of the accomplished verses laid out before the eye and subtly influencing the syntax of further ideas, of the awareness of the poem as an artefact, externalised, and potentially independent of its maker. Yet even while these ideas occur to us as ways in which simultaneous composition and notation may have influenced the mind of an Anglo-Saxon lettered poet, we cannot be sure of their importance. Furthermore, the distinctions we might wish to draw between lettered and unlettered verse-making at leisure are fine relative to the gulf that separates these creative processes from improvisation. This is especially

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20 Sisam, *Structure*, p. 3.

important for our purposes since the study of accompanied *improvised* verse belongs to the prolegomenon of Anglo-Saxon literary history, unless we assume that at least some of the extant poems descend from improvised deliveries that came to be written down, then simultaneous composition and accompanied performance have no bearing upon our texts.[21] We may readily concede that much OE verse is formulaic, we can also grant that the genesis of this formulaic style is to be sought in a pre-literate age when poets improvised their materials in the manner of the Yugoslav singers studied by Parry and Lord. But little OE poetry descends to us from transcripts of improvised performances, the pervasiveness of Latin rhetorical learning in the verse, and the demonstrably formulaic character of many poems translated from Latin indicate as much.[22]

If the instruments cannot be connected with performance as we have defined it - 'the rendition of an instrumentally accompanied composition in verse' - then they have a place only in the prehistory of OE verse: as an aid to improvised verse-making. Now that oral-formulaic theory has been subjected to penetrating criticism - and in many quarters has been virtually rejected as an explanation of how the extant texts were brought into being - so the harp has receded into the background.

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21 For a review of critical opinion on this matter, see below p. 48f.

22 On this point see Benson, 'Literary Character' and Campbell, 'Learned Rhetoric'.

I take *performance* as I have defined it to be a stimulating concept that calls much of our present thinking about OE poetry into question. We may identify two clusters of concepts that should never be allowed to congeal:

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pre-Eighth century	Eighth century on
illiterate scop	literate monk
oral composition: improvised delivery in traditional style	lettered composition reading from text
meadhall	scriptorium and cloister
harp	no harp
singing?	vocal style not considered

In recent years cluster 2 has become the model for much discussion of the composition, reception and dissemination of OE verse, as we shall see. This may appear to be a judicious and anti-romantic development, but it is rather that one kind of romance has replaced another. The figure of the illiterate *scop* improvising in the meadhall is attractive, but in the light of oral-formulaic theory it becomes less alluring the more it is pursued. The oral-formulaists seek to establish parallels between OE verse delivery and forms of modern narrative singing that are, at best, remote from the experience of Western scholars, and at worst desperately exotic.[23]

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23 A recording of Yugoslav epic singing of particular interest may be found on Topic records L2TS224; this recording was made in Montenegro, the 'classic' area for such performances. An example of the very closely related tradition of Albania (where, as sometimes in Bosnia and Serbia, a plucked lute is used to accompany the voice) is available on Topic records 12T154. The nasal vocal timbre, the harshness of the instrumental sounds, and the constantly iterated melodic formulae find little parallel in the music that forms the greater part of Western musical experience.

The figure of the learned monk offers a pleasing alternative, academics can hardly fail to feel at ease in a world of libraries and scriptoria.

My aim is to free some of the elements in these clusters by examining old evidence, producing some new evidence, and by subjecting current assumptions to rigorous scrutiny at every stage in the enquiry. Once they are freed, some of these elements come together in surprising,new ways.

As I am concerned with instruments and *written* OE verse my approach differs from that taken by previous workers in this field such as Wrenn, Bessinger and Werlich. I shall be concerned with *hearpan* in English song-culture during the period when much of the surviving verse existed in written copies (c850-c1066). Late Anglo-Saxon evidence of considerable interest has been neglected by scholars for whom *hearpan* evoke the age of Caedmon, but apparently never the age of Dunstan. Consequently much of the material here has not formerly been used in connection with our subject even though, as I shall argue, there are traces of musical notation in an English poetry manuscript of c1000, and evidence that at least one literate cleric was performing pagan narratives to the harp in the age of Athelstan.

The Harp and OE Verse: Previous Scholarship

"The reader will bear in mind", wrote Wackerbath in his *Music and the Anglo-Saxons* of 1837, "that of works on Anglo-Saxon literature, eighty copies is by no means a bad sale..."[24] Even though Wackerbath found himself writing for 'fit audience but few' he bravely presented a technical account of pre-Conquest musical instruments and playing techniques. Recognising that the references to accompanied vocal performance in *Beowulf* lent the harp an importance for literary scholars, he examined various textual sources (such as pseudo-Bede's commentaries and Giraldus Cambrensis) to ascertain the "nature of this accompaniment".

Inevitably, his results now appear sketchy and inadequate, yet there is much in Wackerbath's book that I wish to retain: his determination to maximise the value of instruments as evidence for the musical practices of a culture effectively notationless in the secular sphere, his refusal to believe that Anglo-Saxon instrumental playing must have been barbarous or dull, and his conviction that accompanied singing was a favourite mode of performance amongst the Anglo-Saxons.

For these positions the subject owes more to Wackerbath than to the next investigator in the field, F.M. Padelford, whose *Old English Musical Terms* appeared in 1899. By this time substantial advances had been

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24 Wackerbath, *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 41, n. 55.

made in OE studies and Padelford was able to draw upon a wide range of edited texts to produce a comprehensive lexicon of OE musical terms. To illuminate this collection of material he provided substantial introductory sections on music and musical instruments, attempting to collate the literary sources with pictorial materials in order to ascertain the meaning of OE words such as *hearpe* and *timpane*.

Unfortunately, we also remember Padelford for three major failings in his work that have characterised much subsequent scholarship and which it is one objective of this thesis to remedy.

Firstly, he presents no analysis of the textual sources. He cites glossaries, verse texts, Latin prose texts, and OE prose translations without recognising distinctions of date, genre, or diction.[25]

Secondly, Padelford ignores the possibility that instruments changed their names during the course of the Middle Ages, or that words changed their meanings. The *chrotta* known to Venantius Fortunatus in the Sixth century is not necessarily connected with the Welsh *crwth* of the 1700's.[26]

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25 Thus Padelford notes (ibid. p. 38) that the word *gligbeam* appears in the Spelman psalter, but he does not enquire why this otherwise generally poetical word has been absorbed into an interlinear psalter gloss - a point of some significance, as we shall see below. He also records (ibid. p. 30) that "several words meaning *plectrum* are found in Old English", but he does not examine the sources of the glosses in which these words appear; yet these are revealing, as will be seen in Chapter 3.

26 ibid. p. 39.

Thirdly, Padelford places trust in Latin sources that are demonstrably bookish and derivative in character. Thus he draws heavily upon the instruments which accompany texts of pseudo-Jerome in various manuscripts; an error which it will be for us to expose.[27]

Yet in one respect Padelford's study has a dimension of interest which we do not find in later works: the whole Anglo-Saxon period is covered. He makes some use of the materials pertaining to Dunstan which form the centre of a chapter here, and I was first directed to them by his book.[28] It is not simply that Padelford wrote a history of all OE musical terms regardless of period, it is also that oral formulaic theory had not yet emerged and could not therefore influence his studies by directing them to early oral verse to the exclusion of later, lettered poetry.

J.C. Pope and *The Rhythm of Beowulf*

The first study to treat the harp and related matters in a systematic way was J.C. Pope's *The Rhythm of Beowulf*, first published in 1942. At this time the Sutton Hoo instrument was unknown, and Magoun's seminal article

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27 ibid. p. 31f.

28 Padelford cites (or alludes to) passages from the Dunstan *Lives* on pp. 10-11, 32, 36, and *passim*. In a disturbing number of cases he appears to have completely misunderstood the Latin (there is no evidence, for example, that Dunstan manufactured stringed instruments, despite Padelford's assertions on pp. 11 and 32).

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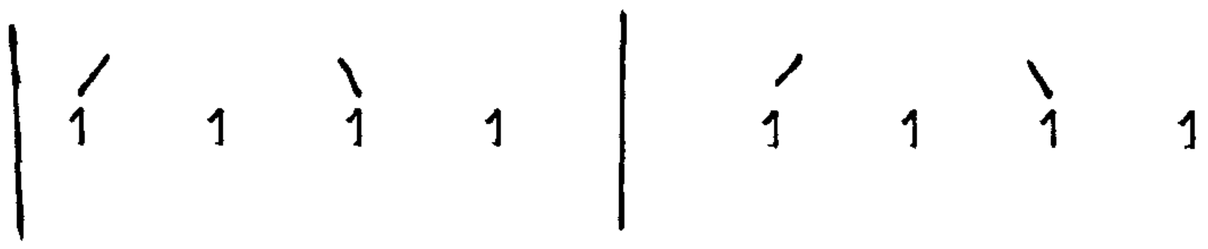
on the oral-formulaic character of Anglo-Saxon narrative poetry had yet to be written.[29] But Pope's work was not to suffer from these developments which it could not anticipate. C.L. Wrenn, giving an account of two Anglo-Saxon 'harps' in 1963, judged that Pope's book and the Sutton Hoo find had given "something like a new impetus to the exploration of the music of Anglo-Saxon verse".[30]

This 'impetus' can be traced to Pope's rhythmic theory of OE poetry which does not merely postulate the use of a harp to accompany the verse, but actually *requires* it. The theory assumes that each line of OE poetry consists of a pair of four-beat measures with accentual patterns as follows:[31]



Here 1 equals the "unitary beat governing a time interval equal to the usual quantity of a short stressed syllable" (equal, in transcription, to a quaver), and the accents mark "the primary beat at the beginning of the measure and the secondary beat in the middle of it."[32] These

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29 Magoun, 'Oral-formulaic character' was published in 1953. See below, p.34 .

30 Wrenn, 'Anglo-Saxon Harps', p. 118.

31 Pope's theory is paraphrased here from his most recent exposition of it, contained in Pope, *Seven OE Poems*, p. 97f.

32 ibid.

measures are isochronous, each occupies the same unit of time. Pope admits that his theory represents a formalised description of his own, originally intuitive manner of reading OE verse,[33] I am attracted by the candour with which he establishes the ear as the final judge of adequacy in a rhythmic theory.

The second major tenet of Pope's theory is that some lines which do not fill a measure are preceded by an initial rest:[34]

1 1 2	1 1 $\hat{2}$	2 2	2 1 ^
Æðelstan	cyning	eorla	dryhten

2 2	2 1 1	$\hat{2}$ 1 1	1 1 1 ^
beorna	beag-giefa	and his	broðor eac

These rests, Pope argues, were filled by the harp:[35]

> ...the assumption of the harp dispels the only practical objection to the theory of initial rests by enabling us to postulate a regular beat, not merely imagined but heard, as a complement to the voice.

Since the appearance of *The Rhythm of Beowulf* Pope has applied his theory to *Caedmon's hymn* (7c, if authentic),

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33 Pope, *Rhythm*, p. 38f.

34 The example is taken (without textual diacritics indicating vowel length and stress) from Pope, *Seven OE Poems*, p. 135.

35 Pope, *Rhythm*, p. 92.

to *The Dream of the Rood* (parts of which were in existence probably by the 8c), to *The Wanderer*(undateable), to *The Battle of Brunanburh* (mid-10c), and to *The Battle of Maldon* (after 991, and possibly as late as c1020).[36] His theory thus amounts to a comprehensive interpretation of OE verse rhythms from the earliest monuments to some of the latest. He is proposing, in effect, that many lines of OE verse are rhythmically incomplete as they stand in the manuscripts, and that they were originally completed by a non-verbal element. Thus it follows that almost all OE poems were performed to the harp, for almost all of them have verses which are rhythmically incomplete when set out according to Pope's system. There is no room for the assumption that some poems could be delivered without the harp. Once we accept that such readings were possible we dispose of the harp as a *necessary* component of performance and thus part company with Pope.

The initial rests create more difficulties than they solve - at least, if we insist that they must have been filled by the harp. Pope insists upon an initial rest occupied by a beat that is "not merely imagined, but heard". It is hard to understand why. There is almost limitless scope for speculation as to how this rest could have been filled. It might have been supplied by a movement of the hand which marked the beat for the reader and which was visible to his listeners; the duration of the immediately preceding syllable might have been

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36 Pope, *Seven OE Poems*, *passim*.

stretched a little to close the gap, the reader may have rapped upon a table, or tapped the manuscript page, he may have simply nodded. All of these are possible, and movements involving the hand (for which there is ample precedent in liturgical singing)[37] are particularly plausible. Even if the harp seems at first sight a better explanation, it is not the only one.

Excursus: Pope's Isochronous Measures and Gregorian Chant

If we are prepared to drop the necessary link between the harp and Pope's theory we are left with the isochronous measures as the foundation of his reasoning. On this count Pope has sometimes been attacked by scholars who reject the concept of isochronous measures as anachronistic, and one which conflicts with "the only...music [contemporary with OE verse] of which we have detailed knowledge, Gregorian chant".[38] Thomas Cable, in his book *The Meter and Melody of Beowulf* (1974) urges that "the historical implausibility of a system predicated upon the twin assumptions of measures and recurring beats" is illustrated by "Gregorian chant [which] has nothing like the isochronous measures that Pope describes",[39] while Luecke has devoted a book to the

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37 As, for example, in the recommendation of the celebrated music theorist Guido d'Arezzo, (*Micrologus*, c1000): 'It is good to beat time to a chant as if by metrical feet'. Text in Waesberghe, *Guido*, p. 164.

38 Cable, *Meter and Melody*, p. 16.

39 ibid.

subject of OE rhythm and Gregorian chant which is critical of Pope's theory.[40]

Luecke notes that "for more than twenty-five years Old English scholars have been making specific references to the likeness they perceive between the rhythm of OE poetry and that of Gregorian chant", and she offers her book as a "study to give OE scholars enough experience in the field of Gregorian chant rhythm to satisfy the speculation of the last three decades."[41] In the event, this proves to be an over-ambitious claim. The central problem with Luecke's use of the chant (and this is true of Cable) is that it is unhistorical. Luecke makes no reference to any medieval manuscripts of chant, and quotes none of the contemporary theorists who shed light upon its rhythmic character. The writings of the mensuralist school, whose conclusions are fundamentally opposed to those of the monks of Solesmes[42] (upon whose work Luecke bases her study) are either not mentioned at all (the studies by Murray[43]), or passed over.[44]

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40 Luecke, *Measuring OE Rhythm*.

41 ibid. p. 1f.

42 The theories of the Solesmes monks are explained in a usefully practical and compact fashion in the preface to *LU*, p. ixf. For an excellent survey of how the Solesmes monks began their work in the Nineteenth century see Berry, 'Restoration of the chant', *passim*.

43 Murray, *Gregorian Chant*, and *idem*, *Gregorian Rhythm*.

44 Such as the (admittedly much attacked) study by Vollaerts, *Rhythmic Proportions*. Even the work which attempts to demolish Vollaerts (Cardine, *Gregorian Chant*) is missed by Luecke.

For Luecke, as for Cable, 'Gregorian' chant means the corpus of chant edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes in the 19c and 20c.[45] Their theories have won much support, at least in the practical sphere; many scholars have reservations. The most recent authority to discuss the problem concludes that "attractive as performances by the Solesmes monks may be, their solution is neither the only possible one nor the one supported by the greatest weight of historical evidence".[46] According to the Solesmes explanation the rhythm of plainchant is 'free' in that the time unit is a single, indivisible pulse so that all notes are basically equal in duration. The pulses are then grouped into binary or ternary ligatures (these are the smallest configurations formed). It is doubtful whether this theory can be allowed to stand when a detailed analysis of Anglo-Saxon and other early chant sources is required to do justice to Luecke's title.

A far more serious problem is created by the fact that the Solesmes theory seems to represent, in the words of Richard Hoppin, "a corrupt practice of the later Middle Ages".[47] Although the subject of early chant rhythm has long been a controversial one, there is nonetheless general agreement that "from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries the more complex rhythms of earlier centuries

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45 On the objections to the term 'Gregorian' chant (which will be retained here since it is customary and thus convenient) see Treitler, 'Homer and Greogry', *passim*.

46 Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, pp. 88-9.

47 ibid. p. 90.

gave way to a slower moving *cantus planus*".[48] As Hoppin points out:[49]

> Uncertain as the results of mensural transcription [of chant] may be, historical evidence strongly supports the mensuralists' fundamental belief. Again and again, theoretical treatises of the early Middle Ages make it clear that the chant did use long and short notes.

Thus while the Solesmes theory may provide an adequate description of the way in which chant was performed in the later Middle Ages, the Anglo-Saxon period falls directly into the earlier, more complex and obscure period.

For these reasons alone, Solesmes-based attacks on Pope's rhythmic theory have achieved little. Furthermore, the findings of authoritative scholarship devoted to early periods of chant contain elements from which Pope might well take heart. It is sobering to find that Dom Gregory Murray gives the following transciption of an antiphon from the Tenth-century Hartker antiphonal:[50]

SEE MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1

In the light of transcriptions such as this we cannot easily agree with Cable's firm assurance that "the only... music [contemporary with OE verse] of which we have detailed knowledge, Gregorian chant, has nothing like the isochronous measures that Pope describes."[51]

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48 Caldwell, *Medieval Music*, p. 87.

49 Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, p. 89.

50 Murray, *Gregorian Rhythm*, Musical Supplement, pp. 26-7.

51 Cable, *Meter and Melody*, p. 16.

However, Cable extends his range more widely, arguing not only that plainchant was unmeasured in the Middle Ages, but that *all* music was unmeasured until the development of written polyphony necessitated the use of measures to secure coordination of parts. "Historically", he proposes, "the development of measured music resulted from the need to keep voices together as part music became increasingly complex".[52] This is an absurd proposition. There is no necessary relation between measured music and polyphonic texture, and there are many cultures where music is both monophonic and measured.[53] Furthermore, the emergence of written polyphony in the Ninth century was probably made possible by the many centuries of illiterate, folk-polyphony that preceded it, much of which may have been measured.[54] Many of the world's musics employ polyphonic devices of a most sophisticated kind, together with a system of measures, though there is no recourse to musical notation. There is also the question of dance music. Music which is to be performed for a dance must have a measured structure with accents falling in places where the dancers can predict them. Thus there is a far-reaching tendency for dance music to arrange itself into measures, and within Northern European

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52 ibid.

53 An example is provided, were any needed, by the Ob-Ugrian lyre music discussed below, p.266f.

54 See for example Collaer, 'Polyphonies', Schneider, 'Mehrstimmigkeit', *idem*, *Mehrstimmigkeit*, Vogel, 'Ursprung' and Wiora 'Mehrstimmigkeit' for studies of this subject. The theory of folk-origin for early polyphony is built into a model of literate medieval string-playing in Page, 'Direction of the beginning', *passim*.

culture there appears to be no evidence that dance music has ever used more elaborate forms than isochronous measures of duple and triple time, or combinations of these. We shall see that the Eighth century English Vespasian psalter shows dancers clapping their hands, their music must have consisted of measures introduced by an accent.

What Cable has done is to confuse the history of mensural notation with the history of mensural music. It is true that developments in written polyphonic music in the Twelfth century were accompanied by the development of mensural notation, but this is associated with the emergence of written polyphonic composition as an art, and with the changing roles of improvisation and memory training in choir schools, rather than with the mensural character of the music. One would not think, to read Cable's comments, that some medieval authors refer to 'beating time to music.[55]

I propose to accept Pope's theory of isochronous measures for, as we shall see, our acceptance of his hypothesis allows us to make several worthwhile comparisons between OE verse delivery and Gregorian chant, together with a hitherto unnoticed enclave of Northern lyre playing.

The Advent of Oral-formulaic Theory

Oral-formulaic theory has exerted a profound influence upon modern discussions of OE poetry and the harp.

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55 The comments of Guido d'Arezzo (c1000) on this subject have been quoted above in note 37.

Between 1933 and 1935 the architects of the theory, Milman Parry and his pupil Albert Lord, collected some 12,500 texts of epics performed by Yugoslav singers. These singers were participants in an orally transmitted culture of verse-making; they improvised their poems to the accompaniment of the *gusle*, a monochordic bowed instrument with a skin belly and laterally-stopped technique.

In 1949 Lord submitted a thesis entitled *The Singer of Tales: a Study in the Process of Yugoslav, Greek and Germanic Oral Poetry*. Four years later Magoun published a seminal article in which he applied the oral-formulaic theory to OE narrative verse. Following Parry and Lord he argued that oral poetry is composed of formulas, that is, of "ready-made language...filling just measures of verse", while lettered poetry "is never formulaic, though lettered poets occasionally consciously repeat themselves or quote verbatim from other poets in order to produce a specific rhetorical or literary effect".[56] Magoun's crucial - and subsequently controversial - conclusion was that[57]

> ...with the discovery of the dominant rôle of the formula in the composition of oral poetry and the nonexistence of metrical formulas in the poetry of lettered authors, we have suddenly acquired a touchstone with which it is now possible to determine

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56 Magoun, 'Oral-formulaic character', pp. 189 and 190. For a survey of recent work on oral literature see Lord, 'Oral literature'.

57 Magoun, 'Oral-formulaic character', p. 194.

> to which of the two great categories of poetry a recorded text belongs - to the oral or to the lettered tradition.

Magoun is arguing, in effect, that because all oral poetry is formulaic, then all formulaic poetry is oral. That this reasoning is faulty - principally because it ignores the many types of composition that can take place - should be sufficiently obvious, and we shall review the writings of scholars who have emphasised this point in due course. What is significant here is that the Yugoslav analogy brought the harp directly to the fore. The *guslars* improvised with an instrument; so apparently did the Greek singers. Classical authors testify to the use amongst the Germanic peoples of an instrument for accompanying song,[58] all was now ready for a series of practical studies.

C.L. Wrenn and Two Anglo-Saxon Harps

In the first years of the 1960's some fragments from an archaeological excavation stored in the British Museum,were found to be parts of a stringed instrument. The philologist C.L. Wrenn learned of the discovery and announced it in a paper entitled 'Two Anglo-Saxon harps', published in 1963. Wrenn saw the find as another move forward in a wave of scholarship initiated by Pope's *The Rhythm of Beowulf* and by the Sutton Hoo find:[59]

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58 The major authorities are assembled and quoted in Werlich, *Skop*, p. 243f.

59 Wrenn, 'Anglo-Saxon Harps', p. 118.

The discovery of fragments which could be reconstructed into a harp among the Sutton Hoo finds, followed soon afterwards by J.C. Pope's strongly argued claims for the harp as an integral concomitant to the singing of *Beowulf*, gave something like a new impetus to the exploration of the music of Anglo-Saxon verse.

A valuable aspect of Wrenn's approach (which I shall pursue) is his willingness to search among modern folk-instruments for a type sufficiently akin to the Anglo-Saxon harp for comparative analysis of playing techniques. He acknowledges the importance of morphological parity in the instruments compared, pointing out that the bowed *gusle* of the Yugoslav singers does not much resemble any Anglo-Saxon plucked instrument, butthat a closer congener exists in the Finnish *kantele*, a five-stringed plucked instrument in its traditional form.[60]

Living folk-instruments of medieval ancestry or type can contribute much to our understanding of early string techniques, though organologists have only recently begun to exploit this technique despite the example of the literary scholars who employed this comparative method with such success (in the guise of oral-formulaic theory).[61]

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60 Ibid. p. 120f. During the last hundred years or so the *kantele* has been enlarged, and more strings have been added. The present instrument bears little relation to the traditional one (for photographs of modern types see Buchner, *Folk Instruments*, plates 220-1). Some information about the traditional instrument is gathered in Mustanoja, 'Germanic Poetry'.

61 On the use of the comparative method in the reconstruction of early playing styles see Baines, *Instruments*, p. 221 ('It is an exciting branch of musical research, only recently begun...'). By far the most developed application of the technique is to be found in Bachmann, *Origins*, p. 94f.

In Chapter 5 I shall develop an analogy between the Anglo-Saxon lyre and the lyre of the Ob-Ugrians, a Siberian people whose instrumental techniques are relatively well documented. In this respect, at least, our investigation will draw upon the epistemology of oral-formulaic theory, and we shall attempt to refine this aspect of organological method.

But there is one manifestation of oral-formulaic influence in Wrenn's study that I wish to isolate and avoid. This concerns the period with which Wrenn understands himself to be dealing. As we read his article it seems that a chasm is beginning to open between the practice of a largely undefined and remote period (assumed to have lasted at least until the time of Caedmon and possibly beyond) and "actual usage in historical times".[62] Wrenn tacitly acknowledges this, stating that "most students would now associate the harp with *early* Anglo-Saxon poetry" (my italics). It is clear what has happened: the harp has become so closely identified with orally-improvised verse-making that it seems to recede from view once the period of the lettered poetry is reached. The conceptual clusters which we identified above (p. 21) can now be recognised as organising forces.

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62 Wrenn, 'Anglo-Saxon Harps', p. 122.

Werlich and the West-Germanic *Scop*

The next contributor to the debate pointed to some of the ways in which this hardening of categories might be reversed.

Der westgermanische Skop (1964) is a meticulous and detailed survey by Egon Werlich of professional singers amongst the West-Germanic peoples with special reference to the OE materials. Werlich examines the Anglo-Saxon terminology associated with the craft of the *scop* and concludes that improvised poetry was sung (*war immer ein Gesangsvortrag*).[63] Taking his line of interpretation from the studies of Parry and Lord, he opens his enquiry into performance practice by examining the verse and instrumental procedures of the Serbian *gusle* players. He then analyses the OE and Anglo-Latin references to harping.[64]

Werlich says very little about the nature of the accompaniment. The drive of his work to connect some surviving OE verse with the harp is directed rather towards certain palaeographical features of the *Beowulf* manuscript. He observes that there are 672 points in this source, some of which "are only intelligible when considered in relation to musical performance" *(nur im Zusammenhang mit einem musikalischen Vortrag zu verstehen)*.[65]

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63 Werlich, *Skop*, p. 212.

64 ibid. p. 254f.

65 ibid. p. 277. Werlich gives his reasons (p. 271) for passing over two points noted by Zupitza.

In a poem of over three thousand lines 672 points is not a particularly impressive total, and Werlich admits that 226 of them can be understood in terms of rhetorical emphasis, while a further 333 are related to movements of sense (i.e. they are punctuation marks).[66] This accounts for a total of 559 out of the 672 points that Werlich acknowledges, leaving only just over a hundred to serve as the grounds for invoking a special, musical explanation.

These points comprise two groups: (1) points which precede a sense break, and (2) points which follow a sense break:

(1) a_____ b_____ (.)

a //

(2) a_____ b_____

a_____// b_____ (.)

Werlich argues that only the hypothesis of musical performance can explain (a) why these points are so distributed, and (b) why such distribution is not *consistent* in the manuscript. To develop this reasoning he borrows the notion of *melodische Steigerungsgruppen*, or passages "employed to hold or grasp the attention of the listener"[67] from Serbian singers; a *Steigerungsgruppe*,

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66 ibid. p. 271.

67 ibid. p. 282f.

he argues, is a passage in which two or more of the points defined in figures (1) and (2) above follow in the space of a half-line or up to three full lines.[68]

In the event there are only 38 points in the entire manuscript that organise themselves into groupings that accord with these constraints, and in the obvious places where a singer would attempt to "hold or grasp the attention of the audience" - at the beginning and end of a fitt - Werlich's *Steigerungsgruppen* appear only four times.[69] This is not a very impressive result, and Werlich's investigation hardly seems to warrant his conclusion that the points of the *Beowulf* manuscript "indicate an emphatic vocal level departing from a calm reciting tone" *(eine vom ruhigen Erzählton abweichende emphatische Sprechlage in der Niederschrift anzeigen).*[70]

The central problem with Werlich's theory lies not with the nature of his method nor with the character of his assumptions; it is a matter of quantity rather than quality of evidence. Werlich acknowledges 672 points in a text over 3,000 lines, and 559 of these marks can be explained without recourse to hypotheses about performance. Of those that remain, only 38 form configurations that will fit Werlich's definition of a

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68 ibid.

69 ibid.

70 ibid. p. 289

Steigerungsgruppe, or passage calling from a dramatic departure from the reciting pitch. Furthermore, Werlich does not explain why his *Steigerungsgruppen* must be connected with a musical delivery rather than a spoken one. Most importantly of all, however, he does not pursue the implications of his theory. Why did the Tenth century scribes of the *Beowulf* manuscript use this supposed system of semi-musical notation? Was *Beowulf* still sung in their day? If not, how can we be sure that the system of points has been accurately transmitted from some earlier marked-up copy made when the tradition of singing the verse was still vital? How does this possibility affect the analysis of the distribution of points? In Chapter 5 I shall outline a hypothesis about certain markings in Junius 11 which I believe to be connected with performance. Many of these questions will recur, for in some respects the problems are the same: uneven distribution of the evidence and a lack of consistency within it that hinders the inductive method. But we shall at least be dealing with passages so thickly marked that some connection with performance seems a distinct possibility.

Werlich's book achieves more than any other survey of the harp and OE verse, but the prevailing climate in English OE studies owes more to two essays by the American scholar Jess B. Bessinger published in 1958 and 1967. A comparison of these papers reveals how profoundly the reaction against oral-formulaic theory has influenced thinking about the harp and OE accompanied verse.

Bessinger's Essays: The Harp and the Decline of Oral-Formulaic Theory

In his first essay - '*Beowulf* and the harp at Sutton Hoo' - Bessinger urges that practical experiment with a reconstruction of the Sutton Hoo instrument (in the light of oral-formulaic theory) may open new directions in OE studies. He links *Beowulf* and Sutton Hoo wherever possible, generally by means of readable and elegant surmise:[71]

> "He who sets out on the ocean has no mind for the harp," remarks another Old English poem, *The Seafarer;* but the king's mourners put this beautiful little instrument in his ship as if to contradict that elegist. The harp was not only a popular instrument but a royal one, there are old English illustrations of King David with his harp, and King Hrothgar in *Beowulf* takes his turn with the harp at a banquet to sing of past deeds and lament his youthful strength. It would appear that the Sutton Hoo king was a singer, too; a patron of song, at least; and at musical performances in his court it would be strange if he did not hear, and perhaps even sing himself, some versions of the tales that appear in *Beowulf*.

When Bessinger published this paper, Magoun's essay on the oral-formulaic character of OE narrative verse was only a few years old. Bessinger is infused with enthusiasm for the new approach, and to press home its value to criticism he provides an analysis of several lines of

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71 Bessinger, 'Harp (1)', p. 151.

Beowulf, commenting upon their "extraordinary concentration of sound effects", that is, upon the character they assume "in live performance".[72] The organising concept of his criticism is that *Beowulf* was produced by a "composer-performer" (that is, by an improvising singer) who "might well be all but unconscious of some of these effects until he uttered them".[73] Music has a central position in this process. According to Bessinger it is an "essential component of *early OE verse*, which would have to be better known if the poetry were to be properly appreciated..." (my italics).[74] This reference to "early OE verse", recalling Wrenn's association of the harp with "early Anglo-Saxon poetry" is somewhat puzzling, since Bessinger delivers the remark having just completed an analysis of a passage from the extant text of *Beowulf*, copied c1000.

Once again we appear to have encountered a conceptual lacuna separating the period of oral verse-making from the era of lettered composition. This lacuna raises many questions, not the least of which is whether the phrases "period of oral verse-making" and "era of lettered composition" have any meaning. We may grant that the gradual dissemination of writing skills among English clerics in the early Anglo-Saxon period establishes an

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72 ibid. p. 155.

73 ibid.

74 ibid. p. 156.

"era of lettered composition" in the sense that no such composition was possible before this dissemination occurred. But the spread of literate skills amongst a fraction of the Anglo-Saxon population probably exerted little influence upon the traditional singers. They may well have continued with their improvised techniques for many years, the world of the cloister would have impinged on the life of many a *scop* only insofar as it represented a venue for performance. At the very least, therefore, the "period of oral verse-making" and the "era of lettered composition" must have overlapped. The scholarly tendency to lose interest in - and to curtail - the former is a kind of historical foreshortening, perhaps brought about by minds disposed to interpret the past in terms of books and intellectual developments supported by literacy.[75] Once the Eighth century has been reached, the period when much of the oldest verse is assumed to have been written, the harp vanishes behind a veil of speculation and enigma.

It is surely the overlap of improvised and lettered verse that is of crucial importance in the history of OE performed verse. We are not speaking of the 'transitional' period invoked by some critics to explain stylistic heterogeneity or structural incoherence in OE poems.[76]

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75 On the continuing art of the singer-instrumentalists see below, p. 60f.

76 As by Campbell, in 'Oral Poetry', p. 96: '[*The Seafarer*] ... a vivid and dramatic oral poem, full of the older conventions, has been remembered and reworked by a lettered homilist-poet, a man with full knowledge of the style of oral poetry and even a certain reduced command of its formulas.'

Our period of overlap embraces all such time as instrumentally accompanied performance of vernacular alliterative verse survived as a form of entertainment. The importance we attach to whether the verse was improvised, orally composed, or composed with writing, will depend upon the degree of our willingness to believe that a hardening of function for verse had occurred that barred all learned and lettered poetry from a form of presentation traditionally associated with improvised verse. It may be that by assuming OE poems could not have been delivered and accompanied if they are learned, lettered, or translated from Latin, we harden categories in a way which is congenial to the academic mind but which may be false to the world of Anglo-Saxon entertainment-culture. Nor should we be quick to assume that accompanied delivery was so intimately associated with *heroic* narrative poetry that other types of verse (such as biblical paraphrase) are not relevant to the history of performance, and that performance itself has no history after the *Heroic* Age.[77]

Bessinger, taking a different approach, grapples with the problem of how the practices of an early, oral period are to shed light on the study of lettered poetry:

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77 The view that accompanied performance died with the close of the Heroic Age (lingering longer in England) was proposed by Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 88f. It is examined below, p. 64 f.

> Of course we can read the poem [*Beowulf*] only as a book epic, and it must have been so read in the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period, but in some basic sense the chronological details of which are not clear, *Beowulf* must have been first composed orally in the presence of a live audience by a singer who may or may not have been unlettered, sometime in the seventh or eighth century.

The tide of Bessinger's enthusiasm has met a major obstacle and we sense a loss of coherence. Why *must* the poem of *Beowulf* have been orally composed in the Seventh and Eighth centuries? What can possibly be meant by a *live* audience? What does Bessinger mean when he states that this performance must have taken place "in some basic sense"? Why, if literacy kills oralcy (as the oral-formulaists maintain), does Bessinger suggest that the *Beowulf* poet "may or may not have been unlettered"? We sense that Bessinger is secretly anxious about the notion of an improvised and subsequently recorded *Beowulf*; he is attempting to formulate his basic propositions in a way that anticipates criticisms he knows to be serious.

During the years that intervened between this paper (1957-8) and his next on the subject (1967), oral-formulaic theory as applied to OE verse was subjected to a severe analysis by many scholars. Some attacked Magoun's contention that the presence of metrical formulas in a poem comprises a "touchstone" to determine whether a text derives from an oral or lettered tradtion.[78] Stevick

78 Magoun, 'Oral-formulaic character', p. 194. On the transfer of Parry's work to the realm of OE studies see Watts, *Lyre and Harp, passim*. Watts examines the transfer and finds in it a distortion of Parry's original notion of the formula.

exposed the error of associating the statement 'oral poetry is formulaic' with the corollary 'all formulaic poetry is oral'.[79] Brodeur had already questioned the assumption that unlettered poets can not write formulaic verse,[80] and Creed forcefully - but unwittingly - emphasised the same point by writing his own formulaic version of an episode in *Beowulf* as part of an attempt to understand how the original "singer" worked. Stevick pointed to the ambiguity of such terminology:[81]

> On the one hand, for instance, there is strict adherence by some to the postulate of the "singer" and avoidance of the concept "poet". The text, if it is heavily formulaic, is then a "performance" (perhaps modified a little in the process of being captured in writing) rather than a poem composed by a poet. On the other hand, others talk of the "poet" and his "poem", of writers working within a tradition, with traditional materials...

We have already found a solution to this muddle by defining performance as an act resting upon a memorised poem,[82] thus we avoid the ambiguity in which a "performance", as pointed out by Stevick, is both an act and an object. What is important here is the idea (gaining firm ground in the sixties) that lettered poets can compose with

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79 Stevick, 'Oral-formulaic analyses', p. 383.

80 Brodeur, *Art of Beowulf*, p. 3f. Lawrence ('Formulaic theory') attempts to define the usefulness of the terms 'formula' and 'formulaic' as applied to OE texts, concluding that while OE poems translated from Latin are formulaic, yet their composition is not by formulas.

81 Stevick, 'Oral-formulaic analyses', p. 384.

82 Above, p. 17.

traditional materials either because it is what they choose to do, or because it is the only vernacular poetic they know. In his article on 'Oral Poetry in *The Seafarer*' (1960) Campbell anticipates the concerns of this thesis when he acknowledges that:[83]

> A poet who wrote his poem before it was performed in the refectory or the mead hall, still following all the conventions he associated with poetic composition, is well within the realm of probability.

Campbell, a strong advocate of the view that "pagan 'singers'...may well have operated as Magoun indicates, yet not more than 10 per cent, at a conservative estimate, of the extant poetry was composed by such poets"[84] has prepared the ground for our study which is designed to test the hypothesis that not all OE lettered verse was necessarily detached, *per se*, from a world of performance-culture. Even Bessinger, whose studies focus upon the Eighth century and before, concedes the possibility that some such performance as Campbell's - albeit an antiquarian one - may have existed:[85]

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83 Campbell, 'Oral Poetry', p. 88. It is always worth remembering the words of Whitelock (*Audience*, p. 20): "Some men of religion were interested in the tales of the Germanic heroes, and scandalised Alcuin in 797, but nothing in the letter in which he reproved the monks of Lindisfarne for their interest in songs about Ingeld suggests that this taste was pandered to in monastic scriptoria". Some scholars seem almost grudgingly to concede the existence of such refectory and hall poetry - as for example Derolez ('A-S literature', p. 51): "There may have been, and there probably was, a stream of Old English poetry that kept clear of the scriptorium and stayed on its natural breeding ground, the banqueting hall".

84 Campbell, 'Learned Rhetoric', p. 189.

85 Bessinger, 'Harp (2)', p. 13.

> ...there is no reason in logic or nature why even late-classical run-on verse should not sometimes have been sung in Anglo-Saxon times, if only as a tour de force by some musical antiquarian...

Bessinger may have seen potential in the study of such late-Anglo-Saxon performers, but he never sought to realise it. In his second essay - 'The Sutton Hoo harp replica and Old English musical verse' (1967) - he is still working with the notion of a performing art which, viewed in chronological terms, precedes the period of the written monuments:[86]

> If we may turn now from relative certainties to hypotheses in order to suggest some possible varieties of harp-and-voice performance, we may do so without lingering over the fact that many Old English poems, including some that one might like to use as living texts for the demonstration of musical verse, are unlikely ever to have been sung at all in their surviving manuscript forms. It is as hard to imagine the bookish author of *Brunanburh* singing his entry into the annal as it is easy to believe that lost oral panegyrics of Aethelstan were composed in 937...we know too little about Old English music to dogmatize pro and con about its application to the Old English verse we possess. I would venture to argue only that amateurs of the Old English harp should be able to hypothesize inoffensively about the possibilities of such an application, and to do this one must perforce cite and on occasion indulge in the recitation of an existing written text. We need not take up arms here, therefore, about the orality of bookishness of *Beowulf*, for example, which must have been musical

86 ibid.

> in some early stages of its premonumental formulation and is undeniably bookish in the unique surviving manuscript.

The decline of oral-formulaic theory in the years between 1957 and 1967 is strikingly reflected here. Bessinger no longer assumes that *Beowulf* "must have been composed orally in the presence of a live audience", and the issue of music and accompaniment is now linked to the "premonumental formulation" of an "undeniably bookish" poem rather than to the creation of the text as we have it. As far as critical questions are concerned there is a distinct narrowing of claims. Music is no longer an "essential component" of OE verse; it has become a hobby for "amateurs of the Old English harp" who, far from making any important claims of a critical kind, wish to "hypothesise inoffensively". The subject seems to have lost every element of relevance, controversy and promise.

The matter stands today very much as Bessinger left it. An important trend in much present-day thinking in neatly summarised by Pearsall:[87]

> ...we have no idea how this poetry was delivered, and cannot assume that the mode of recitation described in *Beowulf*, in an idealised portrayal of the heroic age, is the mode of recitation of the poem itself. And even if we do assume that *Beowulf* was recited to the harp, we have no idea how

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87 Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 16-17.

> the harp was used...Nor does it seem possible to associate the use of the harp with some of the scriptural and devotional poetry (or the riddles!), yet this poetry is written in the same form as *Beowulf*. There was a harp (or lyre) at Sutton Hoo, and another in Bede's Caedmon story, but the use of the harp in oral verse-making at secular courts and secular gatherings cannot simply be transferred to lettered poetry.

Towards a New Picture

The Chronology of OE Verse

Our conception of accompanied song and story in Anglo-Saxon England is heavily dependent upon certain assumptions about the dates of several crucial OE poems. The view will be upheld in the following chapters that most OE poems are effectively undateable, and that they may have been written any time up to the period of the surviving copies, most of which may be said for convenience to date from c1000. Very few OE poems can be connected with circumstantial details of any kind. The names of four authors are known: Aldhelm, whose work has vanished; Bede, who may be responsible for the lines attributed to him and customarily named 'Bede's Death Song'; Caedmon, possibly the author of nine lines embedded in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; and Cynewulf, a poet responsible for a substantial amount of verse who is little more than a name. All other OE poems are anonymous. Linguistic tests to establish rough datelines are almost invariably inconclusive, while dialectal analysis is pre-empted by the mixed, literary dialect in which the bulk of the poetry has been preserved.

In view of this state of affairs, attempts to date Old English poems are rarely convincing, and a scholarly art of considerable refinement has been evolved to cope with this inconvenience in modern editions of OE works. This is what Blake has to say concerning the date of *The Phoenix* , for example:[88]

88 Blake, *Phoenix*, p. 22f.

The date of the poem cannot be decided with any certainty. A *terminus ad quem* is provided by the manuscript, which is dated to *c*.970-90. But as Sisam has shown that the anthology was probably assembled in the time of Alfred, Edward, or Athelstan, the *terminus ad quem* can be taken as *c*.940. No satisfactory *terminus a quo* can be established. The accepted sources of the poem are both so early that they are of no use in dating it. Earlier authors who accepted the Cynewulfian authorship were inclined to suggest that the poem was written in the second half of the Eighth century. But not only is the poem not by Cynewulf, but also Cynewulf probably lived later than the Eighth century. Sisam assigns him 'whether Mercian or Northumbrian, to the Ninth century'. This is important, for although Cynewulf was not the author of *The Phoenix*, there are many similarities between it and his signed works which suggest that the poet lived about the same time as or slightly later than Cynewulf. So it seems likely that *The Phoenix* was written in the Ninth century, possibly in the later rather than the earlier part of that century.

A more balanced and cautious statement of the case could hardly be asked for, yet it is worth examining the substance of it. At two crucial points the exposition rests upon the contentions of one scholar - Sisam, who argued that (1) the Exeter Book was *probably* assembled in the time of Alfred, Edward or Athelstan (whose reigns span half a century), and (2) Cynewulf *probably* lived in the Ninth century "whether Mercian *or* Northumbrian" (my italics). The earliest scholars were 'inclined to suggest' that *The Phoenix* was written in the second half of the

Eighth century (a suggestion based upon the assumption that Cynewulf wrote the poem, and resting upon a further assumption about when Cynewulf wrote), whereas according to Blake the poem is 'not by Cynewulf' (an assumption not a fact). The final decision is allowed to rest upon similarities between the signed poetry of Cynewulf and *The Phoenix*, though it is fallacious to argue that a poem which shows the influence of another author must have been composed during, or soon after, the lifetime of the poet who wrote the model poems. We are left with the feeling that the notion of a Cynewulfian school is a fashionable remedy for scholarly doubt about the date of non-Cynewulfian poems, and a means to avoid the embarrassment of attributing those poems to Cynewulf. Ultimately, Blake's analysis contains only one fact: the date of the close of Athelstan's reign.

There can be no doubt that the trend of current scholarly thinking is moving in the direction of increasingly later dates for OE poems. It is instructive to compare the dates given in general histories of early English literature (which tend to project older, established views on such matters) with those in individual editions of texts, and articles on particular poems. The Scriptural poem *Genesis*, for example, is generally dated to c700, but in his recent edition of the text Doane proposes that "any date in the eighth century seems reasonable" for the poem.[89] Doane's conclusion is

89 Doane, *Genesis*, p. 37.

primarily based upon a comparison between *Genesis* and *Beowulf*, yet it is far from certain that the latter is an Eighth century poem. In his comprehensive analysis of the proposition that *Beowulf* must have been composed before the Danish raids on England became severe, Jacobs advances several possible periods for the composition of the poem, and is prepared to consider a date "perhaps as late as the reign of Athelstan".[90] Where does this leave *Genesis*?

As there is almost no solid evidence with which to date most Old English poems, critics have attempted to date them according to the cultural conditions they deem likely to have produced such poetry. It is odd, if such relations may be genuinely discerned, that some social historians have declined to use the poems in their work; "...without accurate dating", writes Loyn in his *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, "...there is little that a social historian can isolate from the poetry in discussing the development of society".[91] Clearly we must keep an open mind about the claim - often made - that the history of OE poetic creativity can be related to the curve of monastic ascendancy in England. This is the view that has given rise to the concept of a Golden Age of OE poetic production in the Eighth century coinciding with the efflorescence of monastic life.

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90 Jacobs, 'Date of *Beowulf*', p. 43.

91 Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 280.

It is important to characterise this view at once as a net of scrupulously weighed assumptions and suppositions. There is no OE verse that is known to have been composed between c700 and c800.

We should also keep an open mind about the four major poetry manuscripts themselves. It may be that these are "monastic copies of monastic copies",[92] but that is far from certain. The antecedents of these manuscripts have been lost, and thus it is somewhat dangerous to be dogmatic about their pedigree. We have seen that one illustrious Anglo-Saxonist, Kenneth Sisam, was prepared to consider that the Exeter Book collection was assembled in the reign of Athelstan, and at this time, according to Knowles, England was "wholly without any organized monastic life".[93] Furthermore, the Exeter Book as we have it was owned by Leofric, who was not a monk, and bequeathed by him to Exeter, a Cathedral Church. The origin and parentage of the Vercelli Manuscript and the *Beowulf* Codex are unknown.

If we determine to keep an open mind on matters of chronology it becomes apparent how flimsy the props of the received picture are. Campbell, for example, has suggested that the "old lays...and their heroes seem to have grown less popular in the course of the Old English period",[94] but this contention rests upon the assumption that *Beowulf* is an early poem, and it seems to ignore the

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92 Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 22.

93 Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 36.

94 Campbell, 'OE Epic Style', p. 15.

uncertainty surrounding the dating of *The Fight at Finnsburh* and *Waldhere*. It has often been argued that *Finnsburh* is close in manner and content to a genuine heroic lay,[95] yet if neither the poem nor the (lost) manuscript which contained it can be dated then firm statements about the chronology of these lays in later centuries seem to be precluded. As for *Waldhere*, the story of Walter of Aquitaine was popular throughout the Middle Ages as Dronke has shown,[96] the two fragments of the OE poem were written c1000, and perhaps even later; nothing is known of the date when the text was composed.[97]

A great deal rests upon the date we assume for the composition of *Beowulf*. It has long been accepted by critics that the allusions to heroic legends in the poem (such as the story of Ingeld) argue for an audience familiar with these stories.[98] If we accept that Beowulf was composed early in the Eighth century, then we are to assume that such legends were still current at that time. If, on the other hand, we are prepared even to consider the possibility that the poem was composed during the reign of Athelstan,[99] then the assumed corpus of oral heroic legend in circulation moves forward in an alarming way, and we contemplate the possibility that stories of Finn, Ingeld and others were still current in Dunstan's youth.

95 As for example by Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 5.

96 Dronke, *Barbara...Carmina*, pp. 29-79.

97 Ker, *Catalogue*, number 101, lists the leaves as 's.x/xi(?)'.

98 See for example Whitelock, *Audience*, p. 37f.

99 Jacobs, 'Date of *Beowulf*', p. 42.

Later OE Poetry and Instrumental Playing: Literacy and Oralcy

It would seem that we must think again about literacy and oralcy if our chronological framework is so flexible. It is surely doubtful whether the emergence of monastic and lettered OE verse represented a significant change in the sum of Anglo-Saxon verse culture. Alcuin's famous reference to the *citharista* with his songs of Ingeld at Lindisfarne dates from the verge of the Ninth century, not of the Eighth, and we attribute a remarkable influence to the new, lettered poetry if we assume that its emergence curtailed the traditional activities of harpist-singers. If Alcuin is to be believed, accompanied narratives flourished in the very cradle of Anglo-Saxon literacy and learning.[100]

The evidence for the existence of secular, performed verse in the Ninth and Tenth centuries is sparse. We would not expect the activities of the secular poets to impress themselves upon writers of annals and saints' lives that form such a large proportion of the surviving sources. Yet the narrative material about Ingeld to which Alcuin refers was presumably in verse. If the doings of this hero held a fascination for clerics c800, long after the period of the heroic age, then only the assumption of a dramatic shift of taste militates against the possibility that the situation was much the same c900, or even c1000.

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100 See Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 18f for a discussion of monasticism and OE poetry.

It must seem unlikely that England lost its harpist-singers in the Eighth and Ninth centuries. The practice of singing to the harp was still familiar to the Ælfredian translators of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, to judge by their choice of *be hearpan singan* to render *cantare* in their version of the story of Caedmon.[101] William of Malmesbury records a story that the Danish king Anlaf gained entrance to Athelstan's tent before the battle of Brunanburh by disguising himself as a *mimus* with a *cithara*, and singing (*cantitans*) to his own accompaniment. Such entertainers were always required, both before and after the conquest. There did not cease to be *gleomenn* once the monks began to produce lettered verse. We hear of them now and then in Tenth and Eleventh century sources. A contemporary account of the coronation of Athelstan, recorded by William of Malmesbury, shows that the services of professional entertainers were still required at important celebrations:[103]

> Deliciis ventres cumulantur, carmine mentes;
> Ille strepit cithara...

Here we may suspect a reference to accompanied vernacular *carmina*.

"Once the harp was allowed in", writes Pearsall of the

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101 The most recently edited text of the passage is in Sweet, *Reader*, p. 46. The original Latin appears with a translation in Mynors and Colgrave, *Bede*, p. 414f.

102 Text in Stubbs, *Gesta Regum*, 1, p. 143.

103 ibid. p. 146.

Anglo-Saxon monasteries, "...the barriers were down..."[104] It is worth remembering that they stayed down a long time, even though official voices called for them to be re-established. The type of accompanied performance heard in the Eighth-century cloister, and which might have provided the model for the monastic epic,[105] could perhaps have been heard there long after the death of Alcuin. At least, the secular performers do not appear to have gone underground. The protests of the *Oratio Edgari Regis ad Dunstanum Archiepiscopum Canturiae* present a familiar picture. Here the *domus clericorum* is compared to a *conciliabulum histrionum* where there is *saltus et cantus*.[106] We are reminded at once of numerous other such sources from England and from the continent - of widely varying dates - attesting to the constant war ecclesiastical authorities fought against secular entertainments. Thus the canons of the *Concilium Foroiuliense* (796-7), exactly contemporary with Alcuin's letter to the monks of Lindisfarne, include instructions that 'no man living under an ecclesiastical rule' (*sub ecclesiastico canone*) may occupy himself with 'hunting...secular songs, or immoderate effeminate merrymaking with lyres and pipes" (*liris et tibiis*).[107] Or again, we are reminded of Eadmer's description of the Canterbury monks soon after the Conquest:[108]

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104 Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 22.

105 As suggested, for example, by Campbell, 'OE Epic Style', *passim*, and Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 18f.

106 The text is printed in Mansi, *Conciliorum*, 18,1, p.527.

107 Text in Werminghoff, *Concilia 2*, p. 191.

108 Text in Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 237-8.

> Sciunt quippe quia qui prius in omni gloria mundi, auro videlicet, argento, variis vestibus ac decoris cum pretiosis lectisterniis, ut diversa musici generis instrumenta, quibus saepe oblectabantur, et equos, canes et accipitres, cum quibus nonnunquam spatiatum ibant, taceam, more comitum potius quam monachorum vitam agebant.

That Anglo-Saxons of all walks of life participated in various song-cultures can be accepted as axiomatic.[109] We meet with instrumental accompaniment throughout the period from Bede's story of Caedmon, through Alcuin's tirade against the *citharista* at Lindisfarne, to Eadmer's account (which will occupy us in a later chapter) of Dunstan singing in the *materna lingua* and performing interludes upon *hearpe*. It can hardly be doubted that much sung verse was composed in alliterative lines; there is little evidence that any other kind of verse-making was widely known in pre-Conquest England, and some metrical charms (such as the charm against loss of cattle) suggest that alliteration was not an exclusively aristocratic and clerical preserve.

At this point we must clarify the relation between our claims and the major tenets of the oral-formulaic theory, particularly as far as concerns the effect of literacy upon oralcy. Lord's contention that literacy destroys oralcy has a crucial bearing upon our thinking about the genesis of the surviving OE poems, but it has a limited relevance to any hypothesis about the continued

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109 The number of OE words denoting types of songs is considerable. Berglund, *OE Musical Terms*, p. 222f gives excellent documentation.

existence of oral, performed verse in Anglo-Saxon England. This is what Lord has to say of the progress of literacy in Yugoslavia and its effect upon oralcy:[110]

> The songs have died out in the cities not because life in a large community is an unfitting environment for them but because schools were first founded there and writing has been firmly rooted in the way of life of the city dwellers.

No comparison of Yugoslavia and Anglo-Saxon England is possible here. England at this date presents us with what we may term 'privilege literacy', that is: the restricted distribution of literate skills amongst the members of a special group, in this case, the clergy. This is an important point for, as Lord observes, the existence of such literacy allows the art of oral singing to flourish unchecked:[111]

> In societies where writing is unknown, or where it is limited to a professional scribe whose duty is that of writing letters and keeping accounts, or where it is the possession of a small minority, such as clerics or a wealthy ruling class...the art of narration flourishes..."

If we will allow Lord's statements to provide a model for the interpretation of the state of affairs in Anglo-Saxon England, then we must acknowledge that the existence of privilege literacy amongst the clergy is unlikely to have curtailed or in any way affected the traditional activities of singers and instrumentalists who were yet illiterate.

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110 Lord, *Singer of Tales*, p. 20.
111 ibid.

Chadwick and the 'Decline' of Teutonic Court Minstrelsy

The drift of our reasoning brings us at once into conflict with one of the classic expositions of our subject, contained in H.M. Chadwick's book *The Heroic Age*. Chadwick defines the song-art of heroic cultures as "the recitation of metrical speeches accompanied by the harp."[112] For purposes of examining his theory concerning the fate of the art when these cultural traditions change we may accept this definition, even though it ignores the possibility that the verse was sung. Chadwick proposes that this 'Teutonic court minstrelsy' faded after the close of the heroic age, at which time "the evidence for minstrelsy of this type apparently ceases altogether".[113] He concedes (apparently on the basis of the references to song in *Beowulf* and Alcuin's letter to the Lindisfarne monks) that the art lingered rather longer in England than elsewhere.

Chadwick advances three grounds for his theory.[114] Firstly, he argues that after their migrations the Germanic peoples found themselves brought into contact with "alien peoples" and were exposed to "denationalising influences" as a result; other peoples, he proposes, effectively disappeared (such as the Vandals). Secondly, the "change of faith" following the conversion of Germanic peoples created an environment hostile to the production of songs of the old kind. Thirdly, as far as concerns

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112 Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 93.

113 ibid.

114 ibid. p. 88f.

England, Chadwick argues that the art survived (a circumstance which he does not explain) until it was extinguished by a "wave of religious fervour" begun by the Kentish king Erconberht.

There is much to query in this account, famous though it is. The disappearance of Germanic tribes such as the Alemanni, Thuringians and Burgundians (all absorbed by the Goths in the early Sixth century), and the Vandals and Ostrogoths (defeated by Justinian in 533 and 563 respectively) is to some extent a matter of terminology rather than history. These tribes did not cease to exist, and even when they appear to have vanished (like the Rugians), they did so only under one name. Individual Germanic tribes, once absorbed by other, more powerful ones, need not necessarily have 'hanged up their harps' in the manner of the Israelites. Furthermore, Chadwick's theory can not be reconciled with the organological evidence. Two fragmentary lyres have been recovered from Alemannic noblemen's graves at Oberflacht, Kreis Tuttlingen, Wurttemberg, one dating from the Sixth, and one from the Seventh centuries.[115] The remains of another lyre have been recovered from the early-Eighth century grave of a nobleman (probably a Frank) under the church of St. Severin at Cologne,[116] while an amber bridge (doubtless all that remains of a wooden instrument) has been found in an Eighth-century chieftain's grave in Broa, Halla, Gotland,

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115 Catalogued and described with bibliography in Crane, *Extant Instruments*, numbers 313.01 and .02.

116 ibid. number 313.03.

in Sweden.[117] These finds suggest that the tradition of aristocratic lyre playing did not die out at the close of the heroic age, and although it is possible that these noblemen and chieftains performed only instrumental music, we have surely to deal here with traces of the Germanic (and perhaps Indo-European) tradition of singer-chiefs.[118]

Chadwick's proposal that court minstrelsy died out as a result of 'a change of faith' is also less than convincing, since there was a living tradition of performing heroic poetry to instrumental accompaniment in at least one English monastic centre of the Eighth century. If the tradition could be transplanted into a monastic house and yet survive, there is little reason to assume that its fortunes fluctuated according to movements of religious zeal.

We have seen that Chadwick's definition of the heroic song-art was "the recitation of metrical speeches accompanied by the harp". This is not satisfactory, for it ignores the possibility that the poems were sung. If we are prepared to consider this hypothesis, then we modify Chadwick's definition so that it becomes "the singing of metrical songs accompanied by the harp". It then becomes clear that such an art as this has no necessary connection with the heroic age, for song-forms in verse accompanied by instruments, of which the harp was one, were current throughout medieval Europe.

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117 ibid. number 313.13.

118 See the note on *Beowulf* 2105f in Klaeber, *Beowulf* p. 205.

Fortunately we may reinforce these observations with documentary evidence. Ralph Tortarius of Fleury, in his *De Miraculis Sancti Benedicti Abbas* (late-11c), relates that a band of Burgundian marauders attacked the monastery of Chastillon-sur-Loire with a minstrel (*scurra*) going before them singing of great former deeds to the accompaniment of an instrument:[119]

> Tanto vero erat illis securitas confidentibus in sua multitudine, et tanta arrogantia de robore et aptitudine suae juventutis, ut scurram se praecedere facerent, qui musico instrumento res fortiter gestas et priorum bella praecineret: quatinus his acrius incitarentur ad ea peragenda, quae maligno conceperant animo.
>
> So great was the unconcern of these confederates, and so great was their pride in the power and the capacity of their youth, that they had a minstrel to precede them who sang to a musical instrument of deeds bravely done and of the wars of former [heroes], so that they might be more zealously incited to accomplish those things they had conceived in their evil minds.

This brief account, written a few decades after the Norman

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119 For the text see *Recueil*, XI, p. 459. The event must have happened after 1031, for Ralph's purpose is to relate miraculous happenings that had occurred since the reign of Henry 1.
The use of narrative songs at this date to inspire battle-fervour need not surprise us; we remember the legend (first recorded in the early-twelfth century) that the Norman troops at Hastings were spurred on by a minstrel's tales of Roland (see Douglas, 'Song of Roland' for a recent discussion of this tradition). It is tempting to assume that such narrative songs may have been performed by the string-player mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, who leads an army playing and singing in alternatim: *ex nimia quoque securitatis praesumptione, fidicinem praevium habens, et praecentorem, cantilenae notulis alternatim in fidicula respondentem.* (Dimock, et al, *Giraldus*, 6, p. 48).

Conquest evokes 'Heroic Age' minstrelsy in a most remarkable way. It shows us continuing fascination with tales of past wars, - *in geardagum...aeþelingas ellen fremedon*, the dramatic emotional effects of 'heroic' narrative song, and the lasting use of song as a projection of *youthful* strength and martial pride - all things that we associate with the well-known references assembled by Chadwick, some of which date from more than half a millennium earlier.

Narrative Song in the Middle Ages

This last point encourages us to place these observations in a wider context. We may perhaps discern an allusion to accompanied narrative song in a poem by Reginald (fl *c* 1112) addressed to Gillibert abbot of Westminster:[120]

> Praecipis ut pauca Reginaldi fistula rauca
> Gesta canat fidibus...
>
> (You command that the small throat of Reginald
> should sing of deeds upon strings...)

From the early Thirteenth century we have the remarkable testimony of Thomas Chobham, subdeacon of Salisbury, who composed a penitential which incorporates a classification of entertainers. This is his account of musicians:[121]

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120 Text in Wright, *Satirical Poets*, 2, p. 259.

121 Text from Broomfield, *Chobham*, p. 292, which is a modern edition of the whole text. For a study of this penitential and its influence see Rubel, 'Chabham' [sic], *passim*.

> Est etiam tertium genus histrionum qui habent instrumenta musica ad delectandum homines, sed talium duo sunt genera. Quidam enim frequentant publicas potationes et lascivas congregationes ut cantent ibi lascivas cantilenas, ut moveant homines ad lasciviam, et tales sunt damnabiles sicut et alii. Sunt autem alii qui dicuntur ioculatores qui cantant gesta principium et vitas sanctorum...
>
> (There is a third kind of entertainer which uses instruments for the pleasure of men, and of such there are two kinds. One kind visits public drinking places and wanton gatherings so that they may sing there various kinds of songs to inspire lechery, and such entertainers are as damnable as the others [previously mentioned]. However there are others, who are called *ioculatores*, who sing of the deeds of princes and the lives of saints...)

Here Chobham reveals the existence of instrumentalists who sing narratives of the 'deeds of princes and the lives of saints'. It thus appears that the history of secular music and instrumental practice in Thirteenth century England may have more to do with the materials conventionally studied by literary scholars than the few remains of secular music surviving from the period.[122] Perhaps the repertoires of these minstrels contained materials similar in content and form to the Middle English romance of *King Horn*, which "may be representative of the

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122 All of the known English secular songs dating from before 1400 are edited in Dobson and Harrison, *Songs*. A handful of instrumental dances completes the remains of medieval English secular music. Minstrel involvement in such forms as the learned Latin motet seems unlikely.

wrought form of sung lay which preceded both ballad and romance"?[123] A number of stories about heroes of surviving romances were sung at this date, including Girart de Vienne,[124] 'Boves d'Antona', and Audigier.[125] A link between the sung (and perhaps predominantly oral) lays and written texts is provided not only by a reference to the music of Jean Bodel's *Saisnes* (only the text of which survives),[126] but also by 'The Battle of Annezin', a poem of fifty Alexandrines in French which is preserved with its music (to be repeated over and over again in the *chanson de geste* manner).[127]

Although these examples are all taken from continental sources, the picture presented by Chobham (in which deeds of saints and princes are treated as equivalent narrative matter for songs) is so similar to the classic description of *chansons de geste* given by the Parisian music theorist Johannes de Grocheio (fl *c* 1300), that it is tempting to assume a parallel situation in both England and France:[128]

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123 Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 114.

124 The evidence is provided by the treatise of Johannes de Grocheio (c1300), in Rohloff, *Grocheio*, p. 132.

125 For the evidence see Langlois, 'Chanson de geste', p. 349.

126 ibid. pp. 349-351.

127 ibid.

128 Text from Rohloff, *Grocheio*, p. 130.

> Cantum vero gestualem dicimus, in quo gesta heroum et antiquorum patrum opera recitantur, sicuti vita et martyria sanctorum et proelia et adversitates, quas antiqui viri pro fide et veritate passi sunt, sicuti vita beati Stephani protomartyris et historia regis Karoli.
>
> (We call a song a *chanson de geste* in which the deeds of heroes and the works of ancient fathers are told, such as the lives and martyrdom of saints, and the battles and trials which men of old time suffered for the faith and for the right, such as the life of saint Stephen protomartyr and the story of King Charlemagne.)

Fourteenth century evidence for instrumentally accompanied narratives is not lacking. From England we have a passage in *Sir Cleges* where a *harpor* (elsewhere described as a *mynstrell*) sings 'a gest be mowth' about Cleges himself which doubtless reflects the genuine practice of Fourteenth century English harpist-singers.[129] The harp was one of the classic narrative instruments of medieval culture, we find it accompanying the narrative Breton *lais* in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries,[130] English narrative (as in *Cleges*) in the Fourteenth century, songs of Robin Hood in the Fifteenth century in England, and as late as the Sixteenth century in England, songs of King Arthur.[131] There is evidence that literate men may have composed material for harpist-narrators in England as early as the Fourteenth century: it is hard to imagine what else can be implied by Robert Mannyng's

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129 Text in Weber, *Metrical Romances*, 1, p. 351, lines 472f.

130 For the evidence see Bullock-Davies, 'Breton lay', *passim*.

131 For a fifteenth century reference to 'harping' Robin Hood see Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquae*, 1, p. 81, and for the sixteenth century reference see Reese, *Renaissance*, p. 776.

assertion that he did not make his *Rhymed Story of England* for 'seggers, no harpours'.[132]

In Fourteenth century England we also find evidence for the use of bowed instruments to accompany narratives. Langland's reference to 'fiddling' the *geste* of Good Friday gains much of its force from its implied judgement upon secular *gestes* performed in this way when better material might be had.[133] Perhaps Dan Michel is thinking of such accompanied material when he likens his *vorspeche* ('preface') for the holy Patér Noster to an *inguoinge of þė vipelė*.[134] These 'ingoings' are clearly instrumental preludes of the type referred to by Johannes Grocheio and said by him to be appropriate for performance upon the *viella* or fiddle.[135]

There is also continental evidence from the later Middle Ages of interest. In the second half of the Fourteenth century we have the testimony of Corbichon that the *symphonie* or hurdy-gurdy was used by blind musicians to accompany *chansons de geste*,[136] and from the first decades of the Fifteenth century we have Jean de Gerson's evidence that the *rebebbe* (probably a small bowed instrument) was used to accompany *'chansons de geste* such

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132 Text in Furnivall, *Robert Mannyng*, 1, lines 75-6.

133 Text in Pearsall, *Piers Plowman*, p. 133, line 107.

134 Text in Morris, *Dan Michel*, p. 105.

135 Text in Rohloff, *Grocheio*, p. 136: "Bonus artifex in viella omnem cantum et cantilenam et omnem formam musicalem generaliter introducit".

136 Text read in the printed edition of Lyon, 1485 (*BLRD* 1B, 41702), Book 19, Chapter 140.

as those of Roland and Oliver'.[137] Here we have another witness to the tradition of fiddle-accompanied narratives documented by Langland and, perhaps, by Dan Michel. Our latest piece of medieval evidence carries us directly to the close of the period, in his *De Inventione et Usu Musicae*, published c1487, possibly in Naples, the musical theorist Johannes Tinctoris mentions that the *viola...cum arculo* (i.e., the bowed *viola*) is used "over the greater part of the world...in the recitation of narratives" *(viola cum arculo...ad historiarum recitationem in plerisque partibus orbis assumitur).*[138]

CONCLUSIONS

[I] Our picture of accompanied verse-delivery in Anglo-Saxon England is almost entirely dependent upon the dates we assign to certain crucial poems such as *Beowulf* and *Widsith*. Two poems, *The Fight at Finnsburh*, and *Waldere* are also important, but both are effectively undatable. We are thus unable to tell whether the knowledge of heroic story implied by *Beowulf* for its audience existed in the Eighth century, in the Ninth or in the Tenth. Alcuin provides firm evidence for the currency of songs (performed in the traditional way it would seem, with harp accompaniment) about Ingeld c800. With the heroic age already some four centuries behind us at this time, it seems a short step to c900 and the

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137 Text in Glorieux, *Jean de Gerson*, 7/1, p. 128.
138 Text and translation in Baines, 'Tinctoris', p. 24.

verge of the era of Athelstan and Dunstan.

[2] Indeed, there seems no reason to assume that accompanied, orally-transmitted narrative verse died out at any time in Anglo-Saxon England. The spread of literacy amongst the clergy, and the development of a lettered OE poetry corpus need not have touched the older oral art. Such an art is in no way the prerogative of a heroic age which must fade when that age comes to a close. Accompanied songs about heroes were performed throughout the Middle Ages in Europe.

[3] Therewere therefore 'performance-models' for lettered poets and instrumentalists to follow throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. It was not only in the days of Cuthbert of Wearmouth that stringed instruments entered monastic precincts, nor only in the days of Alcuin that secular entertainers were welcomed there. If it is true that "once the harp was admitted...the barriers were down", then we should not overlook the full extent of the period when this infiltration took place. If secular harpist-singers entered the cloister in the Eighth century and inspired the creation of the monastic epic, as is commonly supposed, then the same currents of influence may have flowed in the Ninth century, or even the Tenth; the performers and the literate clergy were still in existence.

With this new set of possibilities before us we begin our investigation.

CHAPTER 1

HEARPAN: TERMINOLOGY (THE PICTORIAL SOURCES)

The Importance of Terminological Study in Medieval Organology

It is impossible to broach any subject touching upon the history of medieval musical instruments without a rigorous discussion of terminology.[1] The necessity of such investigation may be illustrated by unravelling the layers of meaning that surround the word 'harp' in Anglo-Saxon studies, for since the discovery of fragments of a musical instrument in the Sutton Hoo ship burial the configuration 'Anglo-Saxon harp' has been used in much scholarly and popular writing. Four areas of meaning and association can be discerned in this body of material.

Firstly, *harp* is still current in English, and therefore the word carries certain inert notions about the shape and sound of an instrument so-named into any discussion of the 'Anglo-Saxon harp'.[2]

Secondly, organologists have long accepted a system

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1 Something of the complexity of medieval instrument terminology may be gathered from the studies by Bachmann (*Origins*), Seebass, Steger and Wright listed in the Bibliography. The English materials have not been adequately interpreted. Galpin (*Instruments*) and Padelford (*OE Musical Terms*) are out of date; Berglund (*OE Musical Terms*) provides a magnificent glossary but does not actually discuss terminological problems; Ball (*Music and Poetry*) is disappointing, and Carter (*Dictionary*) only deals with the ME period.

2 These notions embody powerful preconceptions about the technique and sound of the harp, as we shall see below, p. 202 f.

of classifying musical instruments that uses common names - including *harp* - to articulate its categories, rather than specially formulated labels.[3] In this system the term *harp* is applied to any instrument in which the plane of the strings is at an angle to the soundboard while the strings run directly between the soundboard and the string-bearer (the modern concert harp is thus a *harp* according to this system; the apparent tautology of this statement hints at the difficulties to come).[4] Accordingly, the first reconstruction of the Sutton Hoo fragments may be classified as a *harp* in the strict sense. This is the instrument which Wrenn and Bessinger discuss,[5] and which they refer to as a 'harp' (more under the influence of supposed Anglo-Saxon usage than of correct organological terminology).[6] Yet this reconstruction was revised in 1970,[7] creating a third level of confusion, for the resulting instrument

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3 The system of Erich M. von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs, originally proposed in 1914 in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, and reprinted in English translation in Baines and Wachsmann, 'Classification'. For some recent comments upon this system see Picken, *Turkey*, pp. 558f.

4 On the category of harps see Baines and Wachsmann, 'Classification', p. 23.

5 Bessinger, 'Harp (1)', p. 150f, and 'Harp (2)', p. 3f; Wrenn, 'Anglo-Saxon Harps', p. 118f. The instrument is illustrated in Steger, *David Rex*, plate 33: 3, and discussed there p. 53f.

6 Both Wrenn and Bessinger assume that the first reconstruction is to be identified with the *hearpe* of OE verse and prose without supporting this hypothesis.

7 Bruce-Mitford, 'Sutton-Hoo Lyre', *passim*.

is technically a *lyre*: an instrument whose strings are fixed at one end over a yoke held by two arms, and which then pass over (and parallel to) a resonator where they are finally attached.[8] Confusion is now compounded, for scholars still speak of the Sutton Hoo *harp*,[9] yet they do not mean the same instrument as Wrenn and Bessinger, and their terminology, strictly speaking, is incorrect.

There are two further levels of difficulty. Firstly, we have the problem of what *hearpe* meant to an Anglo-Saxon, and secondly, we have to decide what to call the Sutton Hoo fragments which are not technically an instrument but only the remains of one, and which should not perhaps be denoted by a name that properly belongs to a form in which they have been reconstructed.

Confusion has become so serious that only a diagram can make the tangled lines clear:

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8 On the category of lyres see Baines and Wachsmann, 'Classification', p. 22.

9 Many scholars retain the word *harp* since it is of Germanic origin and thus seems more appropriate in the context of OE studies than the Graeco-Roman word *lyre*. This is perfectly reasonable, providing that the basis for the use of the term is clearly understood.

Sutton Hoo HARP

Anglo-Saxon HARP

1 Modern English *harp*: inert associations

2 Pre-1970: Wrenn, Bessinger and other writers: their instrument technically a *harp*

3 Post-1970: Reconstruction revised: technically a *lyre*

4 Meaning of OE *hearpe?*

5 Name for fragments?

For the present, *hearpe* will be used as a label unattached to any object.

Medieval Instruments: The Importance of Secondary Sources

Very few musical instruments have survived from the Middle Ages[10] and only a limited number have continued in use, in Europe and elsewhere, in recognisably medieval

10 Crane, *Extant Instruments*, provides a provisional catalogue of known examples including a brief description of each specimen, with bibliography. Of the materials omitted by Crane which bear upon our study mention must be made of the lyre-pegs from Whitby presented by Fry ('Lyre...Pegs'), and the wooden fragments of a stringed instrument, found in an early Saxon inhumation at Bergh Apton, in Norfolk (discussed with plates in Lawson, '[Bergh Apton] lyre', passim). On the hitherto uncertain location of the Saxon pipe listed by Crane as number 433.2 see below p. 130, n. 27.

forms.[11] It therefore follows that materials for the study of medieval instruments are furnished almost entirely by secondary sources: pictures and descriptions.

Little such material survives from our period with the result that our knowledge of the European instrumentarium before the Crusades (when new instruments were introduced and sources become more abundant) is fragmentary.[12] The archaeological evidence is also meagre. We know nothing, for example, of the instruments that the Huns brought with them when they swept across Europe for we have only an imperfect record of their material culture.[13] They may have known the use of the bow six centuries before we have any pictorial record of this tool.[14]

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11 There is no systematic survey of this subject, though there are important contributions in Bachmann, *Origins*, p. 94f (which is mainly concerned with comparative study of playing techniques), and Picken, *Turkey*, especially p. 316f.

12 Space permits only a listing of recent studies which survey this field. They include, Bachmann, *Origins*; Barassi, *Strumenti*; Behn, *Musikleben*; Bevil, *Crwth*; Bruce-Mitford, 'Sutton-Hoo Lyre'; Ellis, *Story of the Harp*; Harrison 'Celtic Folk-Instruments'; Huglo, 'Instruments'; Lawson, 'Lyre', and 'Norwegian lyre'; Marcuse, *Survey*; Montagu, *Instruments*; Munrow, *Instruments*; Perrot, *Organ*; Picken, *Turkey*; Seebass, *Musikdarstellung* and 'Utrecht Psalter'; Steger, *David Rex* and *Philologia Musica*; Waesberghe, *Cymbala*. There are no studies entirely devoted to Anglo-Saxon instruments save Wackerbath, *Anglo-Saxons* and Padelford, *OE Musical Terms*, which are too old to be of use. However, there is some detailed material in Page, 'Keyboard' (which is concerned with Anglo-Saxon organs and the keyboard tablature associated with them) and Rensch, 'Medieval Harp' and *Harp*.

13 Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns*, *passim*, gives a wide-ranging reassessment of Hunnic material culture, emphasising developed skills and technologies.

14 As pointed out by Picken, *Turkey*, p. 323. On the chronology of the bow in Europe see Bachmann, *Origins*, p. 24f.

Similarly, we know almost nothing of the instruments used by the Avars and Alans,[15] though recent research has uncovered links between certain European instruments of the first millennium AD and types in use amongst Caucasian peoples (such as the Ossetes who are descended from the Alans).[16] It is hardly surprising that the origin of the Germanic lyre remains a mystery that has yet to be solved.[17]

Thus a complex tangle of migrations and cultural ties virtually dissolves our notional boundaries between East and West; all is in a state of flux. Behind the imposing fabric of migration and conquest we can occasionally discern the fine texture of contacts, personal and official, which sent instruments and their players travelling across Europe in all directions. In 757 the first organ seen in Europe since Classical times arrived amongst the Franks as a gift from the Byzantine emperor Constantine Copronymous;[18] in 812, according to the prose *De Gestis Caroli Magni*, the "King of Constantinople" sent ambassadors to Charlemagne who brought with them "all manner of musical instruments

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15 The only evidence appears to be the bone pipes excavated from Avar graves. These are catalogued and described, with bibliography, in Crane, *Extant Instruments*, numbers 432.1-4.

16 See Picken, *Turkey*, p. 316f.

17 For discussions of this problem see Andersson, 'Bowed Harp' and *Bowed Harp*, both *passim*; Marcuse, *Survey*, p. 368f; Megaw, 'Palaeo-Organology'; Salmen, 'Musikinstrumente'; Werner, 'Leier', and Väisänen, 'Leier'.

18 For citation of the documentary evidence from Carolingian annals and chronicles see Page, 'Keyboard', p. 309.

and diverse objects, all were examined virtually in secret by the workmen of the most cunning Charles, and assembled with the utmost care..."[19]. In 764 Cuthbert of Wearmouth wrote to his fellow Englishman Lullus of Mainz requesting a player on the *rottae* (apparently a Frankish instrument with very little currency in England).[20] In the early Tenth century, according to the testimony of Ibn Faḍlān, who witnessed the events he describes, a chief of the Swedish Rus Vikings was buried with a musical instrument - but not the lyre familiar to us from Sutton Hoo and other excavations; Ibn Faḍlān calls it a *tanbūra*, and it was probably a long-necked lute which the Vikings had acquired in the Mediterranean.[21] The incongruity of the scene - a Viking chief placed in a grave beside an instrument from Byzantium - illustrates the complexity of the period.

Cuthbert's letter to Lullus allows us to sharpen our focus within an Anglo-Saxon context:[22]

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19 Text in *Recueil des Historiens*, V, p. 124. For a survey of Anglo-Continental trading ties at this time see Sabbe, 'Relations économiques'.

20 Text in Dümmler, *Epistolae 2*, p. 406. On this reference see below, p. 143f.

21 Text and German translation in Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān*, p. 91.

22 The original runs: *Delectat me quoque citharistam habere, qui possit citharizare in cithara quam nos appellamus rottae; quia citharum* [sic] *habeo, et artificem non habeo* Dümmler, *Epistolae 2*, p. 406).

> It would delight me also to have a string-player who could play upon the instrument that we call *rottæ*, for I have an instrument and I am without a player...

The difficulties involved in commenting upon this passage are enormous; it will be worthwhile to isolate them here. One medieval source has come to light in which an instrument is shown with the name *rotta* placed near it: a carving from the Moissac cloister (1085-1115) which shows a triangular zither.[23] This is a valuable but somewhat late (and southward looking) piece of evidence for our purposes. We have no Anglo-Saxon representations of such an instrument,[24] yet so few relevant drawings survive from pre-Conquest England that this may not be significant.[25] Cuthbert's *rottæ* may have been a zither of the Moissac type; yet if an instrument with this name was used by Englishmen, why did Cuthbert have to send abroad for a player? Perhaps the *rottæ* was not much played in England? This might explain why we have no Anglo-Saxon drawings of triangular zithers. Yet if it was rare, why does Cuthbert call it an instrument which 'we' (*nos*) call *rottæ*? He is writing to a fellow Englishman, so *nos* presumably means '*we* [English]'. Yet

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23 See Steger, *Philologia Musica*, p. 96f and plate 24, see also idem, 'Rotte', *passim*.

24 An inventory of Anglo-Saxon musical iconography will be presented below.

25 ibid.

if this is the case why is the word *rottæ* not recorded in Old English?[26] Perhaps it was a Frankish word brought to Cuthbert's house (together with the instrument) by a visiting tradesman or travelling monk? So does the *nos* mean '*we* [at Wearmouth]' and not '*we* [English]'?

Our task in the following two chapters will be to obtain as discriminating a view of the available pictorial and literary materials as may be possible. We must characterise each fragment of evidence with more closeness and fidelity than has hitherto been achieved. This will require us to undertake the first comprehensive survey of Anglo-Saxon musical illustration. In the following chapter we shall weigh the evidence of glossaries, poetry, prose and interlinear glosses, our innovation will be to attempt to understand how the processes of Anglo-Saxon literacy and learning have shaped the information at our disposal. Finally, we shall be able to draw some conclusions about the meaning of *hearpe* in Anglo-Saxon England.

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26 *B-T* has no entry for the word *rotta*, and it is not recorded in *RMLWL*.

ANGLO-SAXON MUSICAL ICONOGRAPHY

We begin our enquiry with a survey of the surviving Anglo-Saxon musical iconography. The following table lists all the examples known to me:[27]

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27 For the dates and provenances assigned to the manuscripts listed here I have followed Temple *AS Manuscripts*, and Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, both of which are the most recent surveys available in their respective fields. Further information on the Vespasian Psalter has been gleaned from Wright, *Vespasian Psalter*. In the lists of instruments I have deliberately refrained from giving descriptions, these will follow below. I have listed the strings typologically, thus the 'lyres' conform to the conditions laid down by Sachs and Hornbostel (see above p. 77, n. 8). An exception has been made in the case of the bowed instrument in my catalogue number 11 where 'fiddle' (a generic term for bowed instruments) seems preferable to the 'bowed lute' required by Sachs and Hornbostel. Instruments clearly based upon Antique models, or which echo Antique forms, are labelled 'Antique'. The details given in the descriptions of the wind instruments are tentative and no doubt somewhat arbitrarily chosen, most of the examples are not sufficiently detailed for precise identification. I have omitted the metal-point drawing of a harp (barely recognisable as such) which Ohlgren detected in Junius 11 with the aid of ultra-violet light (Ohlgren, 'Junius 11'). I have also omitted the schematic figure with a lyre shown on the lost Gilton bowl since it is not available for a study (for a drawing see Bruce-Mitford, 'Sutton-Hoo Lyre', p. 12 . I have also omitted the instrument shown in *BLRD* MS Cotton Vitellius F. XI (Rensch, *Harp*, plate 8b) since according to Alexander (*Insular Manuscripts*, no. 73) this was produced in Ireland.

Table 1 Anglo-Saxon Musical Iconography

	MS or Carving	Date	Provenance	Instruments
1	London, *BLRD* MS Cotton Vespasian A.I [Vespasian psalter] f. 30v Plate 1.	*c*725-*c*750	Canterbury, St. Augustine's	Lyre [with 2 stopped horns and 2 trumpets]
2	Durham, Cathedral Library MS B.II:30 [*Cassiodorus in Psalmos*] f.81v Plate 2.	*c*725-*c*750	Northumbria ?Wearmouth/ Jarrow	lyre
3	Yorkshire, North Riding, Masham Churchyard, cross-shaft.	9c		Lyre
4	London, *BLRD* MS Cotton Cleopatra C.VIII[Prudentius, *Psychomachia*] f. 19v, f.22r, f.30. Plate 4.	late 10c	Canterbury, Christ Church	Antique lyre, tong cymbals, horns, trumpets.
5	London, *BLRD* MS Add. 24199 [Prudentius, *Psychomachia*] f.17r, f.18r, f.21r, f.29v. Plate 5.	late 10c	Uncertain	As above
6	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 23 [Prudentius, *Psychomachia*]	late 10c	?Canterbury, Christ Church	As above
7	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, p. 54 (Plate 6)	*c*1000	Canterbury, Christ Church	Harp
8	London, *BLRD* MS Harley 603 [The Harley Psalter, a copy of The Utrecht Psalter] ff. 18v, 24v, 25, 26v, 27, 28r, 55v, 68r, 70r, 73v.	11c various periods	Canterbury, Christ Church	Harps, lyres, lutes, winds
9	London, *BLRD* MS Cotton Claudius B.IV [OE Hexateuch] f.9v and 92v. Plates 7 and 8.	*c*1025-*c*1050	Canterbury, St. Augustine's	Harps
10	Cambridge, University Library MS Ff. I.23 f.4v Plate 9.	*c*1030-50	?Winchcombe Abbey, Gloucestershire	Harp, lyres (plucked and bowed), ?drum, tong-cymbals, unclear wind

Table 1 Anglo-Saxon Musical Iconography (continued)

	MS	Date	Provenance	Instruments
11	London, *BLRD* MS Cotton Tiberius C.VI Tiberius Psalter , f.10, f.17v and f.30v. Plates 10, 12 and 13.	*c*1050	Winchester	harps. *psalterium,* fiddle, trumpet, horn, pseudo-Jerome types.

It will also be useful to have this material arranged in two further tables according to the date and the provenance of the sources.

Table 2 *Anglo-Saxon Musical Iconography* By date

Date		
8th century	Vespasian A.I	Lyre
	Durham B.II.30	Lyre
9th century	Masham Cross	Lyre
10th century (late)	Four Prudentius MSS	Pseudo-Antique instruments
11th century c1000	Junius 11	Harp
various dates	Harley 603	Harps and lyres, organ, lutes, etc.
	Cotton Claudius B.IV	Harps
	CUL Ff.I.23	Harps and lyres
	Cotton Tiberius C.vi	Harps, miscellaneous

Table 3 *Anglo-Saxon Musical Iconography* By provenance

Provenance	
Canterbury [Christ Church]	?CCCC 23 [Prudentius] Cotton Cleopatra C.VIII[Prudentius] Harley 603 [Utrecht psalter copy] Junius 11
[St. Augustine's]	Cotton Vespasian A.I Cotton Claudius B.IV
Northumbria	Durham B.II.30 Masham cross-shaft
?Gloucestershire	CUL Ff.I.23
Winchester	Cotton Tiberius C.VI

These tables reveal how little material has been preserved. The Ninth century Masham cross is extremely worn so that few details are visible.[28] The late-Tenth century Prudentius manuscripts reveal Antique instruments following Classical models. We have no reliable material to place between *c*750 and *c*1000, and the evidence we have is derived from a restricted area. After the two mid-Eighth century lyres, one of which is Northern, we have only the weathered cross-shaft from Masham to place in the Northern group. All the remaining sources are Southern, and the bulk of these derive from a single city: Canterbury.

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28 There is a photograph of the shaft in Bailey, 'Another Lyre'. For detailed comments and a reconstruction see Lawson, 'Lyre', *passim*.

The Content of the Illustrations

To assess the accuracy of the illustrations we shall adopt a comparative method, checking the depictions against Continental sources showing similar instruments and considering their iconographical models.

The Items in the Catalogue

1. Cotton Vespasian A.I (The Vespasian Psalter) Plate 1

The Vespasian Psalter was written and illustrated in the second quarter of the Eighth century at St. Augustine's, Canterbury.[29] On folio 30v is a painting (almost certainly not in its original position) of David as a musician. He is shown playing a lyre and enthroned, but not crowned, as king of Israel. On either side of him stands a scribe, one with what appears to be a half opened wax tablet and stylus, and another with a rotulus and a pen. In the foreground on the left are two players of hand-stopped horns, and on the right are two players of conical wind instruments, presumably trumpets. At the base of the picture two dancers clap their hands, and it may be that the horn-players and trumpeters are intended to be dancing also.[30]

The composition is studied and symmetrical. The eye

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29 For details see Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, p. 55, and Wright, *Vespasian Psalter*, passim.

30 As suggested by Wright, *Vespasian Psalter*, p. 69.

is led directly to David whose head is placed at the summit of a structural oval connecting the other figures within the decorative frame. The scribes balance one another, as do the pairs of wind players in the lower foreground and the two dancers below David's feet.

The iconography of the picture is complex, as Wright observes, it is a "generalised author portrait, with elaborate aulic and Christian references..."[31] He proposes that "the frontispiece to a Latin psalter executed in an Italian centre with Greek connections in the first half of the sixth century" provided the model,[32] and he traces Byzantine and Sassanian influences in some of the decorative motifs, in the use of pigments, and in other important details combined with numerous motifs from "the Hiberno-Saxon *koiné* established at Lindisfarne about 700..."[33]

The instruments are coloured with gold, silver, or with both. The silver on the lyre has now oxidised, the trumpets to the right are painted in alternate bands of gold and silver and the two horns on the left are silver. Although precious-metal plated instruments existed throughout the Middle Ages as aristocratic treasures,[34] I suspect that the use of these pigments here is a

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31 Wright, *Vespasian Psalter* , p. 71. See also Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, p. 55.

32 Wright, *Vespasian Psalter*, p. 75.

33 ibid. p. 65.

34 For documentary and literary references to such instruments from the later medieval period (when detailed literary evidence becomes available), see Page, 'String-Instrument Making', p. 63, n. 45.

decorative and non-realistic feature. Yet the bands on the trumpets are perhaps an echo of bark-trumpets bound together with ligatures,[35] the OE words for a trumpet, *beme* and *stocc*, both denote a balk of wood.[36] The horns are hand-stopped. The combination of two trumpets and a pair of horns is a likely one for dancing, during the better-documented centuries of the later Middle Ages loud wind instruments were much used for dance music because of their volume and the intoxicating character of their sound.[37] Reconstructions of Anglo-Saxon lyres produced in the present century do not suggest that these instruments would have served dancers well save in the most intimate circumstances.[38]

David sits aloft and somewhat removed from the raucous sound-world of the dancers and musicians below. It is surprising that he was not drawn into the debate on oral-formulaic theory, for it would be correct to describe this picture as an Eighth-century representation of a warrior-king improvising poetry to a stringed instrument while two scribes, in the words of the OE version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, 'write at his mouth',[39]

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35 For modern examples of such instruments see Buchner, *Folk Instruments*, plate 230.

36 See *B-T bēme*, *bȳme*, and *stocc* 2.

37 See Bowles, 'Haut and Bas', *passim*, for the literary evidence.

38 This comment is based upon the author's experience of the British Museum reconstruction of the Sutton Hoo lyre, and his own lyre based upon the Sutton Hoo evidence collated with the illustrations in the Vespasian psalter and the Durham Cassiodorus.

39 The most recently edited text of the relevant extract is in Sweet, *Reader*, p. 45f. For evidence that "the commonest way of committing words for writing [in the Middle Ages] was by dictating to a scribe" see Clanchy, *Memory*, p. 97f.

one with a wax tablet for the first draft and the second with a *rotulus* for the fair copy.[40] Here, the oral-formulaists might have argued, is a picture (from exactly the right time) of how much OE verse came into being. We need not linger over the objections to this line of reasoning; they rest principally upon the importance of the 'David with scribes' iconography in European- and not just English-medieval art.[41]

No details are visible on the surface of the lyre which was painted in silver that has now oxidised (a significant point to which we shall return in a later chapter). Yet, despite the complex iconographic and stylistic affiliations of the picture, the lyre is instantly recognisable as a familiar medieval type. Comparison with the later Northern lyres in plates 16-18 will clarify the resemblance in terms of the general size and aspect of the instruments. The finger-technique is another important link (Antique lyres were generally plucked with plectra).[42] It is also important that the Vespasian psalter lyre has six strings, for this seems to be the number on the excavated

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40 The significance of the two forms of writing is brought out by Wright, *Vespasian Psalter*, p. 71.

41 For further examples see Steger, *David Rex*, plates 7-11, and 16-17.

42 See the Antique representations in Fleischhauer, *Etrurien und Rom*, plates 10, 41, 58, etc., and in Wegner, *Griechenland*, plates 19, 25, 37, 38, 39, etc. It should be noted that the technique of stopping (or damping) the strings with the hand not wielding the plectrum makes it appear that some of these instruments are actually being plucked with the fingers. For a careful and up-to-date survey of lyre technique amongst the Greeks see Anderson, 'Greek Music', *passim*.

Germanic lyres (Fifth - Eighth centuries) whose yokes survive reasonably intact.[43]

The distinctive feature of the Vespasian lyre is its quadrangular form which is quite distinct from the 'figure-of-eight' design that characterises the continental examples. However, the Sutton Hoo fragments support the artist's testimony: the left arm of this instrument is continuously reconstructable down to the base of the opening and proves to be straight.[44]

Thus far the Vespasian lyre emerges with relatively sound credentials, its claim to represent a genuine Eighth century English instrument is supported by the next item in the catalogue.

2. The Durham Cassiodorus Plate 2

Durham Cathedral Library MS B.II.30 is a manuscript of Cassiodorus's commentary upon the psalms produced in Northbumbria (?Wearmouth/Jarrow) in the second quarter of the Eighth century.[45] Folio 81^{v} shows David with a lyre enthroned and crowned as king of Israel. Alexander proposes that Italian miniatures of the Sixth century provided the models for this manuscript, and suggests that "the exemplar could quite possibly have come from

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43 Catalogued and described, with bibliography, in Crane, *Extant Instruments*, numbers 313.01-313.05. For further, literary evidence for the hexachordic tradition see below, p. 188f.

44 I am grateful to Dr. Rupert Bruce-Mitford for confirmation of this statement.

45 See Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts*, p. 46.

Cassiororus's own scriptorium" (plate 2).[46]

The lyre is very similar to the example shown in the Vespasian Psalter. It has the same overall proportions and quadrangular shape. Furthermore, the two fine lines drawn at the point where the arms become the yoke suggest some kind of decorative band so placed as to conceal the join between the arms and the yoke morticed into them. This is the technology of most extant lyres.[47] There are five strings (compare the Vespasian lyre and, again, the excavated lyres).[48] David plays with his fingers as he does in the Vespasian Psalter; there is no plectrum.

These two lyres are typologically distinct from the bulk of Antique mediterranean instruments. Their yoke is integrated with the arms, and archaeological evidence suggests that their real counterparts were shallow and flat-backed. Such lyres would therefore have the aspect of a board and not of a capacious box (like many Antique *citharae*), or of a bowl with arms (like the *lyrae*).[49] Their sagittal pegs and finger-plucking technique distinguish them still further from Classical lyres.

We may conclude that both the Vespasian Psalter and the Durham Cassiodorus preserve relatively trustworthy likenesses of Anglo-Saxon lyres of the Eighth century.

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46 ibid.

47 See Crane, *Extant Instruments*, numbers 313.01-313.05.

48 ibid numbers 313.01, .03,.04 (?), and .05.

49 Compare the examples listed in note 42.

The Masham Churchyard Lyre

A weathered cross shaft from Masham Churchyard in Yorkshire (North Riding), possibly of the Ninth century, shows King David holding a lyre, accompanied by other figures.[50] The details of the sculpture have faded, but enough remains to show that the instrument was in the figure-of-eight shape frequently represented in Continental sources (see plates 16-18) and also known in Scandinavia.[51] It also provides valuable evidence that the lyre was still considered to be an aristocratic instrument in the Ninth century - at least in the North of England.[52]

The Prudentius Illustrations Plates 4-6

Sixteen illustrated manuscripts of the *Psychomachia* are in existence apart from minor fragments, the oldest belongs to the Ninth century, while the latest is dated 1289.[53] The archetype of all these manuscripts is lost, but a late-Tenth century copy from the neighbourhood of Tours and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is considered to be close to the original, and to provide evidence that the archetype was produced as early as the Fifth century.[54] The Anglo-Saxon examples derive

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50 Photograph and discussion in Bailey, 'Another Lyre'. For a full discussion and reconstruction see Lawson, 'Lyre', *passim*.

51 See Lawson, Norwegian lyre', *passim*, for discussion and illustration of this point.

52 On this question see below p. 115f.

53 Katzenellenbogen, *Virtues and Vices*, p. 1f.

54 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8318, ibid. p. 4.

from models of this early date.[55]

In all of these manuscripts a stringed instrument appears to accompany the dance of *Luxuria*. The Paris copy shows *Luxuria* dancing to the music of a lyre, a double-pipe, and tong-cymbals (plate 3). The lyre is obviously pseudo-Classical; its arms curve to form a shape that has evoked the Classical cithara from Late-Antiquity to the present day, echoing genuine Roman instruments.[56]

The mounted cymbals pose a delicate problem. They appear to be tong-cymbals (two plates set inside the gape of a tong). These instruments were current in Antiquity in the Mediterranean,[57] and still survive in some parts of the world.[58] Tong-cymbals are frequently represented in Carolingian manuscripts (often in association with David and his musicians) [59] but in the absence of archaeological finds it is uncertain whether they existed in medieval Europe, or if their presence in illustrations is an archaising feature. Later-Medieval manuscripts do not seem to show them and this argues for the latter view. They appear once in an English source (item 10, plate 9) in conjunction with what appears to be a hemispherical drum of a type not known to have entered Europe until the period of the Crusades.

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55 Temple, *AS Manuscripts*, p. 70.

56 Compare the examples in Fleischhauer, *Etrurien und Rom*, plates 41, 54, 58, etc.

57 Sachs, *Instruments*, pp. 103-4.

58 For Anatolian examples see Picken *Turkey*, p. 22f and plates 3a-d.

59 See for example *Stuttgart Psalter*, folios 84v and 163v; the Psalter of Charles the Bald (Boinet, *La Miniature*, plate CXIII); the Dagulf Psalter (Steger, *Philologia Musica*, plates 4 and 31), and the *Psalterium Aureum* (Boinet, plate CXLIV).

The double, divergent pipes may be an echo of a Classical model. Their curvature suggests that they may just be double horn-pipes.

In all three of the Anglo-Saxon Prudentius copies the instruments which accompany the dance of *Luxuria* are the same: lyre, mounted cymbals and double-pipes. In the Corpus Christi College manuscript (folio 21v) the instruments are very sketchily drawn, but in Cotton Cleopatra C. VIII (item 4, plate 4) and Additional 24199 (item 5, plate 5) they are more carefully represented. The lyre of the Cotton manuscript is strikingly Classical with its powerful echo of the natural-horn arms of some Antique instruments and its four strings. The sagittal pegs (with heads for turning) have been imported from medieval chordophones; the lyre of Antiquity used neither sagittal nor lateral pegs but thongs or rods.[60] The divergent double-pipes are schematic and lack details of fingerholes. The higher of the two pipes certainly has the appearance of a hornpipe. The mounted cymbals have been schematised to bare essentials, and there is no suggestion of a pair. On the whole this is a classicised drawing, lacking convincing detail and closely based upon its models.

The Additional manuscript (plate 5) is somewhat more convincing - at least as far as concerns the double (and now parallel) pipes. The ligatures holding the two pipes

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60 For a brief account of these systems see Sachs, *Instruments*, p. 130.

together are shown while an attempt has been made to suggest unequal fingerholes in each. Unequally holed, parallel double-pipes have been recovered from four Avar graves of the Sixth-Eighth century,[61] in view of the vast area covered by the Avar Khanate in the Sixth century (bordering upon the territory of the Saxons, Franks, Lombards, and Gepids)[62] the movement of such types along northbound trade-routes may be responsible for the irruption of detail into our drawing.

The remaining instruments seem relatively untouched by such developments. The mounted cymbals are as schematic as those in the Corpus Christi Prudentius examined above, while the lyre has travelled far from any detailed model it may have had. It lacks a convincing tuning mechanism and soundbox structure; only the pseudo-Classical shape is telling.

The Prudentius manuscripts therefore have little to tell us about Anglo-Saxon instruments. They are classicising, archaising drawings, and both the Corpus Christi and the Cotton Cleopatra copies show the influence of Rheims,[63] home of one of the most famous archaising manuscripts of the Middle Ages: the Utrecht Psalter.

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61 Catalogued and described, with bibliography, in Crane, *Extant Instruments*, numbers 432.1-4.

62 See the maps for AD 562 and 600 in McEvedy, *Medieval Atlas*.

63 Temple, *AS Manuscripts*, p. 70.

Junius 11 and Cotton Claudius B.IV (The Junius Manuscript of OE Poetry and the OE Hexateuch) Plates 6-8.

For three reasons these manuscripts may be considered together: (1) they provide terminological information of considerable value which is forthcoming from no other source, (2) they are almost certainly from Christ Church, Canterbury, and (3) the illustrations in both manuscripts accompany vernacular versions of Old Testament material (a verse-paraphrase of *Genesis* in Junius 11, and a translation of the first six books of the Old Testament in the OE Hexateuch).

MS Junius 11, one of the four major codices of OE poetry, was copied and illustrated at Christ Church, Canterbury, c1000.[64] It contains four poems (*Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan*) and the first of these incorporates a series of full- and half-page drawings. Part of the text of *Genesis* is based upon an Old Saxon original and it has been proposed that the illustrations in the Junius manuscript derive from Old Saxon models.[65]

On page 54 of the manuscript a full page drawing shows the sons of Cain including Jubal, who according to the Vulgate text was *pater canentium in cithara et organo*, and Tubalcain, *qui fuit malleator* (*Genesis* 4:21-2).

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64 ibid. p. 76f. Chapter 5 below is devoted to this manuscript.

65 See Raw, 'Junius 11', and also Henderson, 'Junius XI'.

Jubal is shown playing a pillar-harp (plate 6). He appears to be sitting (though no support is shown), supporting the base of the instrument on his lap. His left hand appears on the far side of the string-band but the rest of his body has been omitted.

The harp represents a type that we encounter repeatedly in English manuscripts of the period *c*1000-1066. The major diagnostic characteristics are: a straight string bearer (here painted a dark brown and presumably intended to represent a separate piece of timber morticed into the other members), the bend in the upper portion of the pillar, and the marked shoulder where the soundbox meets the string bearer (where the light pigment meets the dark).

The passage of the OE *Genesis* relating to Jubal reads:[66]

Iabal noma, se þurh gleawne geþanc
þara anum waes
herbuendra hearpan aerest
handum sinum hlyn awehte,
swinsigende sweg, sunu Lamehes.

This strongly suggests that the *hearpe* of c1000 - at least in Canterbury - was an instrument such as we have just described, yet can we assume that the artist responsible for the drawing in Junius 11 was illustrating the text rather than simply drawing the scene? Jubal and his harp appear on page 54, but the text pertaining to them appears on page 52.

Our second source helps to clear a path through

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66 Text from *ASPR*, 1, p. 35, lines 1077b-1081b.

these difficulties. MS Cotton Claudius B.IV contains the OE illustrated Hexateuch, a prose paraphrase of the first six books of the Old Testament, probably produced in Canterbury towards the middle of the Eleventh century.[67] On folio 9v there is a representation of the sons of Cain (plate 7), and as in Junius 11 Jubal is shown with a pillar-harp. The instrument has all the characteristics mentioned above; notice once again the stright string-arm, the sudden bend in the forepillar towards the top, and the shoulder where the soundbox meets the string arm. The relevant passage of the text (which confuses Iabel the 'father' of shepherds and tentmakers with Iubal) appears on the same page as the drawing (though not in its vicinity):[68]

> Iubal waes hyrda faeder 7 þara manna ðe on ȝeteldum wunedon 7 sangera faeder 7 hearpera 7 orȝanystra

A second illustration in this manuscript brings word and thing into even closer proximity. On folio 92v the women of Israel rejoice after the passage across the Red Sea (plate 8). Each holds a harp (save the one in the centre whose harp is perhaps 'hidden'). The plural *hearpan*

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67 Temple, *AS Manuscripts*, p. 102f. See also Dodwell and Clemoes, *Hexateuch* for a facsimile of the manuscript and much valuable introductory comment.

68 Folio 9v.

may be seen in the top left of the plate. It is part of a text which runs:[69]

> Maria waes gehaten moyses swustor heo ȝesamnode ealle þa wifmen toȝaedere on israhela cynne 7 namon heora hearpan him on hand 7 heredon ȝod 7 wuldrodon aeȝðer ȝemid hearpan ȝemid lofsanȝe.

Once again, the *hearpe* appears as a pillar-harp of a familiar type. The instruments are somewhat schematic and the pillars seem to be generally straight (though a bend is visible in the central example), yet they are characterised by their generally straight peg-arms and by the shoulders at the junction of soundbox and peg-arm.

The pictures of the OE Hexateuch show few traces of external iconographic influence. According to Dodwell the "...social elements of the pictures...do not reflect the ways of life of a Mediterranean and early Christian world, but the modes and fashions of northern Europe of the eleventh century".[70]

MS Harley 603 (The Harley Psalter)

The Harley Psalter is a copy of the celebrated Utrecht Psalter (Rheims, *c* 820), and was produced at Christ Church Canterbury between *c* 1000 and the third

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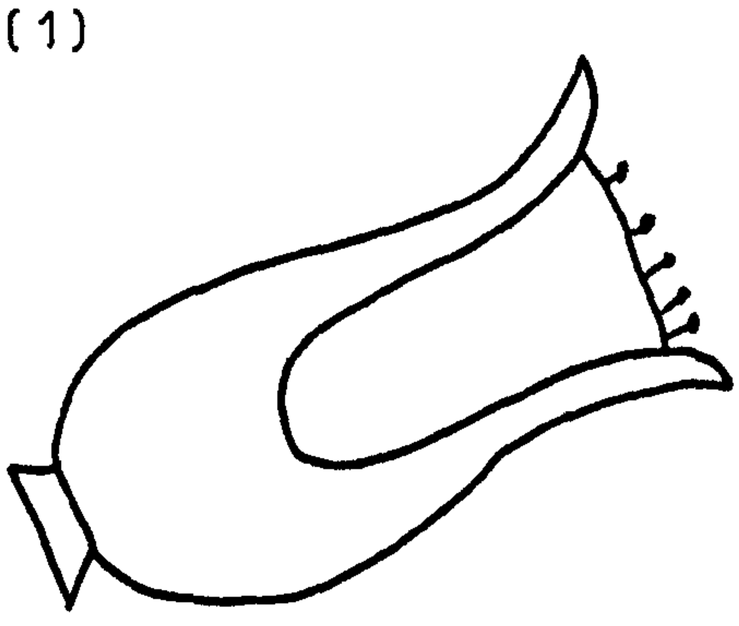
69 Folio 92v.

70 ibid. p. 71.

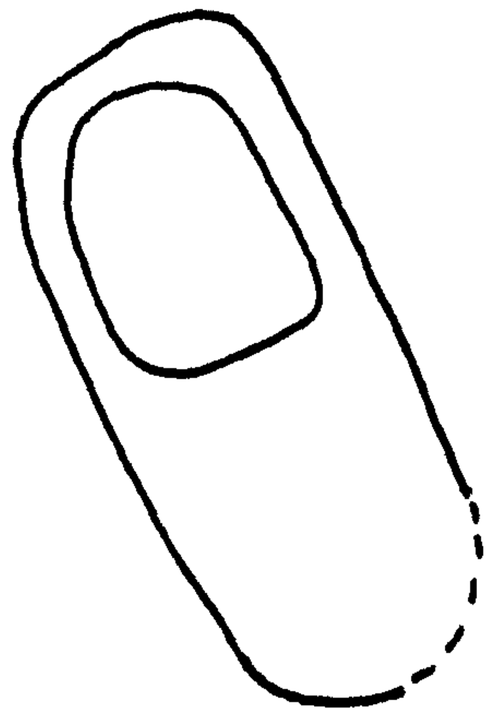
quarter of the Eleventh century.[71]

The Utrecht Psalter is based upon Classical models of the Fourth or Fifth centuries AD.[72] The instruments it contains have been much discussed,[73] and there is general agreement that a basic layer of Antique, Mediterranean forms has been overlaid with Carolingian material. Thus in addition to lyres of Antique outline (1), we find instruments of medieval character (2).

(1)



(2)



The numerous fingerboard instruments of the manuscript have a distinctly pseudo-Classical look. Their soundboxes frequently have decorative 'wings'

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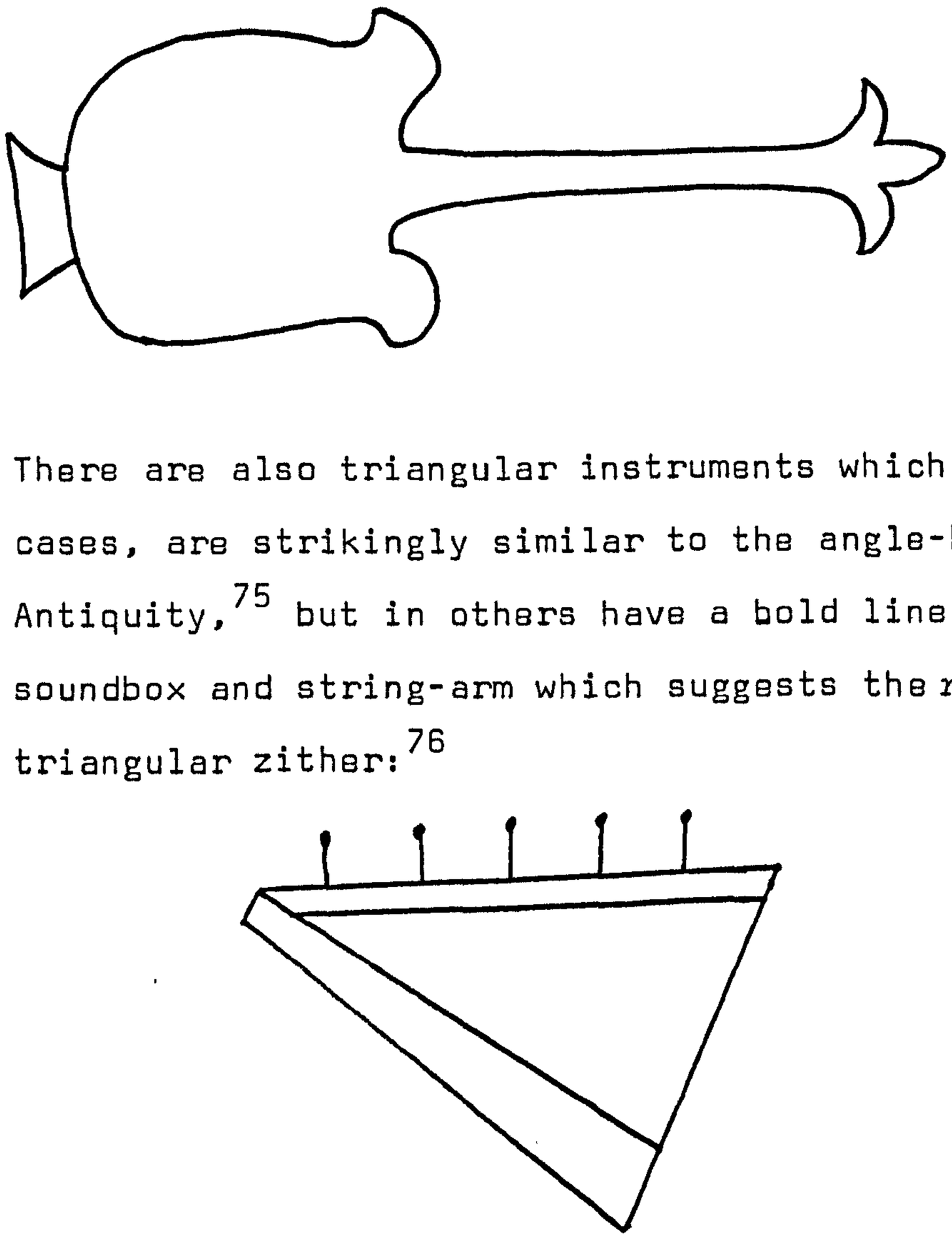
71 Temple, *AS Manuscripts*, p. 81f. For a study of the harps in this manuscript, see Rensch, 'Medieval Harp', and of the organ, Page, 'Keyboard'.

72 See Dufrenne, *Psautier d'Utrecht*, pp. 69-192, where there is a full and up-to-date discussion of the iconography of the MS.

73 See Bachmann, *Origins*, p. 20f; Dufrenne, *Psautier d'Utrecht*, p. 173f; Schlesinger, 'Utrecht Psalter'; Seebass, 'Utrecht Psalter'.

which set up echoes of the Antique lyre:[74]



There are also triangular instruments which, in some cases, are strikingly similar to the angle-harps of Antiquity,[75] but in others have a bold line joining soundbox and string-arm which suggests the *rotta* or triangular zither:[76]

74 Folios 18v, 25r, 27r, 40r, 48r, 54r, 76r, 81v and 83r. De Wald, *Utrecht Psalter*, plates 30, 40, 43, 65, 75, 85, 117, 127 and 130.
This aspect of the long lutes has been studied by Wintemitz (*Instruments*, p. 57f). Wintemitz argues that these wings are atrophied features left over from the supposed parent, the classical *cithara*. This view is profoundly mistaken (1) because the sources Wintemitz cites (such as the Utrecht Psalter) are classicising in character, and (2) the descent of this kind of lute can be traced through Islamic sources (see Farmer, *Islam*, plates 18, 19, 45, 49, 74, etc.) to a central Asian origin.

75 E.g. folios 28r and 37v (De Wald, *Utrecht Psalter*, plates 45 and 62). For Antique representaitons of angle-harps see Wegner, *Griechenland*, plates 22, 71-2, etc., and Fleischhauer, *Etrurien und Rom*, plate 56.

76 E.g. folio 27r. See the illustrations of triangular instruments (with and without soundboards) in Steger, *Philologia Musica*, plates 4-6, 8, 9, 24-25, 30, 31 (?), 32-37), and compare Steger, *David Rex*, p. 41f.

The Harley psalter contains numerous lyres mostly very similar to their models in the Utrecht Psalter and thus, unfortunately, of limited use to our enquiry. Similarly the long lutes are closely based upon their models and represent a type of instrument apparently not used in medieval England. The chief value of the psalter lies in the number of depictions of harps it contains, for the triangular instruments of the model have, without exception, been cast as pillar-harps. These instruments are extremely small in the manuscript, and little may be learned from them save that the harps examined above were not the only types current in Tenth-century England, the Harley psalter instruments generally have a curved peg-arm and a curved pillar without an abrupt bend.

CUL MS Ff.I.23 Plate 9

This elaborately decorated psalter, produced towards the middle of the Eleventh century, possibly in Winchcombe Abbey,[77] presents us with the largest array of stringed instruments we have yet encountered. David, crowned and enthroned, is surrounded by his four musicians Asaph,

77 Temple, *AS Manuscripts*, p. 97f.

Eman, Ethan and Idithun. He is seated holding a harp in his lap. The soundbox is differentiated from the string-arm by colour, and the pillar from both of these components by a striped motif, the artist has emphasised the tripartite structure of the instrument. David holds an object in his left hand which is undoubtedly a tuning key.[78] On the left stands Asaph with a bowed instrument that appears to be a lyre. With the Tiberius Psalter illustration (see below) this is the earliest evidence for the currency of the bow in England. Since the diffusion of this tool seems to have been complete in Europe by the Eleventh century,[79] it is possible that bowing was a recent technical innovation when this drawing was produced. It need cause no surprise that Anglo-Saxon musicians applied the bow to their plucked lyres. Such experiments seem to have followed in the wake of bowing.[80]

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78 For representations of these tuning-keys see Steger, *David Rex*, p. 72.

79 See Bachmann, *Origins*, p. 136f for a useful summary of conclusions.

80 ibid. p. 137. "By the eleventh century, the bow had indubitably penetrated into Europe by was of Arab Spain and Byzantium. Once there, it was applied to native instruments of the fiddle and lyre family..."

Eman stands on the right of David playing a plucked lyre. The drawing is lacking in detail (there are no pegs to tune the strings, no bridge, and no method of fastening the strings at the base of the instrument). However, the drawing proves that the plucked lyre was still in use in England in the Eleventh century (we have had no trace of it since the Masham sculpture).[81] It also shows how David's former instrument has been demoted to the hands of an attendant musician: David plays a pillar-harp.

Ethan and Idithun are placed below David, separated from his picture space by a decorative frame. This arrangement may reflect a value judgement on the relative merits of wind and percussion instruments as opposed to chordophones; as we shall see, wind instruments appear to have been less highly esteemed than strings in Anglo-Saxon

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81 For a similar form of lyre see Bachmann, *Origins*, plate 89. It is puzzling that our drawing seems to show a lyre similar to the one in Bachmann's plate but enclosed in some kind of ovoid outline.

England (as in most phases of European culture before the Renaissance).[82]

Ethan plays a conical wind instrument with fingerholes. The absence of an opening at the end of the pipe may be an artist's oversight, or it may be intended to indicate an enclosed, vessel-flute of the ocarina type; the former explanation seems the safest. It is remarkably fat, and its tapering exterior may point to a fingerhole horn.

Idithun's two instruments present serious problems. We have already raised the delicate question of whether tong-cymbals existed in medieval Europe.[83] They appear in the classicising Prudentius manuscripts, but our psalter provides the only independent English evidence that we have for the study of the problem. Unfortunately, the iconography of this manuscript has not been precisely clarified, according to Temple, it is probable that "both miniatures and initials copy models of various styles and from various periods".[84] Cymbals of this type are very frequently shown in Carolingian manuscripts, and may have been imported into this psalter from such sources. Alternatively, we may be looking at a genuine form of Anglo-Saxon percussion instrument.

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82 On Anglo-Saxon attitudes to the *hearpe* and to wind instruments see below, p. 123f.

83 See above, p. 95 . There is perhaps one OE word that might have denoted such instruments: *cladærsticca/claderstecca*, 'clapper-stick' which appears in the Épinal-Erfurt glossary as an interpretation for *anate*, perhaps connected with *aeneus*, 'bronze' (Pheifer, *Épinal-Erfurt*, p. 8).

84 Temple, *AS Manuscripts*, p. 98.

The other instrument in Idithun's hands presents a similar problem. There is comparatively little evidence for the use of drums in Western Europe between the fall of Rome and the Crusades[85] - remarkable though it may seem - and no Anglo-Saxon evidence whatsoever save the word *tunnebotm* ('barrel bottom') which glosses *tympanum*

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85 As pointed out long ago by Sachs (*Instruments*, p. 288). Galpin (*Instruments*, plate 38, caption) took this instrument to be a panpipe, and there is some support for this hypothesis in the Eleventh century miniatures of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds latin 1118. Folio 116v shows a musician with a large semicircular - and possibly therefore 'hemispherical' - instrument held up to the chin. It has seven circles disposed at equal intervals along its rim which may represent the mouths of pipes formed by boring into the solid (see Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, 2, plate 3 for a colour reproduction, and 1, p. 40f for full discussion, Seebass describes the instrument as a set of *Panflöte*). However, another miniature in the same MS (f. 114, Seebass, *op.cit.* plate 9) shows a woman dancing with two semicircular shapes (one in each hand) that also have circles disposed along their rims; they are joined together and are undoubtedly cup cymbals. In view of the fact that Idithun holds tong-cymbals in one hand in our manuscript it is tempting to identify his semicircular object as a cup cymbal (or *pair* of cup cymbals with one resting in the other while not in use).
One new source for the early history of drums that is worth mentioning here is Cassiodorus's commentary upon the psalms, where the *tympanum* is quite clearly defined as an hour-glass drum of a type shown in the Utrecht psalter and still used in parts of the Islamic world. Text in *PL* 70, column 586: *Tympanum est, quod tenso corio quasi supra duas (ut ita dixerim) metas sibi ab acuta parte copulatas solet resonare percussum...* For representations of this instrument in the Utrecht Psalter see De Wald, *Utrecht Psalter*, plate 130 (two examples) and for related instruments currently in use see Buchner, *Folk Instruments*, plates 158 and 173-76. For an account of the early archaeological evidence for the use of drums in central and northern Europe see Schad, 'Schlaginstrumente'.

in a Tenth-century word list.[86] Hemispherical drums apparently came to Europe when the Crusaders brought Saracen martial drums home.

The instrumentarium in this psalter is therefore a complex and layered one. The harp is typical of late Anglo-Saxon harps and can be accepted as authentic. The bowed and plucked lyres are shown, by comparative evidence from the Continent, to be genuine types though they are lacking in detail. The problems begin at the base of the picture. The wind instrument held by Ethan is unclear, and we lack evidence to elucidate it. The percussion instruments held by Idithun are extremely problematic, and may have been imported from an earlier model.

MS Cotton Tiberius C.VI

The final manuscript which we have to consider presents us with an even richer hoard of representations than the last. These fall into two groups: (1) the 'pseudo-Jerome' illustrations, and (2) the other drawings,

The Pseudo-Jerome Instruments of Cotton Tiberius C.VI

The Tiberius psalter contains a series of drawings of instruments (ff 16^{V}-18^{R}) which belong to a special

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86 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 123:10.

programme with many Continental parallels. These illustrations have misled many investigators,[87] and the time has come to dismiss them once and for all.

The drawings form part of the prefatory material, and accompany pseudo-Jerome's *Epistle to Dardanus*,[88] a text which was very frequently copied during the Middle Ages (though by no means always illustrated). It purports to be a letter from St. Jerome to Dardanus concerning certain instruments mentioned in the Scriptures (including the *cithara*, *psalterium*, *tympanum* and *tuba*). The text is not considered to be an authentic work of Saint Jerome, though it may be of very early date; Avenary proposes that it is a "tendentious exegesis of King Nebuchadnezzar's musical instruments in Daniel, 3:5 seq., composed in the East during the 4th-century".[89] The document was in existence by the Ninth century (the date of the earliest manuscripts)[90] and certainly in circulation by 844 when Hrabanus Maurus completed his *De Universo*, drawing heavily upon the *Epistle* for his account of Biblical instruments.[91]

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87 Particularly Wackerbath, *Anglo-Saxons*, *passim*, and Padelford, *OE Musical Terms*, p. 28f, whose errors have never been exposed.

88 For a modern edition of the text see Avenary, 'Hieronymus' Epistel'. For discussions of the pseudo-Jerome illustrations see Hammerstein, *Instrumenta Hieronymi'*; Page, 'Biblical Instruments', and Seebass, *Musikdarstellung*, *passim*.

89 Avenary, 'Pseudo-Jerome', p. 5.

90 One early Ninth-century copy with illustrations (Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 18) is reproduced in Page, 'Biblical Instruments', plate 3.

91 *PL* 111, columns 495-500.

Uncertainty surrounds the ancestry of the drawings which accompany the text in some manuscripts, but a comparison of the published reproductions shows a striking consistency of designs pointing to a single model copied with considerable care.[92]

The instruments shown are mostly fanciful and unworkable.[93] Examples from the Tiberius psalter were first reproduced by Wackerbath[94] who took them almost at face value. He was followed closely in this respect by Padelford in 1899.[95] Since then the drawings of the pseudo-Jerome tradition have been described as 'fantastical' and even 'a hoax',[96] but both of these characterisations miss the point of the illustrations. They are, in effect, an attempt at Biblical archaeology. During the earliest years of the Christian Church scholars recognised that some worldly learning was essential to Bible study. Music had its place among the Liberal Arts, and the study of musical instruments was a recognised part of that discipline. Augustine, in his influential treatise *De Doctrina Christiana*, records that an exegete requires some knowledge of the subject,[97] while Cassiodorus's Liberal Arts syllabus for Bible students, the

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92 Compare the illustrations assembled in Page, 'Biblical Instruments', plates 3-12 and 15-20 (where plates 17 and 20 are Eighteenth century antiquarian copies of plates 16 and 19).

93 See, for example, Page, 'Biblical Instruments', plate 6. The *cimbalum* however, has a realistic look, and bears a striking resemblance to the jingling ornaments that have been uncovered from northern European burials of the early Middle Ages. See Crane, *Extant Instruments*, p. 4, and fig. 2.

94 Wackerbath, *Anglo-Saxons*, frontispiece.

95 Padelford, *OE Musical Terms*, *passim*.

96 For a survey of opinion regarding these illustrations see Hammerstein, *'Instrumenta Hieronymi'*, p. 119.

97 Text in Martin, *Doctrina*, p. 51f.

Institutiones, contains a section on musical instruments.[98] Thus we can see how pseudo-Jerome's *Epistle* would have been useful to scholars, for it purports to provide historical information pertaining to the instruments of Scripture, and the strange character of the illustrations probably impressed many medieval readers: in a work of such authority, what clearly did not represent the instruments of the present could be taken to represent the instruments of the past.

The most important illustration for our purposes is the depiction of David with a *psalterium* on folio 17v (plate 12).[99] David is shown enthroned and crowned as king of Israel, holding a stringed instrument. The legend at the top of the folio reads

> Hic est dauid filius iesse tenens psalterium in manibus suis.

A further legend runs:

> Hec est forma psalterii.

This illustration has repeatedly been reproduced as a depiction of an Anglo-Saxon psaltery. Wackerbath began the process in 1837[100] and it has continued to the present day.[101] Yet this *psalterium* belongs directly in the

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98 Text in Mynors, *Institutiones*, pp. 142-150.

99 There is a detailed description of this illustration in Steger, *David Rex, Denkmälerbeschreibung* 27a.

100 Wackerbath, *Anglo-Saxons* , figure 1.

101 The illustration was last published in this way in the fourth edition of Galpin, *Instruments*, (plate 12), published in 1965. It is significant that the appearance of the original was altered for this edition to make the instrument look more realistic. See Page, 'Biblical Instruments, p. 305 and plates 8 and 12.

pseudo-Jerome tradition, as a comparison with the instrument in plate 11 will show. Furthermore, a representation of David enthroned and crowned is found in other pseudo-Jerome manuscripts which antedate the Tiberius psalter.[102] Finally, the instrument is quite unbelievable as it stands. There are ten strings (often a signal that medieval artists have attempted to reconstruct the *psalterium decachordum* of the psalms)[103] and some of these proceed down the instrument only to be interrupted by a clearly fanciful, horizontal set. There is no soundbox assembly of any kind. Antique and Byzantine models probably lie behind this *psalterium*, for such schematic, square instruments can be found in earlier, southern sources.[104]

The Remaining Illustrations of Cotton Tiberius C.VI.

The Tiberius Psalter also contains two full-page illustrations.[105] The first, on folio 10 (plate 10), shows David holding a pillar-harp. His left hand grasps a standard. A horn emerges from the cloud above to represent Divine inspiration.

The harp is very similar in form to those we have

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102 See the Angers manuscript mentioned in note 90, and reproduced in Page, 'Biblical Instruments', plate 3.

103 For another example see Page, 'Biblical Instruments', plate 14.

104 See for example the drawing from the Byzantine Khludov psalter (shortly after 843) in Wright, *Vespasian Psalter*, plate VI.i.

105 There is a description of these pages in Steger, *David Rex, Denkmälerbeschreibung* 27 and 27b.

examined already, here is further testimony (to place beside the Cambridge University Library Psalter) that the pillar-harp was the aristocratic instrument of Eleventh-century England.

In a second full-page illustration on folio 30v (plate 13) David holds a pillar-harp of typical Eleventh-century English form in his lap. To his right stands a horn-player, and to the left, a figure playing what appears to be a trumpet resting upon a support. As shown, the instrument is not long enough to require such an assembly to support it, and it has doubtless been foreshortened.

In the upper portion of the picture a juggler and a fiddler appear to perform together. Nowhere else in Anglo-Saxon art do we find traces of any performing art other than music; this is perhaps a glimpse of street entertainment - or even of hall entertainment on certain occasions. It is possible that such fiddles existed in England (as plucked instruments) long before the period of this illustration, for we find very similar types in Continental sources as early as c800.[106] The piriform outline, the two circular soundholes, and the square or diamond-shaped pegboard are characteristic of many medieval bowed instruments from c1000 on, and of their plucked antecedents. This is undoubtedly a contemporary instrument drawn with some accuracy.[107]

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106 See, for example, the instruments in Bachmann, *Origins*, plates 17 and 18.

107 ibid. plates 18, 27, etc.

Conclusions

We are now in a position to draw our analyses together into a picture of the Anglo-Saxon instrumentarium as revealed by pictorial sources, and to make certain important statements concerning the *hearpe:*

(1) Some material is based upon earlier models that have decisively influenced the form of the instruments depicted. This includes all the Prudentius manuscripts (items 4-6 in the Catalogue), the fingerboard instruments and pseudo-Antique lyres of Harley 603 (item 8), possibly the tong-cymbals and drum of CUL Ff.I.23, and all the pseudo-Jerome instruments of Cotton Tiberius C.VI. This evidence must be set aside.

(2) The remaining sources show instruments that can be assumed to have existed in Anglo-Saxon England. They are:

(a) horns, trumpets and a lyre in catalogue item 1 [Vespasian A.I]

(b) a lyre in item 2 [Durham B.II.30]

(c) a lyre, item 3 [Masham cross]

(d) a pillar-harp, item 7 [Junius 11]

(e) pillar harps and a lyre in item 8 [Harley 603]

(f) two-pillar harps in item 9 [Claudius B.IV]

(g) a pillar harp, a bowed lyre, a plucked lyre, and an unclear wind instrument in item 10 [CUL Ff.I.23]

(h) two pillar harps, a fiddle, a trumpet and a horn in item 11 (Tiberius C.VI)

To these we may perhaps add:

(i) a double-pipe from item 5 [Prudentius: Additional MS 24199].

(3) The materials divide into an Eighth-century group (items 1 and 2), and an eleventh-century group (all other items: c1000-c1050), only the Masham cross (item 3, perhaps Ninth century) lies between these extremes. Both of the eighth-century items date from before c750. If we put aside the Masham cross which is very badly worn, we have no reliable information from the period c750-c1000, a span of two hundred and fifty years.

(4) The items in the Eighth-century group come from both north (item 2) and south (item 1), but all of the members of the eleventh-century group come from the south (Canterbury, Winchester, and ?Winchcombe Abbey), and three are from Canterbury (7,8, and 9). Numbers 7 and 9 (Junius 11 and Cotton Claudius B.IV) have stylistic affiliations and illustrate similar material. The corpus of reliable material is thus not only limited in its chronological coverage, but also in its geographical distribution and, to some extent, in its iconographical lineage.

(5) An important change in the structure of the Anglo-Saxon instrumentarium (within the aristocratic sphere) seems to have taken place during exactly the period when

pictorial sources are wanting. The aristocratic instrument of the Eighth century was the lyre; this is what *David Rex* plays in the items of the Eighth-century group. Yet in the Eleventh-century sources David's instrument is everywhere the pillar-harp; the lyre appears twice (in CUL Ff.I.23), but it is relegated to the hands of David's musicians.

Archaeological evidence shows that the lyre was traditionally the noble instrument of Germanic society,[108] it is fragments of lyres, not harps, that have been recovered from Continental Germanic and English graves dating from the mid-Fifth to the Eighth centuries. When the Vespasian psalter and the Durham Cassiodorus were illustrated this common Germanic tradition was still vital in England. By the close of the first millennium the tradition had died, and the pillar harp had taken the place of the older lyre.

(6) The 'harp' of the Germanic peoples can therefore hardly have been other than a lyre. The excavated lyres from England and the Continent are constructed in ways that are similar enough to suggest a common Germanic lyre-technology antedating the migration period.[109]

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108 The circumstances in which the instruments were discovered (mostly warrior graves and aristocratic burials) are described in Crane, *Extant Instruments*, numbers 313.01-06.

109 The major diagnostic characteristics are: (1) body (shallow in relation to length) hollowed from a solid block with (2) yoke morticed into the arms which are themselves partly hollowed out; (3) soundboard nailed to the body.

Harp is attested in Old English, Old High German,[110] Old Saxon,[111] and Old Norse[112] and there is no doubt but that it is a common Germanic word. The OE form *hearpe* shows a diphthong where all the other languages have -*a*- (OHG *harpha*, ON *harpa*, OS *harpa*). Fortunatus, in the Sixth century, gives the word as *arpa* and *harpa*.[113] This diphthong can only have arisen by the process of Anglo-Frisian fronting (*a* > *æ*), followed by breaking of *æ* before *r* + consonant.[114] The fronting of *a* to *æ* is a very early change, and it must appear that an antecedent of OE *hearpe* was present in the speech of the Germanic invaders of Britain. *Harp* is therefore the only name for a stringed instrument that the Germanic peoples can be assumed to have had before the migration. We can hardly avoid the conclusion that the common Germanic *harp* was the only known instrument of common Germanic age: the lyre.

(7) There are therefore two, and possibly three answers to the questions of what the word *hearpe* meant in Anglo-Saxon England. During the early period, in accordance with a common Germanic tradition, it meant a lyre such as we find in the Durham Cassiodorus and the Vespasian psalter.

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110 Schützeichel, *AHD Wörterbuch, harpha.*

111 Holthausen, *AS Wörterbuch, harpa.*

112 Cleasby-Vigfusson, *I Dictionary, harpa.*

113 Text in Leo, *Fortunatus*, p. 2 (*arpa*), and p. 163 *(harpa).*

114 Campbell, *OE Grammar*, §131f, §144.

By *c*1000, at least in the south of England, it meant a pillar-harp. The pillar-harp first makes its appearance in the Utrecht Psalter (Rheims, *c*820),[115] it must have been cultivated in England for at least a century before the period when we know it had ousted the lyre as the aristocratic instrument (i.e., *c*1000- *c*1050). The pillar-harp may therefore have been known in England by *c*900, and perhaps appreciably earlier.[116] But we cannot avoid the conclusion that the word *hearpe* denoted both the lyre and the pillar-harp for a period. Since lyres appear to have become extinct in England during the Eleventh century (to be revived in the Twelfth and Thirteenth under Welsh influence), the model of the meaning of OE may be shown as follows:

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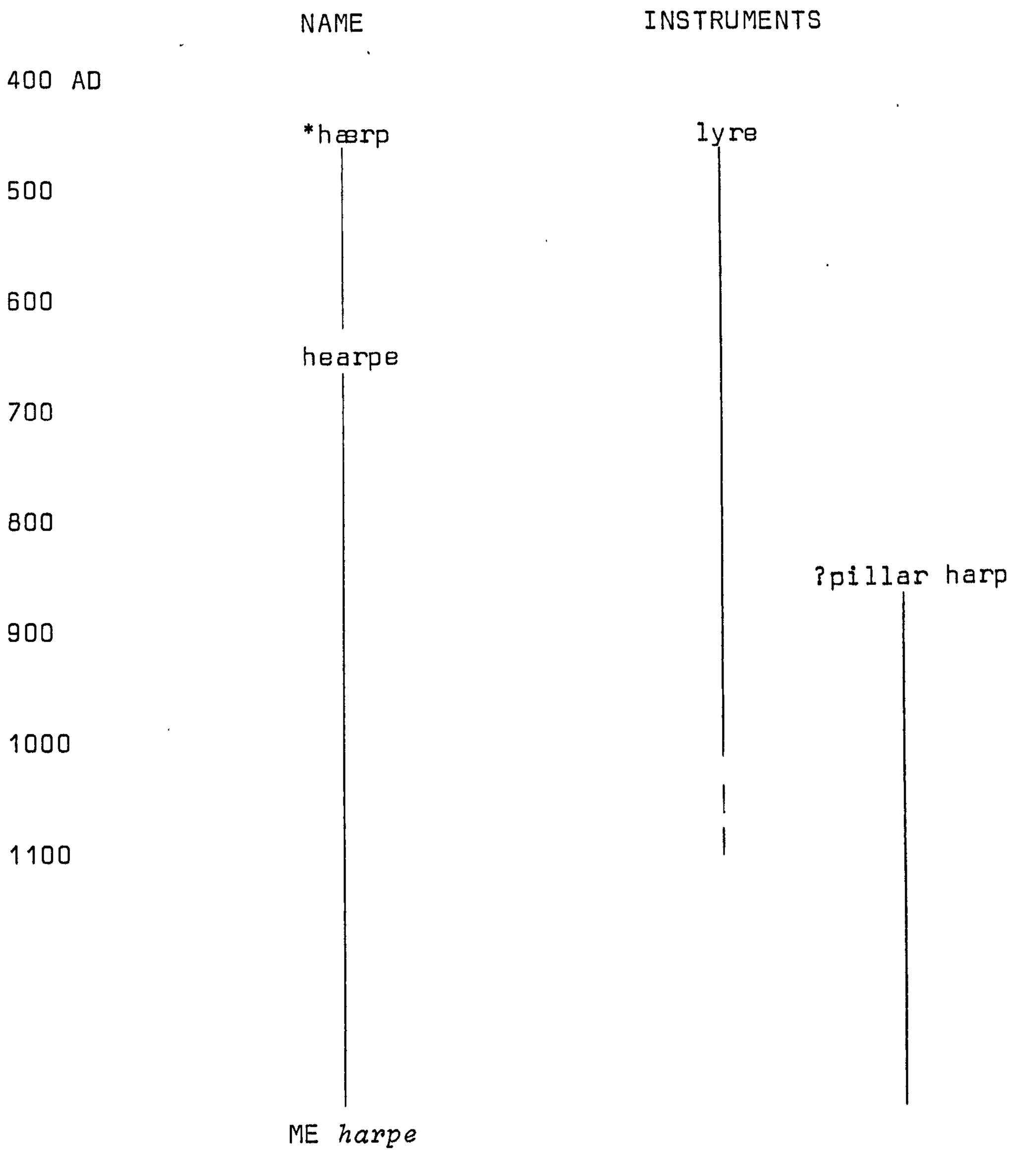
115 De Wald, *Utrecht Psalter*, folio 83r. Here plate 20.

116 There is a tantalising piece of evidence in the Tenth-century Harley Glossary (a fragment of an earlier glossary) where the obscure lemma *ceminigi* is glossed *hearpanstala* (? 'harp-post/pillar'). See Meritt, *Hardest Glosses*, p. 72f, where some over-ingenious arguments are adduced in favour of various other solutions. For the text of the gloss, see Oliphant, *Harley Glossary*, p. 70, C.796.


NAME
INSTRUMENTS
400 AD
500
600
700
800
900
1000
1100
*hærp
hearpe
lyre
?pillar harp
ME harpe

CHAPTER 2

HEARPAN: TERMINOLOGY (THE WRITTEN SOURCES)

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discover whether the developments outlined at the close of the last are consistent with the full range of written evidence at our disposal. We shall examine these questions.

(1) Were there any other OE musical terms that might have relieved the ambiguity of *hearpe?*
(2) What reason is there to assume that relevant material has vanished?

The records of medieval languages are precious but troublesome witnesses to the lexis of the tongues which they document. Such records, by definition, are a function of literacy; spoken lexis must therefore be derived from materials which are absorbent only in special ways that must be diligently identified. These conditions, manifold and complex, may be subsumed under the heading of 'literary traditions'. These traditions characterise the diction of imaginative writing, and regulate the formalised vocabularies which accompany the development of standardised purposes for the written word. The lexicographer may justly regard the records of a language as the catch from a net sent down into the currents of speech, providing he recognises that a net gathers by filtration. Our task

in the following chapter will be to characterise the written sources according to their lexical absorbance on the one hand, and the nature of their literary tradition on the other.

We shall divide our material into the following categories: prose, verse, glossaries, and interlinear psalter glosses. A distinction between prose and verse is required (1) because a substantial number of the references to instruments in OE poetry are freely composed, whereas almost all the prose references are translations of Latin originals,[1] and (2) because, as I shall argue, a special, archaising vision of secular music creates a literary tradition in the verse that does not obtain in the prose. The glossaries are to be distinguished from the prose and verse since they are not composed of connected discourse but of many separate verbal choices, each one governed by well-established learned traditions. The interlinear psalter versions merit a category of their own since the extensive musical vocabulary of the psalms imposed special demands upon the glossators, often with revealing results.

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1 As a result the majority of prose references to music and instruments are of little value to our enquiry; their musical interest is severely restricted by their dependence on Latin sources (often Biblical), while their lexical value is diminshed by their almost total dependence upon traditions well established in the glossaries. A comprehensive record of such references is available in *B-T* (*hearpe*, etc.), and in the glossaries of Berglund (*OE Musical Terms*), and Padelford *(OE Musical Terms)*.

The Instrument Terms Employed in OE Verse

It has long been recognised that OE poets employ a special vocabulary in which poetical words with no prose currency and archaisms are deeply embedded. There are five instrument names used in OE verse, but only one, *gomenwudu* (a kenning for the harp) appears to be a definitely poetical word which does not appear in any prose text or glossary.[2] *Gleobeam* (also *gligbeam*), another harp kenning, appears in verse and in several of the interlinear psalter glosses as we shall see. *Hearpe*, *horn* and *beme* appear in all the classes of written source we have distinguished, and all three words lived on to enjoy very wide currency in Middle English.[3] *Hearpe* is of common Germanic age, and probably entered the traditional poetic vocabulary at a very early date,[4] *horn* is of Indo-European ancestry.[5] *Beme* is a Germanic word, but the sense 'wind instrument' seems to be limited to Old English and may be a Fourth or Fifth-century development.[6] So the terms we find in verse are, with one exception, not confined to poetry, and the major words (*hearpe*, *horn* and *beme*) appear in texts of all kinds. Yet by comparing poetic references to

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2 For citations see *B-T gomenwudu*.

3 *MED bēme, harpe, horn*.

4 See above, p. 117f. The point is also made by Steger, *Philologia Musica*, p. 29.

5 Pokorny, *IE Wörterbuch*, 1, *ker-* .

6 Senses in the other Gmc languages are 'tree', 'post', 'stake', etc. See Holthausen, *AS Wörterbuch*, *bōm*; Richthoefen, *AF Wörterbuch*, *bām*; Schützeichel, *AHD Wörterbuch*, *boum*.

instrumental music with what can be deduced from pictorial and archaeological evidence we discover a delicate mechanism of exclusion supporting a special vision of music.[7]

The Contexts of Instrumental Music in OE Verse

OE poets restricted themselves almost entirely to two contexts for instrumental music: the aristocratic hall, and the battlefield. In the hall the *hearpe* accompanies festivities and on the field the *horn* and *beme* urge warriors to battle.

This restriction involves a double process of selection: (1) of the kinds of musical activity presented, and (2) of the social sphere in which these activities take place. But a third process is involved when the poets refer to instrumental music in an idealised heroic past. This past envelops the fund of themes that are most potent in OE verse: the transitoriness of life, the worth of individual struggle, and -*sorg ond sarlic*- the sorrow that is in the truthfulness of these things.[8] The *hearpe* is not vividly imagined as an object, even though this would have given the poets a chance to linger on the decorative detail they adore.[9] Nor is its music conceived saved as a

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7 There is almost no study of the presentation of music in OE literature. Padelford (*OE Musical Terms*, p. 1f) is out of date and much of the documentation is faulty (see above, p. 25, n.28). There is a small amount of material in Young, *'Glaed waes ic gliwum'*.

8 Klaeber, *Beowulf*, 2109a.

9 Because of the sometimes lavish escutcheons employed by instrument-makers (for photographs see Bruce-Mitford, 'Sutton Hoo lyre').

contribution to a mood - the joy of a feast, the desolation of the exile.[10] We seem to be dealing with a potent, old word as a nexus of themes, and appropriately, the kennings *gomenwudu* and *gligbeam* (both meaning 'joy wood') are built from an immediate juxtaposition of the physical material of the instrument with the mood that it evokes.

When we examine OE references to the *hearpe* we find ourselves carried at once into the thematic heart of the verse. Almost without exception, the *hearpe* evokes the joys of the hall, it is an emblem of the past, a poignant token of what is good but gone or soon to vanish, rather than of what is enjoyable or yet to be enjoyed.

In *Beowulf* *hearpe*-music is part of a vivid presentation of the joys of the hall, but it is this very gift of music that Grendel envies most; the *sang* is soon to be silenced:[11]

> Ða se ellengaest earfoðlice
> þrage geþolode, se þe in þystrum bad,
> þaet he dogora gehwam dream gehyrde
> hludne in healle; þaer waes hearpan sweg,
> swutol sang scopes. Saegde se þe cuþe
> frumsceaft fira feorran reccan,
> .....

Even here, where the poet's purpose is to characterise

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10 For literary evidence pertaining to playing techniques, see below 165f.

11 Klaeber, *Beowulf*, 86a-90b.

a fragile present he cannot mention the *hearpe* without evoking a pregnant past, with the instrument in his hand the player 'reaches far back', an innate habit of the Anglo-Saxon mind which finds apt expression in the story of the Creation - it is impossible to reach further back than that. The phraseology of 'reaching back' occurs again when Beowulf recounts the festivities at Heorot to his lord, Hygelac:[12]

> þaer waes gidd ond gleo, gomela Scilding,
> felafricgende feorran rehte;
> hwilum hildedeor hearpan wynne,
> gomenwudu grette, hwilum gyd awraec
> soð ond sarlic, hwilum syllic spell
> rehte aefter rihte rumheort cyning;
> hwilum eft ongan eldo gebunden,
> gomel guðwiga giogoðe cwiðan,
> hildestrengo; hreðer inne weoll,
> þonne he wintrum frod worn gemunde.

Here the figure of the harpist (perhaps Hrothgar himself)[13] is a focus for some of the most powerful themes of OE poetry. The *gyd* which the *hearpe* appears to accompany is *soð ond sarlic* - 'true and sad',[14] the decay of strength is poignant, but it is inevitable and therefore

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12 ibid. 2105a-2114b.

13 As Klaeber (*Beowulf*, p. 205) rightly points out, it is far from certain that Hroðgar is the musician here, as has so often been assumed (as for example in Bessinger, 'Harp (1)', p. 151).

14 Again, Klaeber (ibid) is justifiably cautious, the relation between the *gyd* and the instrumental playing is far from clear, the *hearpe* may be accompanying the voice, alternatively, we are perhaps to understand that the instrumental and vocal entertainments were distinct.

beyond pity. All life, in effect, is in the past, it is the keenness of remembered experience - of reflection - that sets the tone of the sensitive mind.

Whenever we hear of the *hearpe* again it has receded completely into the world of remembered experience, as in the lament of the treasure guardian:[15]

aefter wigfruman
haeleðum be healfe.
gomen gleobeames,
geond sael swingeð,
burhstede beateð.
Ne maeg byrnan hring
wide feran,
Naes hearpan wyn,
ne god hafoc
ne se swifta mearh

And in these lines of the *Rhyming Poem*:[16]

Gomen sibb ne ofoll,
ac waes gefest gear, gellende sner,
wuniendo waer wilbec bescaer.
Scealcas waeron scearpe, scyl waes hearpe,
hlude hlynede, hleoþor dynede,
sweglrad swinsade, swiþe ne minsade.

So too in *The Seafarer*:[17]

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15 Klaeber, *Beowulf*, 2262b-2265a.

16 *ASPR*, 3, p. 167, 24b-29b.

17 ibid., p. 144, 44a-47b.

Ne biþ him to hearpan hyge ne to hringþege,
ne to wife wyn ne to worulde hyht,
ne ymbe owiht elles, nefne ymb yðа gewealc,
ac a hafað longunge se þe on lagu fundað.

We see therefore that in describing the joys of the hall the OE poets mention no other instrument than the *hearpe*. How selective is this picture? We have good evidence that the *hearpe* was an adequate emblem of all musical pursuits for the OE poets. In the *Gifts of Men*[18] and the *Fates of Men*[19] the instrument stands for the cultivation of music as a whole:

Sum mid hondum maeg hearpan gretan,
ah he gleobeames gearobrygda list.

(Gifts of Men)

Sum sceal mid hearpan aet his hlafordes
fotum sittan .....

(Fortunes of Men)

Similarly it is the *hearpe* which stands for the consolation of music in *Maxims* 1:3:[20]

Longað þonne þy laes þe him con leoþa worn,
oþ þe mid hondum con hearpan gretan;
hafaþ him his gliwes giefe, þe him god sealde.

A consideration of pictorial, archaeological and comparative evidence strongly suggests that the OE poets, when

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18 ibid. p. 138 (*Gifts of Men*), 49a-50b.
19 ibid. p. 156 (*Fortunes of Men*), 80a-81a.
20 ibid. p. 162, 169a-171b.

describing the instrumental music of the aristocratic hall, involved themselves in a deliberate selection of instruments which excluded much of the hall entertainment of their own day. It is unlikely that this impulse was freshly registered with each new poem; it probably derived from priorities woven into the poetic fabric at a time remote from the written remains.

Many cultures both past and present may be cited in which a certain stringed instrument is associated with the performance of aristocratic music, while the wind instruments (other than those used for battle) are relegated to the herdsman.[21] The association is not difficult to rationalise, for shepherds are surrounded by natural materials for making wind instruments such as reeds and corn stalks.[22] The pipes were for Pan in Greece

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21 The association between wind instruments (particularly whistle-types and reeds) and shepherds resonates through the history of Western culture, and manifests itself powerfully in both Classical and medieval pastoral genres. For the Roman period see Wille, *Musica Romana*, p. 111f, and for a useful survey of references in medieval pastoral poems see Hayes, 'Musical Instruments', in *NOHM*, 3, p. 479. For the persistence of the association in modern folk-cultures see, for example, Picken, *Turkey*, p. 294: "...the rarity of admission of flutes of any kind to association with the *saz* [a long lute] ... may be due to the fact that in rural Turkey the flute is associated with the life and culture of shepherds. It is perhaps felt to be more appropriate to the pasture than to the guest room..."

22 Thus there is a powerful 'home-made' tradition associated with winds of the whistle and reed type. Simple cut and whittled instruments such as the *pipes made of grene corn* that Chaucer found among the *lytel herde-gromes/that kepen bestis in the bromes* (Robinson, *Chaucer, House of Fame,* lines 1224-6) are very simple to produce; they are illustrated and described by Mersenne (1635: see Chapman, *Mersenne*, p. 298). The trouvère Colin Muset begins a *pastourelle* with the lines: *Lors m'estuet faire un flajolet/ Si le ferai d'un saucelet* [willow] (Gérold, *Musique*, p. 399, quotes the text). This tradition often extends to more complex types. Thus the Pontic Greek bagpipers generally make their own instruments, though fiddles (*lira*) can be purchased ready-made (see Ahrens, '*Touloum*-playing', p. 123).

and Rome, but the lyre was for Apollo; in the same way archaeological evidence shows that the Germanic lyre was above all a nobleman's and warrior's instrument.[23] We may be sure that much piping was heard outside the aristocratic hall: the bone flutes from Old Sarum,[24] Thetford[25] and York,[26] and the wooden reed-pipe from York[27] tell their own story, and the glossaries provide further evidence with words such as *hwistle*,[28] *pipe*,[29] *swegelhorn*[30] and *reodpipere*.[31] But the social division between wind and string instruments was not a rigorous one; Caedmon encountered something in the beerhall at Whitby which Bede calls a *cithara*.[32]

The riddles provide some evidence that wind-instruments found their way into the aristocratic hall. Riddle 31 describes an object which almost all commentators have identified as a musical instrument.[33] Unless we date

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23 See Crane, *Extant Instruments*, numbers 313.01-6 for a catalogue of the finds, and the types of graves from which they were recovered.

24 ibid. 4213.123-124.

25 ibid. 4213.127.

26 ibid. 4213.130 and 4213.131.

27 ibid. 433.2. It should be noted that the two fragments of this instrument, marked ?Castle Museum in Crane's catalogue, are now in Yorkshire Archaeological Museum.

28 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 311:22, 27, 539:24.

29 ibid. 311:22; 539:24.

30 Napier, *OE Glosses*, 1:1645.

31 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 190:7.

32 Text in Mynors and Colgrave, *Bede*, pp. 416-7.

33 For the text see *ASPR*, 3, p. 196 and pp. 338-9 (summary of solutions). There is also a text and more up-to-date summary in Williamson, *Riddles*, p. 86-7 (text) and p. 233f (comments and notes).

the text to about the time of the manuscript (c1000), previous solutions such as 'fiddle', 'organistrum' and 'bagpipe' can be considered unlikely on organological grounds.[34] It may be a form of wind instrument (? with reeds). It is used in the hall (*on raecede*) and "returns often enough among the earls and sits at the feast".[35] This location is a simple form of clue to define the context within which the densely figurative lines are to be understood. There are several riddles whose opening 'clues' refer to the hall, and scholars are generally agreed that in each case some appropriate feature of material life is described, we find 'swordrack',[36]

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34 The solution 'fiddle' proposed by Trautmann (see *ASPR*, 3, p. 338) cannot be recommended on organological grounds if we understand a *bowed* instrument by that term. We have already considered the possibility that the bow was known in the early middle ages among the Huns or Goths (p.79), this is an uncertain question, at present the evidence points to a diffusion of the bow in Europe complete by the Eleventh century (Bachmann, *Origins*, p. 136f). Nothing is known of the date when the riddle was composed (though a *terminus ad quem* of *c*1000 is provided by the MS), so Trautmann's solution is possible. As for the organistrum, there is no trace of this instrument in any European source either iconographic or literary before *c*1100 (see Waesberghe, 'Organistrum', in Eggebrecht, *Handwörterbuch*, this gives the most up-to-date review of the evidence).
Although post-classical evidence for the currency of mouth-blown instruments with a flexible air-reservoir begins in the Ninth century with the epistle of pseudo-Jerome (see above, p.109 f), it is uncertain whether the text in question is derived from a late-Antique source (see Baines, *Bagpipes*, p. 63f for a scholarly discussion of this question).

35 *ASPR*, 3, p. 196; Williamson, *Riddles*, p. 86.

36 Text in *ASPR*, 3, p. 208; notes and commentary p. 349f; Williamson, *Riddles*, p. 100-1 (text) and p. 300f (notes and commentary). Williamson considers the solution of this riddle to be uncertain.

'sword',[37] 'goblet'[38] and 'horn'[39] mentioned in connection with the hall or the 'bench'.

It may be that we have a wind instrument in Riddle 60, which has been solved as 'reedpipe'.[40] It seems to give a remarkably circumstantial account of a pipe produced from an aquatic grass which began life *be sonde*, 'by the sea-shore', and was then given power of speech (a common metaphor for music in the riddles)[41] by the point of a knife (*seaxes ord*) so that it communicates 'over the meadbench' *(ofer meodubence)*.

The illustration in MS Cotton Vespasian A.I discussed in the last chapter[42] provides another insight into the entertainments of the Anglo-Saxon hall. We see dancers

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37 *ASPR*, 3, pp. 190-1 (text), notes and commentary, pp. 332-3, Williamson, *Riddles*, pp. 78-80 (text), and p. 193f (commentary).

38 *ASPR*, 3, pp. 229-30; notes and commentary, p. 367; Williamson, *Riddles*, pp. 104-5 (text), and p. 323f (commentary).

39 *ASPR*, 3, p. 187 (text); notes and commentary, p. 329; Williamson, *Riddles*, p. 75 (text), and p. 170f (commentary).

40 *ASPR*, 3, p. 225 (text); notes and commentary, p. 361f; Williamson, *Riddles*, p. 103 (text) and p. 315f (commentary). For an attempt to interpret this riddle and *The Husband's Message* in patristic terms see Kaske, 'Poem of the Cross'. I do not find Kaske's long and involved arguments convincing.

41 Compare riddle 14 (horn); text in *ASPR*, 3, p. 187, and Williamson, *Riddles*, p. 75; see also riddle 28 (?harp) in *ASPR*, 3, p. 194-5 and Williamson, *Riddles*, p. 84.

42 See above, p. 88 f.

clapping their hands to music provided by a dance-ensemble of two trumpets and two horns. It seems unlikely that David *Rex* has here been shown in company that an eighth-century English nobleman could not keep when there was *gleo* in his hall.

The poets give us no glimpse of such entertainments as these. In the heroic poems it is only the *hearpe* that is heard, and in the elegaic verse it is only the *hearpe* that is missed. In the poems of wisdom and learning the *hearpe* stands for all musical pursuits. The presentation of indoor music in OE verse is emblematic: the *hearpe* stands for all.

The OE poets have therefore filtered the musical life they knew. In accordance with tradition they have insulated their presentation of instrumental music in the hall from the more diversified culture of their times. This is because the *hearpe*, more an emblem in the poems than a physically imagined instrument, is a nexus for potent and sobre themes that stand at the heart of the poetry. The dances, and the whistle and reedpipe music of the day had no place in this picture; they were not traditional and they were too frivolous. The basis of indoor music as projected by the poets is therefore moral, for it distinguishes and evaluates a form of life.

From this analysis it follows that although the instrument terms used in OE verse are generally neither poetic nor archaic, yet the poets' diction is nonetheless eclectic, and embodies a traditional vision of aristocratic

music-making. We would not expect such poetry to have absorbed any other terms for stringed instruments that may have been in circulation in speech.

The Evidence of the Glossaries

The glossaries present us with another complex literary tradition. Glossaries are not dictionaries, generally speaking, the purpose of a gloss is to give a single equivalent for a lemma taken from one verbal context to which the gloss is tied. In their treatment of abstract nouns and emotive words the methods of the dictionary maker and of the glossator are distinct. The dictionary establishes a range of meanings generalised from a representative selection of contexts that may or may not accompany the definitions. The glossary provides only a single interpretation for one, or at best a few, contexts. However, in their treatment of concrete nouns (including the names of artefacts) both the dictionary maker and the glossator will generally be content with a single term. Thus in all non-specialist lexicons down to the modern period the notion of the 'approximate modern equivalent' prevails.

It is often difficult to establish why some words are admitted to dictionaries and glossaries while others, that might seem equally valid for the purpose, are not. Thus Greek αὐλός and Latin *aulos* have been glossed 'flute' in English lexicons for many years,[43] and not 'oboe'

43 See for example Lampe, *Lexicon*, αὐλός, 1.

(which would be more correct). It would appear that both dictionaries and glossaries have a tendency to fossilise their materials. The OE glossators assumed some 'archaeological' interest on the part of their readers for they held themselves responsible for glossing the names of many objects and artefacts. The *hearpe* glosses show how words admitted into glossary language might be frozen and turned to numerous uses by writers who did not seek outside the accepted glossary language for solutions to special problems.

1 The Case of *Symbola*

BLRD MS Cotton Vespasian D.VI contains ninth-century Kentish glosses to the *Parabolae Salomonis*.[44] Proverbs 23:21 incorporates the word *symbola* 'money for a feast', but on folio 26r the scribe, and after him the glossator (who clearly did not know this meaning) has associated it with *cymbala*, 'cymbals'.[45] He knew that *cymbala* were musical instruments (so much is evident from Psalm 150),[46] yet he did not know what kind of instrument was involved so he used *hearpe* as a general purpose gloss:

...qui vacantes potibus et dantes hearpan cymbala consummentur...

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44 Ker, *Catalogue*, number 207, art. a. The glosses are printed in Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, column 55f, the material given here has been taken directly from the manuscript.

45 The word is spelled *cymbala* and not *symbola* in the manuscript.

46 Psalm 150:5 *Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantibus.*

2 The Case of *Aidoneae*

A similar case is provided by the eleventh-century glosses in BLRD MS Cotton Cleopatra A.III.[47] On folio 12v of this alphabetical glossary we find the entry:

hearpen
Aidoneae

This gloss has caused a great deal of confusion. The lemma has been associated with Greek ἀηδών 'nightingale',[48] but in 1923 Schlutter rejected the possibility that *hearpen* might be a genuine OE word for a nightingale,[49] and recently Meritt has suggested that the lemma may be a corruption of Αἰθιοπία, and the gloss a form of *earp*, 'dark'.[50] This is ingenious, but there is a simpler explanation. The source of the lemma, hitherto unnoticed, is probably the *Carmen de Ave Phoenicea* attributed to Lactantius:[51]

> Quam nec *aëdoniae* voces nec tibia possit
> Musica Cirrhaeis adsimulare modis,
> Sed neque olor moriens imitari posse putatur
> Nec Cylleneae fila canora lyrae.

At some stage in the creation of this glossary a reader saw *aëdoniae* ('nightingales') among other instrument

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47 Ker, *Catalogue*, number 143 art. 1. The glosses are printed in Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, column 338f; the material given here has been taken directly from the manuscript.

48 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, note to 355:32.

49 Schlutter, 'OE weargincel', p. 207.

50 Meritt, *Fact and Lore*, p. 26.

51 Text quoted from Blake, *Phoenix*, p. 89.

names (*tibia* and *lyra*) and construed it as the name of an instrument while resorting to the standard general purpose gloss: *hearpe*.

Just as the poets' vocabulary of musical terms was a filtered one, so too the glossators, for more pedestrian reasons connected with the static quality of glossing, employed a filtered vocabulary.

We must now turn to consider the few other OE terms for stringed instruments that are preserved in glossaries. There are only two of these, one of which, as I shall argue, is not a genuine OE word at all, while the other may be confidently connected with an instrument that is not relevant to our enquiry.

1 OE *crup*

The Bosworth-Toller *Dictionary* contains an entry for the word *crup*.[52] No OE reference is given: the authorities quoted are Somner (1659), Benson (1701), and Lye (1772) whose dictionaries contain the word. It also makes an appearance in the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* of Junius published in 1743.[53] The word looks like a derivative of Welsh *crwth*, a name for a bowed lyre first recorded in Welsh *c*1200,[54] and in English about a century later.[55] It is of the first importance that this word may

52 *B-T crup*.

53 Junius, *Etymologicum*, *croud*.

54 Thomas, *Dictionary*, *crwth*.

55 *MED croud* n.(2).

be traced and explained, for bowed lyres existed in England in the mid-eleventh century - as we have seen in the previous chapter.[56]

Padelford considered this problem in his *Old English Musical Terms* of 1899, concluding that "there is sufficient evidence that the English were familiar with the crwth, from the occurrence of its name in Old English".[57] Yet he was puzzled by Somner's gloss for the word: *multitudo*.

None of the authorities listed by Bosworth and Toller define *cruþ* as a musical instrument, but their glosses *multitudo, densa hominum turba* and so on point to the solution of the mystery. The source from which Somner derived the word (and Benson, Lye and Junius after him) proves to be the *Vocabularium Saxonicum* of Laurence Nowell, a manuscript dictionary compiled c1565.[58] On folio 32v we find the entry:

cruþ a crowde

The entry is an addition by a later hand, though this matters little in the final analysis. The origin of the mysterious glosses such as *multitudo* is now apparent: they derive from *crowde* in Nowell's *Vocabularium* which Somner assimilated to Early Modern and Modern English *crowd*, 'a throng'. As for *cruþ*, its presence in the *Vocabularium*

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56 See above, p. 104f.

57 Padelford, *OE Musical Terms*, p. 40.

58 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden supra 63. Edited by Marckwardt, *Vocabularium*.

can be explained in two ways. Firstly, the dictionary contains a substantial number of Middle English words, and *croup/crup* is attested in English from c1300.[59] Secondly, the *Vocabularium* contains a large quantity of Lancashire dialect words, and *crowd* is recorded in the sense 'fiddle' in the regional speech of Lancashire.[60] Whatever the truth of the matter, it must seem very unlikely that *crup* is a genuine OE word.[61]

OE **fiðele*

The glossary of Aelfric (c1000) contains two agent nouns which point to the existence of an OE word **fiðele*:[62]

fidicen	fiðelere
fidicina	fiðelestre

Both of these are Classical Latin words.[63] *Fidicen* makes an early appearance in the glossary tradition. The Leiden glossary contains the following entry:[64]

fidicen harperi

and the lemma also appears in the Corpus[65] and Harley[66] glossaries:

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59 On ME words in the *Vocabularium*, see Marckwardt, *Vocabularium*, p. 12.

60 See Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, 1, *crowd* sb.^{2} and v.^{2}.

61 This word should therefore be deleted from *B-T*.

62 Zupitza, *Aelfrics Grammatik*, p. 302.

63 See *OLD fidicen* and *fidicina*.

64 See Hessels, *Leiden Glossary*, XLVI:9.

65 See Lindsay, *Corpus Glossary*, p. 77, FI:180.

66 See Oliphant, *Harley Glossary*, p. 185: 349.

CORPUS Fidicen qui cum cithara canit a fidibus dictum

HARLEY Fidicula citharedus uel fidicen

The earliest occurrence of a form similar to the implied OE **fiðele* is in the *Evangelienbuch* of Otfrid of Weissenberg (c870) where we find the following lines:[67]

Sih thar ouh ál ruarit, thaz órgana fuarit,
líra joh fídula joh mánagfaltu suégala,
Hárpha joh rótta...

During the central and late Middle Ages words of what we may term the 'fiddle family' were widely distributed in all the major vernaculars of Europe.[68] Various etymologies have been proposed for them, none of which is very satisfactory. The derivation from Latin *vītŭlari* 'to celebrate a festival' is semantically unlikely,[69] while **vīvŭla*, proposed by Meyer-Lübke as a possibly onomatopoeic root is phonetically acceptable but otherwise unmotivated.[70]

Most recent commentators are agreed that Otfrid's *fidula* is a borrowing from Latin (compare his *regula*).[71] The stem in that case is probably Classical Latin *fĭd-*

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67 Text from Erdmann, *Otfrid*, p. 259, lines 197-199.

68 Forms include Middle English *fithele* (*MED fithele*), Old French *viële* (Godefroy, *Dictionnaire, viële*), Castilian *vyhuela* (Corominas, *Diccionario, vyhuela*); Gallego *viola* (Mettmann, *Cantigas*, 1, pp. 26-7); for further citations of medieval and modern romance forms see Meyer-Lübke, *REW*, **vīvula*, and Wartburg, *FEW*, *fidicula*. Forms in Germanic languages include Old High German *fidula* (Schützeichel, *AHD Wörterbuch*, *fidula*); Old Icelandic *fiðla* (Cleasby-Vigfusson, *I Dictionary*, *fiðla*).

69 This etymology is proposed in the *ODEM*, *fiddle*.

70 Meyer-Lübke, *REW*, **vīvula*.

71 Siebert, *Wörtschatz Otfrids*, p. 97f; Lauffer, *Der Lehnwortschatz*, p. 568.

(as in *fīdes* 'a stringed instrument')[72] to which the diminutive suffix *-ula* has been incorrectly added (the correct form being *fidicula*). If we assume that *fidula* arose before the Vulgar Latin soundchange of -d- > -ð- (which possibly occurred in the Sixth century),[73] then the intervocalic -d- of *fidula* would become -ð-. Following an early distribution of this **fiðula* into Germany, the -ð- would fall together with Germanic -ð- and become -d- again in Otfrid's dialect of South Rhine Frankish.[74] But in other parts of Europe this reversal would not have occurred, and by this hypothesis we are therefore able to have Otfrid's *fidula* and a general European **fiðula* at the same time. If this **fiðula* came to England, then **fiðele*, the form implied by the glossary of Ælfric, is exactly what we would expect.[75] It is customary to derive the Romance forms (Old French *viële*,[76] Gallego *viola*,[77] etc.) from Old Provencal *viola*,[78] which might be derived from something like **fībula*.[79]

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72 *OLD fides*.

73 Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, §283.

74 Wright, *Historical German Grammar*, §274.

75 On the substitution of the native *-ele* for *-ula* in Latin loans see Campbell, *OE Grammar*, §518.

76 Godefroy, *Dictionnaire, viële*, gives a list of forms.

77 Mettmann, *Cantigas*, 1, pp. 26-7.

78 For examples of this word in Provencal, see Boutière and Schutz, *Biographies*, p. 466 (*viola*) and pp. 252, 311, 408 and 465 (*violar*).

79 I am grateful to Rebecca Posner, Professor of Romance philology in the University of Oxford for confirmation of this point.

This line of reasoning produces the following equation:

fid+ula > Vulgar Latin *fidula* > **fiðula* > OE *fiðele*
**fiðula* > Otfrid *fidula*

Since our hypothesis involves an early Vulgar Latin sound change it is evident that **fiðula* could have come to England at any time after c600, and the word therefore demands attention.

A very large amount of later-medieval evidence indicates that words of the 'fiddle' family were applied, with remarkably consistency, to fingerboard instruments.[80] This picture is so firm in outline, and so widespread, that it is tempting to project it back many centuries. The earliest fingerboard instrument in an English source

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80 This evidence includes: Jerome of Moravia's description of the *viella* as a bowed instrument (text and translation in Page, 'Jerome of Moravia'); the illustration of a musician who plays the *viola* in the fully illustrated copy of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Madrid, Biblioteca de el Escorial, MS T.j.1) where the instrument is shown as an oval fiddle (for the illustration see Lovillo, *Las Cantigas*, Lámina 11), an illustration of the same story in the *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge* of Gautier de Coinči which also shows a player upon a bowed fingerboard instrument (reproduced in Poquet, *Miracles*, facing p. 310), an illustration of the troubadour Perdigon in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 12473, folio 36. According to the *vida* in the manuscript, Perdigon *sap trop ben violar*, and he is shown with a bowed instrument (so too in the corresponding miniature in MS fr 854, folio 49). Both of these illustrations are mentioned in Wright, 'Medieval Fiddles', p. 67 and p. 76, note 3, whence these details have been taken; a drawing of a bowed instrument labelled *viola* in London, *BLRD* MS Sloane 3983, folio 13 (reproduced in Montagu, *Instruments*, colour plate 2), a Dutch astrological treatise.

is contained in MS Cotton Tiberius C.VI of the mid-eleventh century (plate 13), and it is very similar to types shown in Continental sources of an appreciably earlier date (see above p.114). We are tempted to conclude that Otfrid's *fidula* was a fingerboard instrument of some kind and that the OE **fiðele* was a similar type. If this presentation of the case is accepted, then it must appear that OE **fiðele* is accounted for and has no further relevance to our enquiry.

It will be convenient here to consider two other words which, though they do not appear in glossaries, are relevant at this point.

1 *Rotta*

Reference has already been made to the letter of Cuthbert of Wearmouth to Lullus of Mainz (764) requesting a player upon the instrument 'which we call *rottae*' (*quam nos appellamus rottae*).[81] The difficulty of interpreting this document has been commented upon. *Rotta* is well attested in OHG[82] and in Medieval German Latin,[83] but is not recorded in OE nor otherwise recorded in British Medieval Latin.[84] *Rote* is common enough in ME from the Fourteenth century onwards,[85] but may be

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81 See above, p. 81f.

82 A substantial number of references is assembled in Steger *Philologia Musica*, p. 100f.

83 ibid.

84 *B-T* has no entry for *rotta*, and the word is not recorded in *RMLWL*. That some examples have escaped the net - at least that cast by *RMLWL*- is possible, Cuthbert's reference to the *rotta* has been passed over, and others may have been.

85 See Carter, *Dictionary*, *Rote*.

derived in these cases from OFr *rote*,[86] rather than from a transmitted OE form. All that seems certain is that the *rotta* was little cultivated in England during Cuthbert's day for he was compelled to send abroad (to lands where the word *rotta* is well attested) for a player upon the instrument. The likelihood that *rotta* was a current term in Eighth-century English is thus rather small, and we have no further evidence for the existence of the word in England before the ME period.

2 *Timpane*

There is some evidence that the Old Irish word *tiompán* ('a stringed instrument') was known in Anglo-Saxon England, at least within learned circles. As we shall see in the following section, various forms of *timpane* frequently gloss *tympanum* in the interlinear psalter glosses, and the occurrence of elaborated glosses as[87]

> on timpanis togenum strengum
> tympanistriarum

in the Paris psalter indicate that the Latin word *tympanum* was construed as a name for a stringed instrument by some OE glossators (their apparent ignorance of the Classical Latin meaning 'drum' is consistent with the almost total absence of evidence that membraphones were used in Anglo-Saxon England).[88]

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86 See *T-L rote* for citations.

87 See below, p. 149f for further discussion of these psalter glosses.

88 See above, p. 108.

There appears to be only one item of independant evidence that the word *tympanum* had a wider currency in England. This is cited by Buckley,[89] who, in her study of the literary sources pertaining to the Irish *tiompán*, draws attention to a passage in Osbern's *Vita Sancti Dunstani* (c1090) describing Dunstan's string-playing at the court of Athelstan:[90]

> Iterum cum videret dominum regem saecularibus curis fatigatum, psallebat in tympano sive in cithara, sive alio quolibet musici generis instrumento, quo facto tam regis quam omnium corda principum exhilarabat.
>
> [When he saw that the king was exhausted with worldly cares he played upon the *tympanum* or the *cithara* or upon some other kind of musical instrument, so doing he lightened the hearts as much of the king as of his courtiers.]

Buckley reminds us that Dunstan studied under Irish scholars at Glastonbury and comments:[91]

> All Saint Dunstan's other biographers mention only his *cithara*-playing, and it seems unlikely that Osbern ever had a drum in mind, since this is hardly an instrument which (in a West-European context) one would have played to soothe tired nerves.

Buckley overlooks Osbern's obedience to an important tradition. In his *Vita Sancti Dunstani* Osbern casts Dunstan in the mould of David; the language he employs is heavily influenced by the psalms:[92]

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89 Buckley, '*Tiompán*', p. 88.
90 The text is from Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, pp. 79-80.
91 Buckley, '*Tiompán*', p. 88.
92 Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 78.

Et quamvis his omnibus artibus magnifice polleret, ejus tamen multitudinis quae musicam instruit, eam videlicet quae instrumentis agitatur, speciali quadam affectione vendicabat scientiam; sicut David psalterium sumens, citharam percutiens, modificans organa, cimbala tangens...

[And although he was magnificently skilled in many arts, of them all he embraced the science of music which is made upon instruments with special affection; taking up the *psalterium*, just like David, striking the *cithara*, sounding the *organa*, touching the *cymbala*...]

Here Osbern honours Dunstan with mastery of the *psalterium*, *cithara*, *organa* and *cymbala*, whereas only the *cithara* has any sanction in the work of his predecessors.[93] There can be little doubt that this passage is closely influenced by such psalm verses as the following:[94]

Laudate eum in *psalterio* et *cithara*.
Laudate eum in *tympano* et *choro*.
Laudate eum in *chordis* et *organo*.
Laudate eum in *cymbalis* benesonantibus.

This leaves the interlinear psalter glosses as our only firm evidence for the currency of an OE word borrowed from Old Irish, and appearing in the form *timpane*. It may be that *timpane* is a learned word that passed into English glossary making under the influence of Irish scholarship. Yet there is an alternative explanation.

Amongst the many passages of patristic commentary that

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93 The main source being Auctor *B* who probably wrote his *Vita Sancti Dunstani* c1000 at Canterbury (see below, p. 213 for details). This author states that Dunstan played upon *a cithara quam lingua paterna hearpam vocamus.*

94 Psalm 150:2-5.

clustered around scriptural references to instruments during the Middle Ages we can detect links between the *cithara*, a stringed instrument, and the *tympanum*. An early tradition of commentary associated the stretched gut strings of the *cithara* and the tensed leather of the *tympanum* with the mortified flesh of Christ.[95] These glosses were copied and recopied; in many sources the potential for confusion between the *cithara* and the *tympanum* is plain, as in the psalter commentary attributed to Haymo (Ninth century), where we find the following glosses:[96]

> Cithara dicitur, propter mortificationem, quia in passione [Christus] extentus fuit in ligno, sicut corium mortui animalis.
>
> [Tympanum] ... sicut corium mortuorum animalium.

Here the word *corium* 'leather' stands for both the gut strings of the *cithara* and the leather of the drumhead. It may be some such merger of concepts which is responsible for the interpretation of *tympanum* in the OE interlinear psalter glosses.

It will be valuable at this point to summarise our conclusions so far:

1) No name for a stringed instrument other than *hearpe* appears in OE verse, but for special reasons connected with the view of domestic instrumental music traditional to that poetry we would expect no other such

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95 This tradition is discussed in Gérold, *Les Pères*, pp. 128, 130, 153, 176-77, *et passim*.

96 *PL* 116, columns 387 and 418-9.

term in spoken currency to have been absorbed by the verse.

2) In the glossaries *hearpe* is the only term for a stringed instrument which is employed, apart from forms of **fiðele*, a word which is not relevant to our enquiry. *Crup*, recorded in the glossary of Nowell, is probably not a genuine English word. old

3) The *rotta* appears to have been an instrument not much cultivated in England, at least during the Eighth century. There is only one piece of evidence for the currency of this name in England and it takes the form of a request, addressed to a churchman active in a region where the word *rotta* was current, for a *rotta*-player to be sent to England.

4) The interpretation of *tympanum* as a stringed instrument in some OE interlinear psalter glosses does not prove that Old Irish *tiompán* (denoting a stringed instrument) was current in England save as a word in a closely defined learned tradition.

The evidence so far therefore suggests that *hearpe* and **fiðele* were the only names for stringed instruments current in England. Yet the verse contains a filtered vocabulary, and so in all probability do the glossaries whose lexicon comprises a fixed corpus of traditional explanations. We must look to our final category of material for the most telling evidence to hand: the interlinear psalter glosses.

The Interlinear Psalter Glosses

These glosses occupy a very special position in our enquiry. Hitherto we have been examining isolated glosses for Latin words, the psalter glosses present us with two, and sometimes three Latin names within the same sentence which the glossators were compelled to distinguish. The methods they employed for this purpose are revealing.

A synoptic table of all the instrument glosses in the OE interlinear psalters follows. The psalters are listed according to the established affiliations of their glosses and denoted by a label which abbreviates (or gives part of) the accepted title of the psalter.[97] The

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97 The extracts from these interlinear glosses have been taken from the following manuscripts and editions: Vesp[asian]: Kuhn, *Vespasian Psalter*; Jun[ius]: Brenner, *Junius Psalter*; Camb[ridge]: Wildhagen, *Cambridger Psalter*; Reg[ius]: Roeder, *Regius Psalter*; Spel[man]: Kimmens, *Stowe Psalter*; Vit[ellius]: Rosier, *Vitellius Psalter*; Tib[erius]; Campbell, *Tiberius Psalter*; Aru[ndel]: Oess, *Arundel Psalter*; Sal[isbury]: Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*; Ead[wine]: Harsley, *Eadwine's Psalter*; Blick[ling]: Brock, *Blickling Glosses*; Paris: Bright and Ramsay, *Liber Psalmorum*; Paris (verse sections) *ASPR*, 5; Lambeth: Lindelöf, *Lambeth Psalter*; The Bosworth Psalter (*BLRD* MS Add. 37517 - partial text in Lindelöf, *Bosworth Psalter*) contains no relevant material, nor does the new psalter-fragment published in Derolez, 'Psalter fragment'.

Vesp[asian], Jun[ius] and Camb[ridge] psalters form a group of which Vespasian is the basis. The Reg[ius], Spel[man], Vit[ellius], Tib[erius], Aru[ndel], Sal[isbury], Ead[wine] and Blick[ling] psalters from a group of which the Regius psalter seems to be the basis.[98] In both of these two groups, the base psalter has been placed at the head of the list in each table. The Paris Psalter is placed alone, for this manuscript is unique among the OE psalters in that its Anglo-Saxon portion is an actual translation of the psalms, not a word-for-word interlinear gloss (psalms 51-150 being metrical).[99] The Lambeth Psalter is a largely independent source, described by Sisam as "learned, and rich in vocabulary: generally the glosses are careful and there are few gross errors..."[100]

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98 For a full discussion of these relationships see Morrell, *Manual*, p. 124f, Bierbaumer, 'OE Psalter glosses', and Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, p. 39f.

99 Morrell, *Manual*, p. 137.

100 Sisam, *Salisbury Psalter*, p. 72.

*Table I Psalm 32:2

	cithara	*psalterio*
Vesp	citra	hearpan
Jun	cytran	hearpan
Camb	hearpan	sealmsanze
Reg	hearpan	hearpan
Vit	hearpan	salte
Tib	hea[r]pan	....
Spel	hearpan	saltere
Aru	hearpan	saltere
Sal	hearpan	saltere
Ead	eaerpungum	psalterum
Blick		
Paris	hearpum	hearpan
Lambeth	hearpan	saltere

*Table 2 Psalm 42:4

	cithara
Vesp/Jun	citran
Camb	hearpan
Reg/Vit/Tib/Spel/Aru	hearpan
Sal	hearppan
Ead	heaerpaen
Blick	....
Paris	hearpan
Lambeth	hearpan

* Vulgate numberings throughout

Table 3 Psalms 46:6-56:9

	46:6 tubae	*48:5 psalterio*	*56:9 psalterium cithara*	
Vesp	beman	hearpan	hearpe	citere
Jun	beman	hearpan	hearpe	.....
Camb	byman	saltyre	hearpe	cytere
Reg	byman	saltere	sealmleoð	hearpswez
Vit	byman	saltere	sealmleoð	hearpan
Tib	byman	saltere	sealmleoð	hearpsweg
Spel	byman	saltere	saltere	hearpa
Aru	.....	saltere	sealmleoð	hearpan
Sal	byman	saltere	sealmleof	hearpanswei
Ead	bimaen	spaltere	Saltere	hearperas
Blick	.....	.....	sealmleoð	hea[r]psweg
Paris	bymene	.....	wynpsalterium	hearpe
Lambeth	beman	sealmlofe	psaltere	hearpe

Table 4 *Psalms 67:26-70:22*

	67:26 tympanistriarum	*70:22 cithara*
Vesp	plaegiendra timpanan	citran
Jun	tympanan plezendra	citran
Camb	tympanan pleziyndra	citran
Reg	zliwmaedena	hearpan
Vit	timpana *vel* hearpigendra *vel* plegendra	hearpan
Tib	gliwmaedna	hearpan
Spel	[maedena] glywiendra	earpan
Aru	hearpigendra *vel* pleggendra	hearpan
Sal	haerppestran	haerppan
Ead	gliewmedene *vel* plegiendra mid timpanan	heaerpaen
Blick	.....	.....
Paris	on timpanis togenum strengum	hearpan
Lambeth	tempestera *vel* glywbydenestra	hearpan

Table 5 Psalm 80:2-4

	tympanum	*psalterium*	*cithara*	*buccinate*	*tuba*
Vesp	timpanan	hearpan	citran	.....	horne
Jun	tympanan	h.....	citeran	.....	horne
Camb	tympanan	hearpan	citran	.....	byman
Reg	ȝliȝbeam	psaltere	hearpan	.....	byman
Vit	gligbeam	saltere	hearp[ ]	bymiað	byman
Tib	gligbeam	salter	hearpan	.....	byman
Spel	gligbeam	saltere	hearpan	blowað	byman
Aru	glibeam	salter	hearpan	blawaþ	biman
Sal	hearpan	saltere	hearpan	[b]ymiað	byman
Ead	swieg	salter	hearpan	.....	byman
Blick	.....	.....	.....	.....	byman
Paris	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lambeth	timpanan *vel* gligbeam		hearpan	bymaði hlyriað	byman

Table 6 Psalms 91:4-97:5-6

91.4	*psalterio*	*cithara*	*97:5-6*	*cithara*	*cithara*	*tubis*	*tubae corneae*
Vesp	hearpan	citran		citran	citran	hornum	hornes hyrnes
Jun	hearpan	citran		citran	.....	hornum	beman ȝehyrnendrae
Camb	hearpan	citran		citran	citran	hornum	hornys hyrnys
Reg	saltere	hearpan		hearpan	.....	hymum	byman hrynenre
Vit	saltere	hearpan *vel* on citran		hearpan	hearpan	bymum	byman hyrnenre
Tib	saltere	hearpan		hearpan	.....	bymum	byman hyrne[n]re
Spel	saltere	hearpan		hearpan	.....	byman	byman hyrnendre
Aru	saltere	hearpan		hearpan	hearpan	bimum	byme hyrnene
Sal	saltere	hearpan		hearpan	.....	byman	byman hyrnene
Ead	saelterio	heaerpaen		hearpaen	heaerpaen	bymaen	byme horn
Blick	saltere	.....		.....	.....	.....	....
Paris	psalterio	hearpan		.....	.....	.....	....
Lambeth	saltere	hearpan		hearpan	hearpslege	byman	beman

Table 7 *Psalms 107:3 136:2 143:9 and 146:7*

	107:3		*136:2*	*143:9*	*146:7*
	psalterium	*cithara*	*organa*	*psalterio*	*cithara*
Vesp	hearpe	citre	organan	hearpan	citran
Jun	hearpe	citre	orȝanan	hearpan	.....
Camb	hearpe	citre	orȝanan	hearpan saltere	cytran
Reg	saltere	hearpe	dreamas	sealmȝlize	hearpan
Vit	saltere	hearpan	.....	saltere	hearpan
Tib	saltere	hearpan	.....	.....	.....
Spel	saltere	earpan	dreamas	saltere	hearpan
Aru	saltere	hearpe	dreamas	sæltere	hearpan
Sal	.....	.....	dreamas	saltere	hearpan
Ead	saeltere	heaerpaen	swegas	saltre	hearpan
Blick	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Paris	psalterio	hearpan	organan	psalterio hearpe	hearpan
Lambeth	sealmlof *vel* on saltere	hearpa	dreamas	sealmglywe *vel* on saltere	hearpanswaege

Table 8 Psalm 149:3

	choro	*tympano*	*psalterio*
Vesp	ðreate	timp[anan]	hearpan
Jun	.....	.....	.....
Camb	ðreate	tympan[ ]	hearpan
Reg	chore	ȝlyȝbeame	saltere
Vit	choro	glibe[ame]	saltere
Tib	.....	.....	.....
Spel	werode	gliwbeame	saltere
Aru	chore	glibeame	saltere
Sal	chore	ȝlibeam	saltere
Ead	þrete	swege	saelterae
Blick	.....	.....	.....
Paris	ðreatum	timpano	psalterio
Lambeth	chorgleowe	glygbeame	sealmlofe

Table 9 Psalm 150:3-5

	tubae	*psalterio*	*cithara*	*tympano*	*choro*	*chordis*	*organo*	*cymbala*
Vesp	hornes	hearpan	citran	timpanan	ðreate	strengum	organan	cymbalan
Jun	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Camb	byman	hearpan	citran *vel* hearpe]	timpan[ ] *vel]* o wif-hearpan	ðreate	strenzum	orzanan	cimbalan
Reg	byman	saltere	hearpan	zlizbeame	wynwerede	strenzum	orzel-dreame	bellum
Vit	byman	sàltere	hearpan	glybeame	chore	heortan	organa-dreame	cymballum
Tib	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spel	byman	saltere	hearpan	gligbeame	werode	strengum	orgena-dream	cimbalum
Aru	biman	saltere	hearpan	glibeame	organ-dreame	heortan	organ-dreame	.....
Sal	byman	saltere	hearpan	zlizbaeme	truman	stre[n]gum	orzan-dreame	bellan
Ead	bymaen	psaeltere	herpe	hylsongae	ðreaet	heortan	orgaenum	cymbalum
Blick	.....	saltere	harpan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Paris	beman	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lambeth	beman	sealmlofe	hearpan-swege	glygbeame	chor-gleowe	stryngum	wyn-dreame	bellum

The Interpretation of the Interlinear Psalter Glosses

The Latin psalms contain two names for stringed instruments: *cithara* and *psalterium*.[101] Yet the OE glossators had to cope with three owing to the interpretation (discussed above) of *tympanum* as a term for a chordophone.

Glosses for *psalterium* and *cithara*

These two words occur together in six psalms (32:2, 56:9, 80:3, 91:4, 107:3, and 150:3), and in every case they are joined by a conjunction.

[1] Firstly, two isolated cases of duplication must be set aside. In Reg and Paris 32:2 [Table 1] both *cithara* and *psalterio* are rendered by forms of *hearpe*. This duplication does not occur again in these psalters, nor in any other psalter. In all other cases the glossators have taken care to distinguish these two terms in their glossing. It is possible that these duplications are the result of error, or of a less fastidious policy of glossing. The fact that both the psalters have the duplication in the same psalm suggests an interrelation of glosses at some stage in the transmission of these psalters.

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101 See the following psalms (Vulgate numberings): 32:2, 42:4, 48:5, 56:9, 80:3, 91:4, 97:5, 107:3, 143:9, 146:7, 149:3, 150:3. In the following discussion I leave out two literal translations of the Biblical phrase *in vasis psalmi* (70:72) which are *faet sealmes* and *sealmfaet*. See *B-T sealmfaet*.

[2] In the vast majority of cases where *psalterium* and *cithara* appear together the glossators employ *hearpe* for one, and vernacularise the other in lieu of a gloss. Thus we find *cithara* latinised as *citere*, etc., and *psalterium* translated as *hearpe* in Vesp Jun and Camb, a pattern broken only in Camb 150:3-5 [Table 9] where the glossator, as if unsure of the value of *citere* as a gloss for *cithara*, has written *citran vel hearpe*, and in Camb 32:2 [Table 1] and 48:5 [Table 3]. In the psalters of the second group (Reg to Blick) the process is reversed; *cithara* is translated *hearpe*, and *psalterium* is vernacularised as *saltere* (the only exceptions are Reg 32:2 [Table 1] and 143:9 [Table 1]). A different tradition prevails in the glossing of psalm 56:9 [Table 3] where, save in Spel and Ead, *psalterium* is construed as *sealmleoð* 'psalmody'.

Cytere appears to be a learned formation. It does not appear in the glossaries and is entirely confined to the psalters where, with one exception (Vit 91:4 Table 6), it appears only within the closely knit group Vesp-Jun-Camb. Even here it is not consistently employed (see Camb 32:2, 42:4 [Table 1] and 150:3-5 [Table 9]).

Saltere (as a name for a musical instrument) appears only twice outside the interlinear psalter glosses: once, in the learned form *psalteras*, in the prognostics from dreams, and once in a Tenth-/Eleventh-century vocabulary which gives it as the equivalent of *sambucus*.[102] This last

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102 See Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, p. 202 and Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 278:11.

is a surprising gloss, for while medieval writers (including OE glossators) generally took *sambucus* to be the name of a wind instrument on the authority of Isidore of Seville,[103] *sambuca* does appear to have denoted some form of stringed instrument in Antiquity.[104] However, *sambuca* is strikingly close to OE *sealmboc*, (inflected *sealmboca*), especially when Vulgar Latin *u*, when unaccented in OE loans, often appears as *o*, suggesting a casual Anglo-Saxon pronunciation of *sambuca* perhaps closer to *salmboca*.[105] Since *sealmboc* would be a vernacular equivalent of Latin *psalterium*, 'psalter', some confusion introduced into the glossary tradition via dictation may lie behind the gloss *sambucus saltere*.

This evidence suggests that *cytere* and *saltere* are learned formations, and in the case of the latter the learned spelling *psaltere* (Lambeth 56:9, Table 3) and instances of the learned spelling *ps-* in the Paris Psalter 56:9 Table 3, 91:4 Table 6, 107:3 Table 7, 143:9 Table 7 and 149:3 Table 8) and in Eadwine's Psalter (together with the garbled group *sp-*). seem to put the matter beyond doubt.

One further observation may be made which supports the view that both *cytere* and *saltere* are learned formations. It is striking that these two words never appear together:

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103 Text in Lindsay, *Isidore*, 111:xxi:7. Isidore is actually speaking of the *sambuca*, not the *sambucus*.

104 See Sachs, *Instrumente*, pp. 83f and 136, and Wulstan, 'Shofar', p. 45.

105 *B-T Supplement 2*, *sealmbōc*, and Campbell, *OE Grammar*, §511.

psalterium et cithara is nowhere glossed *saltere ond cytere*, save once (Vit 91:4 [Table 6]), where *hearpe* is given also.

The psalters Vit Jun and Camb (group 1) use both *cytere* and *saltere*, but never use both words in the same psalm verse. We may therefore divide the psalters for our purposes into a *cytere* group, where *cithara* is vernacularised, and a *saltere* group where *psalterium* is vernacularised. The hypothesis that *cytere* and *saltere* were bookish, and effectively meaningless terms accords well with the glossators' practice of never combining them; they always used *hearpe* to translate one of the pair, but never elected to have two bookish words together. Indeed, they went one step further to avoid vagueness; with the exception of Camb 48:5 [Table 3] and Vit 91:4 [Table 6] they never employed both *saltere* and *cytere* in glossing the same psalter.

These patterns of glossing are revealing. They suggest that once the glossators had used *hearpe* for either *psalterium* or *cithara* they were forced to rely upon vernacularised Latin forms whose limited usefulness they clearly recognised. The implication is that they had access to no other genuine vernacular term for a stringed instrument.

Some support for this hypothesis is provided by the glosses to *tympanum*. As we have seen, this word was sometimes construed as a term for a stringed instrument by the OE glossators, and in all the psalters of the large

second group, together with Lambeth, we encounter the poetical word *gligbeam*, a kenning for *hearpe*, pressed into service (see for example Tables 5, 8 and 9). The fact that the glossators have been compelled to raid the poetical vocabulary for another stringed instrument name strongly suggests that none other was available.[106]

Conclusions

At the close of this chapter we are now in a position to present a critical picture of the OE vocabulary of stringed instrument names, just as at the end of Chapter 1 we outlined the Anglo-Saxon instrumentarium, distinguishing genuine from bookish and derivative materials.

We have found evidence for only two genuine terms: *hearpe*, and **fiðele*. *Rotta* was probably not known in Anglo-Saxon England, save perhaps in restricted circles. *Cytere*, *saltere* and *tympane* were bookish formations brought into being to serve special learned purposes. *Cruþ*, in all probability, is not a genuine Anglo-Saxon word.

**Fiðele* is not relevant to our enquiry, firstly because it can be associated with an instrument quite distinct from the harp and the lyre.

We must therefore sustain the conclusions that

1) the Germanic lyre came to England under the name 'harp'.

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106 However, OE *gligbeam* did survive into ME (see *MED*, glē̆ n.(1) 5.(a)) which shows that the word was not perhaps a strictly poetical one in OE.

2) the pillar-harp, which may have arrived at any time from c800 on, was certainly named *hearpe* by c1000.[107]

3) for a long period - perhaps two centuries or more - both harp and lyre in Anglo-Saxon England were named *hearpe*.[108]

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107 Steger, *Philologia Musica*, p. 29, does not allow that the instrument in the *Utrecht Psalter* (plate 20) may be a pillar harp, and, as he wrote before the Sutton Hoo fragments were reconstructed as a lyre, his picture of the range of instruments under consideration is quite different from mine, especially as concerns the chronology of the pillar-harp.

108 Steger, (whose sources are mainly continental), ibid., p. 34, finds it difficult to believe that the lyre should have 'suddenly' (*plötzlich*) given its name to the pillar-harp. The point is, of course, that the change was probably a very gradual one, while name-transfers of this kind are not unknown (the case of the *crowd* and the violin spring to mind; see above, p. 139).

CHAPTER 3

HEARPAN: TECHNIQUES AND TUNINGS

The Plectrum Problem

In all scholarship devoted to Anglo-Saxon stringed-instruments one observation constantly recurs without examination of the grounds upon which it rests: that *hearpan* were played either with the fingers or with a plectrum.[1] It would be tiresome to list the many authorities who have made this statement, suffice to say that it is incorporated in the studies of Bessinger, Werlich and Wrenn.[2]

This matter directly affects our concept of the music that Anglo-Saxon harps played. A plectrum is a single plucking unit, the hand is a complex of five plucking units (by no means all of which may be exploited in any one technique) with a high degree of mutual sensitivity and co-ordination. When two hands are employed the number of potential plucking units is doubled.

Once again we are presented with an organological problem whose solution will rest upon our sensitivity to the ways in which literary evidence has been moulded by tradition and brought into its present state. Almost all of the positive evidence for the use of the plectrum in Anglo-Saxon England is to be found in glossaries and

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1 For an early instance, probably not the first, see Padelford, *OE Musical Terms*, p. 30.

2 Bessinger, 'Harp(1)', p. 159f, 'Harp(2)', p. 7; Wrenn, Anglo-Saxon Harps', p. 125; Werlich, *Skop*, p. 258.

wordlists; what seems to be lacking in earlier discussions is an interest in *how* these sources were compiled.

This is all the more remarkable since the crucial observation to be made is a modest one. It is this: we must exercise caution when we use glossaries as evidence for Anglo-Saxon material culture for their content is often brought into being to serve special ends and is generated in closely defined circumstances. We would not argue that the Anglo-Saxons used Roman siege equipment because they were capable of glossing *ballista* as *staeblidrae*[3] ('stick-sling'), nor that they erected and attended theatres because *wafungstede* ('a place for astonishment') glosses *theatrum*.[4] How can we be sure that the *plectrum* glosses do not belong to this category? We must acknowledge the possibility that understanding was often transmitted in the glossaries when the relationship to cultural reality had broken down. Thus the issue of whether the plectrum was used by Anglo-Saxon string-players is a lexical question.

Preliminary Considerations

There is a danger that this question may resolve into a choice between contradictory propositions: the plectrum was used, or it was not used. Yet there is no reason to assume a complete standardisation of instrumental technique in Anglo-Saxon England. Later-medieval pictorial

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3 Pheifer, *Épinal-Erfurt*, p. 9.

4 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 145:13.

sources furnish abundant material for the study of ways of holding and playing instruments, and whilst this evidence must be interpreted with great care, one point emerges clearly: standardised technical rudiments did exist, but there was a diversity of practice that cannot be entirely attributed to artistic licence.[5]

The skills required to manipulate an assembly of wood and strings effectively must have been transmitted largely by the imitation of hand and finger configurations,[6] the process may be termed 'digital transmission',[7] and it would surely have perpetuated technical idiosyncracies and private felicities. The term 'oral' does not help to characterise this procedure for crucial matters are not likely to have been imparted in this way. The notion of an 'oral' instrumental tradition recommends itself at first glance only because 'oral' is a term universally used to distinguish the workings of cultures that are literate from those that are not. It is true that learning an instrument inevitably involves a verbal element (explanation), but our terminology should be taken from the crucial element in the procedure: the imitation of manipulative patterns.

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5 For a detailed survey of some medieval playing techniques (as applied to bowed instruments) see Bachmann, p. 87f. This is the most detailed and scholarly study of any medieval techniques yet undertaken.

6 There is no firm evidence for the existence of written instrumental tutors in medieval Europe before the Thirteenth century. For a discussion of some relevant evidence see Page, 'Jerome of Moravia', p. 80f.

7 Bullock-Davies, 'Welsh Minstrels', p. 120, coins the phrase.

A tradition of digital transmission is as flexible as an oral one, and because its constituents are not tied to sign-systems (musical notation and the alphabet) repeatability of content can be unobtainable.[8]

The Evidence of the Glossaries

The Latin word *plectrum* appears several times in the OE wordlists, and this has often been noted.[9] In case it seems a surprising word to appear in the predominantly patristic and religious material glossed by Anglo-Saxon scholars we must register its figurative meanings which were exploited in the Middle Ages.[10] In particular, the Classical figure of the tongue as the 'plectrum' of the mouth was worn almost threadbare during the period.[11] Alcuin, who uses *plectrum* frequently (but apparently never in a literal sense), praises Bosa, archibishop of York, who sang praises to God that he might "immediately sound on his mystic lyre with a plectrum" (*Ut lyra continuo resonaret mystica plectro*).[12] He also pays tribute to Bede

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8 Which explains the great importance of improvisation in many musical cultures that are not notation-based. The lute-playing of the Middle East provides a pertinent example that has been studied in detail by Nettl and Riddle, 'Taqsim'. Nettl has also produced a refined and useful description of the many kinds of improvisation that exist along the spectrum between simultaneous composition and delivery, and composition prior to delivery. See Nettl, 'Improvisation'.

9 See above, note 2.

10 See *OLD plectrum*.

11 I am grateful to the editorial staff of *RMLWL* for sending me copies of their as yet unpublished slips for the word *plectrum*.

12 Raine, *Historians of York*, 1, p. 374 (*De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis Carmen*, line 859).

who 'sang many songs with a poetic plectrum' (*Plurima versifico cecinit quoque carmina plectro*).[13] In the first extract we find the figure of the tongue as plectrum.[14] The second is based upon a more complex nexus of figures in which (a) by metonymy, the *lyra* (a Graeco-Roman stringed instrument generally played with a plectrum and used to accompany verse) stands for *poetry*, and (b) by further metonymy, the *plectrum* stands for the *lyra*. Thus using a 'lyric plectrum' or a 'poetic plectrum' becomes a high-style periphrasis for the act of composing poetry. Such figures are quite common in Anglo-Latin poetry of the OE period; we find them in Alcuin,[15] Aldhelm,[16] Bede,[17] Abbo of Fleury,[18] Aethelwulf,[19] Frithegode,[20] and in the anonymous *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*.[21]

A number of the OE *plectrum* glosses were intended to elucidate figures such as the above. The literal meaning of the word hardly needs to be brought into consideration. The following lines from Bede's *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* (metrical version) provides an example:[22]

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13 ibid. p. 387, line 1311.

14 Compare Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 157:25: *Lingua, uel plectrum*, tunge, *uel* hearpnaegel.

15 Raine, *Historians of York*, 1, *De Pontificibus...*, lines 289, 378, and 437.

16 For some relevant material from the works of Aldhelm, see below p. 173f.

17 An example from Bede's verse is studied below, p. 170.

18 *PL* 139, column 527.

19 Campbell, *De Abbatibus*, p. 5, line 16.

20 *PL* 133, column 984 *(Vita Sancti Wilfridi)*.

21 Raine, *Historians of York*, 1, p. 473 (in the epitaph of Oswald, written by a monk of Ramsey).

22 *PL* 94, column 587.

> Virtutum titulis auget miracula mentis,
> Quae lyrico liceat cursim contingere plectro,
>
> (By the fame of his virtues he exalted the marvels of his mind/ which must swiftly be touched upon with a lyric plectrum).

Bede's meaning is clear: the miracles of Cuthbert must be narrated in verse, or "touched upon with a lyric plectrum". The OE glosses to this passage are:[23]

(a) *BLRD* MS Harley 1117, f.55r [eleventh century]

lyrico	id est metrico vel poetico	*hearplicum*
plectro	carmine vel tactu	id est *slege*

(b) Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 183, f. 70r [ninth-tenth century]

lyrico	*hearplecum*
plectro	*slege*

(c) Copenhagen, Royal Library MS Gl, kcgl. Samling Nr. 2034, f.13r [late-tenth, or early-eleventh century]

lirico	*getacnigendum*
plectro	*hearplicum slege*

An examination of the glosses where *slege* renders other lemmata reveals that it almost exclusively interprets words meaning a blow or a stroke, and not implements (such as a plectrum) which perform these actions. In various spellings and inflected forms it renders *ictus*[24]

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23 The following glosses are all printed in Meritt, *Glosses*. In his numberings they are (a) 7:21 and 22, (b) 8:15 and (c) 9:42. The first two have been checked with the original manuscripts, which were available to me. MS contractions have been silently expanded.

24 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 95:5 and 499:38.

('blow', 'stroke'), *contunsio* ('a battering') and *collisio*[25] (blow', 'shock'), and *alapa*[26] ('blow', 'buffet').

The relevant meaning of *slege* can be further elucidated by the compound *hearpslege*, which glosses *plectrum* in an eleventh-century manuscript of the *Life and Miracles of St. Swithun*,[27] and renders *cythara* in the Lambeth Psalter.[28] This compound has a cognate in Old Norse *hǫrpu-slagr*, which denote the action of 'striking' or 'sounding' a *harpa*.[29] Other compounds in Old Norse which attest to the potency of the 'strike/pluck' conception are *hǫrpu-sláttr* ('*harpa*-smiting'),[30] and *sveigja-hǫrpu* ('*harpa*-striking').[31] The verb *drepa* ('to strike, beat, knock')[32] and the preterite of the verb *knía* (with the mainly poetical sense 'to knock')[33] also appear in the lexical records of Old Norse with the sense 'to sound/pluck a musical string'. An instance of the verb *knía* in the Eddic *Atlakviða* (ninth-tenth century, perhaps composed in Norway)[34], demonstrates that verbs meaning 'to beat' or

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25 ibid. 375:31 (*contunsio*) and 366:1 (*collisio*, the MS reads *conlisio*).

26 Napier, *OE Glosses*, 61:59.

27 Meritt, *Glosses*, 32:1.

28 See above, p.155.

29 Cleasby-Vigfusson, *I Dictionary*, *Harpa*.

30 ibid.

31 ibid.

32 ibid *Drepa*.

33 ibid *Knía*.

34 Dronke, *Edda*, 1, pp. 42-5, discusses the date of the poem.

'to strike' in no way imply the use of an implement, for here Gunnarr 'struck his *harpa* with his hands' (*hǫrpu hendi knýði*).[35]

Two further instances may be cited that demonstrate the generalised meaning of Old Norse *slá* ('to strike') when applied to the excitation of musical strings. In the Eddic *Atlamál in Groenlenzko* (probably Twelfth century)[36] Gunnarr plays the *harpa* with the nails of his feet, and the verb *slá* is used to denote the manner of plucking. We also find this verb applied to the action of sounding a *fiðla*, probably a bowed instrument.[37]

This evidence suggests that *slege* and *hearplicum slege* mean 'sounding a *hearpe*'. The Old Norse evidence confirms our deduction and indicates that 'striking' verbs, when applied to the sounding of musical instruments, are hyperbolic in origin and are not specific in their reference to technique.

Slegel and *Sceacol*

These words both gloss *plectrum* (the former once, the latter twice).

The first glosses are:[38]

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35 ibid. pp. 9-10.

36 ibid. pp. 89-90 (text) and pp. 107-112 (discussion of the date).

37 Cleasby-Vigfusson, *I Dictionary, Slá.*

38 The glosses are printed in Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, I, 466: 28-9. They have been checked here with the original manuscript.

BLRD MS Cotton Cleopatra A.3 f.73r [Eleventh century]

Plectro scecele ꝺꝺ e slegele

Plumemus scecen we

The lemmata are derived from the following extract from the prose version of the *De Virginitate* by Aldhelm:[39]

> Expletis igitur summatim masculini sexus exemplis, qui nequaquam nutabundo integritatis fundamento castae conversationis structuram sustentabant, ad inclitas itidem secundi sexus personas, quae in sanctae virginitatis perseverantia inflexibili mentis rigore usquequaque duruerunt, verborum gressibus gradatim spatiantes ab isdem pulcherrimos pudicitiae flores feliciter carpere contendamus, quatenus aeternae beatitudinis coronam...inextricabili *plecta plumemus* et, quemammodum pridem ex utroque testamentorum tenore principalis sexus exempla congesimus, cui potissimum prae ceteris virtutum charismatibus virginale propositum superni atria paradisi et caelestis regni vestibula patefecit, eodem modo in feminini sexus prosapia, sicut infra experimentis adstipulabimur, uberrima pudicitiae documenta solerter enucleare nitamur.

Having briefly completed the examples of those of the masculine sex who sustained the edifice of chaste conversation with a foundation by no means tottering, we eagerly bend our course in the same way to the famous persons of the second sex who were everywhere firm in the constancy of holy virginity with an inflexible determination of mind, gradually, by the steps of words, walking along to pluck with happiness from these same most beautiful flowers of virtue in order that *we may weave* the crown of eternal bliss

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39 Text from Ehwald, *Aldhelm*, p. 291-2.

in an inextricable *plait*, and just as we formerly gathered together examples of the principal sex from both testaments, to whom the chief, virginal course of life, before all other spiritual gifts of virtue, threw open the halls and forecourts of celestial paradise, so we shall affirm below with examples of the feminine sex, striving to sagaciously extract copious testimonies to their chastity.

Aldhelm invites the reader to accompany him in plucking "the most beautiful flowers of virtue in order that we may weave (*plumemus*) the crown of eternal bliss in an inextricable plait (*plecta*)..." The lemmata in the glosses we are examining are *plectro* (sic) and *plumemus*. The reading *plectro* is rejected by Aldhelm's editor[40] in favour of *plecta* ('a plait'), well-attested in Medieval British Latin.[41] However, the OE glossator appears to have had *plectro* in his text, and he has supplied glosses accordingly. The meaning 'an implement to excite strings' makes no sense of Aldhelm's passage, and we must accordingly look for another meaning for *plectro* which will fit the sense of the lines.

This proves to be a straightforward matter. We require something connected with the ideas of plaiting and weaving, and several OE glosses show that *plectra* was something assimilated to words connected with *plico* 'to fold':

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40 ibid. p. 291 and apparatus.

41 *RMLWL plecta*.

	BLRD	MS Cotton Cleopatra A.3 [Eleventh century][42]	
(a)	f.74v	plectra	awunden
(b)	f.75	plectas	gewind
(c)	f.91	plectentis	flustriende, windende
(d)	f.95v	contexere	plectere
(e)	f.102v	plecta plumemus	windonge windan

Both *scecele* and *slegele* which gloss *plectro* in this manuscript are probably weaving terms. *Slege* has survived as the name of a weaving implement in modern English *slay*,[43] and in the supplement to the vocabulary of Ælfric we find it grouped together with other weaving terms:[44]

Insubula	webbeamas
Percussorium	slege
Tara	webgeredru
Pecten	bannuccamb
Texo	ic wefe
Texta	gewefen.

The form *slegele* is probably therefore a form of *slege* with the nominal OE suffix *-ele*.[45]

Scecele may be interpreted in a similar way. Morphologically the word can be broken down into a stem with the nominal suffix *-ele* (as in sleg*ele*), meaning, in effect, 'an object which performs the action of the

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42 These glosses are printed in Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 469:17, 471:1, 485:1, 492:2, and 505:24. They have been checked with the MS.

43 *NED slay*, sb.[1]

44 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 188:4-9.

45 On this suffix see *NED*, *-el*.

verb *sceacan*. This verb is recorded in the sense 'to weave',[46] we find it glossing *plumemus* 'we weave' in the very vocabulary before us:

Plectro	scecele oððe slegele
Plumemus	scecen we

We may therefore translate *scecele* as 'an instrument which weaves'. If we accept these two interpretations we can see how the glossator understood the text before him: 'we weave the crown of eternal bliss with an inextricable weaving implement'. If we cling to the 'plectrum' interpretation we are left with nonsense.

The second gloss is:[47]

BLRD	MS Cotton Cleopatra A.3, f.109
plectra	sceacelas

The source for this gloss, taken from the same manuscript as those considered above, is the metrical-version of the *De Virginitate* by Aldhelm:[48]

> Plus igitur conferre mihi te posse fatebor,
> Qui in me terrenam dignaris condere formam
> Et brutum inspiras vitali flamine pectus,
> Qui corda ingeniis ornas et labra loquelis,
> Nequiquam ut nullus sermonum *plectra* resolvat
> Et fidibus citharae moduletur carmina Christo.

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46 *B-T sceacan*. Compare the case of *bregdan* 'move quickly' and 'weave'.

47 The gloss is printed in Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 517:2. It has been checked here with the original manuscript.

48 Ehwald, *Aldhelm*, p. 355, lines 60-65.

(Therefore I shall acknowledge that you may confer more on me, you who deem it worthy to build in me an earthly form and inspire the base breast with a life-giving breeze, [you] who adorn hearts with their natures and lips with words so that no-one loosens the *plectra* of speech in vain, but plays songs to Christ on the strings of the *cithara*).

This is clearly a case of the *plectrum lingue* expanded in the final line to embrace the figurative *cithara* with which the 'plectrum [of the tongue]' is used. The gloss *sceaċelas* is the plural of *sceacel* which we have already examined, and it seems very likely that this gloss has been influenced by the gloss *plectro scecele* earlier in the same manuscript.

The *Hearpenaegl* Glosses

With *hearpenaegl* we are dealing with a genuine OE word meaning 'plectrum'. It appears in the glossary of Aelfric (*lingua vel plectrum:* tunge *vel* hearpenaegel), and in the OE version of *Appollonius of Tyre* as a translation of *plectrum*.[49] *Naegl* appears in the glossaries as a rendering for *paxillum*[50] ('peg'), *palum*[51] ('stake'), *epigri*[52] ('wooden pins') amongst other lemmata so the *hearpenægl* must be a small peg or stick associated with the *hearpe*.

This means that OE scholars knew the meaning of

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49 Text in Goolden, *Apollonius*, p. 26.

50 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 37:21.

51 ibid.

52 ibid. 150:40.

Classical Latin *plectrum* - which is no surprise. The popularity of the *plectrum lingue* figure in Anglo-Latin poetry before the Conquest attests to the continuing understanding of the word. We encounter correct definitions at an early date, including *plectrum: [h]astella citharæ* in the Corpus Glossary (Eighth century, after a lost exemplar).[53]

The word *hearpenaegl* may be a learned form generated from Latin models such as *[h]astella cithare* (compare *hastella* 'little spear' with the gloss *Cuspide: naegle ðȝe spere* in an Eleventh-century source).[54]

The Evidence of OE Verse and Prose

There are several references to *hearpe* technique in OE verse. In *Christ 2* there is an explicit reference to playing with the fingers:[55]

> Sum maeg fingrum wel
> hlude fore haelebum hearpan stirgan,
> gleobeam gretan.

In the Ælfredian translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* a reference to plectrum-playing in the Latin is replaced by finger techniques in the Old English:[56]

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53 Lindsay, *Corpus Glossary*, p. 139, PL:473.

54 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 377:15.

55 Text from *ASPR*, 3, p. 21, lines 668b-670a.

56 For the Latin see Bramley, *Regula Pastoralis*, p. 128. The OE is quoted here from Sweet, *Gregory's Pastoral*, p. 175 (Hatton MS).

...chordae uno quidem plectro, sed non uno impulsu feriuntur.

Ealle he gret mid anre honda ȝy ȝe he wile ȝaet hi anne song singen, ȝeah he hie ungelice styrige.

Perhaps the OE translator preferred to substitute a familiar technique for one largely, if not wholly, unknown?

The most important passage is to be found in the *Fortunes of Men* at the point where the anonymous poet describes the attainments of a musician:[57]

> Sum sceal mid hearpan aet/ his hlafordes fotum sittan feoh þicȝan 7 a snellice/ snere wraestan laetan scralletan ȝearo se þe hleapeð naeȝl/ neome cende biþ him neod micel.

This may be set out and glosses as follows:

	One must with the harp	at his lord's
1	Sum sceal mid hearpan	aet his hlafordes
	feet sit	reward receive
2	fotum sittan,	feoh þicgan,
	and ever quickly / vigorously	strings ?
3	ond a snellice	snere wraestan,
	let sound loudly	? he that leaps/runs
4	laetan scralletan	gearo se þe hleapeð.
	? ? ?	is to him keenness great
5	naegl neome cende	biþ him neod micel.

57 Quoted here from the facsimile (Chambers, *Exeter Book*), folios 88r-v.

The major problems are these:

(1) the meaning of *wraestan* in line 3b.

(2) the meaning of lines 4a and 4b (where *gearo* does not alliterate).

(3) the meaning of line 5a.

These difficulties are generally treated in the following way:[58]

(1) *wraestan* is not clarified, perhaps 'pluck'?

(2) *gearo* is emended to *sceacol* (see above, p. 175) and translated 'plectrum'.

(3) *neome cende* is emended to *neomegende*, present participle of an unrecorded **neomian* modelled upon OHG *niumon* 'to exult, praise'.[59]

(4) *naegl* is translated *plectrum* on the basis of the *hearpenaegl* glosses (see above, p.177).

The resulting text is:[60]

Sum sceal mid hearpan aet his hlafordes
fotum sittan, feoh þicgan,
ond a snellice snere wraestan,
laetan scralletan sceacol, se þe hleapeð,
naegl neomegende, biþ him neod micel.

We may translate:

'One must sit at his lord's feet with the *hearpe*, receive reward, and ever quickly pluck the strings,

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58 As, for example, in *ASPR*, 3, p. 156, lines 80a-84b, and also in the most recent edition of the text in Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning*, p. 58.

59 *B-T neomian*.

60 *ASPR*, 3, p. 156, lines 80a-84b.

let the plectrum that leaps sound loudly, the plectrum sounding harmoniously, his keenness is great'.

The plectrum is introduced at two points, once by emendation (line 4b), and once as a translation for *naegl* (line 5a). The text is emended to contain an unrecorded form (*neomegende*), whilst *sceacol* is not a genuine OE word for a plectrum. Clearly the passage needs to be re-examined.

(1) *wraestan* almost certainly means to 'twist' (i.e. 'to tune'). The root is common Germanic **wraistjan*, and the relatives of this verb include *wrist*, *wrestle*, and *writhe*. In Middle English a *wreste* was a tuning key: an implement to turn the tuning-pins of a harp or psaltery.[61]

(2) *gearo se þe hleapeð* makes sense: 'keen is he that dances', but who is *he*? If *se* refers back to *sum* in line 1a, then why is the instrumentalist 'leaping' or 'running'? He can hardly be dancing and playing at the same time for the poet says he is sitting at his lord's feet. I propose that *gearo* be emended to *searo* (a misreading of ȝ for ꝛ), a noun with the senses 'skill, contrivance' that might well be relevant here,[62] while *scralletan* should perhaps be *salletan* (modelled on *psallo*),

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61 See Carter, *Dictionary*, *wreste* for citations.

62 *B-T Dictionary*, *searu*.

'to sing, play the *hearpe*'[63]. The *searo*, or 'work of skill', would then be the music which 'runs' (*hleapeð*) like the harp-music described in *The Rhyming Poem* as a *sweglrad* or 'music-riding'[64]. As Brady has pointed out, the element *-rad* in this compound, and in the more common *þunorrad* ('peal of thunder'), "imports a rising and falling movement typical of the movement of sound, the rhythmical increase and decrease in loudness and force, the 'swell' of sound, the sudden vehement pulsing and vibrating, the 'surge' of sound".[65] This characterisation perhaps identifies (as Wrenn argued)[66] a quality of the music of the *hearpe*, and one to which the 'running' music of *The Fortunes of Men* perhaps alludes.

(3) Finally, we have the line *naegl neome cende*. *Naegl* here may be a reference to a plectrum, and if it is, may have been influenced by the *plectra* which appear regularly in Anglo-Latin poetry of the pre-conquest period, both in connection with the *plectrum lingue* figure discussed above, and in association with elevated references to music and instruments where classically derived vocabulary was often employed.[67]

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63 ibid. *salletan*.

64 *ASPR*, 3, p. 167, line 29a.

65 Brady, 'OE Nominal Compounds', pp. 538-71.

66 Wrenn, 'Anglo-Saxon Harps', p. 123.

67 See above, p.168f.

However, there is another possibility that cannot be ruled out. In MHG the *nagel* of a harp was a tuning pin[68]. We have seen that OE *naegl* glosses *paxillum* ('peg'), *epigri* ('wooden pins'), and *clavis* ('key'); perhaps the *naegl* of *The Fortunes of Men* is one of the tuning pegs of the instrument?

If this is so, then we may eliminate the unhappy word **neomegende* from our texts. If we emend to *neomegende* as a form of *neomende*,[69] present participle of *niman*, 'to seize, snatch, take', then we produce the half-line *naegl neomegende*, 'snatching the [tuning] peg' - a reference to tuning the instrument paralleling 'snere wraestan' ('tune the string') in line 3b.

Thus we produce the following text:

Sum sceal mid hearpan aet his hlafordes
fotum sittan, feoh þicgan,
ond a snellice snere wraestan,
laetan sallettan searo þe hleapeð,
naegl neomegende, biþ him neod micel.

'One must sit at his lord's feet with the harp, receive reward, and ever quickly tune the string, let the cunning work that runs, sing, snatching the tuning pin. His keenness is great.'

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68 See Finlay, 'Tristan', for evidence from Gottfried's poem.

69 *B-T niman*.

This sounds like an allusion to the elaborate performance/tuning preliminaries that we encounter in high-medieval literature (see below p.200f).

The Pictorial Sources

1 Pillar-Harps

The pictorial sources provide the fullest testimony to Anglo-Saxon pillar-harp technique (plates 6-9, 12 and 13). By comparing these with later drawings of the same instrument (which survive in immense quantities from both England and the Continent)[70] we guard against being deceived by inaccurate drawings.

The representations of pillar-harps do not show plectra. In some cases the musician plays with both hands - the standard medieval (and modern) technique,[71] in other examples David plays with one hand, either because he is holding a sceptre (plate 12), or because he is holding the tuning key of his instrument (plate 9).[72] In plate 13 David clutches the pillar.[73]

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70 For collections of pictures see the studies of Bachmann, Montagu, Rensch, Seebass and Steger listed in the Bibliography.

71 I have yet to encounter a medieval illustration of a pillar-harp player using a plectrum. The pictures in the studies listed in the previous note show only finger playing.

72 Such large tuning keys are frequently seen in the pictures. See Rensch, *Harp*, plate 13; Bachmann, *Origins*, plates 29, 35, 42, 58 and 89.

73 This need not be an inaccuracy, since it is a perfectly comfortable way of holding a harp to serve a one-hand technique.

2 Lyres

Here we have relatively few illustrations to consider (plates 1, 2 and 9), so we must assemble representations from Continental sources for comparative purposes. The examples chosen show northern European instruments within the same traditions of manufacture as the Anglo-Saxon instruments.[74]

The earliest English drawings of lyres have been examined and discussed in Chapter 1[75] (plates 1 and 2). It is clear at a glance that there is no plectrum shown in the Durham Cassiodorus (plate 2), but the Vespasian Psalter (plate 1) presents a more delicate problem for the body of the lyre is painted in silver that has now oxidised.

Steger has noted that the strings are not visible below the opening of the lyre, but he assumes that marks originally drawn to represent them have been destroyed in the oxidisation of the silver.[76] Panum published a drawing of this instrument in 1940 with the supposedly original string-lines redrawn and produced across the body.[77]

It has often been claimed that David's right hand

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74 It would seem that the small lyres of the Middle Ages are historically a distinct group from the Antique *cithara* and *lyra* types. See Sachs, *Instruments*, p. 264f. Some common genesis for all these instruments is, of course, possible, though none has yet been determined.

75 See above, p. 88f.

76 Steger, *David Rex, Denkmälerbeschreibung* 3.

77 Panum, *Instruments*, figure 81.

holds a plectrum. According to Sachs "the player...uses a broad plectron as did the Greeks and Romans".[78] More recently Bachmann, an expert investigator of medieval musical iconography, records that this illustration shows "...King David in the company of his musicians...With the splayed fingers of his left hand he dampens the strings from behind, while his right hand wields the plectrum".[79]

The plectrum interpretation of this picture seems to rest upon two suppositions:

(1) that the strings were originally shown running over the oxidised surface, and

(2) that a plectrum is visible in David's right hand.

With respect to (1) Miss Backhouse, the Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Library informs me that:[80]

> 'When the miniature is examined with the naked eye, there does appear to be a very faint suggestion of strings extending across the body of the instrument, which is indeed painted silver and very badly oxidised. However, closer examination with (a) a binocular microscope and (b) an infra-red lamp does not reveal any solid foundation for this first impression.'

Thus while it is possible that strings were originally shown, the Durham illustration (plate 2) shows that lyres could be held in such a way that the lower portion of the string-band was obscured from the viewer. If the Vespasian David is holding his instrument in the same way we would not expect the artist to have shown strings running over its surface.

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78 Sachs, *Instruments*, p. 267.

79 Bachmann, *Origins*, p. 115.

80 Private communication.

The plectrum so often mentioned by organologists does not exist, there is nothing more between David's fingers than a light patch in the oxidisation. From her examination Miss Backhouse concludes: "It is at least quite plain that there is no plectrum in David's right hand".[81]

Thus neither of the two eighth-century English drawings of lyres show plectra, nor do any of the continental lyres that I have been able to find.[82] The last Anglo-Saxon illustration of a plucked lyre (plate 9) shows the fingers in use as before. Our investigation therefore allows us to conclude that both the lyre and pillar-harp or Northern Europe were associated with a coherent tradition of finger-plucking.

The Tuning of Lyre and Harp

It has often been asserted that nothing can be said of the tuning systems originally employed on the lyre and harp. "The actual tuning of the Sutton Hoo harp", writes Bessinger, "and needless to say, the melodies played on it are beyond reconstruction..."[83] Wrenn appears to have considered the matter too vague to be discussed.[84]

In fact there are numerous sources that may be brought to bear upon this problem.

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81 ibid.

82 See plates 16-18, and, in addition, the materials assembled by Bachmann, Seebass and Steger, all *passim*.

83 Bessinger, 'Harp(2)', p. 11.

84 There is no mention of the subject in Wrenn, 'Anglo-Saxon Harps'.

The *De Institutione Harmonica* of Hucbald (d.930)

The musical theorists of Ancient Greece had made use of stretched strings to illustrate theoretical points,[85] and Boethius, the most influential musical theorist of the medieval West, makes frequent references to *nervos* in his *De Musica*.[86] The theorists of the Middle Ages followed this practice: from c900 on we find l. pedagogical references to contemporary instruments in Latin musical treatises.

The process begins with the *De Institutione Harmonica* (c900) of Hucbald, a monk of St. Amand who died in 930.[87] This treatise is primarily concerned with "the reform of musical practice by improving the precision of pitch notation".[88] In his discussion of scalar rudiments Hucbald makes an arresting reference to a *cithara* with six strings to show his readers where they may find an example of a semitone. He notes that a semitone may be found between the third and fourth strings of a *cithara .vi. chordarum*, or six-stringed *cithara*, as we may see in the following text of the passage taken from a late-Anglo-Saxon

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85 For a summary of Greek string-based theory see Reese, *Middle Ages*, p. 20f.

86 For the text see Friedlein, *Boethius*. References to *nervos* appear throughout the work (e.g. pp. 196-7, 220, 351). On this treatise see Potiron, *Boèce*, and also Gushee, 'Questions of Genre', who argues, with some justification, that Boethius is considerably less concerned with practical problems than some of the Greek theorists (such as Ptolemy). See especially p. 370f of Gushee's article.

87 The only edited text at present available is an inferior one in *GS*, 1, p. 104a-152b. However, the authentic text may end on p. 121a. See Page, 'Keyboard'.

88 Palisca, *Hucbald*, p. 3f, and p. 13f.

manuscript of the treatise written at St. Augustine's in Canterbury:[89]

> Porro exemplum semitonii aduertere potes in cithara .vi. chordarum, inter tertiam et quartam chordam, seu [de]scendendo seu ascendendo: quarum modus sic se habet scandendo, ut in antiphona *Cum audisset* T T S T T [T] *populus Acceperunt ramos*. Descendendo ut in antiphona *Hodie completi sunt dies pente*[T] *e*[T]*co*[S]*os*[T]*te*[T]*es*,
>
> similerterque in ydraulis eodem loco. Designentur quoque exempla tam toni quam semitonii in quolibet cantu cum diductione .vi. chordarum, quarum vicem linee teneant, annotato semper inter chordas ubi tonus, ubi semitonium contineatur.
>
> An example of a semitone can be seen on the *cithara* of six strings between the third string and the fourth, either descending or ascending. Its scale ascending is as in the antiphon *Cum audisset populus* at [the words] *Acceperunt ramos...*; descending, as in the antiphon *Hodie completi sunt dies pentecostes*, and likewise on water organs. Let specimens also be written down of both tone and semitone from any chant, distinguishing the six strings, whose place is taken by the lines, and always with a notation between the strings as to where there is a tone and where a semitone.

The example extracted from the antiphons leave us in no doubt that Hucbald's six stringed *cithara* was tuned tone-tone-semitone-tone-tone (the T T S T T of the text).

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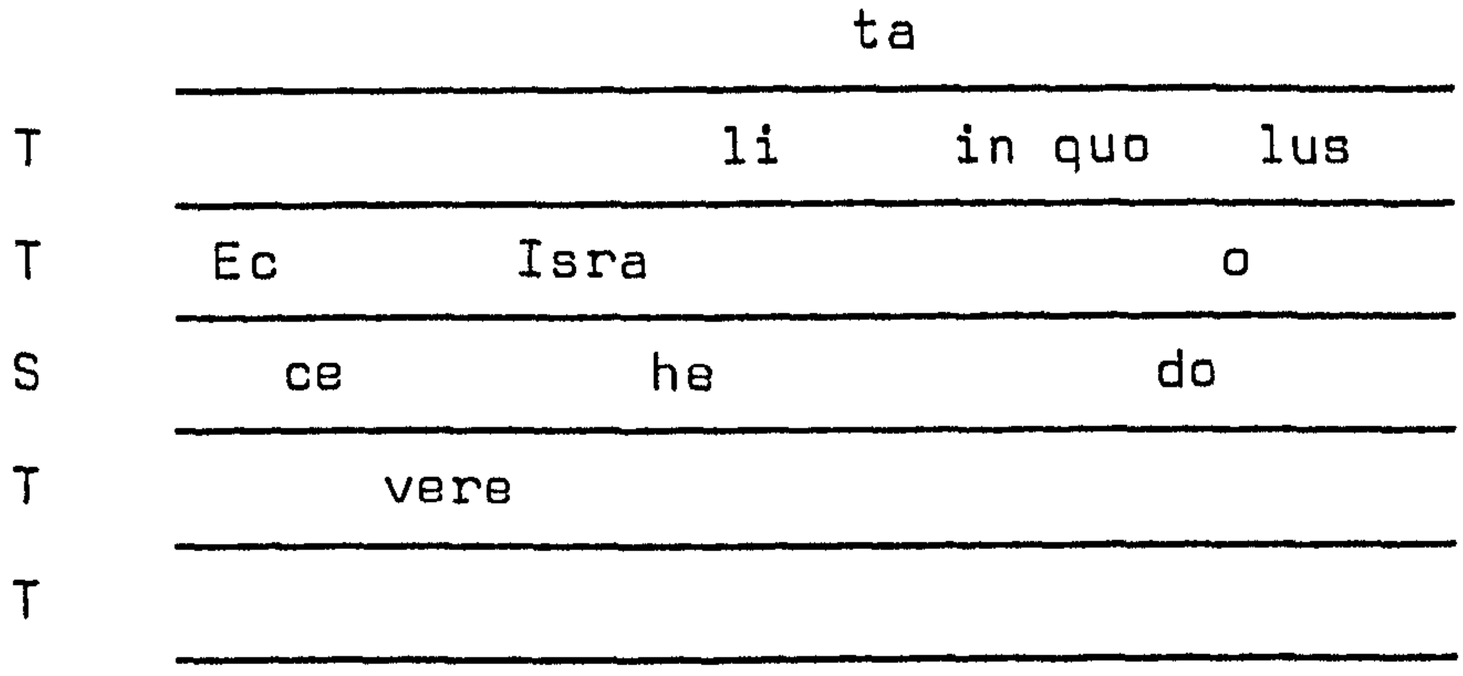
89 Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.5.35 (extract quoted here from folio 266). This is the manuscript which contains the famous 'Cambridge Songs'. For a detailed description and inventory see Rigg and Wieland, 'Cambridge Songs', *passim*. In the present contexts this late-Anglo-Saxon text of the treatise seems preferable to the unreliable eighteenth-century edition in *GS*.

This passage is followed by a diagram of this *cithara* with the letters T T S T T disposed between the strings:[90]



There can hardly be any doubt that this six-stringed *cithara* is an instrument in use in Hucbald's day: his purpose is to clarify his reader's understanding of the semitone with reference to the familiar. There is only one serious candidate for consideration: the six-stringed Northern lyre, as represented in English sources by the Sutton Hoo fragments and the Vespasian Psalter instrument (plate 1), and on the Continent by the excavated lyres with pegholes for six strings.[91] Such instruments are not hard to find in Continental pictorial sources. The Egbert Psalter, a manuscript of the Trier School illuminated between 977 and 993,[92] shows a fine example. This drawing was made some 150 miles from Hucbald's monastery

90 This appears on folio 266v. *GS*, 1, p. 109b gives the corresponding material.

91 Catalogued with description and bibliography in Crane, *Extant Instruments*, 313.01, 03, (?) 04 and 05.

92 For details of this manuscript see Dodwell, *Painting in Europe*, pp. 54-6, and plate 57.

of St. Amand at Valenciennes and completed within about half a century of his death. Yet it scarcely requires these credentials to represent Hucbald's *cithara*. The pictorial and archaeological evidence points to a strong and coherent tradition of hexachordic lyres in Northern Europe to which his *cithara* .vi. *chordarum* must surely belong.

We may represent Hucbald's lyre tuning by the letters CDEFGA (relative pitch). He states that this series, characterised by a *major* third between notes 1 and 3 (C-E), is characteristic of instruments (as we shall see in the next chapter).[93] Furthermore, he considers it to have been in use for a long period, and to have been tried by many wise men during long use (*longevitatis usu*).[94] We may conclude that, by c900, instrumental tunings based on diatonic progression from a root major third (C.D.E) were already old, and not to be thought puzzling by those fresh from the study of Greek scales.[95]

The *De Musica* of Notker Labeo

We have now to consider the evidence of an author who died in 1022, but whose material on instruments may derive from the time of Hucbald and even before.

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93 See below, p. 226f.

94 Folio 267. *GS*,1, p. 110a gives the corresponding material. For a translation of the whole of the relevant passages see Palisca, *Hucbald*, p. 24-5. On this scale see Waesberghe, 'Notation alphabétique', *passim*.

95 Because the Greek 'Greater Perfect System' begins with a minor third step, and is differently structured. a Reckoning downwards (in the Greek manner), it is a g f e d c b a G F E D C B A. Reese (*Middle Ages*, p.21) explains the system.

Once again we find ourselves dealing with a musical treatise - a genre of writing that has scarcely been used by writers upon our subject. This time we are led to a text which is written in the author's vernacular, Old High German. Notker Labeo was a teacher at St. Gall and his known works are closely connected with the functions he discharged there.[96] In addition to texts attributed to him on his own authority[97] a short vernacular musical treatise is ascribed to him on linguistic and orthographical grounds.[98]

There are five chapters dealing with the monochord, the eight 'tones', (i.e. the church modes), tetrachords, the 'modes' (in Notker's terminology the Greek transposition scales), and the measurement of organ-pipes.[99] A remarkable feature of the section on the church modes (Chapter 2) is the use Notker makes of the *lira* and the *rota*:[100]

> Uuuizîn dârmíte . dáz an démo sánge dero stímmo . échert síben uuéhsela sínt . díe uirgilius héizet septem discrimina uocum únde díu áhtoda in qualitate díu sélba íst . sô diu êrista. Fóne díu sínt án dero lîrûn . únde án dero rótûn îo síben séiten. únde síbene gelîcho geuuérbet . Pe díu negât óuh án dero órganûn. daz alphabetum nîeht fúrder. âne ze síben buóhstaben dien êristen. A B C D E F G.

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96 See Boor and Newald, *Geschichte*, 1, p. 109f for a well-documented survey of Notker's life and work.

97 In his letter to Bishop Hugo von Sitten (before 1017). ibid.

98 The text reproduced here is that of Piper, *Schriften Notkers*, 1, p. 851f, which has been compared with a microfilm of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek MS 242, 11c, pp. 10-16. For a description of this manuscript see *RISM*, 1, p. 78.

99 Piper, *Schriften Notkers*, 1, p. 851f.

100 ibid. p. 853.

Know also that in the chant there are only seven different notes which Virgil calls the 'seven distinctions of pitch', and the eighth is the same as the first. Therefore there are always seven notes on the *lira* and the *rota*, and seven similarly tuned [on each instrument]. Therefore the alphabet of the organ does not go any further than the first seven letters A B C D E F G.

In Notker's notation the letters A B C D E F G denote pitches which we would now write as C D E F G A B.[101] In other words, he uses a letter series on A to denote a sequence beginning with a major third. This use of the A-G series was specially associated with instruments, as we shall see.[102] We therefore learn that there were always at least seven notes on the *lira* and *rota*, and that they were (in modern notation) C D E F G A B - a major scale as far as the leading note. This is exactly what we found in Hucbald's treatise, for there a series beginning (in modern notation) C D E F G A B was associated with musical instruments, the six-stringed lyre being tuned C D E F G A.

In his section on tetrachords Notker provides a little more information about the *lira*:[103]

101 This is quite clear from his use of the letters BODE to denote the *finales* of the church modes (DEFG). This is so-called 'Boethian' or 'instrumental' alphabet which is also used by Hucbald (folio 267v of the Cambridge copy; *GS* does not contain the corresponding material; for a copy of the relevant diagram as it appears in another important early text of Hucbald see Palisca, *Hucbald*, p. 24, and for a photograph of the same, see Weakland, 'Hucbald', plate 3). For the currency of this system in late-Anglo-Saxon England see Page, 'Keyboard', *passim*.

102 See below, p. 226f.

103 Piper, *Schriften Notkers*, p. 854.

Táz áber fúre dîe séhszên séiten án dero lîrûn
drîostunt síbene sínt. álso óuh súmelichero órganûn
dríu alphabeta sínt. dáz íst úmbe dia sémpfti getân.
dáz man ánageléitên béiden hánden. ûfstîgendo
fóllesíngen múge sángolîh. únde óbenân negebréste.
nóh túrft neuuérde . dia hánt ába demo óberôsten alphabeto.
zeuuéhselônne án daz níderôsta. Tíu dríu alphabeta
sínt tánne nôte sô gelîh. dáz án îogelîchemo sî
diapason. únde dârána diatesseron. únde diapente.
únde án diatesseron sîn drî únderlaza tonus tonus
semitonium...únde án diapente fîere . tonus tonus
semitonium tonus.

(But instead of the sixteen strings [that compose four disjunct tetrachords], on the *lira* there are three times seven [strings]. So too there are three alphabets to many an organ for ease of playing, so that [the performer] mounting up with both hands laid upon [the instrument] may perform any piece, there being neither compulsion nor need to move the hand from the highest octave to the lower one. These three alphabets are so similar that there is in each one an octave, and thereby a fourth and a fifth, and in the fourth there must be three intervals: tone, tone and semitone, and in the fifth there must be four: tone, tone, semitone and tone).

From this passage we learn that the *lira* was equipped with 'three times seven [strings], equivalent to the 'three alphabets' of some organs. Each of these alphabets is identical, and composed of the sequence T T S (fourth) and T T S T (a fifth). Thus the *lira* was tuned as follows (modern notation):

c d e f g a b c' d' e' f' g' a' b' c" d" e" f" g" a" b"

What was this *lira*? Since Notker distinguishes *lira* and *rota* the latter instrument, (a triangular zither),[104] can be eliminated. Twenty-one strings is far too many for a lyre and thus the only candidate left is the pillar-harp, frequently equated with *lira* in the Middle Ages (compare the gloss of Aelfric *lira vel cithara: hearpe*).[105] We may therefore conclude that the pillar-harps known to Notker were tuned diatonically to a major scale.

This scale, once again, is exactly what we find in Hucbald's treatise, and there it is associated with musical instruments.

Notker died of the plague in 1022, but it is possible that his material records substantially earlier traditions. This is no more than we would expect since he gives an instrumental gamut identical to that of Hucbald (d.930) who already considered such a gamut to have been in use for a long time.[106] Yet there may be a direct link between Notker and the period of Hucbald. The chronicler Ekkehard of St. Gall (first half of the Eleventh century) relates that the monk Tuotilo was an expert player on wind- and string-instruments (*in omnium genere fidium et fistularum prae omnibus*), and that he used to teach the sons of noblemen to play instruments in a place set aside for the purpose by the abbot (*Nam et filios nobilium in loco*

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104 According to the findings of Steger, 'Rotte', *passim*, and *Philologia Musica*, p. 91f, which I have accepted here.

105 Zupitza, *Aelfrics Grammatik*, p. 302

106 See above, p. 191.

ab abbate destinato fidibus edocuit); Ekkehard also tells us that the *rotta* was one of Tuotilo's instruments, the monk used to compose with the aid of a *psalterium seu...rothtam.*[107] The *locus* in which Tuotilo taught was probably rather more than Ekkehard makes it seem, for it must have been connected with the *nobilium academia* which Ekkehard mentions.[108] A ground-plan of St. Gall drawn up in 820 shows that provision was made for two schools, one for the sons of wealthy nobles, and another situated in the cloister, for the novices and oblates.[109] Tuotilo's *locus ab abbate destinatus* was doubtless associated with this outer school for the sons of noblemen, it is easy to believe that a musical centre as important as St. Gall would have emphasised *Musica* in its teaching of the liberal arts.[110]

It is possible that Notker's material on the *lira* and the *rota* preserves some of the teaching associated with Tuotilo who died in 915, two years after Hucbald. We have a teacher at St. Gall who related basic musical theory to the *rota* and the *lira*, and another teacher at the same centre, a century before, who appears to have taught the *rotta* as part of a Liberal Arts education for noblemen's sons.

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107 Text in Pertz, *Scriptorum 2*, p. 94 and p. 101.

108 ibid. p. 142.

109 For the details of the plan see Clark, p. 93f.

110 ibid. p. 161f.

Later Medieval Evidence

Although later-medieval evidence is not strictly relevant to our enquiry, a few available materials may be mentioned here since they confirm the indications of the early sources.

(1) The *Lumiere as Lais* of Pierre of Peckham. This long Anglo-Norman theological poem was completed at Oxford in 1267.[111] The author, Pierre of Peckham, was probably a Black Canon who came to Oxford to take a degree.[112] A section of the poem devoted to *charité* compares men who live in harmony with their fellows to the strings of a well-tuned harp,[113] and the comparison is developed in some sixty lines of technical material from which we deduce that Pierre was thinking of a diatonically tuned harp with a major third between the first and third steps of each octave.[114]

(2) The anonymous *Summa Musicae*.[115] This musical

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111 According to a colophon in York Chapter Library MS 16.N.3. See Legge, 'Pierre of Peckham', and 'Lumiere as lais', *passim*.

112 As suggested by Legge, 'Lumiere as Lais', p. 193.

113 This is not a very original figure. One earlier example which may be cited is Isidore's definition of the *cithara* in Book 3 of the *Etymologiarum* (see Lindsay, *Isidore*, 111:xxii:4).

114 The *Lumiere as Lais* has not been edited. I have quoted an extract (which is sufficient to show the manner) in Page, 'String-Instrument Making', p. 53.

115 The only available edition of the text is in *GS*, 3, p. 190a-248. The original manuscript of the treatise is in Carinthia, St. Paul, Archiv des Benediktinerstiftes, MS 264/4 (see Michels, *Compendium*, p. 31f for a description of this manuscript and an inventory of its contents). My attempts to obtain a microfilm of this manuscript have failed.

treatise in prose and verse was written between 1274 and 1307, most probably in France and perhaps in Paris.[116] The author distinguishes instruments which have 'no greater continuous [intervals] than tone and semitone', including *citharae* and *psalteria*, from those 'which are tuned in the consonances of octave, fourth and fifth, by variously stopping with the fingers the players of these make tones and semitones for themselves'.[117] The latter group clearly comprises fingerboard instruments; by implication the *citharae* and *psalteria* are open-stringed instruments, and since *psalteria* are probably psalteries,[118] we may follow general medieval practice and translate *cithara* as harp.[119] The tuning with 'no greater continuous intervals than tone and semitone' is a diatonic sequence.

(3) The untitled treatise on stringed instruments in University of California, Berkeley, MS 744. This treatise contains drawings of several stringed instruments with tunings written upon the strings in red.[120] I have argued elsewhere that the evidence of an acrostic in the text shows that the material was compiled by the fourteenth-century composer, Jean Vaillant. The Berkeley

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116 For the date of the treatise see Michels, *Johannes de Muris*, p. 16-17. On the provenance of the work see Page, 'Jerome of Moravia', p. 86, note 57.

117 *GS*, 3, p. 214a.

118 Labelled drawings of *psalteria* in later-medieval sources show zithers of the familiar 'pig-snout' type. For examples see Page, 'Fifteenth Century Instruments', plates 2 and 4, and Wright, 'Gittern', plates 1 and 2(b).

119 For *harpe* as the equivalent of *cithara* in medieval France see *T-L*, *harpe*.

120 There is an edition of the material with translation, commentary and facsimile in Page, 'Fourteenth Century Instruments', *passim*.

manuscript dates from after 1375.[121] On page 54 of this source we find a drawing of a pillar-harp with the following set of letters written upon its strings:[122]

a b c d e f g a b c d

This is a diatonic series corresponding to an eleventh in our natural minor scale (A - d').

All the available evidence points to a diatonic tuning for the medieval harp.

Use of *Scordatura* (Changes of Tuning)

There is striking evidence in several later-medieval sources that expert harpists used their own private tunings, or at least, frequently adjusted their tunings before playing in a way that exceeds the preliminary adjustments that any player might be expected to employ.

There is certainly no reason to expect that the diatonic series we have found in our research were rigorously employed. Players doubtless adjusted their tunings to include special notes demanded by one piece or another.

Nonetheless it is important to recognise the relatively circumscribed area of material from which our central medieval evidence for scordatura is drawn. The two most important sources are the Anglo-Norman romance of *Horn* (c1170), and the *Tristan* (c1200) of Gotfried von Strassburg.

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121 ibid. p. 18.

122 ibid. p. 31 and plate IV.

Since both of the relevant passages have been frequently quoted[123] it will not be necessary to give them in their entirety here, the crucial lines and a synopsis will suffice.

In the romance of *Horn* the hero performs several narrative lays in the Breton manner *(Si cum sunt cil bretun d'itiel fait costumier).*[124] He takes the harp and tunes it in a way that absorbs the simple act of changing the pitches into a form of prelude:

> Lors prent la harpe a sei, qu'il veut atemprer.
> Deus! ki dunc l'esgardast, cum la sout manïer,
> Cum ces cordes tuchout, cum les feseit trembler,
> Asquantes feiz chanter asquantes organer,
> De l'armonie del ciel li poüst remembrer!
>
> (Then he takes up the harp because he wishes to tune it. God! whoever could have seen how he handled it, how he touched the strings, how he made them vibrate, sometimes in a melody, sometimes in parts, he would have recalled the celestial harmony.)

This is plausible enough. We encounter similar procedures at present in some non-European countries. A player of the north-east African *krar*, a six-stringed lyre, sometimes "checks and rechecks the accuracy of the tuning... often making minor corrections while simultaneously playing partially improvised sequences based on the melodic phrase of the song".[125] What is more surprising

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123 As for example in Bullock-Davies, 'Breton lay', pp. 19-22.

124 Pope, *Horn*, lines 2824f.

125 Kebede, 'Krar', p. 386.

in *Horn* is that the hero, once he has played this material, re-tunes this instrument to a new series of pitches:[126]

> Quant ses notes ot fait si la prent a munter
> E tut par autres tuns les cordes fait soner:
>
> (When he had played his themes, he raised the pitch of the strings and made them give out quite different tones from before.)

This recalls a strikingly similar passage in Gotfried's *Tristan*.[127] Having played initial melodies Tristan

> sus nam er sîn̂en plé́ctrún̂
> nagel úńde seiten zôher,
> dise ní́der, jene hôher,
> rehte als er si wolte hân̂.
>
> (...took his tuning-key and twisted the strings and tuning-pins, some higher, some lower, just as he wished to have them.)

It can hardly be a coincidence that in both *Horn* and *Tristan* we are dealing with performances (1) by the hero, (2) by an expert performer, and (3) of a Breton *lai* or *lais*. Presumably these texts preserve circumstantial accounts of what Breton *lai* performance actually involved, or at least, what it was thought to involve when accomplished by experts. Another text in which we find references to *scordatura* (changes of tuning), the prose *Tristan*,[129] is also involved with the Celtically-influenced

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126 Pope, *Horn*, lines 2836-7.

127 Ganz, *Tristan*, lines 3556-3559.

128 On this interpretation of the word *plectrun* see above p.183.

129 Text and commentary of the relevant extract in Maillard, 'Coutumes musicales', p. 345.

world of the Breton lai material, and the germane references occur in descriptions of *lai* performance. We must therefore characterise the known later-medieval references to spectacular *scordatura* procedures as a closely linked group with Celtic connections, all of which centre upon the exceptional musical prowess of heroes who perform *lais*.

Anglo-Saxon Harp Music: Approaches and Prejudices

Twentieth-century scholars are singularly ill-equipped to speculate about the sound-picture of Anglo-Saxon harps, not only because of what has been lost in terms of playing traditions, but also because of what has been accumulated. The point is well expressed by Michael Morrow:[130]

> ...there is little risk in asserting that, of any given thousand modern musicians, 999 are likely to have a fixed notion of the characteristic sound of the harp and a firm idea of the precise nature and limitations of the music for which the instrument is not only suited and designed but also, one might say, fated.
>
> The instrument so readily brought to mind is, of course, the modern orchestral harp, any other harp sound would be unthinkable, any other technique unnatural. Since the 19th century the prime function of this massive instrument has been to add its particularly French colour to the magnificent splurge of orchestral sound greatly relished by composers until well into this century. The orchestral harp

130 Morrow, 'Renaissance harp', p. 503-5.

is irrevocably associated with a distinctive style of playing in which all overt rhythmic vitality is carefully suppressed and replaced by an insidious rubato - amounting almost to sleight-of-hand - which successfully eliminates all the positive features so characteristic of earlier harp traditions, until - like the protagonist in the penultimate illustration of the Buddhist Eight-fold Path - all that remains of this ancient, noble and enigmatic instrument is a lingering celestial harmonic, an illusive colour.

We begin to see what is involved in the 'inert associations' of the word *harp* mentioned in Chapter 1.[131] Several centuries of accumulating harp-style have left us incapable of appreciating 'earlier harp traditions' unless we deliberately rinse our mind of preconceptions.

How do we achieve such a cleansing process, and what do we find when we return to Anglo-Saxon sources? We may make a beginning with a medieval account of harp music which, though much later than the Tenth century, and far removed from the English cultural sphere, shows some of the distance that our notions have to travel to be brought into line with even late-medieval evidence. This is how Paulus Paulirinus of Prague described the harp in his *Liber Viginti Artium* (c1460):[132]

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131 See above. p. 75.

132 There is an inaccurate and confusing text of Paulus's material on instrumentsin Reiss, 'Paulus Paulirinus', p. 262f. The text given here has been transcribed from a microfilm of the manuscript (Cracow, Jagiellonian University Library, MS 257, folio 162.

[A]rfa est instrumentum trigonale, nervalibus cordis, unguum percussione resonans, ab Orfeo, primo huius instrumenti repertore, arfa dicta, porrigens sonos ad longam distanciam, et longiorem quam quodcumque aliud instrumentum (preter tubam, organa et portativum) quod potest se contemperare cum omni instrumento musicali et in tactum forciorem aut minus fortem.

(The harp is a triangular instrument with gut strings sounding when it is struck with the nails. It is named 'harp' after Orpheus, the inventor of this instrument. It transmits its sound for a long distance - longer than any other instrument (save the trumpet, [positive] organ and portative [organ]) which can combine itself with every musical instrument with both heavy and less heavy strokes.

Paulus's comment that the harp projects its sound further than any other instrument (save the trumpet and two types of organ) is a remarkable pointer to the sound of the harp he knew; such a statement is almost inconceivable in terms of modern conceptions of the sound of the harp.

The harpist who uses his fingers upon a harp is presented with a wide range of technical possibilities. He may create a complex texture in which chords, parallel movement, drones, a fluid melodic line and other elements are freely compounded. It is not easy to find a satisfactory term for such music. The technique certainly often involvesthe simultaneous sounding of two or more notes and might be termed 'polyphonic'. Yet this is not entirely appropriate, for this term is powerfully associated with music (both written and oral)

which exhibits characteristics more akin to vocal than to instrumental material: "...the simultaneous outflow of two or more voices of a more or less pronounced individuality".[133] The simultaneous soundings of instrumental 'polyphony' are rarely ordered in this way (save in the European, written art-tradition of instrumental music). They may more often take the form of chords, runs, characteristic figurations and other devices which are clotted around the melody - now thick, now thin - according to the taste and ability of the player. As Bachmann writes:[134]

> If we consider the music played on these medieval instruments in terms of 'monody' or 'polyphony', the word 'polyphony' should not be taken in its narrow occidental sense of a polyphony or homophony built upon harmonic relationships. 'Polyphony' here means part-music in the broadest possible meaning of the word, with all its transitional forms of an improvised character, in all the variety displayed in non-European music.

During recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the instrumental textures of many non-European cultures deepen our understanding of the techniques employed by medieval string-players, and may even be regarded as "the living archetypes behind the dead letters of notated music of the Middle Ages",[135] and thus provide a guide to performing styles:[136]

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133 Emsheimer, 'Folk Polyphony', p. 44.

134 Bachmann, *Origins*, p. 149.

135 Gerson-Kiwi, 'Bourdon', p. 49.

136 Baines, *Instruments*, p. 221. On the use of such comparative organology by literary critics working under the influence of oral-formulaic theory see above, p. 34 f.

A necessary science, to be blended with musical intuition, is one of auxiliary noises - broken octaves, swept strings, drones, as well as added ornament - utilizing the data of folk and oriental techniques of the medieval stratum to supplement hints of similar things in early literary and pictorial sources.

Needless to say there is a great deal to query here. We wish to know how it is possible to isolate a 'medieval stratum' in the non-European instrumental techniques known to us, and whether using such material to provide suggestive analogies and to inspire performance models can really be elevated into a 'science'. Yet the importance of testing our imagined medieval sound-pictures against those in traditions outside the stream of European art-music cannot be denied. We have very little notated medieval music for instruments, what we do have was probably played only by the tiny proportion of medieval instrumentalists who could read notation.[137] There can be little doubt that, for the vast majority of players, instrumental music resided entirely "in the fingers and cerebral cortex", and was "untrammelled by restrictive conceptions linked with the habit of notation".[138]

'Texture' is a more useful term for our discussion than 'polyphony'. We may speak of playing as textured

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137 There is as yet no survey of this subject, and it remains uncertain how many medieval instrumentalists could read musical notation. I have attempted to make a beginning in Page, 'Jerome of Moravia', *passim*. This study is primarily concerned with musical and lexical literacy amongst the string-players of thirteenth-century Paris.

138 Picken, *Turkey*, p. 9.

at any point where two or more notes are sounded simultaneously. We frequently find that two elements are discernible in the texture; a primary skein, or the melody, and a secondary skein or developed fabric: the support.[139] Even though both elements may not be distinct in the mind of the player as he plays, but may be assimilated into one complex of digital operations, yet the distinction is an important one.

The pillar-harp of the Anglo-Saxons provides a fine example of an instrument whose techniqal characteristics organise the players' activities into melodic and support areas. When both hands are applied to a harp - any harp - they automatically separate into a higher-pitch and a lower-pitch area of activity (a fact almost always registered by artists). This occurs for the simple reason that if both hands are placed in the same area of the string-band they constrict each other's activity. Throughout its recorded history Western music seems never to have departed from the principle that what is low-pitched supports what is high-pitched, even though the structural focus of the music may be in the low area of activity.[140] It is therefore reasonable to assume

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139 A good example is provided by the *saz* music transcribed in Picken, *Turkey*, p. 236f. Our understanding of the techniques of medieval string playing depends directly upon an appreciation of the influences exerted upon musicians by lexical literacy. I have considered the matter further in Page, 'Direction of the Beginning', *passim*, arguing that the development of a written polyphonic musical tradition in the Ninth century, accompanied by the growth of a Latin treatise literature to codify and regulate it, represent a crucial conceptual step in the history of instrumental playing, paving the way for playing *ex arte*, rather than simply *ex usu*.

140 This arises because the chordal thinking of Western music is based upon a system of reckoning from lower pitch to higher pitch.

that Anglo-Saxon harpists placed their melodic work in the higher-pitched, and more distinct treble area, and any support in the lower-pitched area. That virtuoso players restricted themselves to the staccato chords and thin rills of melody which are popularly associated with Dark Age harping is extremely unlikely.

The Anglo-Saxon poets tell us little about what was admired in harping, though we learn something from a reference in *The Fortunes of Men*:[141]

> Sum mid hondum maeg hearpan gretan,
> ah he gleobeames gearobrygda list.

We know nothing for certain about the date at which *The Fortunes of Men* was composed, and therefore it is impossible to say what instrument was meant when these lines were written. However, it is worth noting the word *gearobyrgda* with which the poet seems to sum up the player's skill. *Gearu* glosses *promptus* in the supplement to the vocabulary of Ælfric,[142] giving us the senses 'prepared', 'ready', while *brygd* is connected with *bregdan* 'to move quickly'. In sum, *gearobrygda* amounts to the skill of rehearsed and prepared rapid movement - a digital dexterity acquired by long application.

'Prepared rapid movements' do not, perhaps, sound as spontaneous as we might imagine impromptu Anglo-Saxon harping to have been. Although Anglo-Saxon harpists may have developed a textured technique in which drones,

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141 *ASPR*, 3, p. 138, lines 49a-50b.

142 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 180:2.

ornaments, parallel motion and other devices were compounded according to the taste and ability of each player, it does not follow that the material upon which they built was elaborate. It is striking that some of the music in the manuscript of Robert ap Huw of Bodwigan (written probably in 1613, our only window onto a traditional harping art of medieval ancestry) usesonly two chords.[143] The little we know of *chanson de geste* technique and instrumental music before c1300 suggests that outside the sphere of art-music (primarily vocal) musicians worked with materials of striking simplicity [144], and achieved their effects by building upon these bases according to their skill. We have already considered the painting in the Vespasian Psalter showing dancers accompanied by hand-stopped horns and what appear to be wooden trumpets.[145] It is unlikely that such trumpets were used to produce more than three or four notes of the harmonic series, if such instruments provided a rhythmic foundation for dancing as the painting suggests, then a respectable amount of Anglo-Saxon musical experience must have been provided by this slight (but doubtless exhilarating) material.

If we draw together the evidence at our disposal, then the Anglo-Saxon pillar-harp emerges, I suggest, in the

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143 See Ellis, *Story of the Harp*, *passim* for a valuable discussion by a scholar and professional harpist.

144 An example is provided by the repeated single melodic lines of the *chanson de geste* tradition. For details see Aarburg, 'Aucassin', Chailley, 'Chanson de Geste', Langlois, 'Chanson de geste'.

145 See above, p. 88f.

following light. The execution was probably vigorous and designed to elicit a strong, bright sound from the strings; to judge by other pre-Romantic harp traditions,[146] the instrument was in no way associated with the rhythmic timidity that characterises the ethos of the modern concert harp. The music - at least amongst the advanced players - was probably textured, involving various configurations designed to build up a self-sufficient sound picture. Yet the materials played may have been extremely simple, the essence of the art consisting of constant variation upon an iterated foundation.

146 See Morrow, 'Renaissance harp', *passim*.

CHAPTER 4

A TENTH-CENTURY HARPIST AND HIS REPERTORY: DUNSTAN OF CANTERBURY

It is largely because previous studies of the harp and OE verse have been devoted to the Seventh and Eighth centuries that the remarkable materials pertaining to the musical activities of Dunstan (d.988) have been overlooked.[1] The Latin lives of this famous Canterbury saint provide a unique insight into the artistic interests of an Englishman reared at a time when there

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1 The essential primary sources are the *Lives* of Dunstan listed above. Outside of these documents there is very little material pertaining to Dunstan's musical activities.
Dunstan is mentioned in passing by Anderson, *AS Scop*, p. 12, and by Padelford, *OE Musical Terms*, pp. 10, 11, 32, 36, and *passim*, but there are a disturbing number of errors an inaccuracies in his use of the *Lives* (see above, p. 25, note 28). Werlich, *Skop*, p. 214 and p. 245 mentions Dunstan's interest in poetry and in the *hearpe*, but the material is very late in date for his purposes, and he does not pursue it. In short, the significance of the Dunstan *Lives* seems to have been overlooked.
The most important secondary sources for the study of Dunstan as a creative artist with interests in music and poetry are: Duckett, *Dunstan*, and Robinson, *Dunstan*, both of which are book-length studies of the saint's life and times. There is also useful (and recent) material in Symons, 'Dunstan'. Price, *Bede and Dunstan*, is a slight book, but is nonetheless welcome as a survey of how the Dunstan materials appear to historians in the second half of the twentieth century. On Dunstan's 'composition', the Kyrie *Rex Splendens*, see Planchart, *Repertory of Tropes*, 1, p. 259-60, where the melody is said to be "probably the work of St. Dunstan". Planchart's essays in this volume are valuable as a musicologist's view of the importance of Dunstan in the liturgical musical life of tenth-century England. On the possibility that Dunstan wrote Latin poetry in the hermeneutic style, see Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic style', p. 95f.

was no organised monastic life in the country,[2] and who emerged from the establishment of scholars at Glastonbury a keen musician, a student of sacred letters with a taste for "vain stories of old heathenism" (*vitae gentilitatis...carmina...historiarum...naenias*),[3] and a player upon the "*cithara*, which we call *hearpe* in our native tongue" (*cytharam...quam lingua paterna hearpam vocamus*).[4]

Dunstan as a Musician: The Evidence of the Sources

There are five pre-thirteenth century lives of Dunstan in existence: by 'Auctor *B* (Canterbury, c1000),[5] Adelard (Blandinium, before 1011),[6] Osbern (Canterbury, c1090),[7] Eadmer (Canterbury, 1105-9),[8] and William of Malmesbury (early twelfth-century).[9] The earliest of

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2 Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 36.

3 Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 11.

4 ibid. p. 21.

5 ibid. pp. 3-24 gives the text of all these *Lives*. Auctor *B*'s *Vita Sancti Dunstani* occupies pp. 3-52.

6 ibid. pp. 53-68.

7 ibid. pp. 69-161 (incorporating the *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*). Osbern may have been an instrumentalist, to judge by a passage in his *Vita Sancti Dunstani* where angels appear to him and invite him *ad organizandum* in accompaniment to their singing (ibid. p. 159). This might mean 'play an instrument', or 'play the organ'. An alternative explanation would be 'perform a *vox organalis*' or second line of melody to accompany the first. For an edition of a musical treatise that may be by Osbern, see Waesberghe, *Codex Oxoniensis*, and on Osbern as a musician, ibid, p. 59f.

8 ibid. pp. 162-249 (incorporating Eadmer's *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*). The date assigned to Eadmer's *Vita* here follows Southern, *St. Anselm*, p. 281, note 2.

9 Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, pp. 250-324.

these authors, known only as 'Auctor *B*' (hereafter *B*) was a younger contemporary of the saint who several times claims to have witnessed the events he describes.[10] *B* relates that *cithara* playing was one of Dunstan's artistic pursuits:[11]

> Hic etiam inter sacra litterarum studia, ut in omnibus esset idoneus, artem scribendi necnon citharizandi pariterque pingendi peritiam diligenter excoluit, atque ut ita dicam, omnium rerum utensilium vigil inspector effulsit.
>
> (So that he might be capable in all things he cultivated the arts of writing, *cithara* playing, and also painting in addition to the study of sacred letters, if I may so put it, he shone as a judge of all useful things.)

Fortunately *B* tells us that Dunstan's *cithara* was that instrument "which we call *hearpe* in our native tongue".[12] Since it is probable that *B* wrote his *Vita Sancti Dunstani* at Canterbury c1000 we may assume that he meant a pillar-harp, since we have evidence of exactly the right date and provenance to draw upon. MS Junius 11, copied in Canterbury c1000, shows the *hearpe* as a pillar-harp.[13]

It is tempting to connect Dunstan's fondness for string-playing with his experiences among the Irish

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10 ibid. pp. 5 and 49 gives the relevant passages of *B*'s text. For some interesting speculations on the career of *B* see Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic style', p. 82-3. He argues that *B* was of English origin, and wrote his *Vita Sancti Dunstani* probably at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, c1000.

11 Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 20.

12 ibid. p. 21.

13 See above, p. 98 f.

pilgrim-scholars at Glastonbury who, according to *B*, had formed a colony there attracted by the tomb of Patrick.[14] At this time, *B* relates, Dunstan was already an avid reader of books "who, like an ingenious bee, traversed many meadows in sacred and divine books in a quick journey of great natural talent".[15] The pilgrims owned books, and Dunstan studied those "which in the depth of his heart he believed to be consistent with the sayings of the holy Fathers".[16] *B* does not elaborate on the nature of the establishment at Glastonbury, but Osbern, whose *Vita Sancti Dunstani* was written late in the Eleventh century, represents the Irish pilgrims as pedagogues who "took the sons of nobles to educate them in the liberal arts" (*suscipiunt filios nobilium liberalibus studiis imbuendos*).[17] This raises the possibility that Dunstan was taught *Musica* and string-playing at Glastonbury in a context reminiscent of St. Gall (an Irish foundation) where the monk Tuotilo, who died during Dunstan's youth, instructed the sons of noblemen in the art of playing instruments:[18]

> Tuotilo...in omnium genere fidium et fistularum prae omnibus. Nam et filio nobilium in loco ab abbate destinato fidibus edocuit.

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14 Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 10.

15 ibid.

16 ibid. p. 11.

17 ibid. p. 75.

18 Text from Pertz, *Scriptorum 2*, p. 94.

The liberal character of Irish Christianity was congenial to string-playing. Giraldus Cambrensis relates in his *Topographia Hibernica* how Irish senior clerics took pleasure in the sound of stringed instruments and revered the harp played by St. Kevin:[19]

> ...accidit ut episcopi et abbates, et sancti in Hibernia viri, citharas circumferre, et in eis modulando pie delectari consueverint. Quapropter et sancti Keivini cithara ab indigenis in reverentia non modica, et pro reliquiis virtuosis et magnis, usque in hodiernum habetur.
>
> ...the bishops and abbots, and holy men in Ireland, were accustomed to bear *citharae* around with them, and to be piously entertained with their music. On which account both the *cithara* of St. Kevin and other powerful and important remains [of this saint] are held in no small reverence by the people of the land to this day.

In view of this liberal attitude it is tempting to assume that a well-established tradition lies behind a passage in the old Irish story of Saint Brenainn maccu Altai of Clonfert where a player upon the *cruit* (a form of stringed instrument) performs for the monks in their refectory, and then for Brenainn "in the midst of the Church".[20]

It is uncertain how late in life Dunstan continued to cultivate his instrumental skills. The last reference

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19 Text from Brewer *et al*, *Giraldus*, V, p. 155.

20 For text and translation see Stokes, *Memorials of Dunstan*, xiiif.

to them in each of the *Lives* occurs in connection with a celebrated miracle that took place when his *cithara* played an antiphon by itself.[21] It may be that the biographers, having outlined the interests and pursuits of his formative years, turned to weightier matters of church and state without paying further attention to the saint's leisure activities. Alternatively Dunstan may have found no time to play once he became absorbed in worldly affairs and rose in the hierarchy of the church. He must have become increasingly laden with administrative and pedagogical duties during his later years.[22]

Clerical Instrument-Culture in the Middle Ages

Dunstan's biographers are not ashamed to chronicle his instrumental playing. As we read them we recall that some musicologists have emphasised a strain of uncompromising opposition to instruments which runs through medieval Christian teaching.[23] In fact the

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21 Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, pp. 20-1.

22 It is interesting that a letter written to Dunstan during the period 959-988 (ibid. p. 370-1, the identity of the sender is not known) refers to him as *nabli cordaque cantrix* (sic) 'singer/player on the string of the *nablum*'. The *nablum* (from the Hebrew) is a stringed instrument mentioned several times in the Vulgate (1 *Par* 15:16, 20, 28, 1 *Macc* 13:51) and well known to the Middle Ages as such via the psalter preface of St. Jerome (*PL* 26, column 824). It is hardly likely that *cantrix* is an error for *cantor*, the difficulty can be solved by construing *cantrix* as an adjective ('singing') governing *corda*, thus: '[you] singing string of the *nablum*'. For this use of *cantrix*, see *L-S*, *cantrix*.

23 Especially Bowles, 'Liturgical Service', and McKinnon, 'Instruments', and 'Patristic polemic'.

explanation for this state of affairs in current scholarship is not far to seek. Medieval clerical attitudes to instruments have almost exclusively been considered by scholars surveying traditions of liturgical performance practice. It is now widely agreed that the organ was generally the only instrument which was permitted to participate in the performance of the liturgy,[24] and this position has been reached by assembling documentary and literary evidence - amongst which clerical denunciations of instruments figure importantly.

The musicologists engaged in this work (principally Bowles and McKinnon) have attached particular importance to the writings of the Church Fathers, and especially to those produced in the Third and Fourth centuries AD when "a doctrine of opposition to instruments emerged" promulgated by influential writers such as Jerome, Ambrose and John Chrysostom.[25] During this period secular music was closely associated with the sexual immorality of the theatre and the feast - "an issue on which third and fourth century Church Fathers were extremely sensitive."[26]

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24 This is the view which the studies listed in the previous note helped to establish, and they remain the primary exponents of it. However, this opinion is by no means universally shared, and there have been important expressions of an opposite view, particularly in Krüger, *'Klangform'*, *passim*, and Holschneider, *Die Organa*, p. 131f, and 'Instrumental Titles', *passim*.

25 McKinnon, 'Patristic polemic', p. 69f.

26 ibid.

We must not allow the liturgical frame of reference, within which these studies have been conducted, to become indistinct. The liturgy contained the most cherished music known to medieval clerics, it was their common repertory, surpassingly meaningful and potent in purpose. It was vulnerable to profane influences, and the notion of a purity which may be contaminated and defiled runs deeply in the basic conception of it.[27] Debasement of the heritage by negligence or deliberate abuse rarely failed to draw forth an impassioned response. Not surprisingly, therefore, many of the Church Fathers draw a contrast between a pure, unsullied liturgy and the music of secular culture. Chrysostom writes:[28]

> There indeed are auloi and kitharaeand syrinxes, but here there is no dissonant music, but what is here? Hymns and Psalms. There the demons are hymned, here the Lord God of all.

The same contrast is often drawn in medieval descriptions of liturgical celebration, as in the following lines from the anonymous *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* (c1000):[29]

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27 An example is provided by the irruption of *fausetum* into liturgical singing in the Twelfth century, a development which the Cistercians and English Gilbertine canons tried to arrest (see Bowers, 'Performing pitch', p. 28, note 8, where the relevant documents are listed. *Fausetum* may be falsetto, as Bowers argues; alternatively, it may be chromatic inflection, though this is very early for *musica falsa* terminology. See Page, 'False Voices').

28 Quoted in McKinnon, 'Patristic polemic', p. 75.

29 Text in Raine, *Historians of York*, 2, p. 438.

> Non ibidem buccinae sonitus audita est, vel salpinx joculatoris, sed erant, more sapientissimi Salomonis, cuncta honeste patrata...
>
> (No sound of a trumpet was heard there, nor no minstrel's *salpinx*, but there were, in the manner of the most wise Solomon, all noble priests...)

This contrast is a powerful organising force in the seminal study by Edmund Bowles, entitled 'Were Musical Instruments used in the Liturgical service during the Middle Ages?'. To review the presentation of the case which Bowles provides is to have our impressions of the musical life of a millennium rapidly organised into two opposing forces: on the one hand the pervasive art of the *joculatores*, rich and damnable, and on the other 'the Church', apparently unified at all times in its condemnation of public entertainers while striving to preserve the integrity of liturgical music and performance:[30]

> '...the attitude of the church towards secular performers never varied throughout the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century the hapless *Spielmann* was still being persecuted as an "unstable, ungodly parasite". The author of the *Speculum musicae*, looked down with disdain upon jongleurs and instrumentalists of all sorts, while Conrad of Zurich (d.1275) grouped them with evil-doers, dancers and prostitutes.'

Bowles places much emphasis upon the supposedly vulgar status and education of the minstrels. Their low repute, he argues, would have denied them access to the choir,

30 Bowles, 'Liturgical Service', p. 45.

while their illiteracy would have left them unable to render the chant even if admitted there.[31] These observations carry some weight; what is remarkable is that the matter of clerical instrumentalists is raised and dismissed in a single sentence because:[32]

> 'As a matter of policy, church singers were forbidden from learning or playing instruments.'

It is significant that Bowles annotates this assertion with a reference to Gérold's study *Les Pères de l'Eglise et la Musique* where the "attitude of the church fathers may be had",[33] to make this the basis of an assertion about the Middle Ages as a whole is to depart from strict historical method.

It is instructive in this context to consider the discussion of instruments in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury.[34] This twelfth-century work is somewhat late for our purposes, but it expresses the attitudes of an English moralist and churchman who had read widely in patristic literature. John devotes a chapter of his work to 'music, instruments and melodies: their enjoyment and use' (*De musica et instrumentis et modiset fructu eorum*),[35] and *fructus* carries no connotations of base or lascivious

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31 ibid. p. 45f.

32 ibid. p. 47.

33 ibid. p. 54, note 39.

34 John of Salisbury is not mentioned in Bowles's study, which jumps rather disconcertingly from Antiquity to the late Middle Ages and back again and examines no single source in detail.

35 Webb, *John of Salisbury*, 1, p. 39f.

enjoyment. It is particularly revealing that he argues *ex auctoritate patrum* on the use of music and instruments, and reaches conclusions that many modern scholars do not share:[36]

> Ad mores itaque instruendos et animos exultatione uirtutis traiciendos in cultum Domini, non modo concentum hominum sed et instrumentorum modos censuerunt sancti patres Domino applicandos, cum templi reuerantiam dilatarent.
>
> (To build morals, and to bring minds to the worship of God by joy in virtue, the Holy Fathers held that not only vocal but also instrumental music should be turned to the service of God, so that they might extend reverence for the church.)

In spite of the elevated moral tone of his chapter on entertainers and music John makes no mention of polemicists such as Arnobius, Ambrose, Tertullian, Chrysostom and Clement of Alexandria who loom so large in modern studies of clerical attitudes to instruments.[37]

We may draw two important conclusions at this point. Firstly, we must not confuse clerical attitudes to instruments *in the liturgy* with attitudes to instruments in general. Secondly, it was possible for a learned and sober English churchman of the Twelfth century to distinguish a *fructus instrumentorum*. This *fructus*, according to John, inheres in many forms of entertainment providing that the 'mind of the wise man' (*animus*

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36 ibid. p. 41.

37 As for example in the studies of Bowles and McKinnon listed above.

sapientis) discerns whether a performance has "the requirements of virtue and honourable utility" (*dum uirtutis aut honestae utilitatis habeant instrumentum*).[38] In his opinion, "it is pleasant and not in the least unbecoming for a man of honour to indulge occasionally in reasonable merriment" (*modesta hilaritate*).[39]

There appears to be nothing remarkable in John's views. It is true that the well known provisions of the council of Cloveshoh (?Brixworth) drawn up in 747 banned the *citharistae* from the monasteries,[40] and Alcuin delivered a similar injunction in his famous letter to the monks of Lindisfarne (797),[41] yet both of these documents reveal a soft underbelly of liberalism beneath the hard exterior of official pronouncement. As we have seen, Cuthbert of Wearmouth was keen to be entertained with the music of the *rottae* because, in his own words, *delectat me*.[42] His final phrase - "I beg that you will not scorn my request nor think it laughable" - seems a somewhat formal bow to an ideal of Christian self-denial. In view of the difficulty and expense that must have attended the dispatch of a musician from Mainz to Wearmouth in the Eighth century it is hard to take it at face value.

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38 Webb, *John of Salisbury*, p. 48.

39 ibid.

40 Text in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, 3, p. 369.

41 Text in Dümmler, *Epistolae*, 2, p. 183.

42 See above, p. 81f.

The evidence of the OE poem *The Phoenix* is relevant here, for its author has a mild - and indeed humane - view of instrumental music. The song of the Phoenix is so ravishing in sound that no musical instruments can equal it:[43]

ne magon þam breahtme byman ne hornas
ne hearpan hlyn ne haeleþa stefn
aenges on eorþan ne organan,
swegleoþres geswin ne swanes feðre
ne aenig þara dreama þe Dryhten gescop
gumum to gliwe in þas geomran woruld.

For this poet the harp, the horn, the trumpet and the organ are joys (*dreamas*) as innocent as the sound of the swan's feathers that rustle in flight, they are a divine dispensation - *þe Dryhten gescop* - to solace mankind.[44]

This is in keeping with the prevalent attitude of the Anglo-Saxon poets to music. As we have seen, they invariably relish music as a keen delight *in þas geomran woruld*,[45] and several words in the OE musical vocabulary

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43 Text from Blake, *Phoenix*, lines 134a-139b. The corresponding section of the *Carmen de ave phoenice* (ibid, p. 89, lines 47f) does not include the reference to instruments as a solace to man in a sad world which we shall now discuss.

44 The poet's list of instruments seems to have been chosen to project an image of all man's music. Thus the *horn* and *byme* embody the music of the battlefield and of daily life with its calls and signals, the *hearpe* evokes the entertainment of the hall and refectory, while the organ from the church completes the picture. On the significance of this reference to the organ for the history of this instrument see Page, 'Keyboard', p. 313, note 1. I argue there that England occupies a special place in the history of the organ, and that the *Phoenix* reference is perhaps the earliest testimony to the existence of the instrument in England.

45 See above, p. 124f.

underline the close link in the Anglo-Saxon mind between music and rapturous experience. The term *dream*, literally 'joy', but also 'musical instrument', is a case in point,[46] the author of *The Phoenix* appears to be exploiting both meanings. The kennings *gleobeam* 'joy-wood' and *gomenwudu* 'game-wood' carry the same association forward at the level of poetic language. We must remember that the OE poetic codices are a product of the Benedictine revival. They have all passed under clerical eyes, but the references to pleasing instrumental music in their poems are not accompanied by adverse moral judgements, the patristic association of instruments with paganism and sexuality is absent.

There is therefore no reason to assume that the spirit of Anglo-Saxon monasticism was hostile to instrumental playing either before, or after, the reform. There are official pronouncements against the art, but the decrees of the great *Concilia*, and the words of moralists (such as Alcuin) writing within a learned and rhetorical tradition of rebuke have little claim to represent the general fund of feeling on the matter.

Although Anglo-Saxon attitudes were lenient, string-playing is not an activity we expect to be able to document (at least as far as concerns clerical practitioners of the art) with chronicles, saints' lives and other

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46 *B-T Dream*. Other words for music with the root meaning 'joy-music/sound' are listed in Berglund, *OE Musical Terms*, p. 53f. They include *bliss*, *gliw*, *gliwdream*, *sangdream*, *swegeldream*, *dreamcraeft*.

similar sources. Dunstan's activities are mentioned by his biographers because one of the miracles associated with his early life centres upon his harp.

We are not surprised, therefore, that relatively few clerical instrumentalists can be documented in medieval sources. It is not that monks and priests inevitably regarded instruments as corrupt; rather they saw playing them as trivial relative to the kinds of clerical activity that commanded written record. We sometimes hear of clergy who made instruments (such as Hermannus Contractus and Bernardino of Siena),[47] and of others who taught them (as in the case of Tuotilo of St. Gall and of the monks who teach the heroine of the Old French romance *Galeran*),[48] and these isolated references probably reflect only the surface of a diversified clerical instrument culture. We saw above that the monk Hucbald of St. Amand (d. 930) expected his readers to be familiar with the six-stringed lyre, whilst Notker Labeo, teacher at St. Gall where Tuotilo had once taught stringed instruments, chose a system of notation associated with them to explain theoretical points.

Notker's system of notation takes us to tenth-century Winchester where there is evidence for the cultivation of

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47 The evidence pertaining to Hermannus is found in the chronicle of Berthold (d. 1088): *In horlogicis et musicis instrumentis et mechanicis nulli par erat componendis* (text in Pertz, *Scriptorum*, 5, p. 268). For Bernardino of Siena, who is said to have built *instrumenta quaedam organea* see *AS Maii*, V, p. 279:a.

48 For Tuotilo see above, p.195f, see also Foulet, *Galeran* lines 1166f.

instruments amongst the bretheren. Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 473 is a troper from the Old Minster at Winchester copied between 996 and 1006.[49] Some of the *prosae* in this manuscript are accompanied by the instrumental notation used by Hucbald and Notker. This system probably came to England with Hucbald's *De Institutione Harmonica* and the *Scolica Enchiriadis*. We have already quoted from the late Anglo-Saxon copy of Hucbald's treatise in CUL MS Gg.5.35, this source also contains parts of the *Scolica Enchiriadis*, where the instrumental alphabet is used.[50] Further evidence that this alphabet was known in England is provided by a little-known manuscript, number 260 in the library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge.[51] This valuable source written in tenth-century Canterbury (Christ church) contains a finely copied text of the *Scolica Enchiriadis*.

In Hucbald's treatise the letter notation (in which A equals modern C) is associated with musical instruments.

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49 For descriptions of this manuscript see Holschneider, *Die Organa*, pp. 14-20, and Planchart, *Repertory of Tropes*, 1, pp. 17-33.

50 The extracts from the *Scolica Enchiriadis* are substantial, and correspond to *GS*, 1, pp. 174b-183a (with omissions). The extracts (which appear with a small part of the *Musica Enchiriadis* corresponding to *GS*, 1, p. 172b *Nam effectus...verborum)* begin after the text of Hucbald (ends folio 272v) and a short text on the cithara (*Quinque gradus simphoniarum...)* The instrumental notation does not actually appear in these parts of the *Scolica*.

51 See James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 2, p. 10.

Hucbald describes a two-octave diatonic scale (A-a'), then gives the following account of a second scale system (the text is taken from the Canterbury copy, CUL MS Gg.5.35, f. 267):

> [N]ec tamen aliquid afferat scrupuli si forte ydraulia vel aliud quodlibet musici generis considerans instrumentum non ibi voces tali repperias scemate deductas...Ceterum non ideo eadem instrumenta intellectualitas alicuius putanda sunt aliena, cum et ex ipso longevitatis usu sub tot hucusque pertracta prudentibus, maximis itaque constent exquisita ingeniis et probata. Sed et exemplar dispositionis profixe, eis advertatur omnino inesse. Per easdem namque geminas qualitates rite per omnia diriguntur, nihilque aliud distare credantur, nisi quod initia non tali ordine metiuntur. Incipiunt enim quasi a tertio dispositionis illius.
>
> (Nor should you be at all surprised if, perhaps considering the organ or any other kind of musical instrument, you do not find there notes figured in this way...These instruments are not to be considered foolish in their arrangement, since they have been tried by so many wise men thus far in long use, and by great minds to be excellent and proved. Also, the kind of arrangement given above [a succession of tones and semitones] is seen to be entirely in them. For they are duly arranged throughout with these same two intervals, nor must they be considered in any way different, save in that they are not set out with such an arrangement right from the beginning. For they begin as if from the third degree of the scale.)

This means that instruments may not have an arrangement equivalent to the modern ABC, etc., but may begin from the *third* degree, i.e. C, and progress from there. Hucbald anticipates that his readers may encounter this arrangement on 'the organ or any other kind of musical instrument',[52] and demonstrates his point by describing the six-stringed *cithara*, or lyre, which is represented with the tuning tone-tone-semitone-tone-tone (i.e. [relative pitch] CDEFGA).

The presence of this letter notation in the Winchester troper manuscript now at Cambridge is almost certainly connected with instrumental practice of some kind.[53] It may be a cue for organ accompaniment,[54] alternatively it may be a supplement to the unheighted neumatic notation that was convenient because well-known in connection with non-liturgical instrumental playing at Winchester.

There are several pieces of evidence from the decades after the Conquest, though the figurative language in which they are written precludes secure analysis. Thus in a poem addressed to the Canterbury monk Goscelin (fl. c1100) Reginald of Durham writes:[55]

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52 For the full contexts of the passage see Palisca, *Hucbald*, pp. 23-5, which gives a full translation.

53 As argued by Holschneider, *Die Organa*, p. 131f.

54 On the association of the instrumental notation with organ keyboards in Anglo-Saxon England, see Page, 'Keyboard', *passim*.

55 Text from Liebermann, 'Reginald', p. 56.

Dum tangis citharam vario modulamine claram,
Et Goscelinus canis: Orpheus ipseque Linus
Ambo suas citharas frangunt...

This might be taken to indicate that Goscelin was a string-player and singer, but perhaps Reginald wishes only to praise Goscelin's singing voice in a grandiose way.

The case of Patrick, second bishop of Dublin, is more promising. He was consecrated by Lanfranc at London in 1074 having been trained (it would seem) at Worcester. In one of his poems Patrick relates that a *Femina* (perhaps *Musica*) taught him to play a six-stringed *cithara*:[56]

Femina tum docuit (prima est) modulaminis odas
Me cithara chordis que sex resonare solebat.

The famous pronouncements against string-playing in Anglo-Saxon monastic centres do not have to be construed, in every case, as evidence for the activities of *lay* entertainers. The *citharista* who accompanied the stories of Ingeld at Lindisfarne may have been a secular *joculator;* he might also have been a member of the monastic community. The same might be said of the decrees of the council of *Cloveshoh* in 747, the 'poets, harpers, musicians and minstrels' (*poetarum, citharistarum, musicorum, scurrarum*)[57] mentioned in the decrees may include lax brothers as well as lay minstrels.

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56 Text in Gwynn, *Bishop Patrick*, p. 90, lines 94-5.

57 Text in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, 3, p. 369.

Although little clerical string-playing can be documented in Anglo-Saxon and early Norman sources, it is hardly to be assumed that Dunstan was unique in his instrumental interests. Had the miracle involving his *hearpe* never been reported his biographers might well have passed over his string-playing. If there was an instrument-culture in the vigorously monastic centre at Winchester during the late Tenth century, it seems likely that instruments were enjoyed in the earlier, liberal centres of unreformed Benedictinism. The rule of the Benedictines allowed time for the *opus manuum* as well as the *opus dei*,[58] and it must seem that what John of Salisbury calls the *fructus instrumentorum* was appreciated by English clerics of earlier generations.

Dunstan and the 'Songs of Old Heathenism'

We now turn to one of the most fascinating areas of the Dunstan tradition: the accounts of his performances at the court of Athelstan.

The earliest authority, Auctor *B*, tells us that Dunstan was willing to play for those 'attending to him' (*ad se tendentium*) while still a youth, and that it was his custom (*ex more*) to carry his '*cithara* which we call *hearpe* in the native tongue' around with him for the purposes.[59] Chronologically, *B* is referring to roughly the period when Dunstan was a young courtier

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58 Text in Hanslik, *Benedicti Regula*, p. 132: 'Artifices si sunt in monasterio, cum omni humilitate faciant ipsas artes, si permiserit abbas'.

59 Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan* p. 21.

favoured by Athelstan.

The tradition that Dunstan performed at Athelstan's court begins with Osbern of Canterbury (fl. c1090) who relates that Dunstan performed upon the *tympanum* and *cithara* when the king was 'fatigued with worldly cares' (*saecularibus curis fatigatum*).[60] It is impossible to determine whether this addition is "derived from tradition, or [is] the product of an imagination intent on the contemplation of what ought to have happened..."[61] However, the story is in keeping with the account of Dunstan's performing interests as described by *B*, and Eadmer of Canterbury the next authority to treat the material (c1105-9) provides a remarkably circumstantial account of Dunstan's performance that may be derived, in part, from his extensive research into Dunstan traditions.[62] Eadmer, as we shall see, relates that the saint sang in English (*in materna lingua*) and accompanied himself upon an instrument.

We begin with *B*'s story that Dunstan was expelled from Athelstan's court because some of his kinsmen and fellowsthere (*nonnulli propriorum sodalium et palatinorum*) conspired against him. *B* gives the following remarkable account of their motives.[63] Dunstan's detractors claim that

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60 ibid. p. 80.

61 ibid. lxv.

62 ibid. p. 70, and see below, p. 236f.

63 Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 11.

...illum ex libris salutaribus et viris peritis, non saluti animarum profutura sed avitae gentilitatis vanissima didicisse carmina, et historiarum frivolas colere incantationum naenias.

(...he had gathered from wholesome books and honourable men things not for the future saving of souls, but wanton songs of old heathenism, and he cared for wretched songs of narratives and incantations.)

Dunstan was accused, it would seem, of indulging a taste for 'songs of old heathenism' (*avitae gentilitatis ...carmina*), and 'wretched songs of narratives (*historiarum*) and incantations'. There is little doubt about the meaning of each crucial term. In the glossaries we find *historia* glossed *racu* ('account', also glossing *narratio*),[64] and *gentilitatis* glossed *haeðennesse*.[65] For *naenias* we find *leasspellunga* ('false-words', or 'empty-words'),[66] and *bismerleoð* ('disgrace-song').[67] For *incantator* we find *galere* ('enchanter'),[68] and in the plural *galdriggan*.[69] As in the Latinate *enchant*, the relation between incantation and song is very close in these OE words; compare Old Norse *galdr* 'a song',[70]

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64 Wright-Wülcker, *Vocabularies*, 1, 416:34.

65 ibid. 412:11.

66 ibid. 452:6.

67 ibid. 454:14, and 512:34.

68 ibid. 313:1, and 540:23.

69 ibid. 28:5, and 422:25.

70 Cleasby-Vigfusson, *I Dictionary*, *galdr*.

and OE *galdor* (the music of a trumpet and horn in *Beowulf*).[71]

It is plausible - even probable - that Dunstan was expelled from Athelstan's court for reasons quite different to these. He was also dismissed from the courts of Edmund and Edwy,[72] and the conclusion seems inescapable that he was a man of some mettle who did not escape involvement in court intrigues. *B*'s story has a certain superficial plausibility for it is consistent with what we know of Dunstan's character that he should have burrowed in books; *B* relates that Dunstan read avidly at Glastonbury and in later years rose at dawn to correct errors in *mendosos libros*.[73]

What might these 'songs of old heathenism' and 'empty narratives' have been? It has been pointed out that Dunstan owned a copy of one book of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*,[74] and some Anglo-Saxon scholars were strongly opposed to Classical Latin poetry such as this; Bede, a staunch admirer of Gregory, dismisses some exclusively *pagana metra* in his treatise on metrics.[75] Yet attitudes were not always so firm; opinion sometimes went no further than that men who followed the highest

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71 Klaeber, *Beowulf*, 2943b-2944a.

72 For the evidence see Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, pp. 23f and 33f (*B*), 90 and 99 (Osbern), 181 and 188 (Eadmer), 259 and 284f (William of Malmesbury).

73 ibid. p. 49.

74 Hunter-Blair, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 174. This may be studied in facsimile in Hunt, *Classbook*.

75 Text in *PL* 90, column 173.

standards might read such things in their youth providing that they abandoned them when mature. Lanfranc, in answer to some questions about secular letters (*secularium litterarum*) posed by an Irish bishop, replied that these things were well enough in the *iuuenilum aetatem*, but were not becoming in mature years when a cleric proceeded to the *pastoralem curam*.[76] In a similar spirit the author of the Carolingian *Vita Thegani Hludowici* relates that as Hludowicus matured and *Pollebat...in virtutibus sacris*, so he abandoned *carmina gentilia*[77]-very similar phraseology to that used by *B*. We are reminded of the fact that, although Bede may have dismissed some *metra* simply because they were *pagana*, Aldhelm was famous for his Classical Latin learning. In a letter Aldhelm urges one Wihtfrid to devote his studies to scripture rather than to the Classical legends,[78] but since Aldhelm parades his own knowledge of these stories to make the point it is a delicate matter to determine the spirit in which the advice is offered.

The scanty evidence for patterns of book ownership amongst late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman clerics does not suggest that Classical authors were regularly possessed by such men,[79] but it is hard to accept the

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76 Text in Clover and Gibson, *Lanfranc*, pp. 158-161.
77 Text in Pertz, *Scriptorum 2*, p. 594.
78 Text in Hamilton, *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 358-9. The letter is preserved by William of Malmesbury.
79 For some evidence pertaining to reading tastes and book ownership amongst the Anglo-Saxon clergy see the following studies: Barlow, *Leofric of Exeter*, p. 32f; Grierson, 'Abbé Seiwold'; Hart, 'Byrhtferth'; Laistner, 'Bede'; Rock, 'Gifts of Aethelwold'. As Thompson (*Medieval Library*, p. 107) points out, no catalogue of any English library before the Norman conquest is preserved. The studies listed above therefore depend, in some measure, upon the references to authors contained in the writings of men such as Bede and Byrhtferth.

proposition that these works were held in such low repute in Athelstan's circle that a young clerk, formerly the king's favourite, could be expelled for reading them. Thus we assume that the real reasons for Dunstan's expulsion have become obscure (or have been suppressed by *B*), and that *B* drew upon an originally unrelated tradition about Dunstan's activities at court to supply the want of an explanation for his exile.

This tradition seems to have recorded Dunstan's taste for a certain kind of song or poetry, an alternative to the 'Classical' hypothesis and one that has long commanded support is that his 'songs of old heathenism' were vernacular, and perhaps heroic materials.[80] *B*'s word *historia* (*historiarum...naenias*) certainly implies some narrative content. The *Canons of Edgar* drawn up by Wulfstan (c1005-7) suggest that heathen songs were as common amongst the clergy in the early Eleventh century as they had been in the days of the council of *Cloveshoh*. The *Canons* contain numerous regulations "aimed at correcting evils in the life of churchmen which had been criticised in the Eighth century...",[81] one of which stipulates that 'heathen songs' (*hae*ðenra *leo*ða) must be forsaken.[82] We cannot say whether such

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80 See for example Robinson, *Dunstan*, p. 84: "His fondness for the old Saxon songs and his mechanical skill were twisted into a charge of black arts".

81 Fowler, *Canons of Edgar*, xxvi.

82 ibid. p. 6:18 (Corpus 201) and p. 7:18 (Junius 121). Compare provision 59, which forbids the priest to be an *ealascop* ('ale poet'). For related material see Fowler's note to this provision, pp. 38-9.

heathen songs were narrative songs, but the phrase *historiarum...naenias* used by *B* seems to put the matter beyond doubt as far as Dunstan is concerned.

At this point it will be instructive to consider the evidence contained in Eadmer's *Vita Sancti Dunstani*. Eadmer, a monk of Christ Church Canterbury, composed his *Life* between 1105 and 1109.[83] He also compiled an account of the miracles - an effort which appears to have involved him in a certain amount of reserach into Dunstan traditions. He consulted churchmen of the older generation (such as Ethelric of Selsey, consecrated in 1058), and corresponded with Nicholas, apparently an archivist and guardian at Worcester of traditions.[84] This is how Eadmer describes his own methods in compiling the *Miracula Sancti Dunstani:*[85]

> De iis autem, quae post sacratissimum transitum ejus per eum facta significamus, quaedam ex litterarum monimentis, quaedam ex propriorum sensuum approbationibus, quaedam ex veridicorum virorum allegationibus, qui ea partim visu, partim auditu, partim experimento, in seipsis didicerunt, omni remota scrupulositate cognovimus.
>
> (Concerning those things which we relate as having been done by Dunstan after his most blessed passage from this life, we have derived them with all objective care from literary records, from the

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83 Southern, *St. Anselm*, p. 281, note 2.

84 For the evidence see Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 164, and 422-4.

85 ibid. p. 164.

proof of our own senses, and from the testimonies of truthful men who have ascertained them for themselves partly by seeing, partly by report, and partly by their experience.)

It is possible that Eadmer had access to traditions about Dunstan's musicianship that were not known to B or to Osbern; the matter can not be settled. Yet the remarkable account he gives of Dunstan's court minstrelsy before Athelstan and the members of his circle requires some explanation:[86]

> Super haec instrumentis musici generis, quorum scientia non mediocriter fultus erat, non tantum se sed et multorum animos a turbulentis mundi negotiis saepe demulcere, et in meditationem coelestis harmoniae tam per suavitatem verborum, quae modo materna modo alia lingua musicis modulis interserebat, quam et per concordem concentum quem per eos exprimebat, concitare solebat. Propter haec igitur a multis frequentabatur et ab eo multa fieri petebantur.
>
> (In addition to these things, he was accustomed to relieve the spirits of others from the troublesome cares of the world with musical instruments, skill with which had sustained him not a little, and he inspired the contemplation of the heavenly harmony as much by the sweetness of the words (which, now in the mother tongue and now in the other, he interspersed with musical melodies) as by the harmonious music which he expressed through them. On account of this he was visited by many, and many things were sought of him.)

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86 ibid. p. 170. For *meditationem* Stubbs has *medicationem*. The former seems to me to give better sense.

There is no doubt about the fact that Eadmer's *materna linqua* was English.[87] We have therefore to deal with a remarkably circumstantial account of Dunstan's court minstrelsy in which the words of the performances, sometimes in English, and sometimes in the 'other language' (i.e. Latin),[88] were interspersed with musical passages performed upon an instrument. We shall return to these remarkable details in a later chapter,[89] what is striking here is that Eadmer's passage fits so well with the trend of our reasoning. We have proposed that there may be a connection between two separate traditions in the Dunstan material: (1) that Dunstan was fond of vernacular narrative material in verse, and (2) that Dunstan performed upon stringed instruments at the court of Athelstan. Eadmer provides an important link in this chain: testimony that Dunstan sang in English to his own accompaniment at Athelstan's court.[90]

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87 Eadmer quotes the words *Odo se gode* in the *Miracula* (ibid, p. 203) and describes them as being in the *materna lingua*.

88 I take *alia* in the phrase *alia lingua* to mean 'the other language' (as opposed to the *materna lingua*). For this use of *alia*, see *RMLWL alia*. It must seem unlikely that in such a circumstantially detailed account of Dunstan's minstrelsy Eadmer would describe the saint as singing 'sometimes in the mother tongue and sometimes in *another*'.

89 See below, p. 276f.

90 It is conceivable that Eadmer had access to vernacular writings about Dunstan which, according to Osbern, were in existence at Canterbury. For Osbern's claims see Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 70.

Auctor *B* describes Dunstan's *carmina* as songs of *avitae gentilitatis* - '*old* heathenism'. But in what sense may these *carmina* have been *old*? *B*'s account suggests that Dunstan derived some of them from books, perhaps we have discovered a historical counterpart to Pearsall's supposed monastic editor and copyist of *The Fight at Finnsburh*: "[a] poem...somewhat polished in the record, and preserved (at who knows what spiritual cost) by a monk of antiquarian tastes".[91] Perhaps we may go further and link the evidence about Dunstan with Bessinger's claim that[92]

> There is no reason in logic or nature why even late-classical run-on verse should not sometimes have been sung in Anglo-Saxon times, if only as a tour de force by some musical antiquarian...

I incline to the view that it was the content - not the character - of these *carmina* that was 'old'; the remote past always has a special fascination for the narrator and his audience, and we remember that Charlemagne was fond of *barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur,*[93] while Johannes de Grocheio defined the subject matter of *chansons de geste* as the *gesta...antiquorum patrum* and things which antiqui viri did .[94] If we may trust *B*'s

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91 Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 6.

92 Bessinger, 'Harp(2)', p. 13.

93 Text in Pertz, *Scriptorum 2*, p. 458.

94 Text in Rohloff, *Grocheio*, p. 130.

information, Dunstan derived his songs partly from word of mouth, and partly from books; he drew upon both oral and literary traditions for his repertoire. In *B*'s allusion to the *libri* which Dunstan used we may perhaps see a reference to written copies of poems used as a basis for performance by a cleric who had read and learned the text. As Campbell pointed out many years ago, "A poet who wrote his poem before it was performed in the refectory or the mead hall, still following all the conventions he associated with poetic composition, is well within the realm of probability".[95] We may now postulate a performer combining literate and performing skills in a similar way: studying his material, memorising it, then performing it.

It is quite possible that Dunstan had access to such *libri* at Athelstan's court, Athelstan, as Temple remarks, "pursued a generous patronage of learning and of arts",[96] and may merit William of Malmesbury's praise that "nobody has ever ruled the kingdom in a more just and educated way".[97] Athelstan's court circle has generally been overlooked by OE scholars whose interests are principally attracted by the eighth-century monasteries, the Alfredian reforms of the Ninth century, or the Benedictine reforms of the later Tenth. Athelstan's reign falls rather awkwardly between the last two. Yet Sisam long ago suggested that the Exeter Book collection may

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95 Campbell, 'Oral Poetry', p. 88.

96 Temple, *AS Manuscripts*, p. 9.

97 Text in Stubbs, *Gesta Regum*, 1, p. 144: "...nemo legalius vel litteratius rempublicam administraverit". Without wishing to dispute Athelstan's reputation in this regard, I cannot assume with Sisam (*Studies* , p. 137) that the surviving Latin and English panegyrics are evidence of the *king's* interest in verse.

have been first put together at the court of Athelstan,[98] and the easy relations of Danes and Englishmen at this centre might even have provided the milieu for the genesis of *Beowulf*.[99]

The Dunstan materials shed light on the activities of a man who, throughout the period which we have been discussing, was not a monk in the later sense of the term. We know little about the secular clerks replaced by reformed monks in the later Tenth century, what we do know has been transmitted by monkish historians inevitably somewhat hostile to the clerks. The *Lives* of Dunstan bring a remarkable man before our eyes; but where did his uniqueness lie? Perhaps it was in his piety and political acumen rather than his musical interests and taste for vernacular narratives. How many more clerks, we may wonder, left Glastonbury with similar interests? How much of the surviving OE verse do we owe to these men? The four famous books of OE OE verse must have had their models, if Sisam's suggestion that the Exeter Book was compiled c900 is accepted, then we have to admit that this anthology was gathered - and, for all we know, in part composed - at a time when there appears to have been almost no regular monastic life in England.

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98 Sisam, *Studies*, p. 108.

99 Jacobs, 'Date of *Beowulf*', p. 42.

The traditions associated with Dunstan suggest that discussion of the reception of verse in Anglo-Saxon England cannot be conducted with the two opposing stereotypes of meadhall and scriptorium and their accompanying stock characters of bookish monk and illiterate *scop*. Dunstan, a learned young clerk with a flare for string playing and a taste for vernacular narrative verse, equally at home among the books at Glastonbury and in the chambers of Athelstan's courtiers, provides an example of a remarkable blending of interests that may have had far more parallels in early English society than we can know. He breaks down stereotypes on all sides: cleric and gleeman, meadhall and scriptorium, performance and private reading. How many other young noblemen's sons may there have been in his day who, following an old tradition, took a first tonsure and subsequently developed interests similar to those of Dunstan, but who failed in later life to become saints?

CHAPTER 5

HEARPAN AND OLD ENGLISH SCRIPTURAL POETRY

One of the most striking references to musical entertainment in OE literature is to be found early in *Beowulf* as the poet describes festivities in Heorot:[1]

> Þaer waes hearpan sweg,
> swutol sang scopes. Saegde se Þe cuÞe
> frumsceaft fira feorran reccan,
> cwaeÐ Þaet se Ælmihtiga eorÐan worhte,
> wlitebeorhtne wang, swa waeter bebugeÐ,
> gesètte sigehreÞig sunnan and monan
> leoman to leohte landbuendum,
> ond gefraetwade foldan sceatas
> leomum and leafum, lif eac gesceop
> cynna gehwylcum Þara Ðe cwice hwyrfaÞ.

The subject-matter of this *hearpe*-accompanied *sang* is the Genesis story of the creation of the world. Some scholars have cited these lines as evidence that secular entertainers performed songs on Christian subjects in the traditional manner for courtly audiences,[2] others propose that they allude to Caedmon's hymn.[3] Most seem to be agreed that the poet has presented

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1 Text in Klaeber, *Beowulf*, lines 89b-98b.

2 See for example Whitlock, *Audience*, p. 9: "Whatever may have been the poet's reason for making Hrothgar's minstrel sing in Heorot of the Creation...the picture he draws would surely have been incongruous, or even ludicrous, if minstrels never sang on such themes to lay audiences".

3 As for example Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 49.

a scene imaginatively which is not *imaginary*. I wish to take up the search for the reality behind these lines with new materials.

If these verses reflect a real performance tradition then we must surely look to the scriptural verse of MS Junius 11. *Genesis* has a special claim upon our attention for its subject matter is exactly that we seek.

Junius 11 and the Accent Problem

Scholars have long been puzzled by the accent marks that appear in many OE poetry manuscripts. These marks, generally in the form of an acute accent, are very unevenly distributed in the sources . The Vercelli Book has relatively few (some 630 in about 3,530 lines of verse),[4] while the Junius manuscript contains a large number (about 3,100 in some 5,000 lines).[5] The marks appear over both long and short syllables, and do not appear to distinguish metrical stress. The following extract from one of the more thickly accented parts of *Genesis* will show the manner:[6]

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4 The accented words in the Vercelli Book are listed in *ASPR*, 2, xlviii-liii. For a study of the marks see Scragg, 'Accent marks'.

5 The accented words in the Junius manuscript are listed in *ASPR*, 2, liii-lxxx. For a study of the marks see Thornley, 'Accents and Points', Thornley's claims will be discussed below.

6 Text from *ASPR*, 1, p. 8, lines 178b-184a.

He waes reste faest,
and sōfte swǽef, sār ne wiste,
earfóða dǣl, ne þaer ǣnig cōm
blōd of bénne, ác him brego engla
óf līce átēah līodende bān,
wér únwundod, óf þām worhte gód
frēolice fǣmnan.

In this brief extract we find (1) conflict of word-accent and marked accent (*earfóða*, *átēah*), (2) marking of both long and short vowels (*sār*, *cōm*, *blōd*, etc; *swǽef*, *earfóða*, *bénne*, etc.), (3) marking of metrically stressed and unstressed syllables (stressed: *swǽef*, *sār*, *blōd*, *bénne*, etc.; unstressed: *ne*, *ác*, *óf*, etc.).

The accents appear most frequently in the part of *Genesis* conventionally referred to as *Genesis B* (lines 235a-851b), a close translation of an Old Saxon original (a fragment of which survives).[7] There is a remarkable rise in the density of the accents slightly before - and during - the earliest part of *Genesis B* as the accompanying graph shows (the gaps in the graph represent the lacunae after pages 8, 12 and 22 of the manuscript).

The earliest pages of the manuscript (1-6) show a relatively thin distribution of accents. After the first lacuna (where the text begins again on page 9) the ratio of accents to lines mounts until, in the first portion of *Genesis B* (up to page 24 in the manuscript), it rises to reach an extraordinarily high level with 73 accents in 34 lines on page 23. At this point there is a

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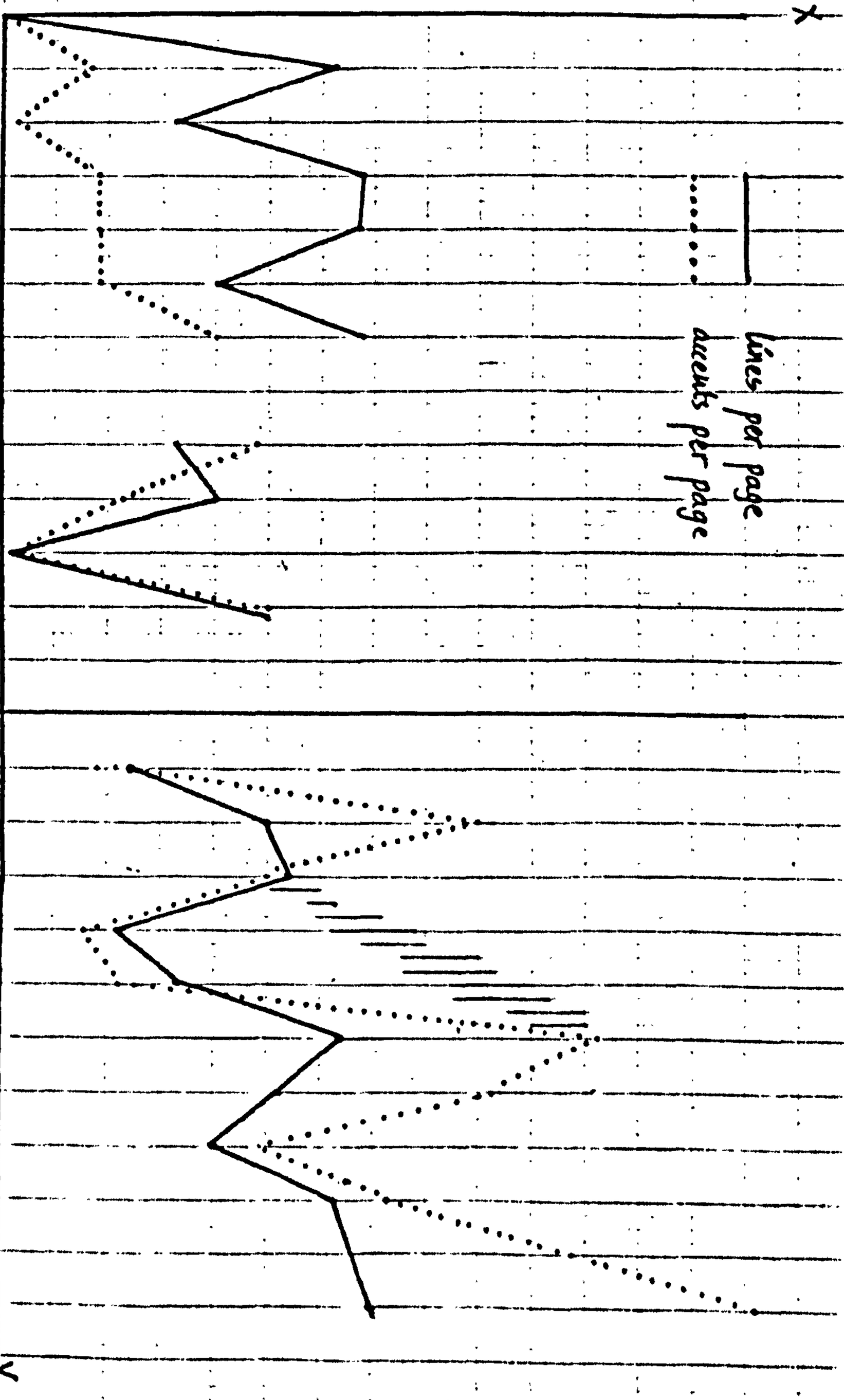
7 Facsimile and text in Zangmeister and Braune, 'Bruchstücke', p. 242 and Tafel 1.

Figure 1.


0
5
10
15
20
25
30
X
lines per page
accents per page
Genesis B begins
Genesis B

dramatic falling-off of numbers, while the ratio of accents to lines remains high relative to other OE poetry manuscripts, the latter part of *Genesis B* is considerably less spectacular than the former.

The Accents of *Genesis*: The 'Neume' Theory

Many of the marks in *Genesis* are indistinguishable from the *virgae* of contemporary Anglo-Saxon notation (/ and /), while a comparison with an important document of neumatic notation from Canterbury, exactly contemporary with Junius 11, reveals that there are almost no marks anywhere in the poetry manuscript that could not be construed as neumes of this type. MS Auct.F.1.15 of the Bodleian Library is a copy of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* written at St. Augustine's c1000.[8] Ten of the *metra* in this manuscript are accompanied by neumes and we find *virga* forms quite as slender, faint and varied as the greater part of the marks in the Junius manuscript.

Let us look more closely at the distribution of the marks in *Genesis* up to the close of *Genesis B*. The following maps the evidence using ratios to indicate the relative numbers of accents and lines (thus 7:10 denotes 7 accents in 10 lines):

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8 Details of this manuscript are given in Page, '*Bella bis quinis*', and below, p.307f, with representations of the neumes.

The Distribution of the accents

α

page 1

lines 1a-168a relatively few accents (eg. 7:33, 1:16)

page 8

LACUNA 1

β

page 9 lines 169aff 24:17 176a-185b [creation of

10 12:20 Eve] and 218a-234b

11 3:4 [names of rivers in

12 28:25 Paradise] are thickly marked.

LACUNA 2

γ

page 13 [Genesis B] 7:10

14 46:24

15 25:25

16 6:12

17 12:15

18 56:33

19 43:30

20 [illustration]

21 23:19

22 35:32

LACUNA 3

23 73:34 [lines 442a-476b]

We may distinguish three sections in the poem up to the close of *Genesis B*. Section α contains relatively few accents and a special theory is hardly required to explain them. In section β the frequency of accents rises and special attention seems to be given to two passages: the creation of Eve, and the names of the rivers in Paradise. We cannot avoid noticing that there is a marked tendency for lines of *Genesis A* to become more thickly marked as they approach *Genesis B*. With section γ we enter the text of *Genesis B;* with only two exceptions (pages 13 and 16) there are consistently more accents than lines per page.

In some portions of *Genesis* the distribution of accents is both perplexing and suggestive:[9]

þaera anna hataþ ylde, eorþbúende,
Físon folcweras, sé foldan dael
bráde bebúgeþ beorhtum stréamum
Hebeleac útan. On þaere éþyltyrf
níþþas findaþ nean and feorran
gold and gýmycynn, gúmþeoda bearn,
þa sélestan, þaes þe ús secgáþ bec.
þonne seo aeftre Ethiopia
land and liodgeard beligéþ úton,
ginne rice, þaere is Géon noma,
þridda is Tígris, seo wíþ þéodscipe,
éa inflede, Assiria beliþ.
Swilce is seo feorþe, þa nu geond folc monig,
weras Eúfráten wide nemnaþ.

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9 Text from *ASPR*, 1, lines 221a-234b.

It may be that these lines were considered to be of special educational value and that the density of the markings is somehow connected with this estimate of their importance. Descriptions of the topography of Paradise are not uncommon in medieval miscellanies, and it is apparent that no distinction was made between this matter and what we would now identify as the legitimate concern of geographers and astronomers (such as the names of winds, continents, and constellations). The *Liber Floridus*, compiled before 1120 by one Lambertus, a Canon at Saint-Omer, though somewhat late for our purposes provides us with the kind of intellectual context that we seek. This compendium contains a vast amount of lore and learning, including glosses, notes of historical events, notes on measures of length, Biblical texts, the ages of the world, the elements, and the signs of the zodiac.[10] On folio 51v we find a list of the rivers that flow in Paradise headed *De paradysi fluminibus*. This material is in prose, but verses on the heavenly rivers are not wanting. MS 7974 of the Staatsbibliothek at Munich contains a set of twelfth-century *versus de fluminibus paradisi*, and there are several other poems on the same subject in other

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10 Derolez, *Liber Floridus*, is a facsimile and edition of this important manuscript.

manuscripts of this period.[11]

These materials provide a most suggestive context for the passage quoted above. There was a long tradition of *singing* didactic verse in the Middle Ages. The currency of sung *abecedarius* poems, for example, can be traced at least as far back as the time of St. Augustine.[12] Numerous manuscripts attest to didactic songs on musical subjects (particularly the structure of intervals), but music also broke in to the sphere of what we may broadly term 'topographical' learning (in which I include astronomical matter). MS Reg. 1987 of the Vatican Library contains verses on the position of the stars and the constellations (plate 19) which are supplied with neumes.[13] The manuscript dates from c1000, and is thus exactly contemporary with Junius 11. It was copied in the Abbey of St. Peter in Ghent.

The Accents in Genesis: A Relation to Delivery?

It is quite certain that some OE poems preserved with accent marks were not intended to be read aloud. The short metrical epilogue to CCCC MS 41 (in which a

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11 The four rivers are important as symbols of the four evangelists. For an example see Beichner, *Aurora*, 1, lines 249f which gives the treatment of the theme by Petrus Riga. Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 1, p. 78, points out that it was only in the Sixteenth century that the four rivers of Paradise were removed from maps on the grounds that their location was uncertain.

12 For a full account of this text see Vroom, *Psaume Abécédaire*.

13 For an account of this manuscript see Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung*, p. 178.

scribe entreats the readers of his book for encouragement) is hardly likely to have been delivered in any way, though it contains nine accents in ten lines (a relatively high frequency of marks relative to lines).[14] This is enough to exclude an *a priori* assumption that accents were included in OE as a clue to a reader.

However, the accents in parts of *Genesis* cannot be dismissed so easily.

Firstly, it would seem that a number of the marks have been included to indicate the correct Greek pronunciation of names (e.g. *Adámes*, *Isáac*).[15] Although we might not care to follow Thornley in his conclusion that "all the accents [in Junius 11] were inserted to assist a lector...",[16] his observation that some marks are a guide to pronunciation may be allowed to stand.

Secondly, we must give careful consideration to the function of this poetry. As Pearsall remarks:[17]

> The [Anglo-Saxon religious] poems, apart from some clearly intended for private reading and instruction, can readily be assigned a monastic function as lectionary material. The readings for Holy Saturday, for instance, included the biblical stories of Creation, the Deluge, Isaac, the Crossing

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14 The marks are listed in *ASPR*, 6, cxlv.

15 An observation made by Thornley, 'Accents and Points', p. 179.

16 ibid. p. 182.

17 Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 25.

> of the Red Sea, and the children in the Fiery Furnace, and one can well imagine that the poems of Junius XI would provide supplementary *lectiones* in the vernacular on such occasions.

Taken together the observations of Thornley and Pearsall encourage a closer look at the possibility of a connection between the marks in *Genesis* and delivery.

The Junius 11 Accents: Thornley's Theory

Thornley attempts to connect the accents of Junius 11 with the *positurae* of chant notation. His reasons for associating the marks with the needs of a *cantor* are: (1) he considers it inherently likely that the poems of the Junius manuscript were to be *intoned* rather than read, and (2) he finds certain punctuation marks in sections of *Christ and Satan* which are derived from liturgical chant notation and are associated with specific melodic inflections in a reciting tone.

The weakness of (1) is sufficiently evident, and is apparent in Thornley's own statement of the case:[18]

> It would at least occur to ... [the writer of the accents] ... that if these poems were to be read aloud, they should be intoned with the use of the recitative, and not read in the ordinary voice.

The phrasing is necessarily tentative; the evidence places us under no obligation to accept Thornley's proposal.

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18 Thornley, 'Accents and Points', p. 184-5.

With the punctuation signs Thornley's claims become more concrete. He observes that parts of *Christ and Satan* are punctuated with the *punctus elevatus* (⸮), "perhaps" the *versus* (;), and the *circumflexus* (⸜),[19] and he is justified in maintaining that these signs are identical with the *posituraе* which indicate the punctuating formulae of chant recitation. These formulae appear as follows in the earliest manuscript to define their values (Dijon, Bibliothèque Publique, MS 114, late twelfth century):[20]

SEE MUSICAL EXAMPLE 2

Here the signs are given the names *Flexa*, *Metrum* and *Punctum*, which correspond to the *Punctus circumflexus*, *Punctus elevatus*, and *Punctus versus*. Thornley proposes (a) that the lines of *Christ and Satan* which are followed by *posituraе* are to be inflected, and (b) that the accents mark the points where the inflection is to begin:[21]

SEE MUSICAL EXAMPLE 3

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19 ibid. p. 185f.

20 These notations have been taken from Caldwell, *Medieval Music*, p. 31.

21 Thornley, 'Accents and Points', p. 191.

In attempting to apply his theory to the text, Thornley encounters certain difficulties, as he candidly admits. Firstly, "there appear to be too many inflections and too little monotone" and secondly, the punctuation signs sometimes appear after lines which are not marked with accents.[22] "It is more probable that the points regulated the reading and that only the accentuated hemistichs received inflections...", he concludes, adding: "There are difficulties even with this theory".[23]

Thornley passes over some other, major difficulties. *Christ and Satan* is only one of four poems in the Junius manuscript, and all of them have accents; yet *positurae* are almost entirely absent from *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*. Furthermore, the *positurae* only appear in parts of *Christ and Satan*. Finally, *Christ and Satan* is the *least* heavily accented poem in the manuscript.[24]

It is well known that Anglo-Saxon scribes borrowed punctuation signs from chant notation (we find the *punctus versus* (;) in the Vercelli Book, for example)[25] and although these signs are more common in the Junius manuscript than in any other of the four major codices of OE poetry, Thornley's assumption that they fulfill their musical function in the manuscript creates serious

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22 ibid. p. 190.

23 ibid.

24 As shown by Krapp in *ASPR*, 2, liv.

25 For a treatment of this topic see Clemoes, *Liturgical Influence*.

problems that cannot be solved. However, Thornley's initial insight - that the scattered nature of the accents in Junius 11 "can only be explained by a relation to some form of chant" - has considerable merit, and we shall pursue it.

Scriptural Poetry and Music: The *Heliand*

There is one piece of evidence that provides a link - albeit a very tentative one as yet - between chant notation and OE scriptural verse.

Munich Staatsbibliothek MS CGM 25 contains a copy of the Old Saxon *Heliand* (cognate with OE *hāelend* 'saviour'), an alliterative poem narrating the life of Christ which is "directly imitated from Anglo-Saxon scriptural poetry".[26] There are numerous accents in the manuscript, but three written lines on fol.5^{r} (lines 310-313 [beginning] of the poem) are accompanied by neumes of Stäblein's German type.[27] Their appearance is as follows:

> Ni uûas gío thîu fémea so gód . thât sîu mîd
> them liudium lêng líbbien mósti . uuêsan úndar
> thêm uuéroda . Bîgán îm thé uúiso mân súido
> god guma Ioseph an is moda
>
> [lineation of MS]

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26 ibid. p. 25. There is a facsimile of the relevant section of the manuscript, with a discussion, in Taeger, 'Heliand'.

27 Stäblein, *Schriftbild* (*Neumentabelle* facing p. 33).

The neumes are non-diastematic and cannot therefore be transcribed with confidence. But as Taeger (who has published a facsimile of the lines) remarks, they demonstrate that some alliterative verse of a literate kind was associated with music.[28]

The neumed extract from the *Heliand* comprises lines 310b-313a [first word] of the original:[29]

> Ni uuas gio thiu femea so god
> that siu *io* mid them liudiun leng libbien mosti,
> uuesan undar them uueroda. Bigan im the uuiso man,
> suido...
>
> (There was no woman so good that she might long live ever with those people, be among them. Then the wise man began, the very...)

There is no simple explanation for the fact that this passage is the only part of the text to bear neumes. The author, relating Joseph's discovery of Mary's pregnancy, comments that no woman who conceived out of wedlock could long remain amongst the Hebrews. The passage is not lyrical, nor is it even self-contained. The neumes begin well, taking up the text after a period, but the setting ends indecisively half way through a hemistich. Since the remainder of the text bears accents in many places indistinguishable from the *virgae* among the neumes (/), it is possible that the entire text is intended to be intoned in some way

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28 Taeger, 'Heliand', p. 184f.

29 Text from Sievers, *Heliand*, p. 25 (Munich text).

and that the neumed lines are merely an experiment. Alternatively, the scribe who added the neumes may have been interrupted in the work.

Fragmentary and enigmatic though this evidence is, it opens up an Old-Saxon connection that will carry our investigation a good deal further.

The Junius 11 Accents: An Old Saxon Connection?

To recap: in the Junius manuscript the accents are relatively most numerous in *Genesis B*; I count 571 accents in 616 lines of poetry.[30] This part of the OE *Genesis* is a translation from an Old Saxon original, a fragment of which survives. The possibility therefore presents itself that the accents in *Genesis B* derive from a copy of the Old Saxon original.

A comparison of *Genesis B* with the Old Saxon fragment reveals a puzzling state of affairs. In the facsimile of the Old Saxon lines published by Zangmeister and Braune I count only five accents.[31] The corresponding portion of *Genesis B* (lines 791a-817b) reveals nineteen accents. The Old Saxon passages with accents are here set beside the corresponding passages from *Genesis B*:[32]

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30 This count is based upon an examination of the original manuscript.

31 Zangmeister and Braune, *Bruchstücke*, Tafel 1.

32 For the OS text see ibid, p. 242; the OE text has been taken from *ASPR*, 1.

	Old Saxon	
1	Nu maht thu sean thia suarton hell ginon grádaga	Gesyhst þu nu þa sweartan helle graedige and gifre [792b-793a]
2	Nu thu sia grimman maht hinana gihórean	Nu þu hie grimman meaht heonane gehýran [793b-794a]
3	Thit uuas alloro lando scóniust	ac þis is landa betst [795b]
4	that uuit uualdandas uuord forbrákun	þaet wit waldendes word forbraecon [798a-b]
5	bitter balouuerk thero uuaron uuit ér beðero tuom	bitre on breostum þaes wit begra aer [waeron] [803a-b]

In [1] and [4] the accents of the Old Saxon have no counterpart in the Old English. In [3] the Old Saxon word *sconiust* is not rendered in the Old English. [2] gives us a case of correspondence, and so does [5].

[5] is a particularly interesting case, for the word *ér* in the Old Saxon does not alliterate, and is metrically unstressed:

bitter balouuerk thero uuaron uuit ér beðero tuom.

Furthermore, it is an isolated accent; the four lines previous to this have no accents, and after this lines there are no more accents until the end of the fragment. In *Genesis B* the word *aer* is less isolated, but still stands somewhat alone:[33]

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33 Text from *ASPR*, 1, lines 800b-804b.

Forþon he unc self bebead
þæt wit unc wíte warian sceolden,
hearma maestne. Nu slit me hunger and þurst,
bitre on breostum, þæs wit begra *áer*
waeron órsorge on ealle tíd.

Thus we have somewhat more than a coincidence of accent.

There are further coincidences in that (1) there seems no reason why these two words should have been chosen for accentuation, and (2) there seems no reason why *only* these two words should have been chosen for accentuation in their immediate surroundings. We therefore have a correspondence within what appear to be random circumstances.

The correspondence between *gihorean* and *gehyran* is also striking:

Nu maht thu sean thia suarton hell	Gesyhst þu nuþa sweartan helle
ginon grádaga.	graedige and gifre.
Nu thu sia grimman maht	Nu þu hie grimman meaht
hinana *gihórean*.	heonane *geýhran*.

I suggest that these correspondences are best explained by the assumption that the pattern of accents in the OE *Genesis B* owes something to the accents of the Old Saxon original as it lay before the translator. The surviving Old Saxon fragment was probably not the only copy of the text in existence, and the correspondences argue for the existence of another copy, possibly containing more of the accents represented in the OE poem.

In order to bring out the significance of this proposal we must consider the possible function of this

poetry as a corpus of supplementary *lectiones* in the vernacular for use in a monastic context. This immediately suggests a comparison with the *Evangelienbuch* (c870) of the Frankish monk Otfrid of Weissenburg. This paraphrase of the Gospel story in Old High German is composed in four-line stanzas, each of which consists of two rhyming couplets:[34]

> Was liuto filu in flize, in managemo agaleize,
> sie thaz in script gikleiptin, thaz sie iro namon breittin;

Otfrid designates the work as a *cantus lectionis*, and while it has been widely assumed that *cantus* in this phrase means simply 'poetry', during the last fifteen years the view that Otfrid's work is to be *sung* has received powerful support.[35]

The relevance of this change in emphasis derives not simply from the fact that the *Evangelienbuch* is another collection of vernacular lectionary material comparable to the poems in Junius 11. Of crucial importance are the accents in the text. The Vienna

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34 Text from Erdmann, *Otfrid*, p. 11, lines 1-2.

35 See Bertau, 'Epenrezitation', pp. 1-6, and Petzsch, 'Otfrid', *passim*. The shift in opinion with regard to Otfrid is a reflection of the debate amongst German scholars concerning the music of medieval narrative poems. For a passing suggestion that the accents of Junius 11 should be brought into the debate, and for a bibliography of seminal contributions to the discussion, see Taeger, 'Heliand'.

manuscript of the work, revised by Otfrid, contains a system of accents which mark at least one accent in each line, and sometimes two or even three (the rhyme syllable, always requiring an accent, is not always marked).[36] The line quoted above appears as

Was líuto filu in flíze, in managemo ágaleize,
sie thaz in scrípt gekleiptin, thaz sie iro námon bréittin;

Bertau, in a convincing article, proposes that these accents are neumes - that is, *virgae*, or /. He shows that in Otfrid's diocese of Mainz the liturgical *lectio* was delivered in a way that differed from the Roman custom: accented syllables were set to a relatively higher note, and unaccented syllables to a relatively lower note:[37]

SEE MUSICAL EXAMPLE 4

SEE MUSICAL EXAMPLE 5

From Otfrid's relatively regular accentuations to the bunched or sporadic accent markings of Junius 11 may seem a long way, but a second manuscript in the Otfrid tradition provides a suggestive link. This is the Munich manuscript of the *Evangelienbuch*, copied

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36 Cod. Vind. 2687. For an account of the accent marks in this manuscript see Bertau, 'Epenrezitation', p. 4.

37 ibid. pp. 3-4.

by the priest Sigihard for Waldo, Bishop of Freisingen from 884-906.[38] Sigihard's text is accented - at least in parts - but in quite a different way to the Vienna copy revised by Otfrid. Sometimes Sigihard gives every syllable an accent, including unaccented syllables, sometimes he uses no accents at all. Thus the line in the transcription shown in Ex. 5 appears as follows:[39]

Wárd after thíu irscrítan sár so móht és sín ein hálb iár

Bertau attempts to explain this inconsistency as a conflation by Sigihard of the *lectio* style used in Mainz (where only accented syllables required an accent) and the Roman style (where a single intonation tone was used, and thus either all syllables required an accent, or none).[40] This may be correct, it may also be the case that Sigihard felt at liberty to put the accents more or less where he chose, and to distribute them where he felt they would produce a pleasing result in performance.

It may be no coincidence that the section of the OE *Genesis* with the most accents of any piece of OE verse is the *Genesis B*, translated from Old Saxon. It has often been suggested that the Old Saxon *Genesis* became

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38 Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek cgm 14. For a description of the accentuation patterns in this manuscript see Bertau, 'Epenrezitation', pp. 4-5.

39 This example is taken from Bertau's article, p. 5.

40 ibid.

known in England as a result of AElfred's importation of Saxon monks c885.[41] This date agrees remarkably well with the chronology of the Otfrid materials we have been examining:

before 871	*Evangelienbuch* of Otfrid completed.
c885	Ælfred imports Saxon monks: *Genesis B* composed?
884 – 906	Waldo bishop of Freisingen. He receives copy of Otfrid's work made by Sigihard.

Might the thick bunches of accents in *Genesis B* be the traces of a scheme in the original copy connected with musical delivery? The materials that we have examined are certainly suggestive in this regard. What can we say of the two-tone setting that would result? As Curt Sachs has emphasised, simple melodic fragments involving only a few pitches have been used by "...performers of national epics, in Finland, in Yugoslavia, in Egypt, and probably in Homeric Greece...",[42] so a transcription of a passage from *Genesis B* with marked syllables raised in pitch would align itself with a significant amount of historical and ethnomusicological evidence about narrative delivery. This even raises the possibility that the style we are discussing was traditional in Germanic verse-singing, and that the decision to record

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41 See for example Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 32.

42 Sachs, *Rise of Music*, p. 33.

it in poetry manuscripts had more to do with attitudes to copying and notation than with innovations in delivery. As Thomas Cable as emphasised, the principle of raising accented syllables in pitch operates in a great deal of Gregorian chant,[43] it lies at the very foundation of Western musical notation and is the basis of the concept of 'tonic' accent.[44]

The logical conclusion from our reasoning is that the original style of setting in *Genesis B* was closely akin to that found in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* where accented syllables are often (but not always) raised above the prevailing reciting pitch. We cannot assume (given the nature of the transmission that we have deduced for *Genesis B*) that the Junius 11 text preserves the original markings at any given point of the poem. Yet parts of *Genesis B* are marked in such an appropriate way that there seems little point in rejecting this testimony when we wish to reconstruct a passage.

SEE MUSICAL EXAMPLE 6

How might this poetry have been accompanied? We must begin with the lyre, for we know that this instrument was current at the time of the Ælfredian reforms,

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43 Cable, *Meter and Melody*, p. 102f.

44 For the origin of the Western neumes and their relation to textual diacritics see Parrish, *Notation*, p. 4f.

and if we seek the *hearpe*-techniques that may derive from a much earlier period to match the possible antiquity of the melodic style we have hypothesised, it is here we may expect to find them.

Our picture of the lyre and its technique has been clarified by the research presented in Chapter 3. We are dealing with an instrument of five or six strings, probably often tuned to a diatonic sixth, and played with the fingers. To understand how such an instrument may have been played, it is necessary to look outside the European sphere, for no plucked instrument like these Germanic lyres is now in use in any European country. What we seek is a playing-tradition associated with a similar instrument that may serve as a suggestive analogy.

Such analogies have been sought before - we recall Wrenn's study of the *hearpe* and the kantele of Finland - and it is a well-established practice in mediaval organology to elucidate early playing techniques by reference to modern folk instruments that belong in an old tradition.[45] What is new in the presentation to be offered here is that the fitness of an analogy will be judged solely in terms of the physical and technical parallels existing between the instrument in question and the Germanic lyre; all that will be considered significant in the cultural contexts of the instrument will be (a) the age of the tradition associated

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45 See above, p. 36f.

with it, and (b) the degree to which the music seems to reflect European or other external influences. We shall not therefore be seeking a surviving epic tradition and, in Mustanoja's phrase, 'looking for parallels'.[46] My aim here is to free such comparative investigation from notions associated with oral formulaic theory by conducting it within the framework established in medieval organology. In effect, we are deliberately limiting our assumptions: we do not seek to illuminate the ways in which OE oral verse was *composed*, but only the ways in which the instrument might have contributed to its *delivery*. A strict requirement that our analogy should rest upon a very close resemblance between instruments will serve as a control upon our theorising.

The Ob-Ugrian Lyre and Its Music: A New Analogy

The Ob-Ugrian peoples of Western Siberia use a lyre that is remarkably similar to the large Germanic warrior instrument (compare plates 14 and 15). The Ob-Ugrian instruments are somewhat larger than the excavated Germanic lyres (the largest Germanic instrument measuring 81 cms in length and about 2.75 cms in depth,[47] while the smallest Ob-Ugrian instrument for which I have dimensions measures 92 cms in length, and 5 cms in depth).[48] However, their technologies exhibit points

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46 Mustanoja, 'Germanic Poetry'.

47 Measurements from Crane, *Extant Instruments*, 313.01-06.

48 The dimensions are given in Andersson, *Bowed Harp*, p. 136.

of resemblance. Both types are hollowed out of a single block of wood with a soundboard attached over the cavity and a yoke morticed into the arms. On the Ob-Ugrian instrument, however, the yoke is morticed into the front of the arms and is a simple bar, the Germanic lyres rarely have a separable yoke of this kind (plate 14 is an exception), and the yoke is curved.

It is uncertain whether these two families of lyre are genetically related. The Ob-Ugrian instrument is tuned by pins that do not penetrate the yoke, they are secured by a knot in the string that, when tensed, creates sufficient friction between the bar and the yoke to overcome the pull of the string as the pins are turned. The Germanic lyre uses a different method: sagittal pegs inserted directly into the yoke. This is a diagnostic distinction of the first importance, for it aligns the Ob-Ugrian instruments with lyres developed in the southern hemisphere (such as the lyres of Sumer, Israel and Egypt),[49] while the sagittal pegs of the Teutonic lyre point to a Northern European zone.[50] Nonetheless, recent research has shown that numerous chordophones used among the peoples of the USSR employ sagittal pegs,[51] and it is not impossible that these two lyres represent distinct branches of a single family, though no firm

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49 This aspect of the lyres is studied in Väisänen, 'Leier', p. 16f.

50 For this distinction see Sachs, *Instrumente*, p. 260-1, and Bachmann, *Origins*, p. 38.

51 There is a most important study of this question in Picken, *Turkey*, p. 317f.

evidence to support this assumption is forthcoming at present.

It will be obvious that both of these lyres place a very similar set of technical potentials and limitations before the player. The Ob-Ugrian lyre generally has five strings, the Germanic lyres appear to have had five or six. Both lyres were played with the fingers. This technique, attested by photographs of Vogul and Ostyak players performing,[52] was conventionally employed by Germanic players as I have argued above.[53] The Germanic lyre was probably often tuned to a simple diatonic sixth, the Ob-Ugrian lyre is known to have been tuned diatonically: CDEFG (relative pitch)[54] - compare Hucbald's CDEFGA of c900.

We can say little concerning the playing position, for full information is wanting for the early Germanic lyre. However, later sources (such as those examined in Chapter 3) indicate that the instrument was probably played with one hand (five strings scarcely offer much opportunity for a two-handed technique), though certain illustrations (e.g. plate 9) suggest that the hand placed upon the yoke was sometimes employed in addition to the main plucking hand. Such a two-handed technique

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52 For a useful selection of photographs see Väisänen, 'Leier', Abb. 7-11. Abb. 9 is particularly interesting since it shows a collaboration between a lyre player and singer, recalling the evidence for alternatim delivery of heroic verse amongst the Germanic peoples.

53 See above, Chapter 3.

54 This information is given in Väisänen, 'Leier', p. 18.

is recorded as having been used on the Ob-Ugrian lyre, though the published photographs of players that I have seen show only one hand in use.[55]

These similarities count for a great deal. Musical instruments are tools, and the relationship between tool and task is always one of reciprocal influence.

> Craftsmen use their mastery over raw materials to produce the tool to perform a certain function, and as a result the tool is a shaped and moulded organism, an embodiment of the task. When we are able to show that two families of instruments exhibit major similarities of resource and manipulation then there are grounds for believing that the tasks performed by both families may have had much in common.

We are well informed about the music of the Ob-Ugrian lyre.[56] In view of our conclusions concerning the melodic material of *Genesis* it is striking that it employs very few notes - often only two. We are thus dealing with an instrumental counterpart of two-tone melodies discussed above. Perhaps it is unadvisable to speak of 'melodies' in this context, they are rather formulae strung together by players for whom (to borrow a resonant phrase of Picken's) the music exists entirely in the "fingers and cerebral cortex". The following extract from an instrumental piece will show the manner:

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55 ibid. Abb. 7-11.

56 The information to be given here is taken from the studies of Väisänen listed in the bibliography. The transcriptions of lyre music given in Väisänen, '*Ostjakische Melodien*' were made from recordings.

SEE MUSICAL EXAMPLE 7

In the extract quoted only two notes are used (though a third, c, makes its appearance later on in the same piece).

The measures of our last example introduce a second point of interest. They are duple, and (with one exception in part of the music not quoted) they are isochronous. We notice the similarity between these patterns and those hypothesised by Pope for OE verse; indeed, we can place any normal line of OE verse as scanned by Pope above the rhythm of our Ob-Ugrian lyre piece.

SEE MUSICAL EXAMPLE 8

We have no grounds for assuming that there is a historical link between the Ob-Ugrian material and Anglo-Saxon lyre playing, but it lies within the scope of our method (of suggestive analogies) to emphasise that the Ob-Ugrian lyre music is produced on an instrument closely akin to the Germanic lyre, that it employs very restricted melodic material like the 'settings' we have hypothesised for *Genesis B*, and that it often employs isochronous measures directly comparable with those assumed by Pope. The parallels are close - perhaps too close - but they do provide us with a model for performing the verse. A sung delivery of the poetry

following the manner of musical example 6, and a lyre accompaniment based upon the Ob-Ugrian lyre music, following the two-tone melodic structure of the voice can easily be imagined, and should, I suggest, be heard.

How might the pillar harp have rendered such music? Here there is much scope for experiment. Our earliest glimpse into improvised medieval harping traditions is provided by the seventeenth-century Welsh tablatures that almost certainly reflect medieval practices, and here we find that the music is built for the most part upon two chords - recalling the two-tone melodies with which we have been dealing.[57] Perhaps experiment may begin by devising two chordal blocks (I would propose tonic and mediant chords without thirds) which shift to match the major third steps in the melodic inflection (or are adjusted to fit any other inflections that might be used - such as a second). Let the harpist adjust the structure of the chords and the volume with which they are plucked to match the rhetorical emphasis required by stressed syllables... It is an exciting field of research and artistic experience that has yet to be opened up.

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57 See Ellis, *Story of the Harp*, p. 21f.

CHAPTER 6

HEARPAN AND OE SONGS

Our final chapter is a theoretical excursus focusing upon two questions: if an OE poem has no musical notation associated with it (and there is no circumstantial evidence that it was sung or accompanied) how do we investigate the hypothesis that it may have been sung and accompanied, and what kind of claims might the positive results of any such investigation entail?

We take our point of departure from a passage in Eadmer's *Vita Sancti Dunstani* which has already been discussed above.[1] Our first requirement in the search for OE songs is a guide - preferably a series of pointers in an early source to inform our *a priori* willingness to believe that some OE verse was sung to the harp. Eadmer provides such a series of pointers, and he is the only author in contact with pre-Conquest traditions who does. This is his description of Dunstan's minstrelsy at Athelstan's court which we have already examined:[2]

> In addition to these things, he was accustomed to relieve the spirits of others from the troublesome cares of the world with musical instruments, skill with which had sustained him not a little, and he inspired the contemplation of the heavenly harmony as much by the sweetness of the words (which, now in

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1 p. 237.

2 For the Latin text see above, p. 237.

> the mother tongue and now in the other, he interspersed with musical melodies) as by the harmonious music which he expressed through them. On account of this he was visited by many, and many things were sought of him.

This account contains a striking amount of circumstantial detail, and is suggestive at every turn. Firstly, it is clear that Dunstan is delivering words to instrumental accompaniment. Secondly, we learn that the words were sometimes in England and sometimes in Latin.[3] Thirdly, we learn that the relationship of voice and instrument was conceived on an *alternatim* basis; the words were 'interspersed with musical melodies'. Fourthly, Dunstan appears to be singing:

> ...et in meditationem coelestis harmoniae tam per suavitatem verborum, quae modo materna modo alia lingua musicis modulis interserebat, quam et per concordem concentum...

The construction seems to be: *per suavitatem verborum... et per concordem concentum* [*verborum*]. Thus the accusatives after *per* (*suavitatem verborum* 'sweetness of the words' and *concordem concentum* 'harmonious music') all denote properties of the words, and we are to understand that Dunstan charms his hearers both with the beauty of the words he sings and the quality of the melody to which he sings them.

This is one of the most striking accounts of musical performance surviving from Saxon and Norman

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3 For this interpretation of the phrase *alia lingua*, see above, p. 238, n 88.

England. It appears to have been entirely overlooked by literary historians and musicologists.[4] Eadmer tells us what was performed, where, and how in terms which (though general) exceed the level of interest which Latin prose-writers usually evince in musical performance. In view of the special position occupied by this source this chapter is an attempt to characterise Eadmer's view of Dunstan's minstrelsy and to establish the musical reality that may lie behind it. We must, of course, guard against the temptation to hang too many weighty matters upon a passage that is not a hundred words long, especially as Eadmer does not comment upon Dunstan's use of the *materna lingua*. If the mention of English songs had any special significance for him he was content to touch it lightly and let the story embody the meaning.

I propose to treat Eadmer's words as the *terminus ad quem* for a discursive and retrospective investigation into the kinds of verse that may have been sung and accompanied in late Anglo-Saxon England. The circumstances of Eadmer's life encourage such an approach for he was born before the Norman Conquest,[5] and spent most of his life at Canterbury - a centre well known to scholars for the English traditions preserved there after the invasion. He is a late witness, but a late

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4 Most recently it has been overlooked by Dobson and Harrison, *Songs*, p. 55f, which gives a well-documented survey of the earliest English songs and their background.

5 For an account of Eadmer's life and works see Southern, *St. Anselm*, p. 229f.

6 ibid. p. 252f.

witness could hardly be better placed.

We shall consider all of the relevant evidence from the period c1000-c1100, including a hitherto obscure source of Latin song from late-Saxon Canterbury. Such comprehensiveness is essential, for the materials are fragmentary. What David Fallows has said about English song in the Fifteenth century certainly applies even more to our period:[7]

> ...the picture must be built on a series of widely separated stepping-stones - or more precisely, on a scattered group of stones peeping up from the river and perhaps never intended to pave a way across.

The *Materna Lingua* and the *Alia Lingua*

Eadmer asserts that Dunstan delivered words in two languages: the *materna lingua* and the *alia lingua*, and the former is definitely English.[8] The *alia lingua*, or the 'other language', is surely Latin, the 'other language' of every well-educated medieval cleric. An ability to sing in two languages must have been common amongst clerical singers, the monk Tuotilo of St. Gall (d.915) is said by the chronicler Ekkehard to have been an expert string player who sang well in 'both languages' (*concinnandi in utraque lingua potens*) presumably German and Latin.[9]

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7 Fallows, 'English Song Repertories', p. 61.

8 For the evidence on which this statement is based see Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 203. We encountered this reference above, p.238, n 88.

9 Text in Pertz, *Scriptorum* 2, p. 94

This reasoning leads us to one of the most suggestive details of Eadmer's passage: the intimate association of Latin with vernacular song. Dunstan, as imagined by Eadmer, sings songs in both languages and accompanies them in the same way for the same audience. Thus the Latin and English materials are distinguished by language, but not by function, performance dimension, or reception. The association is striking, but not surprising. Dronke has repeatedly emphasised that[10]

> ...the whole development of secular lyric in Europe presupposes a context in which at all stages Latin and vernacular compositions existed side by side, in which learned and unlearned poets and singers knew one another's songs and were constantly indebted mutually for themes, and melodies and forms.

In due course we shall take our line of interpretation directly from here to the anlaysis of a surviving OE poem.

Eadmer and the *Materna Lingua*

We have seen that the earliest biographer of Dunstan, Auctor *B*, does not say that the saint performed music at Athelstan's court.[11] Osbern, Eadmer's predecessor both as a biographer of Dunstan and as precentor at Christ Church, recounts that Dunstan was accustomed to

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10 Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, 1, p. 61.

11 The relevant part of *B*'s *Life* is in Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 11f.

console the weary king with instrumental music without describing the content or manner of the performances.[12]

Eadmer probably knew an authentic tradition that Dunstan had sung in English at Athelstan's court.[13] Why has he chosen to go further and to present such a circumstantial account of Dunstan's performances? The details of his life and work allow us to frame an answer to this question.[14]

Eadmer lived through a period of profound change in English culture. He was born c1060, and in later life he could dimly remember details of the Christ Church community as it had existed at the time of the Conquest.[15] He spent the first thirty years of his life in the monastery where French and English monks, sometimes unable to understand one another, lived in an atmosphere that was not always casual.[16] The native vernacular continued to be cultivated at Christ Church and St. Augustine's into the Twelfth century,[17] and according to William of Malmesbury Canterbury was conspicuous for the awareness of 'old nobility' (*antiquae nobilitatis*) shown by its

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12 ibid. p. 80.

13 See above, p. 236f.

14 The following account of Eadmer's life and career is based upon Southern, *St. Anselm*, p. 229f.

15 ibid. p. 241.

16 ibid. p. 247-8. See the *Miracula Sancti Dunstani*, in Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 236.

17 For a description of relevant manuscripts see Ker, *Catalogue*, numbers 209 (Vespasian D.xiv), 139a (Caligula A.xv) and 91 (Eadwine psalter).

inhabitants.[18] Eadmer was dedicated to his house, and loved English traditions throughout his life:[19]

> This [English] background never ceased to dominate his thought and feeling. To the end of his life he remained wholeheartedly an Englishman devoted to the interests of his monastery...With Eadmer, pride of race, the grievances of the conquered, and the love of Canterbury combined to produce a sense of indignation and nostalgia in writing of the present and the past.

If we seem in danger of sentimentalising Eadmer's motives, let us recall that writers such as he provide sound evidence for the growth of English national feeling in the Middle Ages:[20]

> ...the proper source for the study of medieval national feeling in the 12th-century is the works of the Latin historians. They show how quickly the clerk, whose loyalty was to the land and its past (especially through the saints and the privileges of his church) was developing a local, English allegiance.

So the author who chose to give an elaborate account of Dunstan's minstrelsy was an Englishman moved by "the enduring influence of Canterbury and all that it stood for as a symbol of the English past".[21] He lived and

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18 Text in Hamilton, *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 3.

19 Southern, *St. Anselm*, p. 231-2.

20 Galbraith, 'Nationality and Language', p. 122.

21 Southern, *St. Anselm*, p. 232.

wrote in a centre where the English vernacular was cultivated for religious and pedagogical purposes after the Conquest. He had known a time when uneasy relations between French and English monks at Christ Church were underlined by a language barrier. When he wrote,"pride of race, the grievances of the conquered, and the love of Canterbury combined to produce a sense of indignation and nostalgia..."[22]

How closely did Eadmer associate this English past with the *materna lingua*? Galbraith, in his survey of language and nationality in the Middle Ages, rejects the notion that twelfth-century historians had evolved "that close emotional association of national feeling with the vernacular...that distinguishes contemporary nationality".[23] However, the epithet *materna* does imply some measure of emotional attachment to a *materna lingua*, for it draws its fitness to describe a native language from a well of emotional feeling. Eadmer,dedicated to his centre and thus enclosed by the cellular structure of medieval society (which Galbraith sees as an obstruction to full national feeling), glimpses wider horizons by pondering intently upon the traditions and cultural importance of his house. We do not need to assume that Eadmer felt a strong emotional association between the *materna lingua* and the destiny of Englishmen,

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22 ibid.

23 Galbraith, 'Nationality and Language', p. 114.

it suffices to conclude that he saw English as the traditional speech of Canterbury monks, long hallowed by religious and pedagogical use at Christ Church.

Eadmer probably travelled with Anselm's household between 1093 and 1109.[24] He surely visited the royal court with the primate of all England, and spent many hours in episcopal residences and aristocratic houses. By this time the number of English-speaking senior clerics and noblemen must have been greatly reduced in the social spheres where Anselm was active. Eadmer would have been present at many occasions when French, not English, was the language spoken for both polite and official purposes. His experience of episcopal and secular households may have given him pause when, several years later, he turned to Osbern's references to Dunstan's court minstrelsy. Athelstan's reputation as an upholder of learning and law stood high in the Twelfth century. 'Among the English,' wrote William of Malmesbury, 'the judgement is spread wide - and with good reason - that nobody has ruled the country in a more lawful and cultured way than this king.'[25] Here, therefore, at the court of Athelstan, was a varied, pre-Conquest English environment in which courtiers, visiting senior churchmen, foreign envoys and noblemen's sons freely mingled.[26]

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24 Southern, *St. Anselm*, p.234.

25 For the original see Stubbs, *Gesta Regum*, 1, p. 144.

26 For an account of the court see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 351f.

Eadmer takes care to locate Dunstan's artistic activities of painting, metalwork and music *in palatio regis*,[27] Auctor *B* perhaps implies that this is where Dunstan pursued his activities,[28] Osbern deals with the saint's artistic skills and his introduction to Athelstan's court in separate sections of his *Vita*.[29] So Eadmer seems to have had a distinctive vision of his material. He saw Dunstan as the artistic epicentre of a cultured court *in palatio regis*, subject to a king known to modern historians as one who "pursued a generous patronage of learning and of art".[30]

Eadmer's description of Dunstan's performance was therefore inspired by his interest in an image of the saint as a cultivated artist at a refined English court. By 1100 the atmosphere of great courts, both secular and ecclesiastical, would have been familiar to this Christ Church monk who seems to have barely left his monastery before his travels with Anselm began.[31] His experience had been broadened in many directions, and not least with respect to the hours he must have spent listening to both amateur and professional entertainers. Anselm's itinerary did not only involve his household in business,

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27 Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 169.

28 ibid. p. 10-11.

29 ibid. p. 78f.

30 Temple, *AS Manuscripts*, p. 9.

31 Southern, *St. Anselm*, p. 231f.

meals had to be eaten, and free evenings passed with illustrious company of one sort or another. Everything that we know about medieval entertainment suggests that such occasions would have been enlivened by musicians and singers.

The songs which Eadmer heard on these occasions must often have been in French; it is not easy to imagine a large audience for English song amongst the senior clergy and nobility of early Norman England. Perhaps it is the keenness of this experience that encouraged Eadmer to expand the tradition that Dunstan sung in English at Athelstan's court? It may have seemed fitting to him that the great saint of an ancient English centre should be presented as singing in the mother tongue *in palatio regis*.

To argue that Eadmer was moved to mention the *materna lingua* by anger or disillusionment would be to bruise the evidence. He does not impose judgement; his sense of the Englishness of English was perhaps only a resonance set up by his devotion to Christ Church. But his love of Canterbury and its traditions inspired his account of Dunstan's playing with a sense of what it would be fit to describe. An impulse perhaps not sufficiently articulate to be called antiquarian - yet deserving more than the name of nostalgia - moved him with a sense of meaning.

In this way we emphasise Eadmer's feeling for the potency of a tradition. His testimony is not a shaft

of light which illuminates the musical life of any one period, it has a milder, yet longer reach, carrying the reader back through Eadmer's accumulated experience given weight by his reflection upon the past. Above all, it shows us what Eadmer considered to be important in the tradition of English vernacular song: a cultivated setting, instrumental accompaniment, delivery by a cleric and an intimate relation between Latin and vernacular materials.

Vernacular Poetry and Song in Eleventh Century England

Aldhelm of Sherborne, so William of Malmesbury tells us, "could compose English poems, make a verse, and both sing and say the same in a fitting manner" (*Poesim Anglicam posse facere, cantum componere, eadem apposite vel canere vel dicere*).[32] This is easy to believe, if only for the reason that many medieval poems survive with music in some manuscripts and without it in others. A 'sing or say' approach seems to have prevailed in which the hazards of transmission and the whim of copyists exerted a crucial influence upon the uses of verse. There is abundant evidence that Latin songs (the only corpus of eleventh-century secular European song in existence) circulated both with and without their music. Thus the Anglo-Saxon scribe who copied the Latin lyrics known as the 'Cambridge Songs'

32 Text in Hamilton, *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 336.

in Canterbury c1050 knew a melody for the famous love-song *O Admirable Veneris Ydolum* surviving in two other continental sources,[33] but not for the equally famous *Iam dulcis amica venito*,[34] nor for *Ad mensam philosophiae* (whose melody *was* known to another Anglo-Saxon scribe).[35] Melodies for ten of the *metra* in Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* were known at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, c1000,[36] but a copy of the text produced in the same house later in the Eleventh century contains none of them.[37] The famous extract from Statius's *Thebaid* beginning *O mihi deserte* was known in Canterbury at the same time, but it is copied

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33 The Cambridge version may be studied in facsimile in Breul, *Cambridge Songs*, f.441v. An attempt to reconstruct it with the aid of the continental versions appears in *NOHM*, 2, p. 221. These versions are printed in facsimile in *NOHM*, 2, plate facing p. 221 (the Monte Cassino version) and in Traube, *'O Roma Nobilis'*, following p. 395 (the Vatican version). See also Peebles, *'O Roma Nobilis'* for information about the melody.

34 Facsimile in Breul, *Cambridge Songs*, f.438v (an attempt was made, presumably in medieval Canterbury, to erase this love poem). For diplomatic facsimiles of the continental versions see Coussemaker, *Harmonie*, plates 8 (2) and 9 (1). For further information about this song see Vuolo, *'Iam dulcis amica'*.

35 A fragment of the text *Ad mensam philosophie* appears with neumes in Cotton Julius A. VI f.90 (end of 11c). See Ker, *Catalogue*, 160.

36 For these melodies see below, p. 307f.

37 Cambridge University Library MS Gg.5.35, f.170r f. For a description and inventory of this manuscript, which we have met several time before, see Rigg and Wieland, 'Cambridge Songs', *passim*.

without the music that accompanies it in a continental source.[38]

When musical settings of English words finally appear (in the Twelfth century) the situation is the same. The earliest English songs are attributed to Godric (d.1170), but the transmission of both words and music betrays a casual attitude to their integrity:[39]

> ...in spite of the monk's veneration for Godric, they give unequal treatment to his songs. Eight MSS give the English text of the first stanza of no. 1, only four that of the second; it is possible that it was a later addition, especially as there exists a version of the music written for a one-stanza text. Three give the English text of no. 2, and only one - an inserted leaf in the Royal MS - gives no. 3. But only three MSS give music for the first stanza of no. 1, and for the rest of the music we are dependent on the inserted leaf of the Royal MS.

When we move into the Thirteenth century we find that several vernacular songs survive both with and without music. *Man mei longe* is preserved in four manuscripts only one of which has music,[40] while only two of the six copies of *Stond wel moder* have music, and both of these are incomplete.[41] Only *Worldes blis* shows a predominance of music, for two of the three sources

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38 Facsimile in Breul, *Cambridge Songs*, fols. 439v. For details concerning the Vatican text with neumes see Lagorio, 'Three Vatican MSS', p. 41.

39 Dobson and Harrison, *Songs*, p. 16.

40 ibid. p. 122f.

41 ibid. p. 153f.

of the text contain neumes.[42]

These observations allow us to establish some worthwhile principles.

Firstly, to propose that a given medieval poem was sung is not to make a pronouncement about the genesis and circulation of the text. It is to suggest that contexts may have existed in which certain performers chose to sing it while others preferred to declaim or privately read it. These distinct functions may have had more to do with the persons who encountered the poems that with characteristics in poems judged to be 'singable', or 'not singable'.

Secondly, a proposal that a medieval poem was sung implies that the poem was sung at least once, but perhaps not much more; it does not imply that lost copies with musical notation were once in circulation. There was no systematic use of musical notation for recording English songs until the Fifteenth century. Godric's hymns of the Twelfth century are followed in the Thirteenth by a small and heterogeneous collection of songs,[43] then there are a few fragements from the Fourteenth century but no tradition as such until the final decades. We have always to reckon with the possibility that poems were encountered without music, set, sung and then put back into the stream of transmission as written copies, musical notation never having been involved in the process.

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42 ibid. p. 137f.

43 All of these songs are edited in Dobson and Harrison, *Songs*.

Indeed, the fragmentary state of the repertory of thirteenth-century English song almost commits us to the view that many of the poems recorded as texts had some existence as song; the surviving musical items cannot represent the full corpus of sung English words known during the period.

Clearly, many factors influenced the final form that a scribe's copy took. If the melody of a text was unknown to him he would copy a text. If it was known to him, but he was unable to write music, he would again copy a text. If he both knew the melody and had mastered the art of musical notation, he would consider whether the melody was interesting enough to merit the labour of recording it, and then perhaps decide against it; he would reflect whether the melody was so well-known to the anticipated readers of his copy that notation was unnecessary; he might weigh the character and style of the melody and decide that the available notation would not produce a satisfactory result (as many collectors of folk-song, compelled into print by the need to submit results of research, have decided),[44] last of all, he might decide to be the guardian of an oral tradition of the melody within his own centre, responsible for singing or teaching it when required.

Finally, we should note the nature of the surviving English songs. The tradition, such as it is, runs from the hymns of St. Godric through the devotional and

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44 See Nettl, *Ethnomusicology*, p. 103, for a discussion of this point.

admonitary songs of the Thirteenth century to the popular devotion of the carol. In our search for traces of earlier songs we must clearly not look away from devotional and purposeful texts, especially in view of the frequent divergences between medieval and modern uses of verse. The *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius, for example, exists today as a source-book for medievalists; it is read, glossed, and interpreted; it is not sung. Yet there is abundant evidence that the *metra* of this work were sung in widely separated centres during the Middle Ages.[45] We have therefore to beware of inert notions about what is singable - or what is even likely to have been sung - since there is no guarantee that these notions will be congruent with medieval ones.

We do best to found our investigation on the demonstrable relation between Latin and vernacular songs. Eadmer, as we have seen, associated songs in English and Latin very closely indeed, distinguishing them by language, but not by performance dimension, delivery or reception. The corpus of medieval Latin songs can thus provide us with at least a provisional touchstone for assessing the claim that any given medieval poem was sung. In the case of OE poetry there are three questions to be asked:

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45 For a list of manuscripts of the *Consolatio* with musical notation accompanying some of the metra, see Page, *'Bella bis quinis'*.

1. Does the theme and content of the OE poem have any close affiliations with Latin material known to have been sung?

2. Is it possible to make statements about the contexts within which the Latin materials were performed?

3. Is it possible that the OE materials in question could have been sung in the same way as the Latin songs?

The *Kentish Hymn* and Latin Hymnody in Anglo-Saxon England

The *Kentish Hymn* has a special potential for our enquiry for we may connect it with musical performance in three ways. Firstly, the text of this poem is a free paraphrase of the liturgical *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.[46] Secondly, the poem reads like a rhapsodic paraphrase of *Caedmon's Hymn*, and thus has links with a text that may have been associated with music.[47] Thirdly, the *Kentish Hymn* has close structural and thematic links with the Latin hymnody of Anglo-Saxon England.

The manuscript of the *Kentish Hymn* dates from c950 and was copied at Canterbury.[48] This takes us directly

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46 As pointed out by Shepherd, '*Kentish Hymn*', pp. 395-7.

47 In view of the possibility that *carmen* and *canto* in Bede's account of the poet Caedmon mean simply 'poem' and 'recite', it would be unwise to go further than this (for the text see Mynors and Colgrave, *Bede*, p. 414f).

48 London, British Library Reference Division MS Cotton Cleopatra A. 3. See Ker, *Catalogue*, number 43.

to the city of Eadmer, but it is not our purpose to argue that Eadmer actually knew this text - much less to urge that he had heard it sung. We have no brief to formulate such a precise hypothesis. The *Hymn* interests us as an example of a type of poetry - liturgical verse paraphrase - that may have belonged in the tradition of accompanied vernacular song known to Eadmer. As we shall see, the *Kentish Hymn* gains an independent interest and importance from its Canterbury provenance.

The *Kentish Hymn* is an expression of praise closely affiliated in content to numerous Latin hymns known in Anglo-Saxon England. These affiliations derive from the thematic pattern inherited from the model, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. The *Gloria* is an exaltation of Christ which lingers on the relation of Son to Father and concludes with praise of the Trinity. Within this framework of praise it is a plea for intercession:

Exaltation	Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Adoramus te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine Deus, Rex caelestis, Deus, Pater omnipotens. Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe. Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris.
Plea for mercy	Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis.

Exaltation with concluding praise to Trinity	Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe. Cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

The *Kentish Hymn* follows this scheme. The exaltation begins with lines based on the words *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, then contracts into translation for a line and a half:[49]

Wuton wuldrian weorada dryhten
halgan hliodorcwidum, hiofenrices weard,
lufian liofwendum lifes agend,
and him simle sio sigefest wuldor
uppe mid aenglum, and on eorðan sibb
gumena gehwilcum goodes willan.

The interjection *Wuton* ('let us [praise]') introduces the poem as praise offered by the community of the faithful, not by the individual believer. Here the poet is following his source where first person plural forms abound (*adoramus...agimus*, etc.). He develops the plea for mercy at the third opportunity offered by the Latin:[50]

Mildsa nu, meahtig, manna cynne,
and of leahtrum ales ðine ða liofan gesceft,
and us hale gedo, helleða sceppend,
niða nergend, for ðines naman are.

Finally, the poet draws the address to Christ into an invocation to the Trinity:[51]

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49 *ASPR*, 6, p. 87, lines 1a-6b.

50 ibid. p. 88, lines 32a-35b.

51 ibid. lines 40a-43b.

forþan þu on þrymme ricsast and on þrinesse
and on annesse, ealles waldend,
hiofena heahcyninc, haliges gastes
fegere gefelled in faeder wuldre.

It is instructive to compare the structure of the *Kentish Hymn* with some of the Latin hymns employed in the Anglo-Saxon church. We find many hymns with the same basic organisation: (1) an address to Christ the intercessor, presented as an expression of the community of the faithful, (2) the exaltation of Christ, (3) a plea for mercy, and finally (4) a concluding invocation to the Trinity.

First person plural forms are common in the hymns, as in the *Kentish Hymn*, praise is expressed by the community. The interjection *wuton*, which opens the *Kentish Hymn*, frequently appears in the interlinear glosses to the hymns establishing a similar pervasive tone of command to the first person:[52]

on nyht arisende uton wacian ealle
1 *Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes*

lofsang uton singan drihtne
2 *Ymnum canamus Domino*

criste uton singan wuldor
3 *...Cristo canamus gloriam*

þone haelend uton cion mid stefnum
4 *Jesus canamus vocibus*

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52 For the full texts of these hymns and their glosses see Stevenson, *Hymns*, pp. 7, 9, 18, 59, 82 and 87.

criste uton singan ealdre
5 *Christo canamus principi*

uton biddan
6 *Jam lucis orto sidere/ Deum precemur*

References to communal, vocal praise such as are found in the *Kentish Hymn* are frequently made to sustain the commitment to a corporate act of worship:[53]

Kentish Hymn Wuton wuldrian weorada dryhten
halgan hliodorcwidum...
We ðe heriað halgum stefnum
...

1 Flendo canendo quesumus
2 Nunc concinendo [noctem] rumpimus
3 Voce precamus humili
4 Jesus ciamus vocibus

The intensity of the praise is increased by cumulative collocation of titles such as *redemptor omnium, splendor Patris,* and *Rex aeterna* which, within their tradition, are scarcely less formulaic than *weorada dryhten, hiofenrices weard,* and *þioda walden.*[54] Thus both the *Kentish Hymn* and these Latin hymns achieve their ends by similar use of verse materials: the intercessory Saviour is exalted and, as it were, placated by an accumulation of formulae of praise; the resonance of these prepares

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53 *ASPR*, 6, p. 87, lines 1-2a, and 7a-b. For the full texts of these Latin hymns and their glosses see Stevenson, *Hymns*, pp. 18-19 and 21-2, 29, 66-7.

54 *ASPR*, 6, p. 87, lines 1b, 2b and 9b.

the way for a plea for mercy,[55]

Christe sanctorum decus atque virtus
Vita et forma, via, lux, et auctor
Supplicum vota pariterque ymnum
Suscipe clemens.

Next, the invocation to the Trinity can conclude the hymn, as it does in our OE poem:[56]

1 Presta Pater omnipotens
Per Jesum Christum Dominum
Qui tecum in perpetuum
Regnat cum Sancto Spiritu.

2 Gloria sit tibi Trinitas
Aequalis una Deitas
Ante omnia secula
Et nunc et in perpetuum.

3 Gloria tibi Domine
Qui natus es de Virgine
Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu
In sempiterna secula.

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55 For the full text of this example see Stevenson, *Hymns*, pp. 69-70. This thematic structure has very close affinities with the Collect, one of the most characteristic items of the Western liturgy, which is a form of prayer comprising (with many variations in detail) (a) an invocation, (b) a petition and (c) a pleading of Christ's name or an ascription of Glory to God. In our hymns, the last two elements appear in reverse order.

56 Stevenson, *Hymns*, pp. 12, 34, and 40.

In view of these thematic parallels it is possible that the poet of the *Kentish Hymn* drew upon his experience of hymnody as *song* in devising his poem. We must remember that many of the clerics who composed lettered OE verse would have been singers bound to the choral celebration of the liturgy. Furthermore, Anglo-Saxon musical notation was non-diastematic,[57] so singers were compelled to memorise a great deal of the chant they performed. It thus lay upon the surface of their minds and did not need to be retrieved from written copies. The act of transferring a chant melody to another poem was not therefore an act of editorship, demanding comparison of disparate documents by visual means, it was more a process of direct association without recourse to the notions of textual and musical fixity inculcated by the use of written materials.

We have already considered the question of chant rhythm and OE metre.[58] Our materials now demand that we carry the investigation forward into the realm of melody. We are clearly on the verge of proposing that the *Kentish Hymn* may have been sung to music of a kind used for liturgical hymns; this is far removed from the

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57 That is, without stave-lines. For a survey of Anglo-Saxon notation see Suñol, *Introduction*, p. 283f.

58 See above, p. 29f.

di-tone intonation patterns of the previous chapter. Surely it is time to distinguish between different ways of singing OE verse. There is a danger that we always search for one style - the traditional one, associated with Germanic alliterative poetry. Yet this manner of delivery need not have been the only one. Other styles may have sprung up to serve different ends, wrought upon by different influences. The instrumentally accompanied songs of the Franks were distasteful to Fortunatus in the Sixth century,[59] doubtless because an ear trained in the mediterranean heritage of the chant could not accept the Germanic style of

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59 Fortunatus describes the instrumentally accompanied singing of the *barbari* (presumably Franks living in Gaul) with their *harpa* in the preface to his poems (text in Leo, *Fortunatus*, p. 2), he could find only a 'buzzing' sound in the performance (*bombicans*). For other early references to Germanic singing see Werlich, *Skop*, p. 243f.

It is worth pointing out here that there may be another such reference - hitherto unnoticed - in the *De Musica* of Boethius. Boethius recounts the doctrine that different people are affected by different modes, and comments that "ruder peoples delight in the harsher modes of the *Getae* (*Getarum durioribus delectantur modis*; text in Friedlein, *Boethius*, p. 181). The *Getae* are often assumed to be the Thracians; see for example Strunk, *Source Readings*, 1, p. 181 and compare *OLD Getae*. However, the name *Getae* was transferred to the Goths in the early Middle Ages, as reported by Isidore of Seville (Lindsay, *Isidore* IX:ii:89, gives the text). It is tempting to conclude that Boethius is contrasting the music of the Romanised mediterranean world with that of his Gothic neighbours and masters, seeking to cloak the point in the late-Latin ambiguity of *Getae*.

delivering verse. Yet by the Twelfth century English songs in some quarters had come under the sway of plainchant. One of the earliest songs with English words, *Crist and Sainte Marie* by St. Godric (d.1170), is essentially a farsed Kyrie, appearing in the source complete with neumes for the words *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*.[60] The other songs of Godric seem to represent an attempt to blend the Ambrosian hymn quatrain with native poetic rhythms.[61] Thus the history of English song opens with pieces that embody the close relationship of vernacular and Latin materials revealed by Eadmer in his *Vita Sancti Dunstani*. Among the remaining English songs before c1300 there are several based upon the plainchaint sequence *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*,[62] and a number of others that show the influence of plainchant idioms. As Harrison remarks in his introduction to a complete textual and musical edition of this corpus, "the number of songs in this volume which appear not to be directly derived from or modelled on plainsong is so small that they cannot be looked on as typical in any real sense".[63] We have seen that the influence of plainchant

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60 I am grateful to Anthony Pryer of Goldsmith's College, London, for the observation that Godric's song seems to be very closely based on the kyrie trope *Summe Deus*, found only in selected English monastic sources.

61 Dobson and Harrison, *Songs*, p. 16.

62 ibid. numbers 10-12.

63 ibid. p. 67.

can be traced as far back as Godric, whose songs "must be reckoned one of the survivals of the old tradition rather than as the start of something new".[64] Godric, a younger contemporary of Eadmer, was born within twenty years (at most) of the Norman Conquest, "and his mind must have been full of the rhythms of Anglo-Saxon verse..."[65]

Excursus: Cable and the Melody of *Beowulf*

We cannot proceed to pursue the implications of this view without examining the contentions of Thomas Cable's book, *The Meter and Melody of Beowulf*, which is an attempt to interpret the music of OE verse by reference to chant. Cable's approach is founded upon metrics. He analyses Sievers's system of scansion and argues that in types C and D (x / / x and / / \ x) the first of the two clashing stresses must be heavier than the second.[66] The evidence he cites to support this view (principally derived from the alliterative patterns associated with these two types in *Beowulf*, together with the frequency of compounds cast in these forms, and syllabic quantity) need not concern us here, but the musical application of his theory is most important. By applying his theory to D type verses (/ / \ x) where the half-lift is in

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64 ibid. p. 16.

65 ibid. p. 104.

66 Cable, *Meter and Melody*, p. 94f. Unfortunately Cable's conference papers 'Caedmonian Melodies' and 'Last OE Song' are not yet available for study.

third position, Cable automatically requires *four* levels of stress, for if the first in a pair of clashing stresses is heavier than the second, then the intensities of a D-verse such as *ymbsittendra* (*Beowulf* 9b) are:

4 3 2 1
ymb - sit - tend - ra

It is here that Cable encounters a serious obstacle which music must remove. He acknowledges that American linguistic research has not vindicated the theory that four degrees of phonemic stress may be distinguished by speakers in connected discourse:[67]

> Unfortunately, four degrees of phonemic stress have faired poorly in the laboratory and in the classroom, when measured by instruments and sceptical ears...If one rejects, as one must, four levels of phonemic stress...then one must perforce have second thoughts about the patterns of Old English metre that we have arrived at inductively.

It is at this point, when his theory is on the verge of collapse, that Cable introduces the 'melody' of *Beowulf*. He proposes that OE verse accentuation comprised breath accents (intensity of sound) but also *tonic* accents in the strict sense (pitch of sound); thus, he argues, two of the four levels of accent required by his theory were provided by tension in the vocal chords producing differences of pitch:

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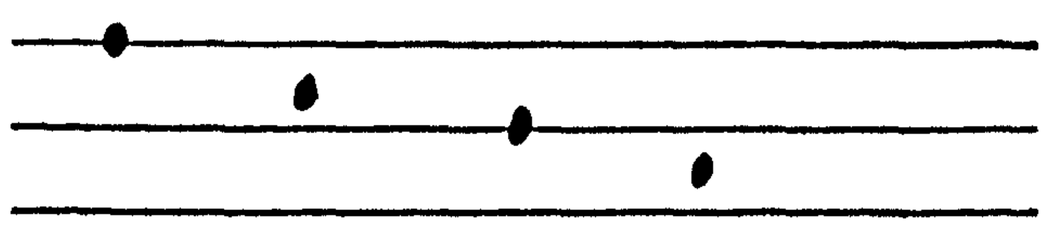
67 ibid. p. 97.
68 ibid. p. 95.

> "...neither stress nor quantity alone could make the distinctions necessary in OE poetry... the main correlate of metrical ictus was relative pitch..."

Since Cable accepts the finding that "listeners can make only binary categorical distinctions along the dimension of prominence when they listen to connected discourse", he supplies the want of accent-resource with pitch, thus his transcription for the D-verse cited above is:[69]



ymb - sit - tend - ra

Cable now proceeds to compare his pitch-patterns for the rhythmic types of Sievers (as modified by himself) to certain aspects of Gregorian chant, emphasising that a correlation between relative pitch and intensity of accent may be observed in the chant repertory.[70] Here we encounter a major difficulty, for Cable seems to be urging that his OE melodies were sung in the same sense that we may speak of a piece of chant being sung - that is, with fixed, determinate pitch relationships. Yet at other stages in his discourse he argues for a heightened form of 'speech-melody'.[71] This confusion is an important one, for Cable's comparisons between his OE melodies and the chant require a firm conceptual basis

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69 ibid. p. 105.

70 ibid. p. 102.

71 ibid. p. 99.

that he does not supply; Gregorian chant is 'sung'; it does not by any means belong to the "misty borderland" between speech and song "containing various kinds of *recitative*" [my italics] [72] which is where Cable seems to place the chant by describing it as "the largest and finest body of *recitative* in Western culture" [again, my italics]. Furthermore, Cable's terms for the OE performance style that he envisages are evasive, sometimes the musical content is "not simply the pitch of ordinary discourse but a heightened and stylised pattern", and at others it is "a contour of pitch", "recitative", "speech melody", "intonation", or "an actual melody, a tune".[73] Cable seems unwilling to commit himself to a mode of delivery that may be called 'song' without qualification or argument. Thus 'recitative' is a protean term in his hands. Once it is equivalent to "heightened discourse", once it is the mode of delivery associated with *chansons de geste* (which were 'sung' in the strict sense of the term as far as the evidence shows),[74] and once it is the technique of operatic recitative as defined by Apel:[75]

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72 ibid. pp. 99-100.

73 ibid. p. 100f.

74 For the evidence pertaining to the *chansons de geste* see the studies by Chailley, Langlois, and Veen listed in the bibliography.

75 Cable, *Meter and Melody*, p. 100.

"...a vocal style designed to imitate the natural inflections of speech...In the recitative, the purely musical principles of vocal melody, phrase and rhythm are largely disregarded, being replaced by speechlike reiteration of the same note, slight inflections, irregular rhythms, purely syllabic treatment of the text..."

Even if we ignore the fact that this passage describes techniques developed during the Baroque period it still appears to be a singularly ill-fitting description of most Gregorian chant (which Cable dubs "the largest and finest body of recitative in Western culture"). The categories of the chant to which this description might be applied (the intonation of the Collect, Epistle and Gospel) are quite unlike the melodies for OE verse proposed by Cable. In these chants the distinction between accented and unaccented syllables is almost completely ignored by the music (the exact opposite of what we find in Cable's theory), all syllables are sung to a monotone with occasional formulaic inflections and changes of pitch level. As for the categories of chant which are based upon melody rather than intonation, it is true that we find a correlation between relative pitch and accent as Cable argues, but this correlation is by no means strict. Reese gives an example of chant (*Jubilate Deo* - Offertory) which he describes as "a fine illustration of this principle", yet over a third of the accented syllables in the text are not set to

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76 Reese, *Middle Ages*, p. 166.

relatively higher pitches. Cable's theory, in contrast, is based upon an absolutely strict correlation between accent and pitch.

We may summarise our objections:

1) If we imagine Cable's pitch/accent correlation in terms of heightened speech-melody then a comparison with the sophisticated musical art of Gregorian chant : is somewhat out of the way; his Old English melodies should be rather compared with the patterns of tone languages and the verse structures they employ.

2) If the pitch/accent correlation is to be regarded as genuinely musical (i.e. employing fixed pitches like the chant) then the validity of a comparison with the chant is limited for two reasons: (1) chant exhibits a far less rigorous correlation of pitch and accent than Cable's theory of OE metre requires, and (b) although melodic formulae play an important part in the chant repertory, Gregorian melody is essentially an art of flowing melodic line, not of brief collocated formulae constantly repeated (as is Cable's 'melody' for *Beowulf*).

3) The correlation between pitch and accent in chant melody is an optional association of word (not metrical) accent and the summit of melodic curve. It is thus an artistic device applied at will, not a condition necessary for the articulation of a metrical system as it is in Cable's theory.

A classic verse-form of the medieval hymn is the so-called 'Ambrosian quatrain', a strophe of four lines composed of four iambic dipodies. The form takes its name from St. Ambrose, to whom four hymns in this form are securely attributed.[77] The hymns of Ambrose are quantitative:

Aĕ— tĕr—— ne rē—— rum cōn— ——di—tōr

but the syllabic count and accentual pattern of the Ambrosian line was widely imitated in the Middle Ages without regard to quantity:[78]

Quantity	Tĕ lū— ——cis a͞uc— —tōr pĕr— ——so—nănt
Accentual Scansion	Te lú— ——cis aúc— —tor pér— ——so—nént
Quantity	Chrīs— te re—dĕmp- ——tor ōm- ——ni-um
Accentual Scansion	Chris— té re—démp- ——tor óm- ——ni-úm
Quantity	lūx ĕc— ——ce sūr— ——git aū- ——re-a
Accentual Scansion	lux éc— ——ce súr— ——git áu- ——re-á

77 ibid. p. 104.

78 On medieval imitations of the accentual (but not the quantitative) structure of Classical and late-Classical verse forms see Norberg, *Introduction*, p. 124f. We also find that the Classical model is followed only in its number of syllables per line (ibid. p. 124f), and this is what happens in numerous medieval quatrain hymns. The Latin hymns cited here are taken from Stevenson, *Hymns*, pp. 24, 39, and 153.

There are also accentual trochaic hymns:[79]

Quantity	Chrīs—te	qūi lūx	es et	di—ēs
Accentual Scansion	Chrís—te	qúi lux	és et	dí—es

The majority of medieval hymns are set to straightforward melodies and the settings are predominantly syllabic (each syllable having one or two notes; ternary and larger groups are less common).[80]

We have already reviewed the evidence that *Hymni Ambrosiani* were sung in measure rhythm during the Middle Ages. The (?English) musical theorist John 'Cotton' (c1100) describes the *Ambrosiani*as chants "measured off by definite laws in the manner of the metres..." (*more metrorum certis legibus dimetiantur*).[81] This is a particularly telling comment, for the proportional rhythms of earlier medieval chant are generally believed to have faded by John's day; Aribo of Liège (c1070) described them as "dead, even buried".[82]

Here we have a striking point of contact with the rhythmic theory of Pope. If we will accept the major

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79 ibid. p. 12.

80 As may be seen from the many melodies printed in Stäblein, *Hymnen, passim*. This is the standard collection of medieval Western hymn melodies; of necessity it is far from complete.

81 Text from Waesberghe, *John*, p. 126.

82 Text in Waesberghe, *Aribo*, p. 49: Antiquitus fuit magna circumspectio non solum cantus inventoribus, sed etiam ipsis cantoribus, ut quidlibet proportionaliter et invenirent et canerent. Quae consideratio iam dudum obiit, immo sepulta est.

tenet of his theory (that each verse of OE poetry comprises a pair of dipodies, or four-beat measures) then we have a sound basis for comparing OE verse-rhythm and the rhythm of one category of chant: the metrical hymn.

In terms of accentuation, the rhythm of a normal OE line as interpreted by Pope and the Ambrosian hymn line are comparable. The hymn line is constructed with four stresses, whether the accentual pattern is iambic or dactylic. An OE half-line comprises two elements bearing main stress, and thus a full line is made up of four main accentual positions. This will become clear if we compare a line of OE verse as set out by Pope with an Ambrosian hymn-line of accentual, not quantitative structure:

Nu sculon	herian	heofonrices	Weard
2 1 1	2 1	1 1 1 1	2
Christe	qui lux	es et	dies
2 2	2 2	2 2	22

The *Kentish Hymn* as Song: A Canterbury Model

We have almost reached a point where we may underlay the *Kentish Hymn*, set out according to Pope's theory, below the music of a contemporary Latin hymn transcribed in binary metre. But one problem remains. It may be that we have been able to find parallels between the *Kentish Hymn* amd Latin hymnody in theme

and structure, while we have established a basis for comparing OE verse rhythm as interpreted by Pope with the rhythm of the Latin hymns when sung. But what of the *form* of OE verse and Latin hymnody? The hymns are strophic; they proceed by repeating a fixed unit of lines, each of which is sung to the same melody. Yet almost all OE poems are composed of verse-paragraphs: "an indefinite number of half-lines freely run on".[83] In view of the musical structure of the Latin hymns we are clearly faced with a difficulty if we wish to apply a hymn melody to the *Kentish Hymn*.

A hitherto largely overlooked source of Latin song from Canterbury, compiled c1000, offers a solution to this problem. Ms Auct. F.1.15 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is a copy of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius produced at St. Augustine's.[84] In this manuscript ten of the *metra* are accompanied by staffless neumes; never less than two lines carry neumes, and never more than six. This arrangement (in which no *metrum* is fully neumed) will prove to be of some significance for our enquiry, and it will be worth having copies of the notated sections before us. In the following

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83 Pearsall, *OE and ME Poetry*, p. 15.

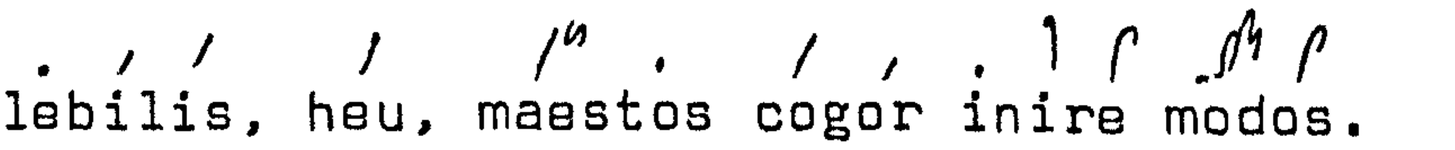
84 This manuscript seems to have gone largely unnoticed in the musicological literature, but it has been described in detail by art historians (see Temple, *AS Manuscripts*, number 37). There are facsimiles of two folios in Nicholson, *EBM*, plates 32 and 33.

examples (where all the notated material of the manuscript is reproduced) the texts are taken from the *Corpus Christianorum* edition of the poem[85] and have been broken off in each case where the neumes come to an end. The punctuation, introduced here from the modern edition, shows how the close of each neumed section is related to the current of sense in the text.

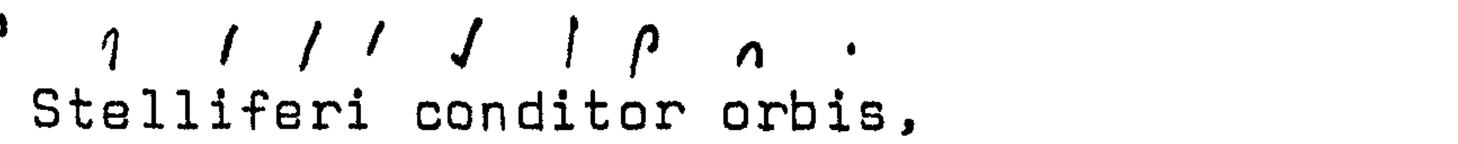
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. F.1.15 (St. Augustine's c1000). Neumed sections from the *metra* of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*

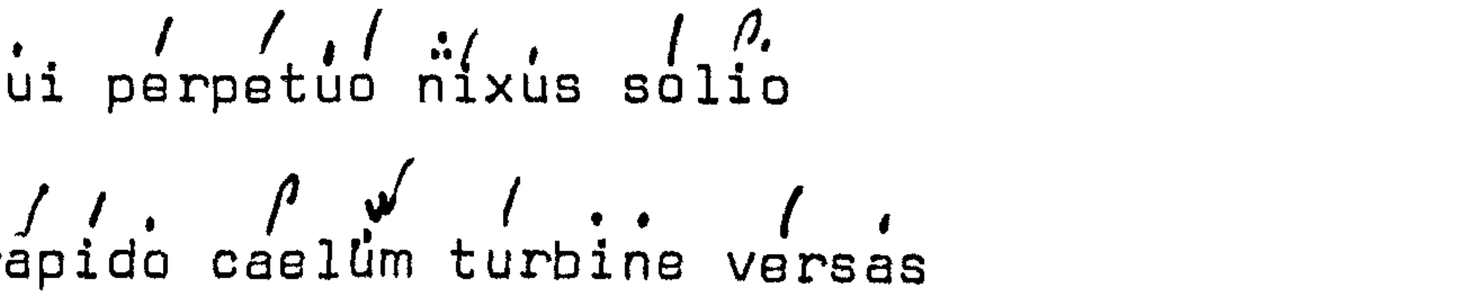
1 *Carmina qui quondam* [Book 1, metrum 1] 22 lines in MS and edition. f.5.

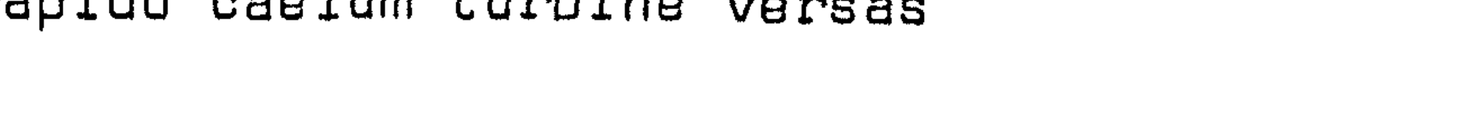
Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi,


flebilis, heu, maestos cogor inire modos.

2 *O Stelliferi* [Book 1, metrum 4] 48 lines in MS and edition. f.12v.


O Stelliferi conditor orbis,


qui perpetuo nixus solio


rapido caelum turbine versas

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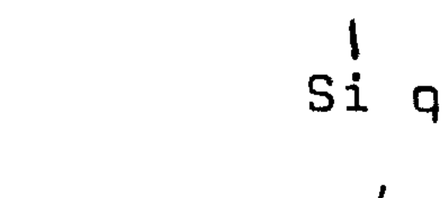
85 Bieler, *Consolatio*. The texts in this edition agree very closely with the texts of our *metra*.

3 *Si quantas rapidis* [Book 2, metrum 11] 20 lines in MS and edition. f.18v


Si quántas rápidis flátibus incitus

póntus versát hárenas

aút quót stelliféris edíta nóctibus

cáelo sídera fúlget

4 *Omne hominum genus* [Book 3, metrum 6] 9 lines in MS and edition. f.35v

Omne hominum genus in terris simili surgit ab ortu.

Vnus enim rerum pater est, unus cuncta ministrat.

Ille dedit Phoebo rádios, dedit et córnua lúnae,

5 *Huc omnes pariter* [Book 3, metrum 10] 18 lines in MS and edition. ff.42v-43

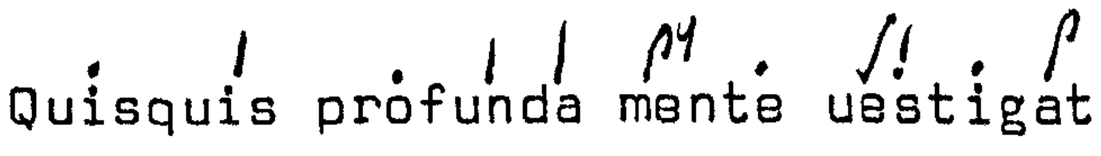
Huc omnes pariter uenite capti,

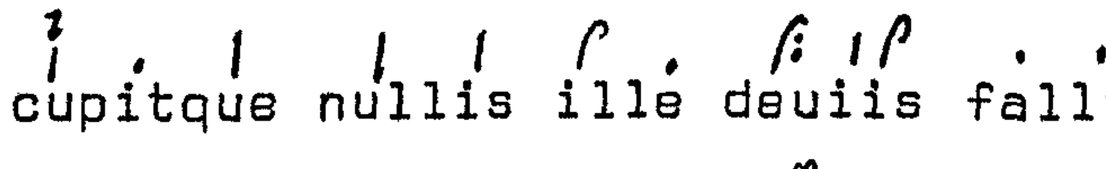
quos fallax ligat improbis catenis

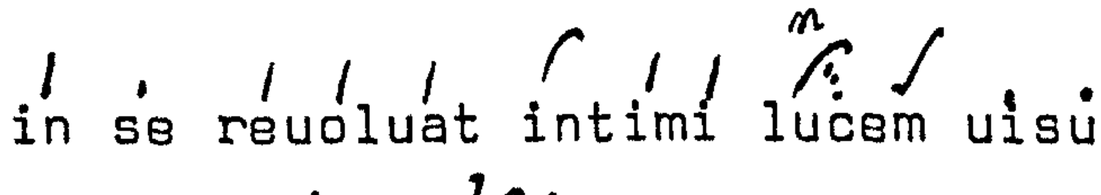
terrenas habitans libido mentes,

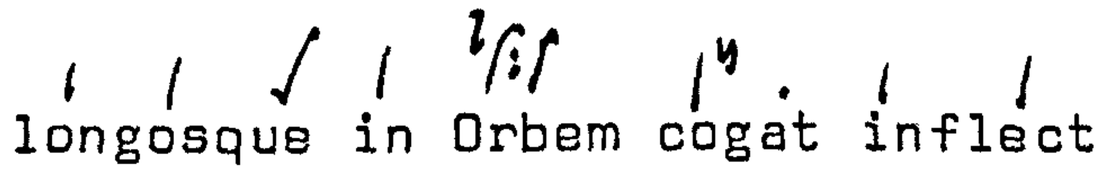
haec erit uobis requies laborum, [Edition: requies uobis]

6 *Quisquis profunda* [Book 3, metrum 11] 16 lines in MS and edition. f.45v.

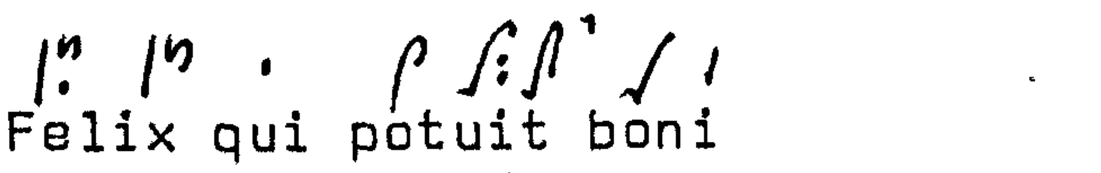

Quisquis profunda mente uestigat uerum

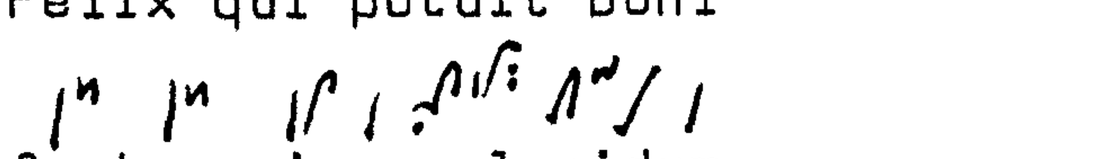

cupitque nullis ille deuiis falli

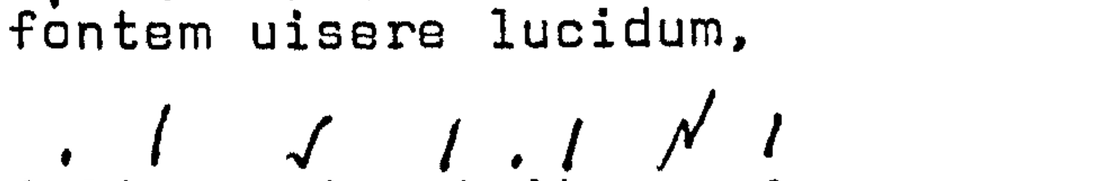

in se reuoluat intimi lucem uisus

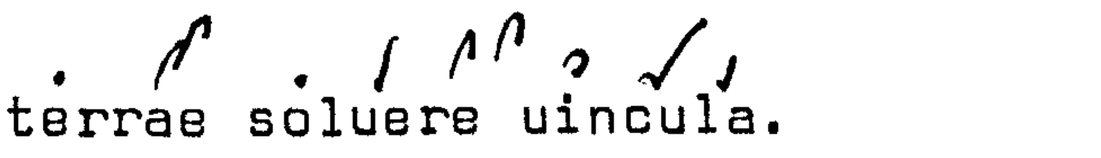

longosque in Orbem cogat inflectens motus

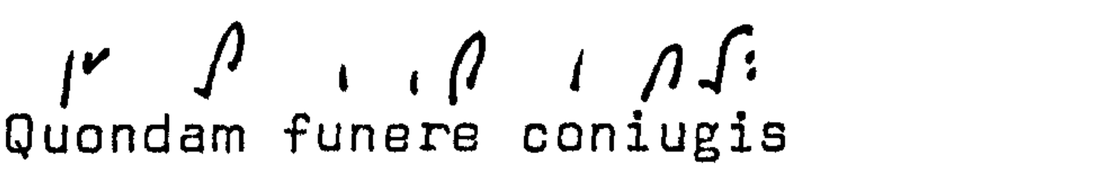
7 *Felix qui potuit* [Book 3, metrum 12] 58 lines in MS and edition. f.47v

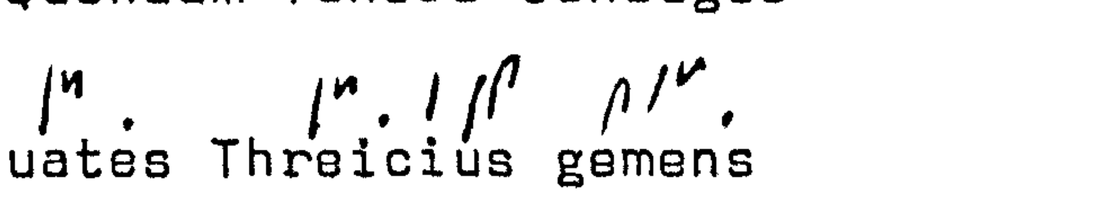

Felix qui potuit boni


fontem uisere lucidum,

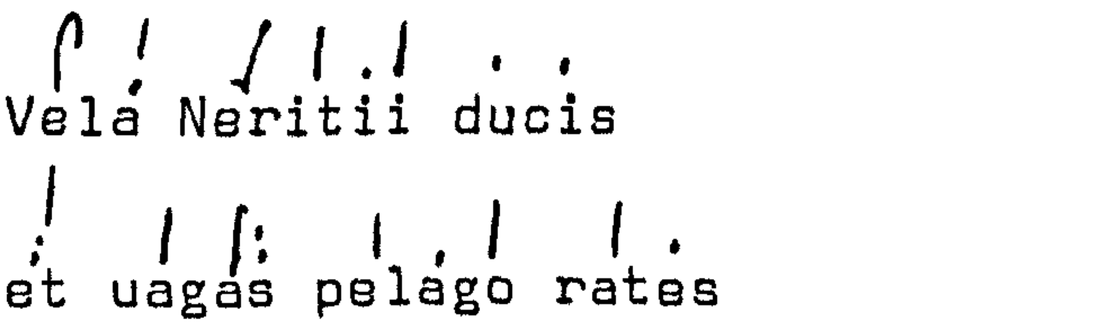

felix, qui potuit grauis


terrae soluere uincula.

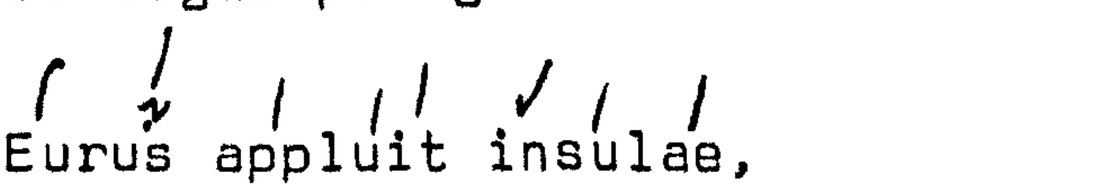

Quondam funere coniugis

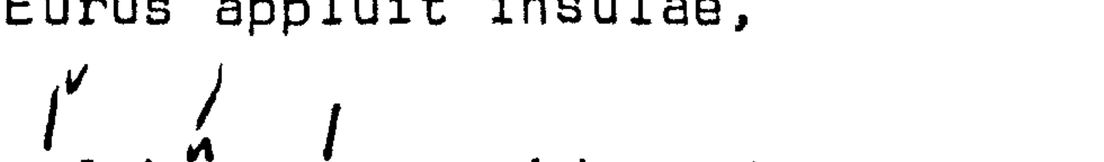

uates Threicius gemens

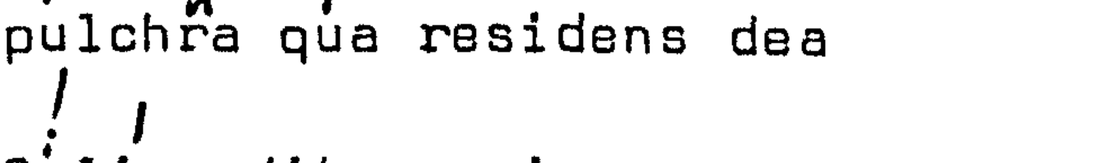
8 *Vela Neritii ducis* [Book 4, metrum 3] 39 lines in MS and edition. f.54


Vela Neritii ducis

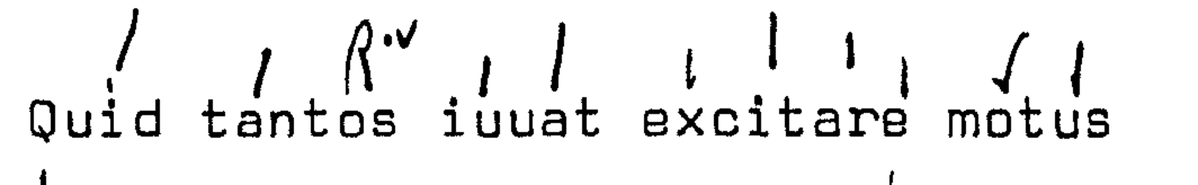
et uagas pelago rates


Eurus appluit insulae,


pulchra qua residens dea

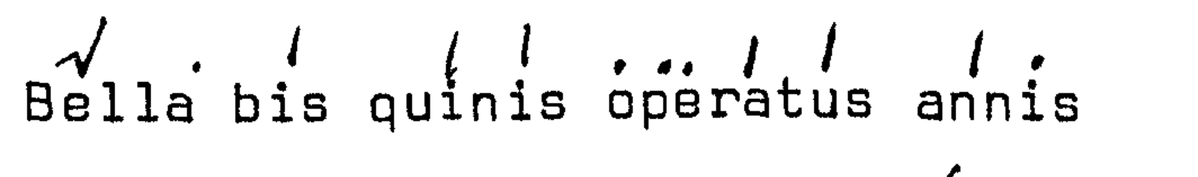

Solis edita semine

9 *Quid tantos iuuat* [Book 4, metrum 5] 12 lines in MS and edition. f.57v



Quid tantos iuuat excitare motus
et propria fatum sollicitare manu?
Si mortem petitis, propinquat ipsa
sponte sua uolucres nec remoratur equos.

10 *Bella bis quinis* [Book 4, metrum 7] 35 lines in MS and edition. f.64v



Bella bis quinis operatus annis
ultor Atrides Phrygiae ruinis
fratris amissos thalamos piauit.

The first important feature of these settings is that only a small portion of each text is supplied with neumes. Thus *O Stelliferi* has 48 lines, but only three of them have music. The highest proportion of neumed lines occurs in *Quid tantos iuvat* where a third of the total of twelve has music.

Such arrangements are common in earlier medieval settings of classical and late-classical poems.[86]

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86 Thus, for example, the extract from Statius mentioned above, p. 285, has neumes for only three lines of its length; the extract comprises lines 608-635 of Book 1 of the *Thebaid*. See Lagorio, 'Three Vatican MSS', p. 41.

We find an exact parallel in a setting of *Bella bis quinis* (Book 4, metrum 7) that appears in the celebrated ninth/tenth-century St. Martial manuscript Paris BN MS Lat. 1154.[87] The same three lines are set as in our Canterbury copy. The notation is non-diastematic, and the neumes are Aquitanian; although we cannot produce a definitive transcription of them, it is at least clear that the two manuscripts do not preserve the same tune (as we shall see).

The possibility that only the lines with neumes were intended to be sung can be excluded, for the lines with notes often fail to comprise a single unit of sense (as a glance at the punctuation in the examples given above will show). The most likely solution is that the music is to be repeated until the end of the song is reached - or at least, until the singer feels that he has delivered enough of the material. In six out of ten cases the number of lines in the *metra* can be exactly divided by the number of lines set:

Number	Incipit	lines	total set	repetitions of music
1	*Carmina qui quondam*	22	2	11
2	*O Stelliferi*	48	3	16
3	*Si quantas rapidis*	20	4	5
4	*Omne hominum genus*	18	6	3
6	*Quisquis profunda*	16	4	4
9	*Quid tantos iuuat*	12	4	3

87 For a diplomatic facsimile see Coussemaker, *Harmonie*, plate 1.

Of the remaining *metra*, number 8 (*Vela Neritii ducis*) must be set aside, since it is uncertain how many lines the scribe wished to supplement with notation. This leaves the following relations (where the first number denotes the quantity of neumed lines): 4:18 (number 5, *Huc omnes pariter*) and 3:35 (number 10, *Bella bis quinis*). I have no explanation for the first case save that the singer was perhaps intended to bring the melody to a close by simply emphasising the last note he came to when the text ended. The second can perhaps be attributed to negligence, for *Bella bis quinis* is in Sapphic metre with only one *cursus planus* (placed at the very end of the poem).[88] The scribe (or the scribe whose work he copied) did not place neumes over this line, which may indicate that the longer poems were

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88 We shall see that in the Canterbury copy the *cursus planus* placed at the end (*sidera donat*) lacks music. The scribe may simply have forgotten to supply it; alternatively, he may never have envisaged that a singer would wish to perform the whole text. Line 12 of the poem might have provided a convenient stopping point. Boethius, having dealt with Agammemnon's sacrifice of his daughter, and the grief of Ulysses when his companions were devoured by Polyphemus, turns to a somewhat pedestrian catalogue of the labours of Hercules in line 13. Stopping at line 12 would involve the singer in three repetitions of the melody. It would also only involve him in delivering the more pathetic and affective parts of the poem; as Breul (*Cambridge Songs*, p. 101) points out, the extracts from Classical poems in the 'Cambridge Songs' collection betray a taste for tender and pathetic passages.

not intended to be sung to the end.

The hypothesis that the melodic material was to be repeated provides a valuable insight into the way the composers of this material worked. None of the *metra* is strophic, yet when they are sung in this manner a strophic melodic structure results (that is, the same tune is constantly repeated in association with a verse-unit of unvarying construction).[89] In a performance of *O Stelliferi*, for example, we hear a textual unit of three decasyllabic lines constantly repeated and wrapped in the same melodic envelope. This three-line textual unit is not always a sense unit; the performer occasionally embarks upon the melody afresh just as the sense is coming to a close; here and there he reaches the final phrase of the melody as a new current of thought is beginning. The melodic structure and the textual structure are threfore frequently in conflict. This is hardly surprising, *for a poem composed of verse paragraphs of varying lengths has been set as if it were a hymn built of uniform strophes.*

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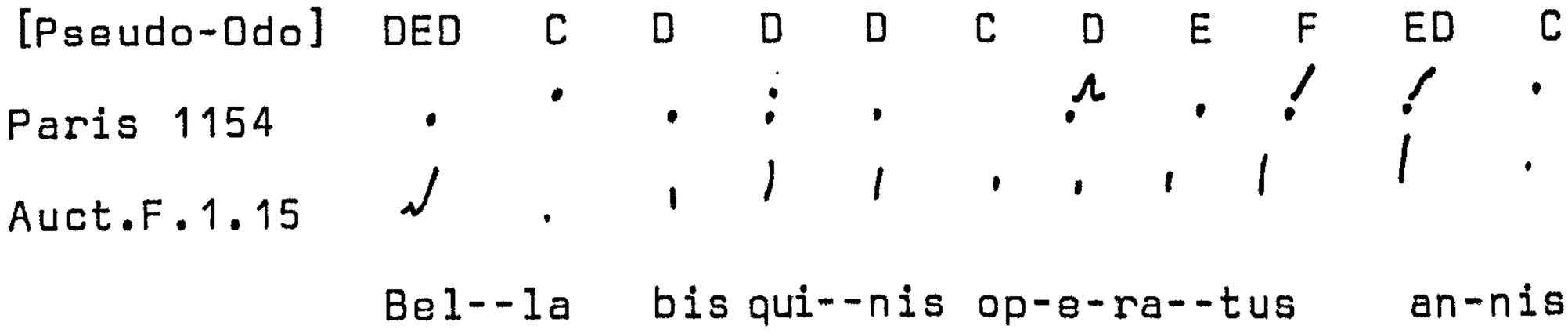
89 It is worth noting that the lack of correspondence between melodic closes and sense closes that this method of setting produces (see below) does break canons of composition established by at least one medieval musical theorist. John 'Cotton' (c1100) states that "the best plan for ordering melody is...to have a pause on [the] final where the sense of the words calls for a punctuation mark" (text in Waesberghe, *John*, p. 120).

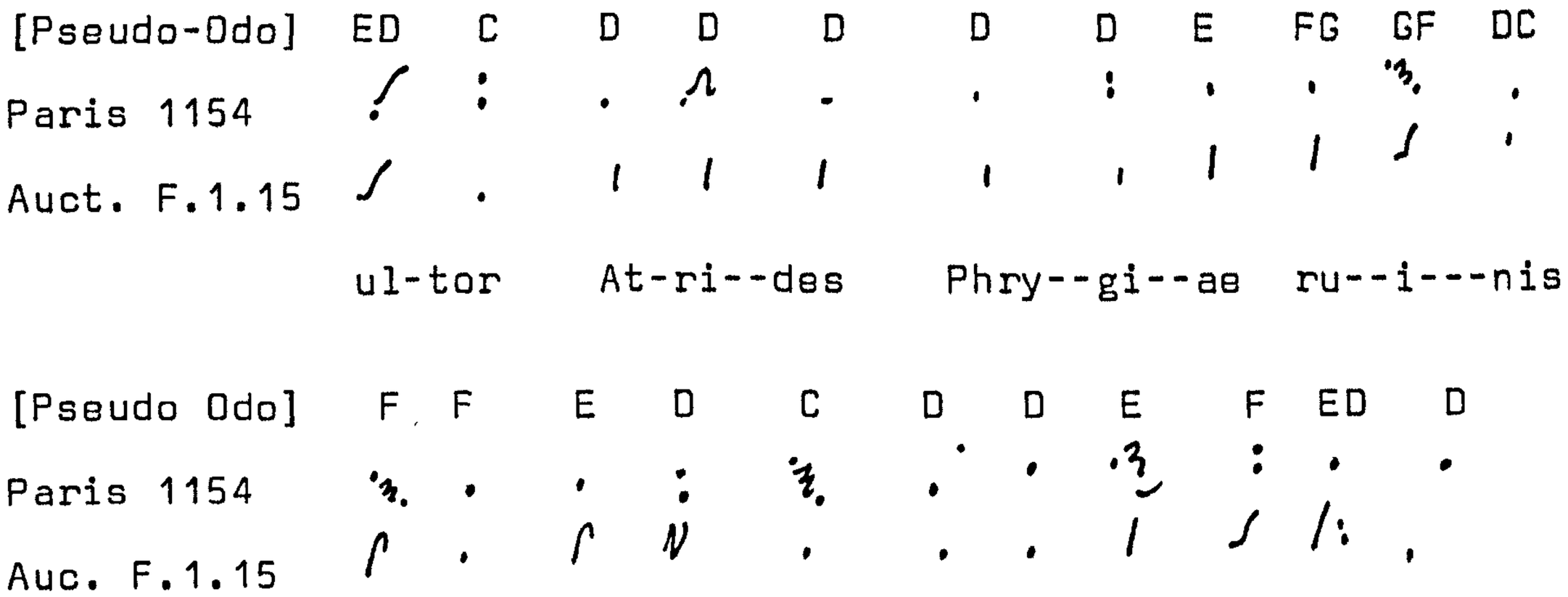
We may illustrate the point with an example. It has not hitherto been noticed that the melody recorded for *Bella bis quinis* in our Canterbury MS is substantially the same as one associated with the same text in the treatise *De Musica* formerly attributed to Odo of Cluny (d.942).[90] This text, which was certainly in existence by the Eleventh century, is devoted to the rudiments of music theory; at one point the author remarks that the interval of a fifth is to be found in many songs "among which is the following song of Boethius" (*de quibus est illud carmen Boetii):*[91]

(The version of Paris BN MS Lat 1154 has been added for comparison)



90 The only available edition of this text is the one published in *GS*, 1, 265a-284b.

91 The letter notation given here is taken from *GS*, 1, 270a, which has been checked against a microfilm of the only extant eleventh-century copy of the work in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. Soppr. F 111 565, f.48^{R}. This early copy, though partly defaced (and textually corrupt after the words *ruinis/fratris)*, preserves a tune which seems identical to the one given by Gerbert.



The value of Pseudo-Odo's version lies in the fact that it is notated in letters, not neumes, and can therefore be confidently transcribed. Using this version, I offer a reconstruction of the melody from the Canterbury MS in musical example 9. The want of a melody for the final *cursus planus* has been supplied by the closing notes of a similar *cursus* taken from a hymn preserved in the Kempten Hymnal of c1000.[92]

An examination of text and music shows many points where the sense runs on over a join in the melodic repetitions. The following examples will show the manner (where || denotes a join in the repetitions):

[1] exuit patrem miserumque tristis || foederat natae iugulum sacerdos

(Agammemnon put aside fatherly grief and, a sad priest, cut the throat of his daughter).

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92 Edited in Stäblein, *Hymnen*, number 423_3.

[2] quos ferus uasto recubans in alto || mersit immani Polyphemus aluo

(whom wild Polyphemus, lying in the vast deep, drowned in his monstrous belly).

These *metra* have therefore been set in a way that often ignores sentence structure, and which organises a poem of verse-paragraphs into 'strophes', probably under the influence of the hymn. This requires us to look again at the question of whether OE verse could have been performed to hymn melodies. OE poetry is composed of verse-paragraphs of varying length, the problem of how such poems could be sung to the music of strophic Latin poems has an obvious solution: the singers simply repeated the melody of the hymn until the text reached its close.

A contemporary of Eadmer, John 'Cotton', sheds light upon clerical attitudes to the use of chant techniques for setting non-liturgical verse. He addresses himself to a readership of "boys and those not yet mature",[93] yet even at this elementary stage John

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93 Text in Waesberghe, *John*, p. 68 (*pueris enim et nondum perfectis loquimur*). The identity of this author remains a mystery (for a discussion of the principal viewpoints see Palisca, *Hucbald*, p. 87 f, and Huglo, 'Fulgence', *passim*). It has been suggested by Flindell, 'John Cotton', pp. 11-30, that John had worked under Eadmer's patron, Anselm, at Bec, and had dedicated the treatise (which is addressed to an unidentified *episcopus anglorum*) to him after he had become archbishop of Canterbury. Attractive though this is for our purpose, the evidence is mounting that John worked in southern Germany or Switzerland.

encourages his readers to compose, and they are to use chant techniques for the purpose. The impulse springs from John's recognition that the liturgy could not absorb all the creative efforts of composers, "even if new compositions are now not needed for the Church", he writes, "still we can exercise our talents in putting to music the rhythms and threnodic verses of the poets". By John's day the corpus of European chant had been greatly enlarged by various accretions such as the sequence, recognising the fullness and sufficiency of this repertory he urges the prospective composer to set the verses of "the poets". His choice of the adjective *lugubris*, 'threnodic', to characterise the poetry in question perhaps reflects a certain wishfulness on his part, and a desire to limit the attentions of young minds to plangent, sober verse. Yet his horizons are clearly wider than this, for he introduces his chapters on composition with an allusion to the *Ars Poetica* of Horace: "...since we both seek and grant permission to compose (*modulandi licentiam vicissim et petimus et damus*), it seems fitting that we next give precepts for composing chant".[94] Having encouraged his readers to compose with this Classical, secular echo John offers three chapters that amount to a small manual of composition - yet it is not directed towards the composition of liturgical

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94 Text in Waesberghe, *John*, p. 116; for the text of Horace, see Brink, *Horace on Poetry*, p. 55, "et hanc ueniam petimus damusque uicissim".

chant, for there is no mention of devotional aims. John's composer is "eager for praise" (*laudis cupido*) and thus his recommendations are designed to produce the "greatest pleasure" (*maximam...iocunditatem*).[95] Furthermore, his composer writes for a diversified audience including the young and the old (*iuvenum rogatu...senum*) while a diversified context for performance is implied by his statement that some modes are suitable for dancing, others for courtly ceremony, and still others for frivolity.[96]

Most important of all, John's composer is not a poet. He is one who wishes to use the techniques of chant composition to set poems already in existence. This is clear enough from his remark that the composer whose services are not needed for the liturgy can still set the verses of "the poets" (*poetarum versibus*). There is no reference in his chapters on composition to the creation of new poetic material. We are therefore to imagine a readership of singers at large in the heritage of Latin literature using chant techniques and materials to produce new songs.

Such a milieu must have existed in many ecclesiastical centres during the Middle Ages. John introduces his chapters with an allusion to Horace, and we have a

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95 Waesberghe, *John*, pp. 118 and 123.

96 ibid. P. 117: "Quis autem canendi modus cuilibet materiae conveniat, prius docuimus, cum diversos diversis delectari diximus, quosdam enim curialitati, quosdam lasciviae, quosdam etiam tristitiae aptos monstravimus".

ninth-century setting of a Horatian ode where the melody is clearly that of the hymn *Ut queant laxis*.[97] Both the ode and the hymn text are in quantitative Sapphic metre; we cannot say whether the melody was first associated with Horace's poem or with the hymn later famous throughout Europe as a mnemonic for solmisation syllables. Yet the two texts taken together document exactly the sort of transfer of melody that we seek, and they show that the hymn could stand at the centre of the interchange.

Instrumental Accompaniment

One of the tasks of literary historians and musicologists, yet to be attempted, is the recovery of the performance dimensions of clerical Latin song in the earlier Middle Ages. We know little of the refectory and hall music of monastic communities before the later Middle Ages. Yet the available evidence points strongly to a song-culture dominated by the ideal of the instrumentally accompanied voice. As Dronke has emphasised, references to lyrical performance in medieval writings

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97 Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire Section Médecine, MS H 425, folios 50-51v (*Est mihi nonum*). There is a diplomatic facsimile of the piece in Coussemaker, *Harmonie*, plate 10. For a discussion of the piece with a transcription of the first stanza see Jammers, *Aufzeichnungsweisen*, p. 4.28f. Variants of the *Ut quant laxis* melody are discussed in Harbinson, *'Ut queant laxis'*.

"leave the impression that, as in the Roman world, unaccompanied singing was much less common than accompanied..."[98] The 'Cambridge Songs' contain a number of references to this practice:[99]

> Cordas tange, melos pange cum lira sonabile,
> tu, magister, tuam liram fac sonere dulciter,
> et tu, cantor, in sublime vocem tuam erige,
> ambo simul adunati cantilene mistice.
>
> Fibris cordis
> caute tentis
> melos concinamus
>
> Nunc, corda, pange...Tibi nunc canoris
> modulemur chordis...

There are no grounds for interpreting these passages as calls for instrumental accompaniment (though one poem in the Cambridge collection seems to be exactly that),[100] their importance lies in the conception of art-song that they embody. Medieval Latin verse references to performance are full of language of this kind, and the simple notions of 'symbolic' or 'classicising' reference will not do to explain the entire bulk of the material. Due weight must be given to the proposition that the entertainment in the life of medieval clerics was

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98 Dronke, *Medieval Lyric*, p. 23.

99 For the texts see Strecker, *Cambridger Lieder*, pp. 21, 25, and 101-2. Further such references, from the Winchester tropers, are assembled in Dobson and Harrison, *Songs*, pp. 79-80.

100 Text in Strecker, *Cambridger Lieder*, p. 13f.

provided almost entirely by music to judge from the constant polemics against secular entertainers issued by Church authorities. Instruments are often mentioned in these polemics, for any ecclesiastical centre with "pretensions to musical culture...admitted to a greater or lesser extent songs intended for entertainment and not for cult...",[101] and many must have followed the practice to the secular lords at court by bringing instruments into their communities.

To propose that a given text was sung is therefore to cut it loose in a diversified musical culture of vocal and instrumental music in which accompaniment seems to have played an important role.

We have forged a link between OE verse and the music of Latin hymnody. So far we have concentrated upon the *Kentish Hymn* which has so much in common with the structure and content of the Latin hymns - but we need not have been so conservative. There are few points of contact between Horace's lascivious ode *Est mihi nonum* and the hymn *Ut queant laxis*, though both shared the same melody in the Ninth century. We know that substantial extracts of Statius' epic *Thebaid* were sung in the central Middle Ages: what, then, of *Beowulf*, whose division into *cantos* may well be connected with delivery?

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101 Dronke, *Medieval Lyric*, p. 27.

CONCLUSIONS

Hearpan

Our investigation has shown that the word *hearpe* was applied to two distinct instruments during the Anglo-Saxon period: the lyre and the pillar-harp. Examination of pictorial and textual evidence suggests that no other stringed instruments were generally known amongst the Anglo-Saxons save certain fingerboard instruments (whose date of introduction is uncertain) named **fiðele*, and possibly, in limited circles, instruments named *timpane*.

With so few known competitors, it is not surprising that *hearpan* occupied very special positions - but the lyre gradually yielded its aristocratic status to the pillar-harp towards the end of the millenium. Both instruments were known throughout Europe, and it is on the basis of their wide distribution that we are able to reconstruct the traditions governing their tunings. By the mid-ninth century both instruments had come under the sway of a major-based diatonicism that had prevailed on the continent (and very probably also in England) for many years.

These investigations, together with an analysis of textual evidence for playing technique, have involved us with many basic questions surrounding the 'archaeological' use of glossaries. The paramount importance of tracing

glosses to their sources, and of recognising the fossilising character of glossary-making have both been revealed. It has emerged from our survey that none of the OE *plectrum*-glosses bear upon the question of how *hearpan* were played, although all previous investigators have assumed this to be the case. *Hearpan* were played with the fingers, and an understanding of their techniques must be based upon that fact.

OE Verse: Performance

Our consideration of the repertory of *hearpan* has led us into a fresh examination of many basic assumptions in OE studies. It is clear that some of the heroes celebrated in such extensive and lettered poems as *Beowulf* and *The Song of Roland* figured in an accompanied-narrative culture whose exponents were (it is assumed) illiterate for the most part. What relation can be discerned between the accompanied poems and the delivery of the lettered poems? Some scholars attempt to remove the troublesome possibility of an overlap by elevating the lettered poems in critical esteem whilst denouncing the unlettered ones as crude and evanescent. This is difficult to combat, for the material plied by the illiterate singers has perished and critics are thus free to characterise it with reference to what they often do not admire in lettered poems (abrupt narrative

transition, perfunctory characterisation and conventionalised diction, etc.). The approach of this thesis has been to examine whether the persons who enjoyed the lettered poems may have had instrumental skills that they wished to deploy, in the same way as the illiterate singers, but in relation to the lettered texts they esteemed. The modern dichotomy between a performed text and one read in intimate circumstances may not have existed for medieval readers. The qualities of literary structure, allusiveness and imaginative depth that we admire in many lettered poems need not have gone hand in hand with a hardening of function that sealed them off from performance. We can range widely with this point in medieval European literature. For example, before we exile the lettered *chansons de geste* of France from the world of performance we must remember that *clercs* in the University city of Paris could obtain Latin tutors for the fiddle in the final decades of the Thirteenth century.[1] Bowed instruments were often employed for accompanying narratives at this date. Such a circumstance complicates the matter, to say the least, and should make us anxious about projecting modern roles back into the Middle Ages; those who read medieval poems now regard reflection, critical activity and research as an extension of that activity; there is no link with creative *doing*, nor with communicating, save in

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1 See Page, 'Jerome of Moravia', *passim*.

pedagogical contexts.

My belief is that a 'sing or say' approach to much poetry prevailed in the Middle Ages; if we insist upon the musical aspect as indispensable to an understanding of the verse we merely alienate conventionally-equipped critics and, more importantly, we misrepresent the evidence.

It is with these emphases that I have examined accompanied OE verse delivery. I have sought to remove the imperatives of Wrenn and Bessinger for whom the harp, a living relic of a remote age, was a crucial element in a theoretical frame of oral formulaism. My claim is that OE poetry was enjoyed in various ways and that *hearpan* provide an avenue of approach to one of them. I wish to re-open a line of enquiry which has only been closed because of the mounting opposition to oral-formulaic theory.

To open this enquiry again it has been necessary to revise some of the notions which have been used to obstruct it. In the present state of OE studies it is crucial to avoid inflexible and fixed ideas (a) about the date, functions and reception of OE poems, (b) about the musical and performing interests of literate Anglo-Saxons and the tenacity of the ancient practice of accompanying verse, and (c) about the mode of delivery implied for OE poems by their preservation without music. Above all, I have argued against congealed notions about what lettered men are most likely to do and think, and

how they will react to ideas whose potency lies outside a world of books and scriptoria.

Given the relatively small amount of firm evidence upon which OE studies rests I would venture to say that the soundness of some of these claims is self-evident; there is scarcely any area of our subject where received opinions - the nuance of a word, the interpretation of a passage - cannot be called into question at any moment. I would now go further to claim that these propositions must not only be acknowledged as tokens of an open-minded approach, but must also be accepted as resting upon as much evidence as any other theory about OE verse-reception. The materials pertaining to St. Dunstan evoke a picture of a lettered Anglo-Saxon harpist with a taste for stories of 'old heathenism' culled both from oral tradition and from books. Thus we are confronted with the possibility that lettered OE narrative verse formed part of the repertory of clerical instrumentalists.

OE Poetry: Date and Background

The Dunstan materials raise important questions about the cultural activities of the secular clerks largely replaced by monks during the Benedictine revival of the later Tenth century. The development of Dunstan's interest in books and string-playing appears to have been fostered amongst the clerks and Irish pilgrims of Glastonbury, and although Dunstan was a unique figure,

it is doubtful whether his uniqueness lay in his literary and musical interests. There may have been many *filii nobilium* whose young lives followed a similar pattern.

To put the case bluntly: it is hard to see why the major OE poems are more likely to have been written by eighth and early-ninth century monks than by such men as these. It is true that the unreformed Benedictinism of the eighth-century was liberal in temper and probably sympathetic to vernacular poetry, but there seems little reason to believe that the secular clerks (who are known to us almost entirely from the writings of 'hostile' monks) were any less liberal in their attitudes. Furthermore, cultural liberalism is neither a necessary nor a preferred condition for theories about the genesis of OE poems; all of the major OE poetry manuscripts were copied - and their contents therefore presumably sanctioned - at a time of ardent reform.

The Eighth century was a period of monastic cultural efflorescence in the north, but it is questionable whether the production of significant works of art always (or even *usually*) coincides with periods of stability and growth. Leonin of Paris created a repertory of organum in the Twelfth century nourished by the maturing intellectual life of his city; Wulfstan of Winchester created one[2]

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2 Planchart, *Repertory of Tropes*, 1, p. 54.

> ...at a time when the first wave of the monastic revival initiated by St. Dunstan was almost spent, and when the Anglo-Saxon kingdom was about to enter a period of invasions and internal rifts that led to its destruction at Hastings in 1066.

It is true, of course, that the Eighth century was the age of Bede, but Bede is a credit to his era rather than to himself only in so far as we believe that no other era could have produced him. The fact that others did not does not mean that others could not. Great men are always something of a miraculous accident, and we must remember that the credit for producing Dunstan goes to an age when English monasticism had almost expired.

The Eighth century was also the age of Alcuin, and it is from this period that we derive his famous reference to instrumentally-accompanied heroic narratives amongst the monks of Lindisfarne. It may well be, as has often been proposed, that such an incursion of secular narratives into the monastic hall created the milieu from which *Beowulf* and other OE poems derived. Yet such a view, if it is to be closely tied to Alcuin's reference, favours a date for *Beowulf* which is nearer to 800 than 700, for Alcuin's epistle was composed in 797. The hypothesis that minstrels performed in the circumstances Alcuin describes sometime *after* 797 seems, on the strength of the evidence, to have as much to recommend it as the assumption that they did so sometime *before* that date.

FUTURE RESEARCH

I have deliberately evaded the question of exactly *how* the collaboration between voice and instrument took place. That is an issue to be examined during the years ahead aided by practical experiment and collaboration between scholars in different disciplines. The problem is no more or less intractable than many others currently facing OE scholars, whose attempts at criticism can often be defeated by lack of information. As Stanley has pointed out:[3]

> Exact understanding of words in their context is a pre-requisite of literary criticism, and often we lack that understanding for Old English.

In comparison the prospective player of *hearpan* has a respectable number of constraints upon his theorising: a tuning pattern, the rudiments of a manipulative technique and some melodies. Then there is a wealth of supporting evidence from musical treatises and other miscellaneous sources that classify melodic intervals and counterpoint, and which may yet lay the foundation for an enquiry into what *hearpan* actually did. It is an exciting branch of research, and one barely begun.

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3 Stanley, 'Two OE poetic phrases', p. 90.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIM	American Institute of Musicology
AS	Various editors, *Acta Sanctorum* (1643-)
ASPR	Krapp, G.P., and Dobbie, E.V.K., eds. *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* 6 vols.,(New York and London, 1931-54).
BLRD	British Library Reference Division
B-T	Bosworth, J., and Toller, T.N., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898).
B-T Supplement 1	Toller, T.N., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement* (Oxford, 1921).
B-T Supplement 2	Campbell, A., ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Addenda and Corrigenda to the Supplement by T.Northcote Toller* (Oxford, 1972).
CSM	*Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*
GS 1-3	Gerbert, M., ed. *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra,* 3 vols., (Typis San Blasianis, 1784; reprinted Milan, 1931).
L-S	Lewis, C.T., and Short, C., *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1922).
LU	*The Liber Usualis,* edited by the monks of Solesmes (Tournai, 1963).
MED	Kurath, H., ed., *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, 1956-).
MSD	Musicological Studies and Documents

NED	Murray, J.A.H., ed., *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, 10 vols., (Oxford, 1884-1933). With supplement edited by Burchfield, R.W., 2 vols., (Oxford 1972 and 1976).
NOHM 1-10	Westrup, J.A., et al., eds., *New Oxford History of Music* 10 vols. (Oxford, 1957-1974).
ODEM	Onions, C.T., ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, (Oxford, 1966).
OLD	Various editors, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1968-).
PL	Migne, J.P., ed., *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64).
RISM: I	*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales: The Theory of Music from the Carolingian era up to 1400*, 2 vols., ed., Waesberghe, J. Smits van (1, Munich-Duisburg, 1961), and Fischer, P., (2, Munich-Duisburg, 1968).
RMLW	Latham, R.E., ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (London, 1965).
RS	Rolls Series
T-L	Tobler, A., and Lommatzsch, E., eds., *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, (1915-).

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Gg. 5. 35 ['Cambridge Songs,' and Hucbald, *De Institutione Harmonica*]

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Durham, Library of the Cathedral:

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Cotton Cleopatra A.III (Glosses in Old Engish)

Cotton Cleopatra C.VIII (Prudentius, *Psychomachia)*

Cotton Tiberius A.III (Hymn (*Hodie in pace fiat)* with neumes, f.177)

Cotton Tiberius C.VI ('Tiberius' Psalter)

Cotton Vespasian A.I. (The 'Vespasian' Psalter)

Cotton Vespasian D.VI (Glosses in Old English, and hymn *Gemma Sacerdotum* with letter and neume notation. 12c? f.77^{r})

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Auct. F. 3.6 (Prudentius hymns, some with staffless neumes)

Bodley 126 (Liturgical pieces on flyleaves accompanied by staffless neumes)

Bodley 535 (Hymn to Dunstan with staffless neumes)

Bodley 572 (Miscellaneous items with neume and letter notation)

Bodley 579 (The Leofric Missal)

Bodley 775 (Winchester Troper)

Junius 11 (The Junius Manuscript of Old English Poetry)

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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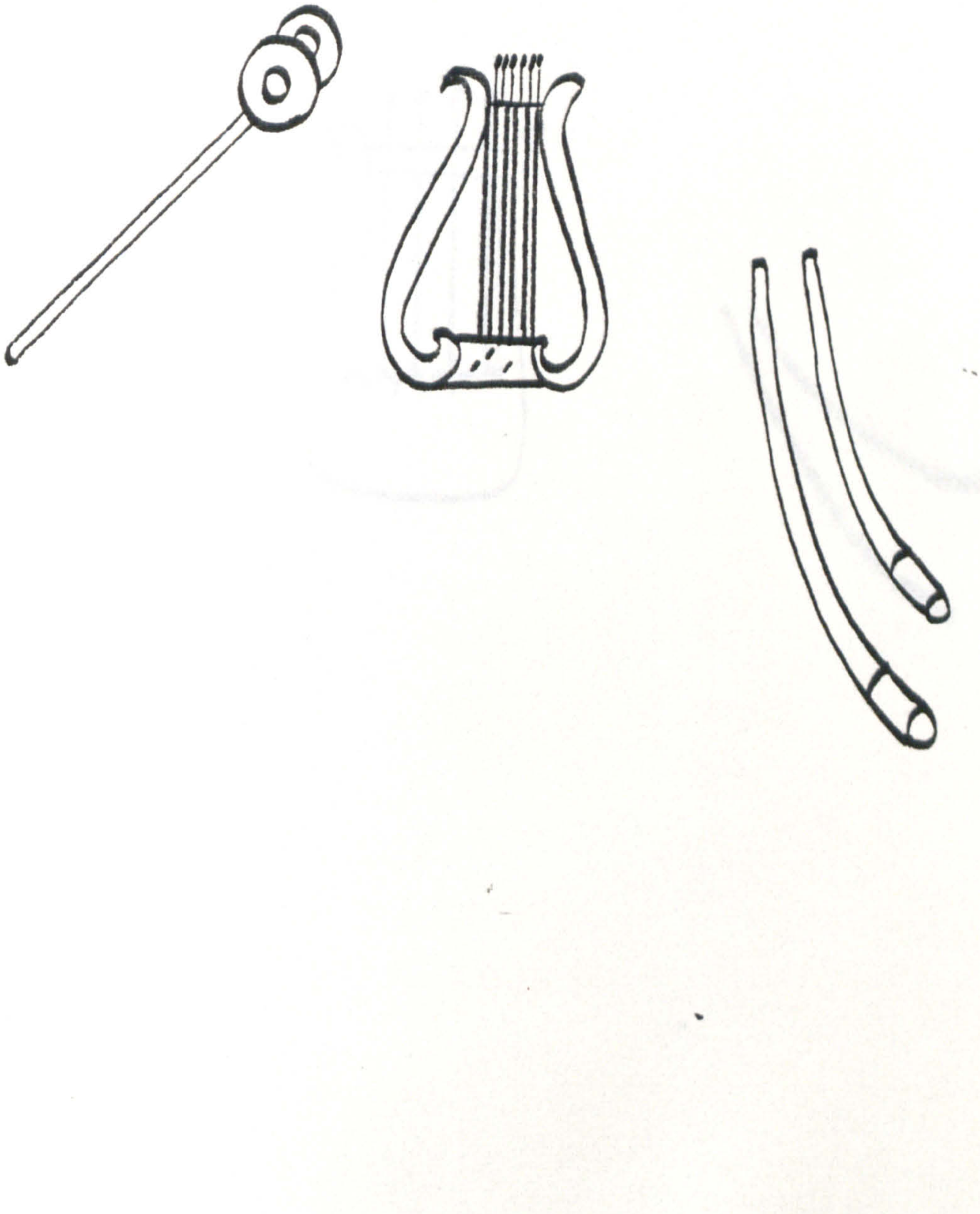
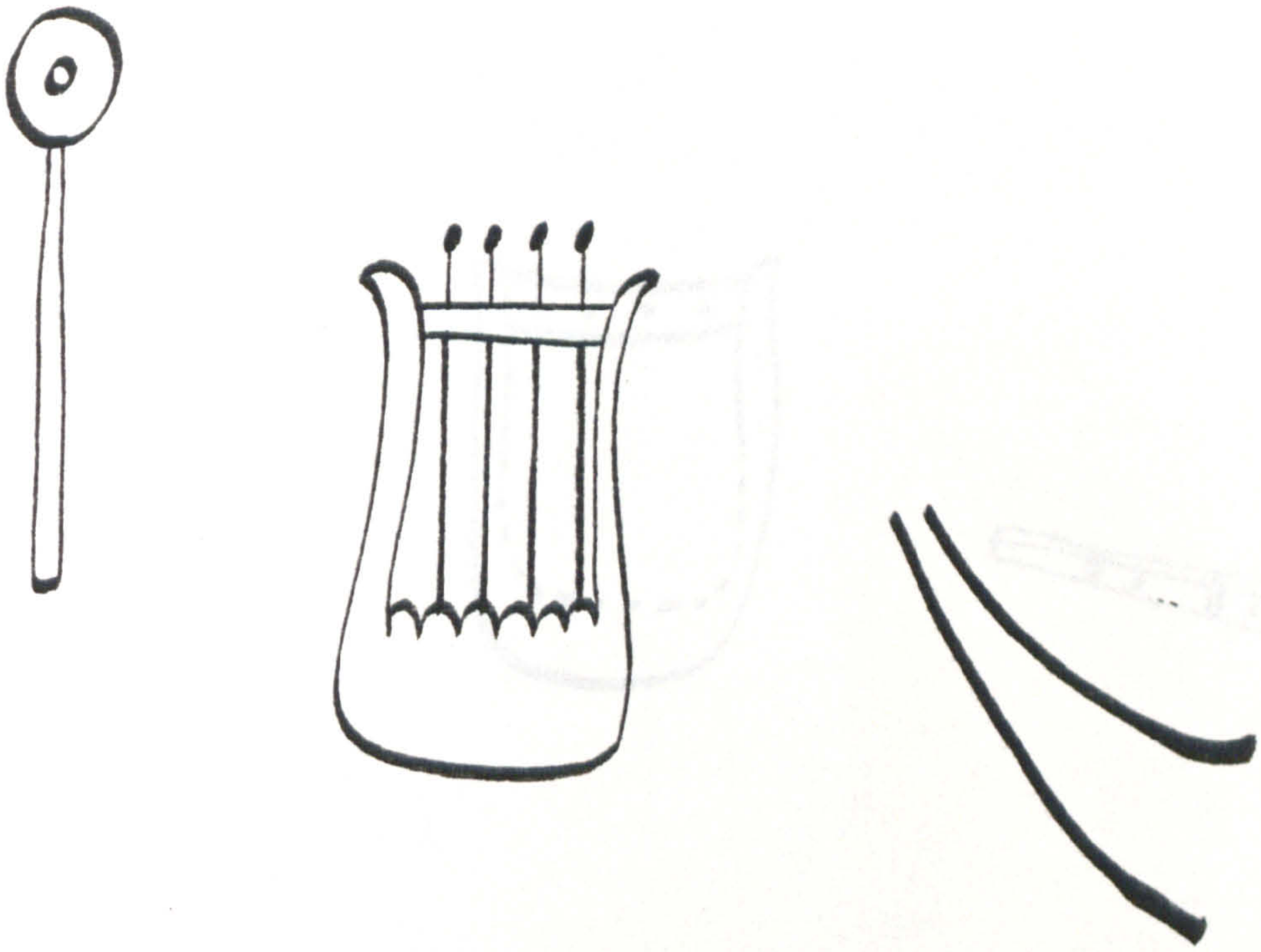
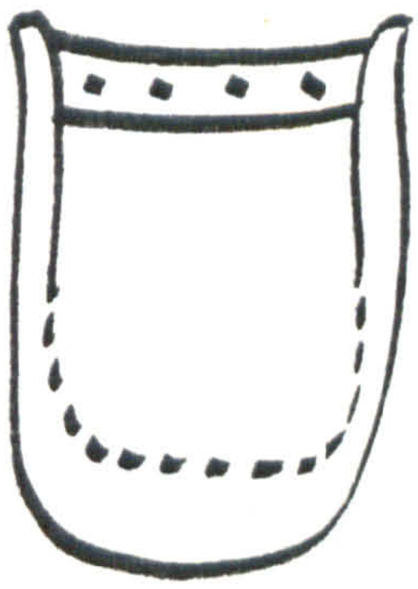
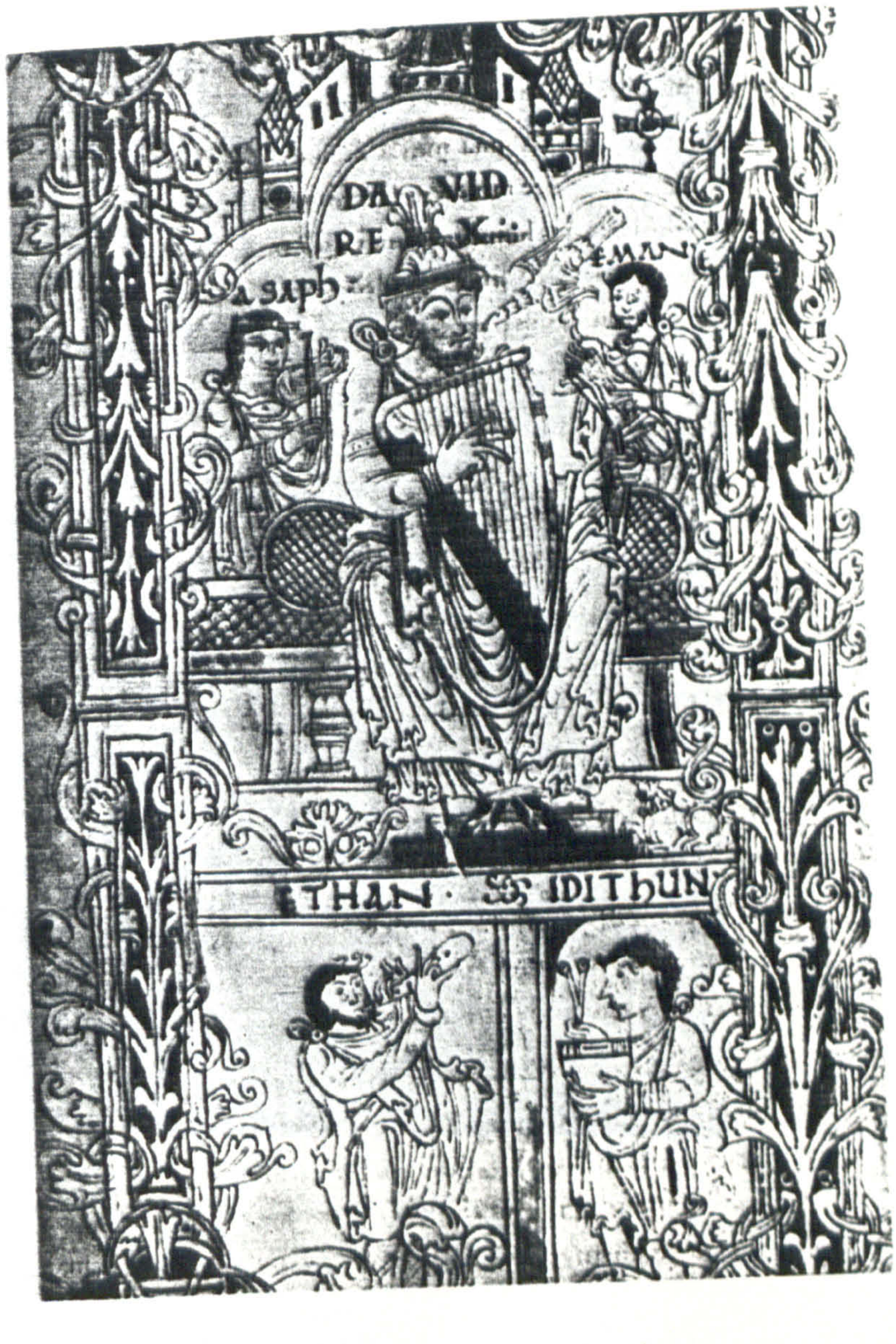






Lamech. 7 hiꝑ sunef uꝑmde pall, cearpraef. eaꝺ he ꝑꝛ
gud seerce. 7 nu hef sleger op slæh cayin. 7 eyd ꝛꝛ bolue ꝛꝛ orgn. ꝛe
dah. hiꝛn se ryfeeiꝛ hefue. hefꝺ cafneſ senine bꝺ aequde ꝑeopon healꝺ
ꝑfeer. ꝛꝑ bꝺ aeqꝺe hyrsumef hefreſt. yrcea. ꝑ hefꝺ ſſeꝛn. 7 ꝛeo pæꝛnenſe.
hulen. ... ep lamech poſſeden ... ndalimo:
hic septuaginta. septem uindicte ſ in lamech exſoluende ſunt: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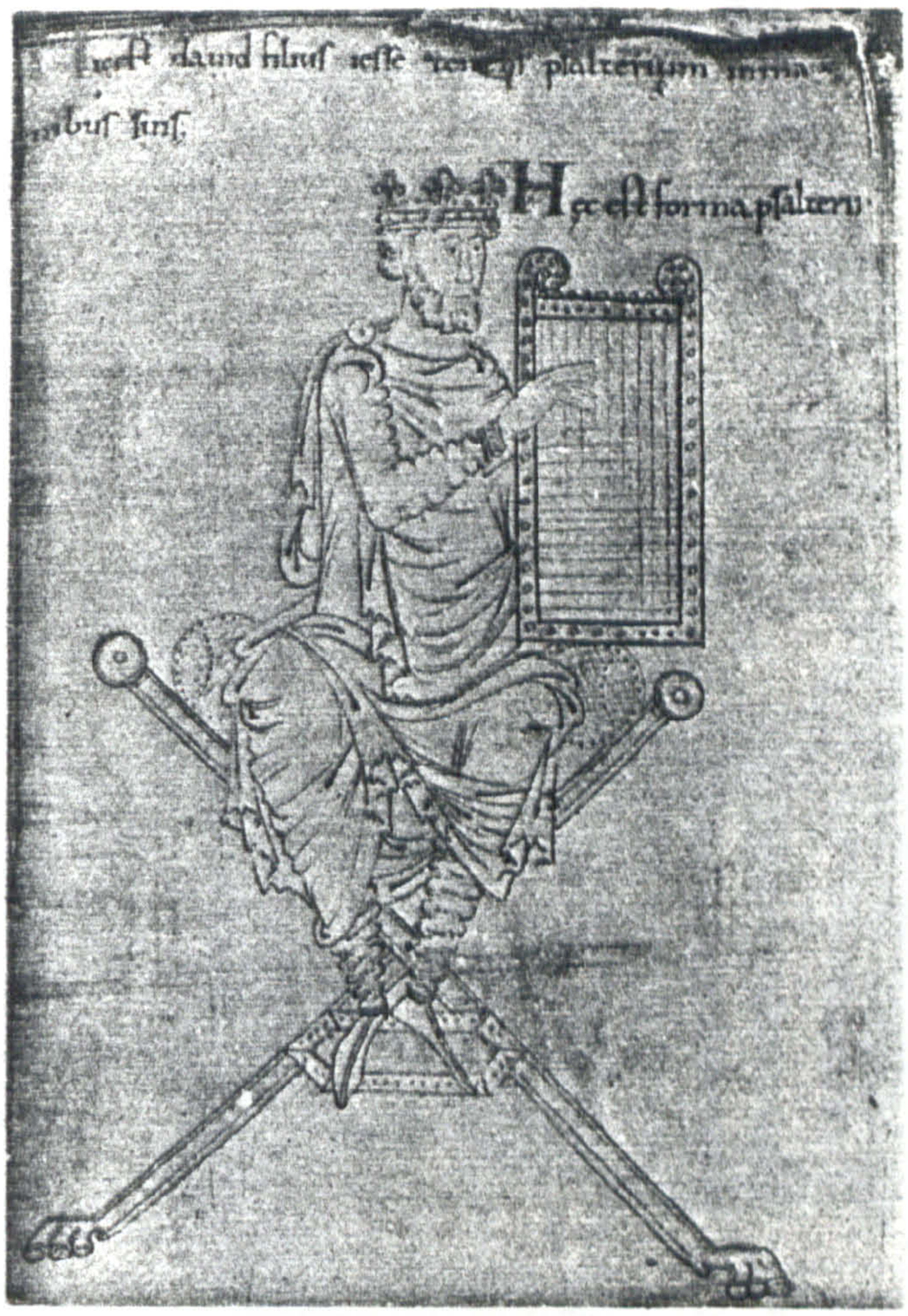
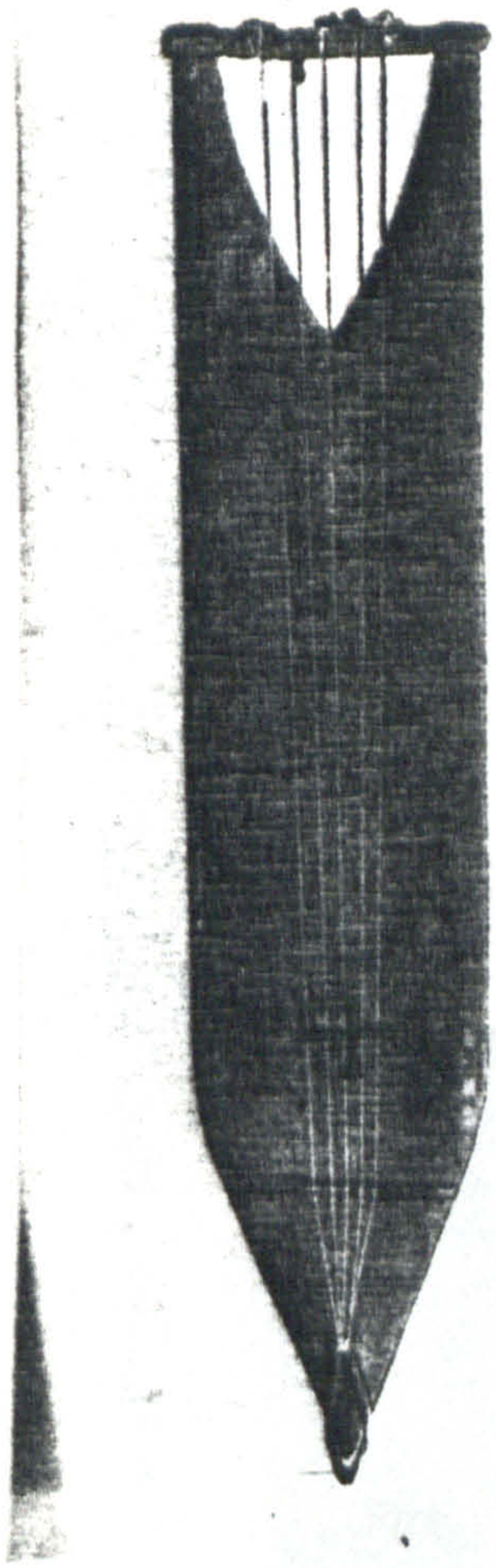

Hec est forma psalterii

cū duab. cicutis.
Psalterium hebraice nabulū dr̄ græce autē
psalt̄iū latine laudatiū dr̄ de quo
in psalmo. Laudi scribit̄ exsurge psalt̄iū
et cithara. n̄ quasi in modū citharę
sed quasi in modū dipetri quadrati con
formatę cū cordis sic scriptū ē. in psal
terio decē cordarū psallam tibi. sed hinc
inde corde ci citariae sunt ut resinet sem
per abimferis ad eadē orū regna pie
manuū concitantes abimo in altiora
ficarent. Psalterium
Ecclesia cū decem uerbis
legis contrarius. contra
omnē hereſim quadrata
per. iiii. euangelia
intellegit
Hanc dictat̄ asco
hiernymus legis
interpretes
beatissimus
Psalterū ē. quasi in mo
dū citheri quadratū. et
cordis. x. contrariae sunt
abimo in altum
Hanc formā psalterii
Hicē. dā filius
iesse tenens
psalterium
manibus suis

spūs
scūs



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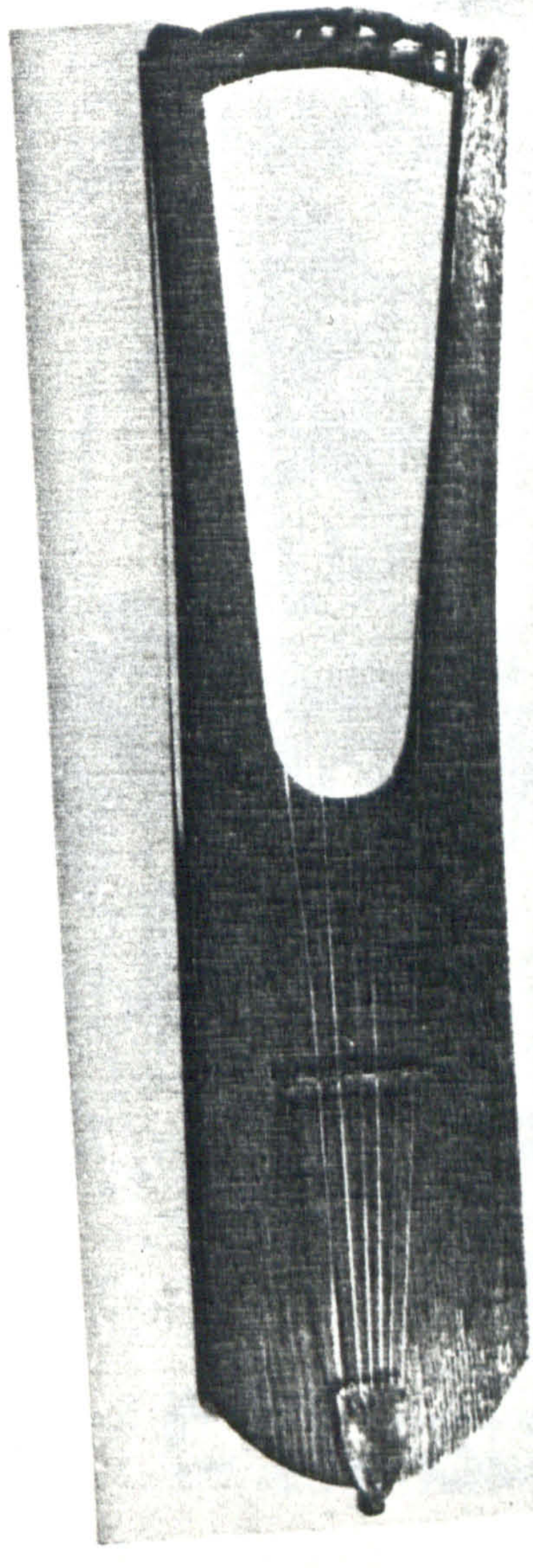


DVM
SANGVIS
AGR
Rand
VER

QVI · NON · HABET

VERSVS DE ASRIS ℈ SIGNIS CELI

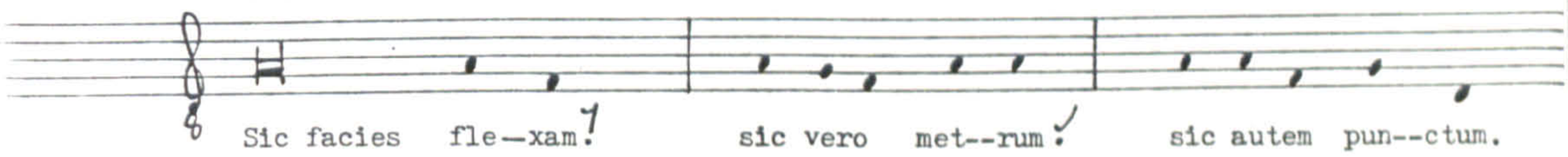
d borec partes dicoy uertuntur & anguis
Post has arctophylax parteq; coronā genuq;
Protapsus. Lirā duūs Cepheus & casiepia.
Currigā & pseus dcdwoon & andromede astrum.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example 1

Example 2



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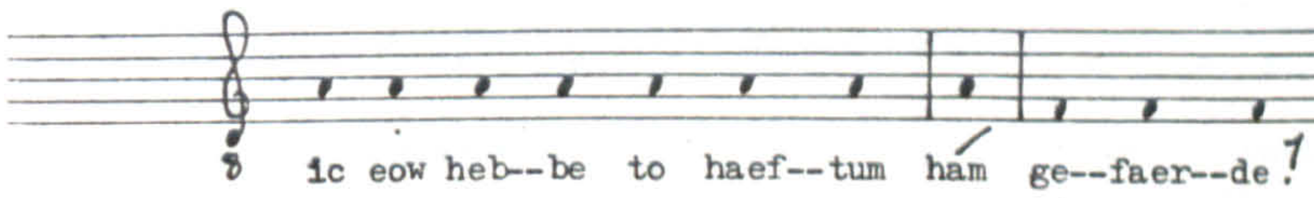
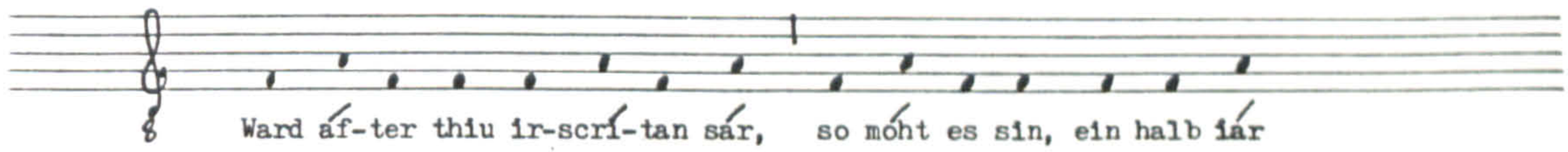


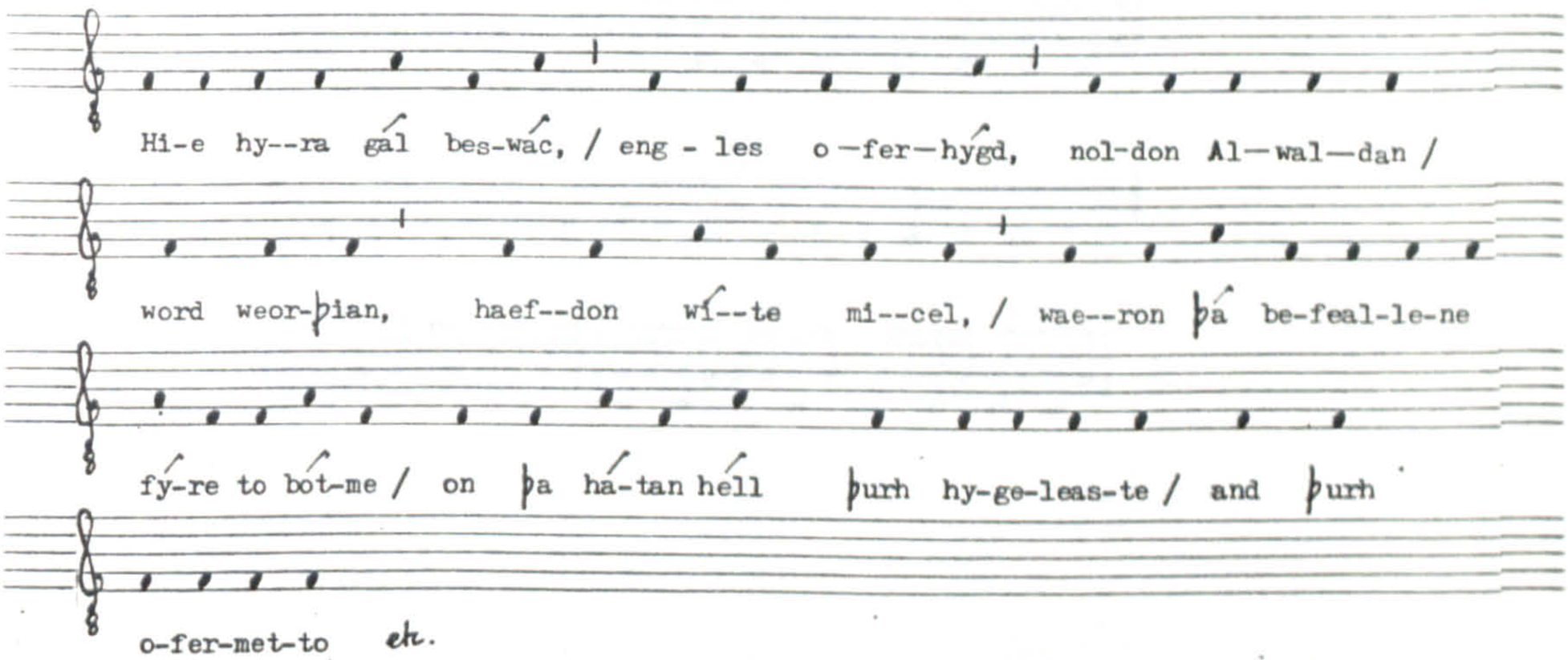
Example 4

Example 5



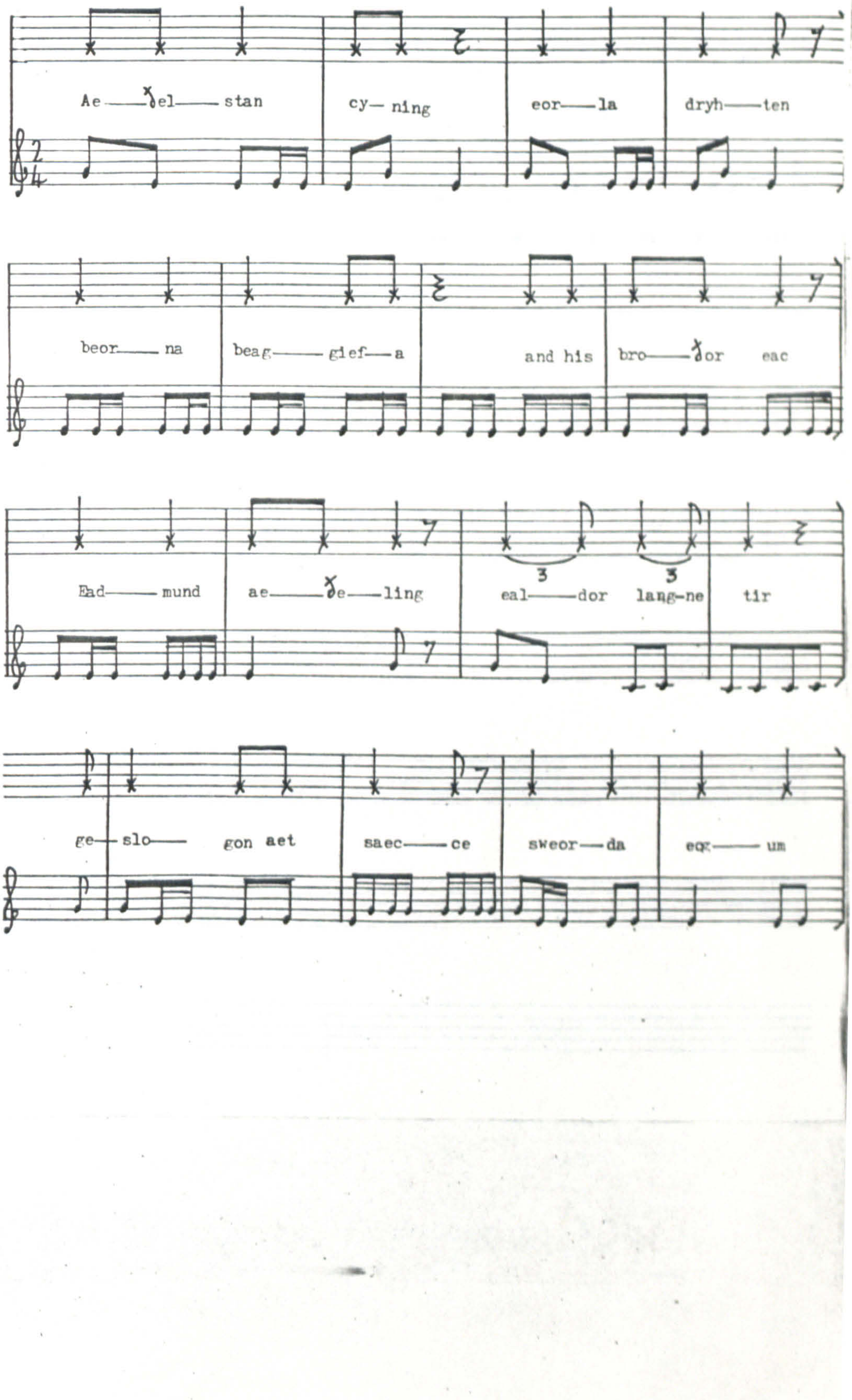
Example 6

GENESIS B lines 327b - 332b

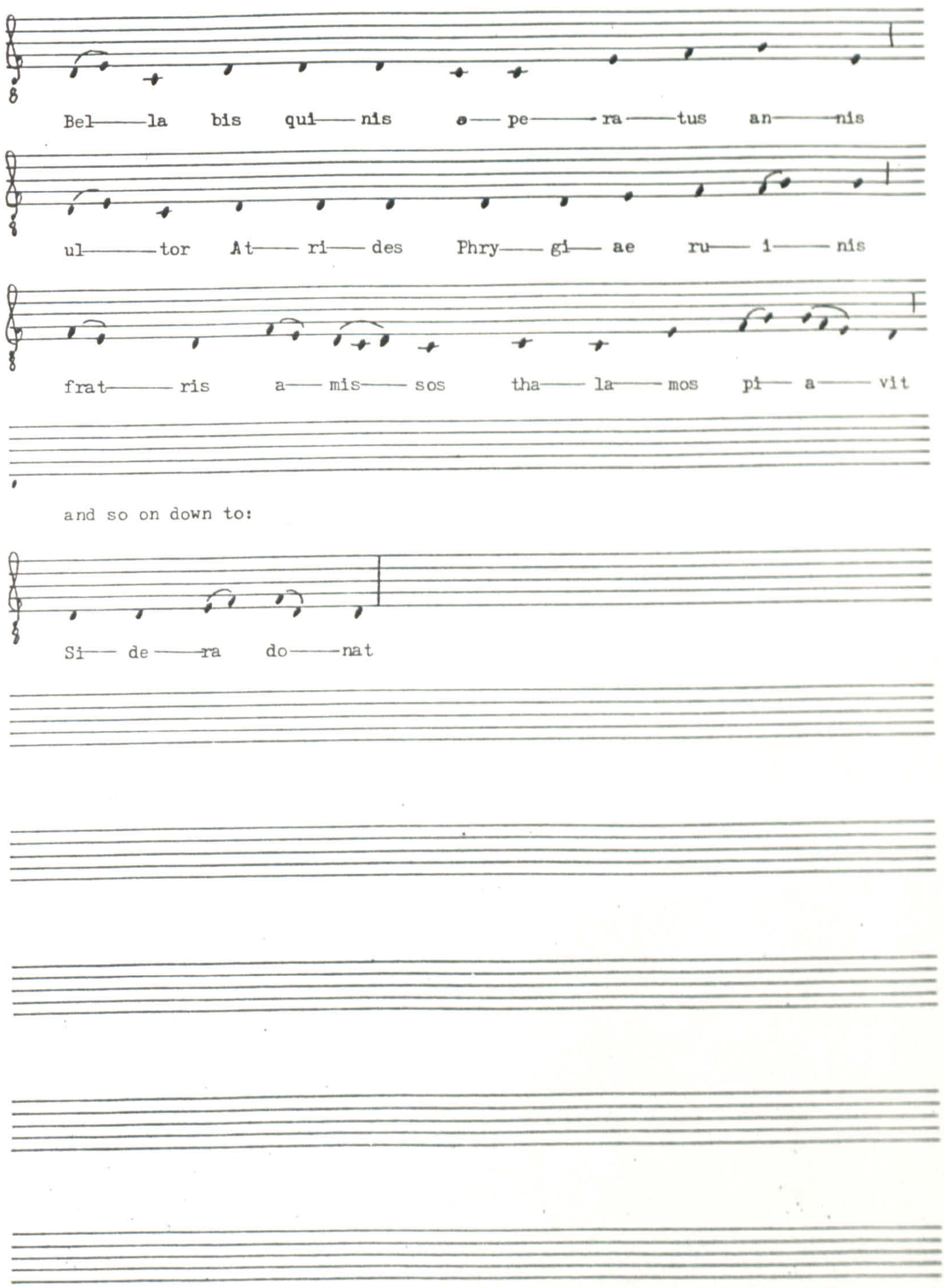


Example 7

Example 8


Ae el stan cy- ning eor la dryh ten
beor na beag gief a and his bro or eac
Ead mund ae e ling eal dor lang-ne tir
ge- slo gon aet saec ce sweor da eqx um

Example 9



and so on down to: