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FIRE, FOLIAGE AND FURY: VESTIGES OF MIDSUMMER RITUAL IN MOTETS FOR JOHN THE BAPTIST

The thirteenth-century motet repertory has been understood on a wide spectrum, with recent scholarship amplifying the relationship between the liturgical tenors and the commentary in the upper voices. This study examines a family of motets based on the tenors IOHANNE and MULIERUM from the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist (24 June). Several texts within this motet family make references to well-known traditions associated with the pagan festival of Midsummer, the celebration of the summer solstice. Allusions to popular solstitial practices including the lighting of bonfires and the public criticism of authority, in addition to the cultural awareness of the sun's power on this day, conspicuously surface in these motets, particularly when viewed through the lens of the tenor. The study suggests the further obfuscation of sacred and secular poles in the motet through attentiveness to images of popular, pre-Christian rituals that survive in these polyphonic works.

In the northern French village of Jumièges from the late Middle Ages to the middle of the nineteenth century, a peculiar fraternal ritual took place. Each year on the evening of the twenty-third of June, the Brotherhood of the Green Wolf chose its new chief. Arrayed in a brimless green hat in the shape of a cone, the elected master led the men to a priest and choir;

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The following abbreviations are used:

Ba	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit.115
Bes	Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS I, 716 (table of incipits)
Cl	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n. a. fr. 13521 ('La Clayette')
F	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1
Fauv	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146 ('Roman de Fauvel')
Hu	Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas
LoC	London, British Library, Add. MS 30091
Ma	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 20486
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Inter-Universitaire, Section Médecine, H196
MuB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 16443
N	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12615
R	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844
StV	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15139 ('St. Victor')
W2	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmst.

together the group processed to church for mass, chanting the hymn of St John the Baptist (*Ut queant laxis*). After mass and a dinner, they danced and lit a bonfire as music ensued: following the ringing of handbells, the men sang the Te Deum and vernacular parodies of *Ut queant laxis*. Just before midnight, the brotherhood surrounded their elected Green Wolf leader and pretended to throw him into the fire. After the stroke of twelve, the ceremony devolved into chaos as voices bellowed and fiddles played through the night around the fire. The next day, the raucous gaiety continued. To the sound of musketry, the brothers paraded through streets with a gigantic loaf of bread adorned with greenery and ribbons.[1]

These curious annual practices of unknown origin took place as a celebration of Midsummer, a day long observed as the summer solstice and later designated as the Christian feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist. Nineteenth-century folklorists have no doubt fancifully embellished the exercises in Jumièges, but the Green Wolf tradition has nevertheless been documented from the later fourteenth century and probably existed earlier than this date.[2] More importantly, music-making was inevitably part of the fraternal ritual from the start. No matter the precise date of origin for these Midsummer practices, this description makes a fitting entrée to this study on the convergence of sacred, secular, political and ritualistic realms in music surrounding a major festival day of the calendar year.

The fraternity sang two hymns to adorn their celebration: the Te Deum, the popular multi-purpose hymn commonly used outside the church confines in processions, and *Ut queant laxis*, a hymn liturgically proper to the feast of John the Baptist, though better known to musicologists as the basis for a sight-singing heuristic introduced by Guido of Arezzo in the early eleventh century.[3] Contrafacta and instrumental music further accompanied the festival events well into the night. Music was no doubt included when the fraternity attended mass, likely in honour of St John

[1] Summarised from J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, 3rd edn, 12 vols. (New York, 1935), x, pp. 183–4 (full text in Appendix 1 below) and A. van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1937), i[4], pp. 1737–39.

[2] An inscription in a chapel of the parish church of St-Valentin (formerly St-Pierre) in Jumièges indicates that the fraternity was founded in 1390 by Guillaume de Vienne, Archbishop of Rouen. See C. Gaignebet, *Le folklore obscène des enfants* (Paris, 2002), pp. 41–2 and id., *À plus hault sens: L'ésotérisme spirituel et charnel de Rabelais*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1986), i, p. 363.

[3] For a case study involving a public ceremonial use of the Te Deum under Henry III in late sixteenth-century France, see K. van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago, 2005), pp. 136–56. The use of *Ut queant laxis* as both a didactic chant and gloss is discussed in S. Boynton, 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), pp. 111–15. The most recent edition of Guido's 'Epistola ad Michaelem', which encapsulates Guido's discovery, can be found in *Guido d'Arezzo's* Regule rithmice, Prologus in antiphonarium, *and* Epistola ad Michahelem: *A Critical Text and Translation*, ed. D. Pesce (Ottawa, 1999), pp. 437–532.

the Baptist. But the vernacular parody of the hymn *Ut queant laxis* demonstrates a surprising reversal of the Christian influence, as the melody became subject to a playful rendering. The Green Wolf ceremony, in short, had significant and obvious interaction with the annual commemoration of John the Baptist. While the incorporation of sacred music served to remind participants of the Christian backdrop to their fraternal rite, the bonfire and mock political charade are more difficult to reconcile with the Christian feast. Moreover, some of these activities were not localised traditions, but rather remnants of widespread pre-Christian customs that formed the basis for such ceremonies across the Continent.

This study aims to chart the vestiges of well-known rituals of Midsummer that are adumbrated in music associated with a thirteenth-century motet family based on two related tenors for the nativity feast of John the Baptist (24 June). Through this lens, we will see that the motet is, to a greater degree than has heretofore been recognised, a popularising genre that exemplifies the inextricable link between sacred and secular aspects of medieval Christian celebrations. Woven into the standard subgenres of the motet (from rhymed Latin texts to courtly and pastoral vernacular texts) are words and phrases which, upon examination, can be seen to stand apart from the basic literary stereotypes. The filter that helps us identify these key references is the tenor of the motet, which not only points to a liturgical celebration but also cues a wider set of popular traditions associated with that feast. By focusing on a large family of motets united by two tenors, the study will demonstrate that these conspicuous words and phrases in the discursive upper voices serve as markers for the popular rituals that preceded Christian feasts and continued to be embedded in their fabric. Several of these motets merit rereading and reinterpretation in the light of these Midsummer suggestions. With a rich contextual understanding of the Midsummer social practices involving nature (sun, fire and foliage), as well as those repudiating authority, we will be able to witness more clearly some basic pre-Christian observances from Midsummer Day that surface in the family of thirteenth-century motets for the saint.[4] The subtle references to these varied traditions in the context of music for a saint's feast expose more broadly the false dichotomy between sacred and profane worlds, encouraging us to consider new ways of thinking about how popular culture may infuse artefacts of the lettered in late medieval society.

[4] The topics are compatible with the 'wild man' image of John the Baptist, who was said to dress in camel's hair and feed on locusts and honey (Matt. 3: 4–5; Mark 1: 6). The hirsute image of the mythic wild man as understood in the Middle Ages is described in T. Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York, 1980), pp. 1–17.

POPULAR RELIGION AND THE MIDSUMMER FESTIVAL

The case of the Green Wolf ritual not only reveals some unexpected popular uses for well-known sacred music but also demonstrates what has long been understood as the apparent intermingling of distinct 'religions' – one known from the Christian church, the other derived from antiquated pagan customs and sometimes associated with magic.[5] These two 'religions' and the ostensible triumph of the former over the latter underlay much Enlightenment historiography. Beginning with Gibbon's account of the early history of Christianity, these tidy notions led to a bifurcated conception of medieval culture that was expressed in several ways (e.g., official vs. unofficial, lettered vs. unlettered, sophisticated vs. crude, dominant vs. subordinate).[6] Such artificial boundaries have further impacted twentieth-century studies on popular religion, most pointedly in Keith Thomas's magisterial tome *Religion and the Decline of Magic*.[7]

With increasing studies on the role of popular practices in the face of Christian values, medieval historians have begun to unravel and modify the imagined polarity between dual cultures, as it were.[8] Jacques Le Goff and Peter Burke have each made valuable contributions towards understanding the interaction of elite and popular traditions.[9] In each of these

[5] For a brief overview of the shifting meaning of religion from the central Middle Ages to around 1300, see P. Biller, 'Popular Religion in the Central and Later Middle Ages', in M. Bentley (ed.), *Companion to Historiography* (London and New York, 1997), p. 221. Recent studies of popular religion have done well to loosen the understanding of religiosity as simply church worship while accounting for the role of magic, superstition and astrology in the world-view of both official and unofficial 'religious' cultures of the Middle Ages. On the difficulty in discerning beliefs of the illiterate from the records of the privileged, see R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 16–17. For an analysis and critique of the term 'popular religion', see C. Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England: Holding their Peace* (New York, 1998), p. 6.

[6] For example, on the 'final destruction' of paganism by the fifth century, see E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3 vols. (New York, 1948), ii, pp. 46–71.

[7] K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971).

[8] Studies of the laity in medieval culture and its relationship to the church have been pursued most rigorously over the past forty years, beginning with the conference proceedings from *I laici nella 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII* (Milan, 1968). Other important studies include R. Manselli, *La religion populaire au Moyen Age: Problèmes de méthode et d'histoire* (Montreal, 1975); J. Delumeau (ed.), *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1979), esp. i, pp. 195–364, and A. Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. D. E. Bornstein, trans. M. J. Schneider (Notre Dame, Ind., 1993).

[9] Le Goff has suggested that an elite/clerical religion and lay/popular religion were separate but in constant dialogue, as clerics transformed popular practices both through repression and reinvention of the existing folk traditions. He has also argued for 'internal acculturations' (*acculturations internes*) among these groups by which elite and popular culture borrowed from one another. See, for example, Le Goff, 'Culture cléricale et traditions folkloriques dans la civilisation mérovingienne', *Annales: Economies–Sociétés–Civilisations*, 22 (1967), pp. 780–91. Burke conceives of a two-pronged model of early modern culture consisting of a 'great tradition' based on literacy and university culture, as opposed to a more localised 'little

proposed theoretical models, however, the influence is still uncomfortably uni-directional: the two social 'classes' apparently collide, but the official Christian culture ultimately prevails in its suppression of wayward pagan customs.[10] The musical evidence involving the motets for John the Baptist and the celebration of the summer solstice suggests something different; namely, that the cultural lines of influence worked in both directions. The all-important liturgical tenors governing this family of motets at once delicately Christianised the commentary of the upper voices, while also licensing a space for allusions to popular practices associated with this special day of wide-ranging traditions.[11]

The present study is not the first to focus on the commingling of sacred music of the late Middle Ages with traditional or popular practices. Musicologists studying this period have increasingly recognised the influence of popular rituals in shaping our understanding of some of the most venerable 'high' register music that has come down to us.[12] Christopher Page has devoted the most substantial discussion to the popularising elements that may lie amidst some of the 'high' music of the period. By

tradition' comprising unwritten traditions of the unlettered. He theorised that while the unlettered mass culture was in many ways isolated from the 'great tradition', the opposite was not always true – members of the cultural elite were deeply aware of the 'little traditions' and often participated in popular rituals. See P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), esp. pp. 22–8. The great/little divide has also been applied in some scholarship on South Asia. See R. Redfield and M. Singer, 'The Cultural Role of Cities', in R. Sennett (ed.), *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1969), pp. 206–33. Many thanks to Stefan Fiol for bringing this early anthropological work to my attention.

[10] Many see the church and clergy as monopolists of manuscript culture and thus interpretation of the world. Often, it is explained that Christianity encounters a folk culture which is fundamentally opposed to its principles, assuming some of its practices to render the prevailing ideology more effective. See, for example, E. Delaruelle, *La piété populaire au moyen âge* (Turin, 1975).

[11] For a postmodern critique of received views of medieval musicology applied to the French song repertory from the later thirteenth century (roughly contemporaneous with the creation of the polytextual motets of this study), see J. Peraino, 'Re-Placing Medieval Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 54 (2001), pp. 209–64.

[12] In his introductory descriptions of the soundscape of late medieval Bruges, Reinhard Strohm drew brief attention to the sacred music that was performed as part of civic street pageants and 'living pictures' (*tableaux vivants*) for visiting nobles. See his *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1990), pp. 6–7. More recently, Anne Walters Robertson noted aspects of popular religion in helping explain the fascination with the *Caput draconis* (head of the dragon) in late medieval society and the resultant musical artefacts on this theme. In her search for the meaning behind the mysterious *Caput* tradition in music, she identified widespread paraliturgical and popular enactments involving the stamping out of a mock dragon. The drama seems to be played out symbolically in some of the music associated with the *Caput* melody, for example through a 'serpentine' migration of the cantus firmus (Obrecht's *Missa Caput*) or by 'downing the tenor' (*descendendo tenorem*) via a relegation of the melody to the bass range, per Ockeghem's instruction in his *Caput* mass. See Robertson, 'The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the *Caput* Masses and Motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59 (2006), pp. 537–630, esp. 572–80, 584–95.

taking steps to contextualise music of the late Middle Ages in his study of the origins and function of the early motet, Page criticised the view of motets as belonging to the cultural elite in France, arguing instead that the genre had little of the esteemed heritage and audience that scholars have artificially imagined for their use. His proposed alternative considers the thirteenth-century motet as both a miniature and a light parody, well suited to dances known as *caroles* or festivals of a decidedly secular bent. In his rereading of the treatise of Johannes de Grocheio (fl. 1300), Page further demonstrated that many late thirteenth-century motets were not just the creation of clerics, but were likely sung at festivals of the laity just as other lighter musical genres.[13] His evidence points to a medieval culture in northern France that showed little demarcation between literary and popular realms, despite the social position of the clergy.[14]

Who or what could effectively mediate the perceived gap between the sacred and the profane? In many ways, this role fell on the saints, who routinely served mundane causes, despite their characteristically elite status.[15] The development of the Western liturgical calendar exemplifies this premise in the case of John the Baptist. With Christianising intentions, the Church Fathers organised the annual slate of celebrations and commemorations with an astute eye towards the existing practices of ancient Rome. It is well known that the conception of Christ on 25 March

[13] C. Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford and New York, 1993), pp. 43–64. In particular, the use of diminutives in descriptions of motet performances (*magistri organorum* singing *notule*) indeed does seem to suggest a popularising register appropriate for the festival milieu. For a revised translation of Grocheio's observations on secular music, see id., 'Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: Corrected Text and a New Translation', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 2 (1993), pp. 17–41. For medieval clerics' interest in a genre known as *chans de karoles*, see J. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 178–86. On the pre-Christian origin of fairs and their secular atmosphere, see T. F. G. Dexter, *The Pagan Origins of Fairs* (Perranporth, 1930).

[14] Of course, many thirteenth-century motets with purely sacred texts could easily have been performed within the liturgy and do not pose a problem with regard to their creation by clerics. As an example of such motets, see R. Baltzer, 'Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin', in P. M. Lefferts and B. Seirup (eds.), *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders* (New York, 1991), pp. 5–42.

[15] Like the solstitial rituals that were brought under the aegis of John the Baptist, countless examples of secular-looking practices were seemingly protected in the sacred realm with the oversight of saints. The laity, for instance, often copied prayers to saints in conjunction with peculiar charms without hesitation. In parts of France during the late Middle Ages, women giving birth swallowed scraps of cloth or paper with prayers to saints written on them in the hopes of a safe delivery for their child. St Margaret and St Anne were especially popular intercessors in this regard. See M. Bouteiller, 'Rites et croyances de la naissance et de l'accouchement dans les provinces traditionelles françaises', in M. Bouteiller, H. Lehmann and A. Retel-Laurentin (eds.), *La vie medicale* (Paris, 1963), p. 88; B. Cousin, 'L'ex-voto: Document d'histoire, expression d'une société', *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*, 48 (1979), p. 109; and J. Gélis, *History of Childbirth: Fertility, Pregnancy, and Birth in Early Modern Europe*, trans. R. Morris (Boston, 1991), p. 149.

(Annunciation) was associated with the spring equinox in the Roman calendar (a.d. VIII Kalendas Apriles), which in turn situates Christmas (25 December, or a.d. VIII Kalendas Ianuarias) around the time of the winter solstice. The feasts of John the Baptist's conception and birth complete the connections to the four so-called 'quarter days' – the summer and winter solstices and the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.[16] These four critical times of year no doubt won popular acceptance because they were in fact solar phenomena, physically observable and demonstrative of the cyclical nature of the heliological year.[17] The calendrical equilibrium also established a special connection between John the Baptist and Jesus, whose complementary nativities are all but lost on Christians today.

Symmetrically dividing the solar year and the Christian liturgical year, the nativities of Christ and John the Baptist immediately became associated with the solstices to which they were assigned. The symbolism that connects the Jesus's nativity with the shortest day of the astronomical year was especially potent, particularly when one considers that one of Christ's titles was 'sun of righteousness' (*sol iustitiae*), an appellation which will return in music for John the Baptist. On 25 December, both the sun and Christ were thought to be born anew. Jesus's nativity is further regarded as a deliberate Christianisation of a Roman festival on the winter solstice called the Birth of the Invincible Sun (*Dies Natalis solis invicti*), set on 25 December in the Julian calendar.[18]

[16] Since Luke 1: 36 informs us that Elizabeth was six months pregnant at the time of the Annunciation, the Baptist's nativity thus became situated six months before that of Christ in the year (24 June, or a.d. VIII Kalendas Iulias), at the time of the summer solstice. Consequently, John's conception fell on 24 September. The late fourth-century treatise, formerly attributed to John Chrysostom and now considered anonymous, *De solsticia et aequinoctia conceptionis et nativitatis domini nostri Iesu Christi et Iohannis baptistae* ('On the solstice and equinox of the conception and nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ and John the Baptist') arrives at this precise placement of nativities and conceptions, but from a different set of logical deductions. The author takes its starting point neither from 25 March nor from Christmas, but with the conception of John the Baptist. He opens the argument by noting the time of the year that the angel Gabriel's pronouncement to Zechariah about the conception of John would have occurred – during the festival month of Tishri. This particular timing would situate John's conception around the autumnal equinox (24 September or a.d. VIII Kalendas Octobres). After establishing this conception date, the author easily derives the three remaining quarter days (birth of John and the birth and conception of Christ), which must occur on the two solstices and vernal equinox. For an edition of *De solsticia et aequinoctia*, see the appendix in B. Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie* (Louvain, 1932), pp. 88–105.

[17] Falling halfway between the winter solstice and the vernal equinox is the feast of Candlemas, a celebration derived from an ancient Roman torch ceremony that took place during the February festival of Lupercalia.

[18] The earliest documentary sources for the feast of Christmas in fact make no mention of the coincidence with the winter solstice. Although the emperor Aurelian's dedication of a temple to the sun god in the Campus Martius (274 CE) probably took place on the 'Birth of the Invincible Sun' on 25 December, the cult of the sun in pagan Rome ironically did not

A stronger solar parallel in fact occurs in the case of John the Baptist and the celebration at Midsummer. John the Baptist's nativity on 24 June occurred on Midsummer Day – a day of solar crisis – when the length of sunlight and its power was thought to be at its greatest in the year. Just as the increasing daylight from the depths of darkness at Midwinter became associated with the Christ, so too was there a realisation among early and medieval Christians of the necessary decreases in daylight that would follow after the feast of the Baptist. This 'decreasing' effect beginning at the summer solstice became symbolic of John's ministry, which was said to diminish once Christ's ministry ascended to prominence. John's 'opposing' nativity to that of Christ even seems to have concretised the theology contained in the final witness of John the Baptist, who proclaimed, according to the gospel of John (3:30), that his ministry must eventually cede to Christ's: 'He [Christ] must increase; I must decrease.'[19] The parallel between the seasonal rhythms and Christian theology resonated throughout the Middle Ages, in commentary from Augustine to the thirteenth-century Bishop of Mende, Guillelmus Durandus.[20]

There is no first-hand evidence that suggests that the placement of the Baptist's nativity was a deliberate attempt by the earliest defenders of the

celebrate the winter solstice nor any of the other quarter days, as one might expect. See A. Urbain, *Ein Martyrologium der christlichen Gemeinde zu Rom am Anfang des V. Jahrhunderts* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur; Leipzig, 1901), pp. 13–18 and T. J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (Collegeville, Minn., 1991), p. 85.

[19] 'Illum oportet crescere, me autem minui.' The use in the Vulgate of the words *crescere* and *minui*, which suggest a common lunar metaphor, strengthens the analogy. The powerful influence of the moon on the summer solstice and the attendant imagery of the Midsummer season has been demonstrated by B. Coussée, *La Saint-Jean, la canicule et les moissons* (Lille, 1987), pp. 31–48.

[20] The crucial analogy was recognised among the early Christian theologians, most notably by Augustine: 'Et Joannes ipse: Illum, inquit, oportet crescere, me autem minui (Joan. III, 30). Quod et diebus quibus nati sunt, et mortibus quibus passi sunt, figuratum est. Nascitur namque Joannes ex quo dies incipiunt minui: nascitur Dominus ex quo dies incipiunt crescere' ('And as for John himself: He, he said, must increase; and I must also decrease (John 3: 30). And so it was formed with the days in which they are born and in their deaths. For John is born when the days begin to diminish: and the Lord is born when the days begin to increase in length'). See Augustine of Hippo, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–79), xl, p. 42. Guillelmus Durandus, in his well-known treatise *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, took a similarly Christianising view of the solar movements: 'Sed tunc sol descendit in circulo; sic et fama Iohanis qui putabatur Christus descendit, secundum quod ipse testimonium perhibet dicens: Me oportet minui, illum autem crescere, quod, dicunt quidam, dictum esse eo quod tunc dies incipiunt minui et in Nativitate Christi crescere' ('The sun then descends in a circle; and thus the repute of John, who was thought to be Christ, descends. According to this testimony, John asserts it thus, saying: I must diminish, and he must increase, for they say that it was said by him that the days begin to diminish, but at the birth of Christ, the days increase in length'). See G. Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau, 3 vols. (Turnhout, 1995–2000), iii, p. 58.

faith to Christianise a pagan sun festival. Yet the confluence of John's feast day with the perceived solstice allowed several widespread rituals to perpetuate the solar analogy. The twelfth-century Parisian theologian Johannes Beleth testified to the dual nature of John's feast on Midsummer Day in 1162, writing that it was 'celebrated by both Christians and pagans because it holds allegorical and ritualistic significance'.[21] The Christian veneer on the Midsummer celebration took an astonishingly long time to mask the vestiges of peculiar solstitial customs, several of which survived into the late Middle Ages – a few, like the Green Wolf Ceremony, enduring into modern times. The popular Midsummer practices of lighting bonfires, rolling fiery wheels down mountainsides, criticising public authority and other seasonal customs were all Midsummer staples maintained as defensible rituals under the auspices of John the Baptist.[22] Historical anthropologists who address Midsummer traditions have noted traces of these pre-Christian practices throughout the Christian era, with the contribution of musical artefacts understandably left out of the scholarly conversation.[23] An array of evidence within a large family of thirteenth-century motets based on two tenors, IOHANNE and MULIERUM, alludes to the survival of these proliferous Midsummer rituals, shedding new light on the subtlety of the genre and demonstrating the permeability between elite and popular culture in the late Middle Ages.

THE JOHANNINE FAMILY OF MOTETS

As Christopher Page has suggested, it is likely that some thirteenth-century motets belong to a festival atmosphere and are less inclined to be enjoyed by an ill-defined cultural elite. If we accept that certain clerical creations were destined for popular outdoor-type occasions, then we can more easily understand the syncretism of sacred and secular worlds found in the early motet. The family of motets on tenors for John the Baptist is especially apt for this type of hybrid interpretation, because it was the locus par excellence for intimations of solstitial practices, which were evidently

[21] 'multi in Nativitate eius gaudebant quod observant Christiani & pagani tum propter allegoriam & mysterium'. See J. Beleth, 'De vigilia Sancti Ioannis', in *Rationale divinorum officiorum Ioanne Beletho theologo Parisiense authore* (Antwerp, 1562), pp. 302–3.

[22] For an important monograph demonstrating some of these Midsummer rituals in medieval satire, see S. Billington, *Midsummer: A Cultural Subtext from Chrétien de Troyes to Jean Michel* (Turnhout, 2000).

[23] This study is not the first to address the nativity feast of John the Baptist from a musical point of view. See M. Ferer, 'The Feast of John the Baptist: Its Background and Celebration in Renaissance Polyphony' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1976). While Ferer diligently provided the popular practices associated with the feast, she pursued more of a catalogue of Renaissance polyphony and did not provide analysis of the texts and music in connection with these curious rituals.

ingrained even in the lettered of late medieval society. An overview of the tenor foundations and large motet families in which several of these Midsummer citations occur will set the stage for revealing these heretofore unnoticed references.

In the Ars antiqua sources of the thirteenth century, there are two distinct tenors derived from a single Alleluia for the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist (*Alleluia. Inter natos mulierum*) that form the basis for the thirteenth-century motets for this saint.[24] The melismas on the words 'mulierum' and 'Iohanne' are the two longest melismas in the verse of this Alleluia and were selected to serve as the governing voice of more than two dozen motets. The words 'mulierum' and 'Iohanne' (literally, '[of] women' and 'John') were well deserving of melismatic treatment, having been spoken by Christ and recorded in the Gospel of Matthew (11: 11): 'Among those born *of women*, none has arisen greater than *John* the Baptist' ('Inter natos *mulierum*, non surrexit maior *Iohanne* baptista'). It comes as no surprise that this lone gospel verse inspired a large family of musical works: the words were broadly emblematic of John himself and often depicted in late medieval illustrations of the Precursor saint, particularly in the suffrages (i.e. short prayers to saints) in books of hours.[25]

The Alleluia verse from which these tenors derive is given in full in Example 1.[26] The 'mulierum' extract would have been an attractive motet

[24] For a concise description of the problems surrounding the development of the early motet and the relationship to assumed parent clausulae, see M. Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry, and Genre* (Cambridge and New York, 1994), pp. 1–5. On the centrality of the tenor in the thirteenth-century motet, one can point to Johannes Grocheio, who describes the tenor as 'the part upon which all the others are founded, as the parts of a house or edifice [rest] upon a foundation, and it regulates them and gives substance, as bones do, to the other parts' ('Tenor autem est illa pars supra quam omnes aliae fundantur quemadmodum partes domus vel aedificii super suum fundamentum et eas regulat et eis dat quantitatem quemadmodum ossa partibus aliis'). For this passage in Grocheio's *De Musica* treatise, see E. Rohloff, *Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo nach den Quellen neu herausgegeben mit Übersetzung ins Deutsche und Revisionsbericht* (Media Latinitas musica, 2; Leipzig, 1943), p. 57.

[25] To give but one example, in an early fifteenth-century book of hours written and illustrated in Rouen by the Master of Sir John Fastolf for William Porter of Lincolnshire, the image of John the Baptist in the suffrage contains the saint in his usual garment of skins cradling the 'Lamb of God' in his left arm while pointing it out with his right index finger. This gesture encapsulates the text from John 1: 29 ('Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum mundi'). The text of the suffrage – called an 'antiphon' – features the 'Inter natos' text from Matthew, a clear symbol of John in all Christendom. See Master of Sir John Fastolf, *Hours of William Porter*, Rouen, *c.* 1420–5, New York, Morgan Library, MS M.105, fol. 24^{r}.

[26] This Alleluia is found in four thirteenth-century Parisian sources: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS lat. 1112 (fol. 175^{r}), 15615 (fol. 269^{v}), 830 (fol. 230^{v}) and 9441 (fol. 139^{r}). The verse is not preserved in the oldest layer of surviving chant sources catalogued in *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Brussels, 1935). The transcription relies chiefly on the first manuscript listed above. The melisma on 'mulierum' typifies this first-mode orientation, except for the second line, which unfolds an unusual gesture (D–F–a–c), not common in D- or E-mode alleluia verses. The gesture D–F–a–c – a filled-in variation of the initial D–a–c

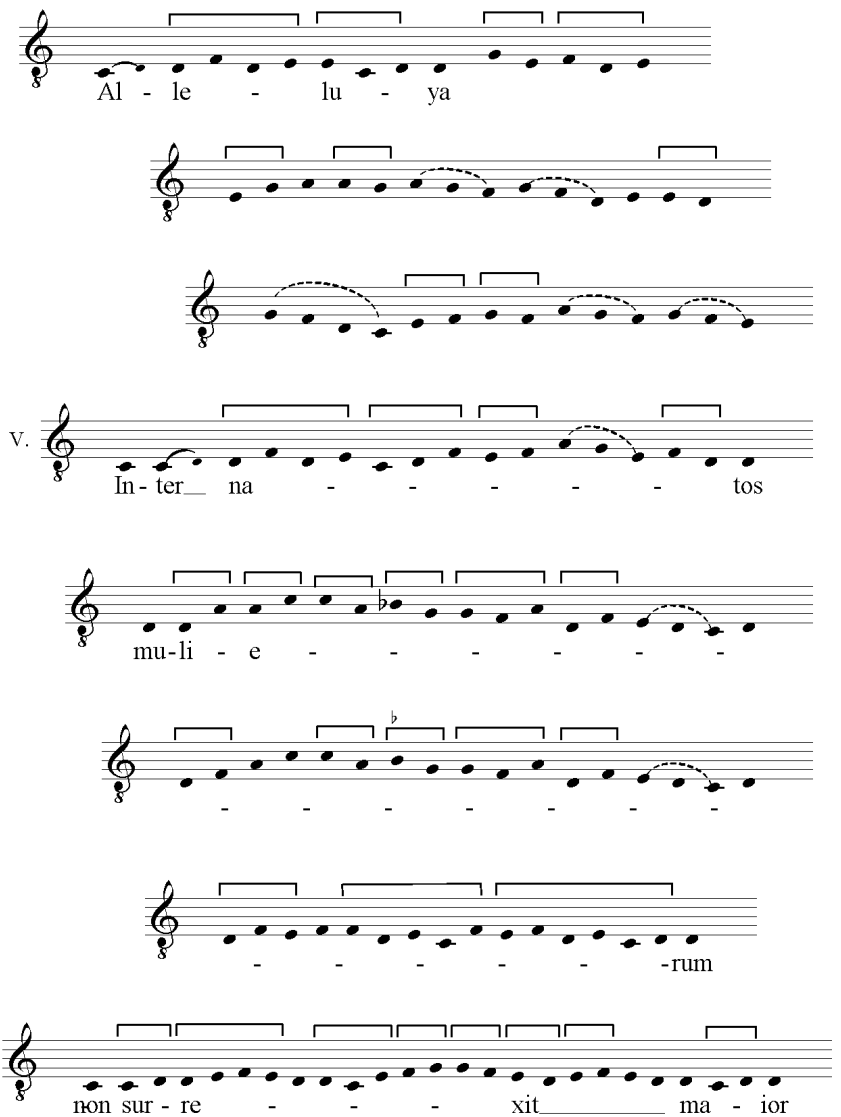
tenor for two reasons. Not only is this particular melisma a self-contained first-mode melody, a popular mode for the thirteenth-century motet repertory,[27] but the internal similarity between the first and second line of music above also suggests a kind of built-in repetition, akin to two statements of a *cursus*.[28] Some important similarities bind the gesture on 'mulierum' to that of 'Iohanne', the penultimate word of the Alleluia verse. Both melismas have strikingly comparable length (fifty-one discrete pitches for 'mulierum', forty-six for 'Iohanne'), while also maintaining an unambiguous D-mode profile amidst the E-mode Alleluia verse. The 'Iohanne' melody has three cadences on D, like its counterpart, as well as internal repetition (aligned in the transcription), which again could have been an appealing feature for a tenor *cursus*. Given the parallels between these melodic segments, the two melismas begin to approach a level of interchangeability. As a consequence, the analogous profiles of these two tenor melodies allow the possibility for the individual motet families founded on these melismatic extracts to be considered as a single, John-based (hereafter, 'Johannine') collection for further analysis.

In the last two decades, medieval musicologists have sufficiently demonstrated that the texts of the upper voices in the motet repertory

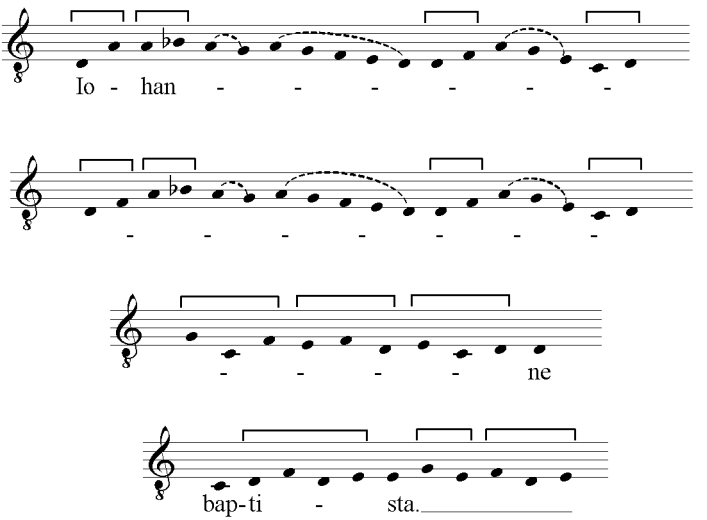
gesture – is rarely found in the corpus of Alleluias and their verses. When it does occur, as in the verse of *Alleluia. Deliciarum ortus floridus* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 716, fol. 109^{v}), the four notes are not represented as a single ligated gesture and often are split between words or phrases. See *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, vols. 7–8, ed. K. Schlager (Kassel, 1956). The chain-of-thirds motif was, however, common in the German vernacular repertory parallel to the troubadour and trouvère traditions. See H. van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères* (Utrecht, 1972), p. 50. The ascent of consecutive thirds further has a connection to one of the most memorable and striking musical gestures of the Marian antiphon *Salve Regina*, sung to the text 'Ad te suspiramus'. The musical (and spiritual) resonance of the MULIERUM tenor with the *Salve Regina* might suggest that the Latin motets in particular on MULIERUM could have been used as substitutes for the *Salve*, as the conclusion to Compline. Though not suitable within the church, the vernacular motet texts *Souvent me fait souspirer and En grant effroi sui souvent* (with emphasis) in Appendix 2 below might still act as assonant tropes on the word 'suspiramus' of the *Salve Regina*, which were heard outside the confines of the liturgy. On the subject of assonant tropes, see A. Walters Robertson, '*Benedicamus Domino*: The Unwritten Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 41 (1988), pp. 1–62.

[27] The E-mode that governs this Alleluia as a whole was not a typical mode for the earliest Parisian motets, which on the whole were set in D- or G-modes. As a representative sample of early motets, the Latin motets of Fascicles VII and VIII of the manuscript W2 reveal not a single E-mode motet. See *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206)*, ed. G. A. Anderson, 2 vols. (Brooklyn, 1968–76).

[28] This form is not uncommon in Alleluias. See L. Treitler, 'On the Structure of the Alleluia Melisma: A Western Tendency in Western Chant', in H. Powers (ed.), *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk* (Princeton, 1968), pp. 59–72. Tenor repetition is also a typical feature in thirteenth-century motet settings and, in the context of a textless discant clausula, may signal its possible function as a compositional *étude*. See *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. E. Roesner *et al.*, 6 vols. (Monaco, 1993–6), v, p. xl.



Example 1 *Alleluia. Inter natos mulierum.* Transcription after *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. Roesner, iii, p. 232



Example 1 *Continued*

often expound the tenors on which they were constructed.[29] But only recently has attention been drawn to the benefits of examining the families of motet texts based on single tenors.[30] Various texts associated with the IOHANNE and MULIERUM tenors are expected foremost to build on the tenor scaffolding by engaging in poetic and musical 'exegesis' on the

[29] Among the important earlier studies, see D. Pesce, 'The Significance of Text in Thirteenth-Century Latin Motets', *Acta musicologica*, 58 (1986), pp. 91–117; ead., 'Beyond Glossing: The Old Made New in *Mout me fu grief/Robin m'aime/Portare*', in ead. (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York and Oxford, 1997), pp. 28–51; G. R. Hoekstra, 'The French Motet as Trope: Multiple Levels of Meaning in *Quant florist la violete/El mois de mai/Et gaudebit*', *Speculum*, 73 (1998), pp. 32–57; and most importantly the book-length study by S. Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford, 1997). Until recently, it was generally assumed that the liturgical tenors of the mid-thirteenth-century vernacular motets had little, if any, correspondence with the upper-voice texts. For instance, there is no discussion of the liturgical tenors in R. E. Smith, *French Double and Triple Motets in the Montpellier Manuscript: Textual Edition, Translations, and Commentary* (Ottawa, 1997). Everist confirms the long-standing assumption that the upper-voice narratives do not seem to interact with the tenors, but he notes – as an exception – the significance of the tenor in a small category of vernacular texts, which are devotional in nature (*French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 127).

[30] R. A. Baltzer, 'The Polyphonic Progeny of an *Et Gaudebit*: Assessing Family Relations in the Thirteenth-Century Motet', in Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet*, pp. 17–27; D. J. Pacha, 'The Veritatem Family: Manipulation, Modeling and Meaning in the Thirteenth-Century Motet' (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 2002). The first part of David Rothenberg's study on the emphasis on springtime in Marian texts examines several text settings composed on the tenor IN SECULUM. See his 'The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200–1500: Two Case Studies', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59 (2006), pp. 319–98, esp. 329–54.

figure of John the Baptist in the later Middle Ages. Conversely, tenors may also cleverly summarise or reinforce the substance of the motet texts. Aside from the Latin texts that describe the Baptist or events in his life, the Johannine motets also deliver specific images related to the secular rituals surrounding his feast, such as the lighting of bonfires, the criticism of authority, the wearing of floral garlands and dancing. However, before examining these upper-voice texts and their attendant rituals more closely, we must briefly take stock of the complete family of motets that these tenors bequeathed.

A family of twenty-seven motets has survived on the Johannine tenors MULIERUM and IOHANNE, which is significant, since only four out of some two hundred tenors from the extant Notre Dame repertory inspired more motets.[31] Appendix 2 indicates the motets constructed above these respective tenors and highlights some internal groupings of motets within the individual tenor families, along with the types of settings and any key Midsummer ideas that will occupy the remainder of the study. The full set of motets on MULIERUM and IOHANNE unveils a wide array of genres not uncommon for a large thirteenth-century motet family. Although there are no bilingual motets, the collection includes Latin and vernacular examples ranging from two to four voices, along with a three-voice conductus-motet (*Prodit lucis radius veri solis previus*/MULIERUM).[32] The scope of thematic material in these motets is naturally wide as well, as indicated in the column marked 'Themes/Keywords'. In addition to images strictly referring to John's conception, his preaching, or his presence (*in utero*) at the scene of the Visitation, the subjects raised in the upper voices include Marian supplications and amorous pursuits of both courtly and pastourelle registers, all typical for the motet as a host

[31] The four tenors that provided the foundation for more motets than the Johannine family are: IN SECULUM (73), FLOS FILIUS EIUS (51), PORTARE/SUSTINERE (37), APTATUR (30).

[32] Within the eleven MULIERUM motets, a subgroup of six motets (boxed in Appendix 2) forms a small motet complex, related to each other musically, though not rooted in a known parent clausula. For a brief description of the motets on MULIERUM, see M. L. Göllner, 'Rhythm and Pattern: The Two-Voice Motets of the Codex Montpellier', *Viator*, 30 (1999), pp. 145–64, at pp. 153–4. Two separate motets on MULIERUM share W1-65 as their clausula ancestor, whereas the three remaining motets on this tenor have little in common beyond their tenor, only one of which has a source clausula (F-146). With regard to the sixteen motets on the IOHANNE tenor, a single pre-existent clausula (F-148) accounts for a subset of five motets, while no motets are based on the other known clausulae in connection with this tenor. Another subset of five motets is notable for its addition of new layers to two-voice models. In addition to the usual two- and three-voice offerings in this subset, there is a rare four-voice setting from the Montpellier Codex (*Celui de cui je me fi que je fi/La bele estoile de mer cui amer doit l'en sans fauser/La bele en cui je me fi merci cri*/IOHANNE). There are two additional settings of IOHANNE clausulae for which motets do not survive: F-147 (cf. W1-66) and F-258.

genre.[33] We must also add the subject category of corruption to the list, since this topic – comparatively infrequent in the thirteenth-century motet repertory – appears twice in the subgroup of motets based on IOHANNE clausula F-148 and will engender fuller discussion later.

While Appendix 2 in many ways fulfils the generic expectations of a motet family of this size (such as having a Marian emphasis[34]), there is an unexpected uniformity of certain ideas across these motets, with up to two-thirds of the family alluding to pre-Christian solstitial rituals. Most readily apparent in this collection of motets is the general emphasis on women, no doubt inspired by the use of the tenor MULIERUM ('of women'). Among its many meanings, the season of Midsummer held promise for love and procreation – to say nothing of lewd behaviour. Anca Vlasopolos has compellingly explained the resolution of human sexual discord that historically takes place on Midsummer's Eve, noting that lovers seek to enter into harmony with one another, just as individuals become attuned to the natural elements at this critical time in the solar year.[35] Perhaps the raw suggestiveness 'of women' in the tenor was enough to justify copious commentary on female characters from the Virgin Mary to the shepherdess Marion and all amorous things in between.[36] So fascinated were these poet-composers with the evocative word 'mulierum' that the first word of four of the Latin upper-voice texts and two vernacular texts in Appendix 2 creates deliberate assonance with the tenor rubric (*Mulier misterio sterilis*, *Mulierum natus est major*, *Mulieris marcens venter dum virescit*, *Mulierum hodie major natus oritur*, *Mout souvent m'ont demandé* and

[33] On the interaction among vernacular and liturgical genres contained in the motet, see Huot, 'Intergeneric Play: The Pastourelle in Thirteenth-Century French Motets', in W. D. Paden (ed.), *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context* (Urbana, Ill., 2000), pp. 297–314. On the conflation of courtly and popular registers in the thirteenth-century *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, see A. Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 142–3.

[34] Three of the Latin motets in honour of the Virgin Mary (nos. 372, 386 and 391) have been noted in R. Baltzer, 'Why Marian Motets on Non-Marian Tenors? An Answer', in T. Bailey and A. Santosuosso (eds.), *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 112–28 at 113. Baltzer sees the Marian emphasis as reflection of the high rank and constant reinforcement throughout the liturgical year of the Virgin at the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris in the thirteenth century.

[35] A. Vlasopolos, 'The Ritual of Midsummer: A Pattern for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 31 (1978), pp. 26–9. For more details on the carnivalesque spirit and unbridled sexual escapades socially sanctioned on Midsummer's Eve in particular, see E. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York, 1997), p. 118.

[36] Recent scholarship has emphasised the compatibility of women from ostensibly lower vernacular registers with the Virgin Mary. See P. Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago, 1985), pp. 68–74; Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, pp. 85–127; and most recently, Rothenberg, 'The Marian Symbolism of Spring', pp. 323–9. On the blending of sacred and erotic interpretations of Mary in visual culture, particularly in sacred spaces, see M. Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 220.

Mout ai esté en doulour).[37] Despite the appeal of the word 'mulierum', the four Latin motet texts on MULIERUM each revert to the subject of John the Baptist. Thus, the aural emphasis on 'mulier-' at the outset is quickly supplanted by deeper theological reflections on the Precursor saint in the upper voice, expounding John's status as the greatest man born to a woman.[38] These cases demonstrate in miniature the dual nature of motets as both an outlet for commentary and a playful combination of disparate (and occasionally convergent) sounds.

It is true that tales of women and love may broadly concord with the Easter season and May Day as much as Midsummertide, but more evidence surfaces that will cause us to associate these motet texts specifically with the pre-Christian solstitial rituals of Midsummer. The core of this study will introduce several solstitial practices and chart oblique references to more specific Midsummer cues in thirteenth-century motet. With a firm understanding of some basic themes surrounding the summer solstice and their revelation in properly Johannine music, we may continue to chip away at the supposed elite qualities of some of the accepted 'sacred' music of the period by witnessing the infusion of popular elements into some of our most hallowed musical artefacts of the period. The sheer appearance of these rituals confirms the slippery nature of elite and popular culture as analytical categories, hinted at by Johannes Beleth in his description of the Midsummer festival in Paris. The allusions further complicate our search for a context for the medieval motet. Given the centrality of the solstitial connection to John's nativity feast, any study of John the Baptist must first address the fundamental solar analogy.

[37] Christopher Page has discussed the sheer sonic effect of two of these texts at the outset of the French double motet *Mout souvent m'ont demandé/Mout ai esté en doulour*/MULIERUM, whose upper voices otherwise speak of the allure of a merciless woman. Despite the slight discrepancy in pronunciation Mu [my] and Mout [mut] (using International Phonetic Alphabet), Page suggests that this may be evidence of a vocal performance of the tenor MULIERUM. See Page, *Discarding Images*, p. 103. The word *mout* (variations: *molt*, *moult* or *mot*) can mean 'much', 'many' or 'very' depending on the word that follows. My thanks to Emmanuelle Bonnafoux for confirming this subtlety.

[38] The four 'mulier-' motets on the tenor MULIERUM exemplify two prominent aspects of the earliest motets: the phonetic attention to the musical surface and the exegetical capabilities of the upper voice. These two facets have typically been presented as mutually exclusive properties in the scholarly literature. Page (*Discarding Images*, pp. 84–93) acknowledges the subtlety of the thirteenth-century motet as the interaction of phonyms on the musical surface, while generally dismissing the interpretative connections between upper voices and tenor. For a view of the purely sophisticated, intertextual potential of motet texts, see Huot, 'Polyphonic Poetry: The Old French Motet and its Literary Context', *French Forum*, 14 (1989), pp. 261–78; Pesce, 'The Significance of Text'; and Hoekstra, 'The French Motet as Trope'. For a case study that compellingly recognises the exegetical considerations of both music and text (though of a slightly later period), see M. Bent, 'Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), pp. 15–27.

SOLAR SENSITIVITY

It was natural for any religious tradition of the ancient world, let alone many cultures today, to draw upon the movements of the sun and other seasonal rhythms in designing sacred observances throughout the year. The sun's longest day of the year at Midsummer was an especially palpable occurrence, well before John's nativity was assigned to 24 June. But the placement of the saint's nativity on this day automatically generated associations between the Precursor and the sun (or light, more generally). One need not look further than the New Testament for additional support, where upon hearing of the Baptist's death, Jesus responds: 'He was a burning and shining lamp, and for a while you rejoiced in his light.'[39] Durandus even referred to John the Baptist as *lucifer* ('light-bearer').[40] Analogies involving John the Baptist and the sun, however, could risk entanglement with Christ, who is considered the true light of the world and whose nativity feast near the dark winter solstice intensified the moment at which the light was received.[41] The three-voice conductus-motet *Prodit lucis radius veri solis previus*/MULIERUM (from the manuscript F) addresses these central themes of light surrounding John and Jesus.[42] As a conductus-motet, the same poetry is given to both triplum and motetus, and the usual questions of intelligibility from the double motet evaporate. The piece does not name the Baptist as its subject; instead, the motet produces a series of descriptions, emphasising John's predecessory nature and reinforcing the well-known relationship to the 'true sun'. The poet carefully portrays John as a 'ray of light', portending the full radiance of Christ's light to come:

Prodit lucis radius	A ray of light emerged,
Veri solis previus	Harbinger of the true sun,
Regis nuntius,	A messenger of the king,
Viam patrie	Throwing open the road to heaven
Pandens verbo gratie,	By the word of grace,
Rectas parans semitas;	Preparing the right ways;
Legis patet veritas,	The truth of the law lies open,
Locum prestat venie,	Making manifest a place of pardon
Spem glorie.	And the hope of glory.
Tenor: MULIERUM	Of women

[39] John 5: 35.

[40] Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, iii, p. 55. 'Joannes dictus est lucifer, quia obtulit novum tempus … quia nativitas fuit quasi aurora; nativitas vero Christi fuit quasi ortus solis' ('John was called light-bearer, for he brought a new season … for his nativity was like daybreak; truly, though, the nativity of Christ was like the rising of the sun').

[41] There is some evidence of motet texts hailing the Virgin Mary as a 'light', even the 'light of lights' ('lumen luminum' or 'lux luminum') in four motet texts, namely *Ave lux luminum ave splendor* (784), *Virgo virginum lumen luminum* (127), *O Maria decus angelorum mater* (225) and *Salve salus hominum* (221).

[42] Of the motet texts on MULIERUM that speak about the life of the Baptist, *Prodit lucis radius* is the only upper-voice text that does not begin with a form of the word 'mulier'.

Despite its symbolic engagement of light and the sun, this motet text does not directly steer us towards the festival of Midsummer. Instead, *Prodit lucis radius veri solis previus*/MULIERUM avoids mixing literary registers in any obvious way. But the powerful light-sun metaphor does reappear in other motets, raising awareness for the peculiarities of the season of Midsummer. The two-voice vernacular motet *A la revenue dou tens qui s'esclere*/MULIERUM provides closer connection to the season of Midsummer now within the context of a pastourelle. The bucolic encounter described in the upper-voice text begins as one might expect, with an exordium hailing the season and the male protagonist's discovery of a young maiden in a natural setting.

A la revenue dou **tens qui s'esceler**	At the return of the **time which is bright [with sun]**,
Truis pastore qui gardoit sa prioe	I found a shepherdess guarding her flocks
Les un chemin pres d'un bois, ou ele **s'ambroie**;	Next to a path near a wood, where she found **shade for herself**;
Vers li tournai mon oirre,	I went towards her,
Mis moi en sa voie	I put myself on her path,
Je la salvia en haut: 'Bele Deus vos voie!	And I greeted her in a loud voice: 'Beautiful one, may God be with you!
Ces **aigniaus**, gardez les vous, qui sont en cele arbroie?	Are you looking after these **lambs** in this plot of grass?
Le gage me bailliez, la guimple de soie.'	Pledge me your troth, your silken wimple.'
'Biau sire, por Deu! Merci! Batue serioe.'	'Fine sir, for God's sake, mercy! I would be punished!'[43]
Tenor: MULIERUM	Of women

In this duplum text, the typical sexual tension abounds as the protagonist makes an unsolicited advance on the maiden, but is rejected by her.[44] Although of contrasting register, the pastoral narrative harmonises quite well with the Johannine tenor from the Baptist's nativity feast. In both the musical and textual climax of the motet, the maiden's rebuff of the male may obliquely parallel John's rejection of Herod the Tetrarch.[45] But her admonishment may also signal a broader popular tradition of repudiating authority on the feast of St John, a subject to be addressed more fully in the discussion of corruption texts.

[43] Translation in Anderson, *The Latin Compositions*, i, pp. 238–9, with revisions to the first line.
[44] A Marian reading of the conventional pastourelle plot can be seen in Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, p. 65.
[45] I thank Professor Karl Kügle for suggesting this interpretation.

Further connecting to the tenor and the season of Midsummer is the innocent-sounding first poetic line of the duplum, as it emphasises the time of year – *tens qui s'esceler* ('time which is bright [with sun]').[46] While this seasonal description may simply take the guise of a stock *début printanier* (evocation of springtime), its vagueness could transport the encounter to late spring or early summer, namely around the time of the solstice, when a shepherdess would seek shade to protect herself (*s'ambroie*) from the sun's intensity. The underpinning of the MULIERUM tenor assists in linking the 'time which is bright' to the solstitial moment. Typically, pastourelle texts involve an escapade in the month of May (as days are getting longer and brighter). But the imprecise temporal reference and focus on solar intensity permit a reading of this tale as being closer to the summer, or even at the solstice.[47]

A final passing image from *A la revenue dou tens qui s'esclere*/MULIERUM strongly connects to the Johannine domain. The presence of the shepherdess in the motet text is wholly typical of the pastourelle genre, but nevertheless may allegorise the narrative in the light of the suggestive tenor. Though she is very much a standard figure in vernacular motet texts, references to her flock are surprisingly scarce and thus warrant attention.[48] As students of the motet have become accustomed to recognising the maiden as a parodic rendering of the Virgin Mary, so too may the rare mention of lambs, or more broadly sheep, parodically intersect with topoi related to John the Baptist. Christ is the 'Lamb of God', but it was a title proclaimed by John who pointed out the Messiah, saying: 'Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum

[46] The verb appears to be a variant of *esclarir* and should have been expressed in the third person singular (as either *s'esclaire* or *s'eclere*). My thanks to Professor Peter Dembowski for assistance with this passage.

[47] Summer is a season rarely mentioned in the vernacular motet repertory. Out of some 400 vernacular motets surveyed from thirteenth-century sources, I have located only two motet texts that mention the season of summer (*Au comencement d'este* [118] and *Quant voi revenir d'este la saison* [126]). Both texts are found in conjunction with the tenor HEC DIES for Easter. Eastertide can sometimes be taken to extend all the way until the beginning of summer, hence it is not surprising to find some overlap in the motet repertories between Easter tenors and the Johannine tenors. The texts surveyed include those found in *The Latin Compositions*, ed. Anderson; *Compositions of the Bamberg Manuscript: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115*, ed. G. Anderson (Rome, 1977); *Motets of the Manuscript 'La Clayette': Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. fr.* 13521, ed. G. Anderson (Rome, 1975); and Smith, *French Double and Triple Motets*. The two-voice vernacular motet *La bele en cui je me fi merci cri*/IOHANNE (Appendix 2) further contains Midsummer resonance, owing to its seemingly casual mention of *nuit et jour* ('night and day'). In the presence of the IOHANNE tenor, this stock phrase from the troubadour repertory cues the notions of the extended day and abbreviated night, the latter of which offered a time for crude and unpredictable activities.

[48] In this case, I have only found three thirteenth-century motets that mention sheep along with a shepherdess: *L'autrier chevauchoie* (227), *C'est a Paskes en avril* (1045) and *Au douz mois de mai* (275).

mundi.'[49] Saints have long served quotidian applications for Christians; in the case of John, his association with the Lamb was reflected in daily life. It was John, in fact, who was considered the patron saint of shepherds, sheep and the wool industry, among his many speciality areas of intercession.[50] The annual 'labour' of sheep-shearing was assigned to the month of June, and depictions in the visual arts further conjoin the seemingly secular nature of shepherding with John the Baptist's nativity feast day.[51] In sum, the maiden's rejection, the *début printanier* and the reference to lambs are much in keeping with the general characteristics of the pastourelle. But when these elements are combined in a motet above a Johannine tenor and when the bright days of springtime are turned into hot summer afternoons through the mention of the maiden's need for shade, the interpretative power of the host genre looms large, exposing the subtlety of the allusions in the upper voice.

Christological and Johannine images collide again as we return to themes of light and the sun, where, in fact, two of the four MULIERUM motet texts beginning with 'mulier-' reveal the descriptor 'sun of justice' (*sol iustitie*). This appellation was traditionally reserved for the Messiah and resonated with the seasonal importance of his nativity on the darkest day of the year.[52] The 'sun of justice' designation appears once in the Old Testament in the Book of the prophet Malachi, but was long interpreted

[49] John 1: 29. This traditional association is suggested in the motet *Clamans in deserto docens in aperto* (379)/IOHANNE.

[50] See Coussée, *La Saint-Jean*, p. 47 and Ferer, 'The Feast of John the Baptist', p. 38.

[51] For example, an early sixteenth-century Flemish illumination from the Breviary of Eleanor of Portugal by Master of James IV of Scotland (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.52, fol. 4^{v}) emphasises the close relationship between the feast of the Baptist and sheep, as various sheep-shearing activities are placed in the lower border of the calendar month of June. Not only is the Baptist's nativity feast a red-letter day in this month, but the manuscript also reveals a scene from the Baptist's birth in the third medallion from the top on the left border. I have found nine additional examples in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts from the Pierpont Morgan Library collection alone that feature sheep-shearing in the month of June. See MSS 399 (fol. 7^{v}), 451 (fol. 4^{r}), 452 (fol. 7^{r}), 1053 (fol. 6^{r}), 28 (fol. 6^{r}), 632 (fol. 6^{r}), 117 (fol. 3^{v}), 144 (fol. 6^{r}) and 170 (fol. 3^{v}). Countless representations in the visual arts of this period also prominently feature the Baptist pointing out the Lamb with his finger or holding him in his palm, activities often accompanied by a banner inscribed 'Ecce Agnus Dei'. Other common ciphers for the Baptist in late medieval art include the depiction of a wilderness setting and meagre garments to signal the Forerunner's ascetic lifestyle. For the full range of portrayals of the precursor saint in visual culture, see A. Masseron, *Saint Jean Baptiste dans l'art* (Paris, 1957).

[52] I have found one instance where *sol iustitie* is applied to the Virgin Mary. In the motet *O Maria, maris stella*/VERITATEM, part of the motet text reads: 'Mater simul et puella / Vas munditie / Templum nostris redemptoris / Sol iustitie / Porta celi, spes reorum / Thronus glorie' ('At once, [you are] both mother and maiden, vessel of cleanliness, Temple of our Redeemer, Sun of Justice, Gate of Heaven, Hope of Sinners and throne of Glory'). For a case involving the political significance of the appellation 'sol iustitie', see R. Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 37.

as a metaphor for coming of the Saviour.[53] Numerous medieval commentary traditions further strengthen the Christological interpretation of the title 'sun of justice'.[54] The motet text *Mulierum natus est maior* from the Johannine family, with all of its luminescent imagery, is particularly unequivocal with respect to the 'sun of justice' – it can only be Christ (or God), not John, in this context.[55]

Mulierum	Among those born of women,
Natus est maior natus hodie	a greater one has been born today,
Hic est sydus syderum,	He is the star of stars,
Quem **sol iustitie**	Whom the **sun of justice**
Misit ut luciferium;	Has sent as a light-bearer;
Hic est prophetie	He is the glorious radiance
Patrum iubar veterum;	Of the prophecy of the ancient prophets;
Hic precursor gratie,	He is the precursor of grace,
Hunc dignavit puerum	Whom still a child,
Christus sanctificare,	Christ deigned to sanctify,
Matris uterum	When He willed to make fertile
Dum vult sterilem fecondare.	The sterile womb of a matron [Elizabeth].
Testis venit operum	He came to be a witness of works,
Agnum digito monstrare	With his finger pointing out the Lamb,
Et mundatorem scelerum	Cleansing the cleanser of sins
In lavacro mundare.	In the stream.
Tenor: MULIERUM	Of women

[53] Malachi 4: 1–3: 'Ecce enim dies veniet succensa quasi caminus et erunt omnes superbi et omnes facientes impietatem stipula, et inflammabit eos dies veniens dicit Dominus exercituum quae non relinquet eis radicem et germen. Et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum *sol iustitiae* et sanitas in pinnis eius et egrediemini et salietis sicut vituli de armento. Et calcabitis impios cum fuerint cinis sub planta pedum vestrorum in die qua ego facio dicit Dominus exercituum' ('For lo, the day is coming, blazing like an oven, when all the proud and all evildoers will be stubble. And the day that is coming will set them on fire, leaving them neither root nor branch, says the Lord of hosts. But for you who fear my name, there will arise the *sun of justice* with its healing rays. You will gambol like calves out of the stall and tread down the wicked, and they will become ashes under the soles of your feet on the day I take action, says the Lord').

[54] The title of the tenth-century hymn text *Iam Christe sol iustitiae* (no. 8325 in Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–79) confirms the connection with Christ in no uncertain terms, while many later medieval writers also refer directly to Christ as the 'sun of justice'. See, for example, sermon 45 from Aelred, the twelfth-century Abbot of Rievaulx (line 361): 'Quasi dicerent: Quae est ista tantae auctoritatis, tantae potestatis, quae sicut ipse sol iustitiae Christus, ipse Dei Filius, nos omnes etiam secundum carnem transcendit, ita et ipsa, post eum nos omnes supergrediens, ad eius thronum provehitur?' ('As if they might say: Who is that with such authority, of so much power? Who just as Christ himself, the sun of justice, the Son of God himself, who according to the flesh even transcended us all, and thus, after him surpassing us all, is carried to his throne?'). For an edition of this sermon, see Aelred, *Aelredi Rievallensis opera omnia*, ed. A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 1, 2a; Turnhout, 1971), ii, pp. 352–65.

[55] The same level of clarity exists in the use of this phrase (*sol iustitie*) from the motet text *In celesti curia* (400). The reference to the 'Lamb' is also Christological, as a trope of the 'Ecce Agnus Dei' motto.

However, another motet on the MULIERUM tenor, *Mulierum hodie maior natus oritur*, makes us wonder if Christ is the only one to whom the phrase *sol iustitie* might refer.[56] From a grammatical perspective, the Baptist (not Christ) is understood as the 'sun of justice', as the poet places the phrase *sol iustitie* in the middle of a short list of descriptions of John. The upper voice hails the Precursor as both the *prima lux ecclesie* ('first light of the church') and *sydus syderum* ('star of stars'), the latter appellation found in the previous motet. These titles could easily be used to describe Christ; nonetheless, in the context of gloss on Matthew 11: 11, they must refer to John. The imagery of radiance is as appropriate for Christ's forerunner as it is for the season of Midsummer.

Mulierum hodie	Of those born of women,
Maior natus oritur,	One greater has arisen today,
Preco gratie,	The herald of grace,
Sol iustitie,	**The sun of justice**,
Templum Dei panditur.	The temple of God is revealed.
Hic est sydus syderum,	He is the star of stars,
Prima lux Ecclesie,	First light of the Church,
Prima vox letitie.	First voice of joy.
Tenor: MULIERUM	Of women

Taken together, these two motets exemplify the unusual parity between the Baptist and Christ. The parallel in the waxing and waning of night and day at the solstices seems to allow for the free transferral of titles from the Christological to the Johannine domain.[57] It was impossible to escape the connection between the figure of John the Baptist and light, ideas which were rooted not only in Scripture but also in cultural practice. Especially during the annual solar apogee, these common Johannine associations with light lead us from sunlight to a peculiar pre-Christian ritual regarding firelight. This practice involves the lighting of bonfires, of which much has been chronicled as the foremost tradition of the Midsummer feast.

THE FIRE FESTIVAL

The act of kindling bonfires at certain times of the year was a common activity in all of medieval Europe, one filled with multivalent meaning. As part of what David Cressy called the 'vocabulary of celebration', bonfires have historically marked special events such as an anniversary or were

[56] The two-voice motet is found only in Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, fol. 110^{r}.

[57] The opposing equivalence of these figures, witnessed in the solar analogy, is even reminiscent of the symbolic process of reversal in the theology of the maze. See C. Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), pp. 64–70.

used in thanksgiving for a bumper crop.[58] The sprawling flames at once inspired fear and awe in those who gathered, but they also were thought to have regenerative and cleansing effects.[59] Bonfires were lit mainly in spring and summer, although there were occasions throughout the year, such as the eve of All Saints (Halloween), Christmas and the eve of the twelfth day after Christmas (Epiphany), when the public celebrated with large fires. But the best-known bonfire of the entire year was the one ignited in the summer on Midsummer's Eve. This particular bonfire tradition had the longest life of all Midsummer rituals, surviving even into the early part of the twentieth century.[60] Widespread accounts indicate that, on the night of 23 June, citizens would convene, bringing combustible items to burn in a large blaze, which over time acquired the name 'St John's fire'. From the Christian perspective, these fires could symbolise renewal and purification, which would have been compatible with the baptising ministry of John the Baptist.[61] But this Christian metaphor was not top of mind for Johannes Beleth, who shockingly explained that the purpose of the St John's fires, as he understood it, was to banish 'dragons that fly in the air, swim in the waters and walk the earth'.[62] Evidently, a line separating official and popular conceptions of ritual had not been drawn even in twelfth-century Paris, which was not only the most important seat of theology north of the Alps in the later Middle Ages but also the breeding ground of the medieval motet. Citing Beleth in his well-circulated *Golden Legend*, Jacobus de Voragine likewise confirmed this understanding of the fires in the thirteenth century.[63]

[58] D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), p. 80. For more general discussion on bonfires, see R. Hutton, *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles: Their Nature and Legacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), p. 183.

[59] On the idea of regenerative fires in Greek and Roman mythology, as well as in earlier traditions in Iranian and Indian mythology, see C. M. Edsmann, *Ignis divinus: Le feu comme moyen de rajeunissement et d'immortalité. Conts, légendes, mythes, et rites* (Lund, 1949).

[60] While testimony to the Midsummer tradition of lighting bonfires may be traced to Pliny the Elder in ancient Rome, details on specific fire practices do not amass until a millennium later. Pliny advised farmers to light bonfires in the fields during the height of summer to ward off disease. See Pliny, *The Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, 10 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), v, pp. 370–5. For references to St John's fires in the mid-twelfth century (1140s), see N. J. Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records* (New York, 1906), p. 98.

[61] J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984), p. 7 and G. Van der Leeuw, *La religion dans son essence et ses manifestations* (Paris, 1955), p. 53.

[62] 'Et ista animalia [dracones] in aere volant, in aquis natant, per terram ambulant.' See J. Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. H. Douteil, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), ii, p. 267. Beleth uses the word *fumus* in reference to the conflagration.

[63] Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. G. P. Maggioni, 2 vols. (Tavarnuzze, 1998), i, p. 550. 'Cuius duplex est causa, ut ait Iohannes Beleth. Una est ex antique institutionis observantia; sunt enim quedam animalia que dracones vocantur que in aere volant, in aquis natant, in terra ambulant' ('The reason [for having fires and burning animal bones] is twofold, as Johannes

The most storied activities that accompanied the lighting of St John's bonfires were (1) the act of leaping over the large flames and (2) the rolling of a fiery wheel of straw down a hillside. With regard to the former ritual, some jumped over the flames to bring about protection from both evil spirits and various ailments during the year ahead.[64] Other traditions included couples vaulting over the flames together either as a public sign of betrothal or in the hopes of bearing children in the coming months.[65] Music must have been a staple of these various ritual acts. Indeed, the seventh-century bishop Eligius of Noyon condemned both the practice of hurdling the large flames and the 'devilish songs' (*cantica diabolica*) that were sung on the feast.[66] Beyond the leaping activities around the bonfire, far more attention has been paid to the curious ritual of setting a large straw wheel aflame and rolling it down a hill or mountainside, often towards the public fire itself. While the bonfire pastime is generic in some sense, this peculiar wheel-rolling practice was special only to the fire festivities on the eve of St John's Day. The wheel-rolling tradition slowly negotiated a delicate relationship with the saint's nativity feast. Naturally, Christian theological interpretations of the practice accrued, again notably by Johannes Beleth, who saw the practice as a reflection of the setting sun and in connection with the Baptist's waning ministry:

> John was a burning light who prepared the way of the Lord. But as the wheel [down the hill] is turned thus, [the people] think it is like the sun in its orbit, which will descend when it can progress no further, so that little by little it will descend. In the same way common belief has it that the blessed John came before Christ and arrived at the summit, for he was thought the Christ; and afterwards he descended and was diminished, as his own words say: 'I will decrease; but he will become great.'[67]

Beleth said. One reason is out of an observance of an old custom; also there are certain animals called dragons that fly in the air, swim in the waters and walk the earth').

64 On the tradition of leaping over the Midsummer flame in hopes of healthy crops and protection from agricultural disaster, see N. Zemon Davis, 'Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion', in C. Trinkhaus with H. A. Oberman (eds.), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion; Papers from the University of Michigan Conference* (Leiden, 1974), p. 309.

65 The act of leaping over flames and the association with fertility may have a deeper connection to John the Baptist: John famously leaped (Vulgate: *exultavit*) in his mother's womb when he sensed Jesus in Mary's womb at the scene of the Visitation, an event that took place shortly after Mary's own miraculous conception (Luke 1: 39–57).

66 *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici et antiquiorum aliquot*, ed. B. Krusch, 5 vols., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* (Hannover, 1896–1920), iv, pp. 705–6. 'Nullus in festivitate sancti Iohannis vel quibus sanctorum sollemnitatibus solestitia aut vallationes vel saltationes aut cantica diabolica exerceat' ('Let no one perform solstice rites, nor dances, leapings, or devilish songs on the feast of St John or some other solemnity of the saints').

67 'Ioannes fuerit ardens lucerna, & qui vias Domini praeparaverit. Sed quod etiam rota vertatur hinc esse putant, quia in eum circulum tunc sol descenderit ultra quem progredi nequit, a quo cogitur paulatim descendere, quemadmodum vulgi rumor de beato Iohanne Christo

Apart from this theological understanding of the practice, some have viewed the wheel-rolling ritual as an invocation of Lady Fortune, whose capricious wheel turned human fate, a point to be discussed later.[68]

The general image of fire appears in the motet *Virgo mater salutis exordium vocis supplicancium*/IOHANNE, found only in W2. The duplum features an unequivocal Marian supplication, as common to the motet repertory as *amour courtois* texts. In the light of the extensive fire rituals known to be associated with the feast of St John's Day, the isolated and conspicuous allusion to a 'conflagration' might give us pause to consider a connection to the seemingly distant IOHANNE tenor and the implications of the festival day.

Virgo mater salutis, exordium	Virgin, Mother of salvation,
Vocis supplicantium,	Source of the voice praying to thee,
Tuum placa filium,	Reconcile us to thy Son,
Ut potenti dextera	So that our old bonds might
Liberantur federa,	Be freed by his powerful right hand,
Culpe sanet vulnera,	And that he might heal the wounds of blame
Impium extingat **incendium**,	And put out the **godless conflagration**
Per hoc mundi tedium currentium.	Of those struggling through the weariness of this world.
Tenor: IOHANNE	John

The mention of the fire alone is in fact quite rare in the Latin and vernacular texts of the thirteenth century, with none of them precisely repeating the phrase 'godless conflagration'.[69] The formulation *impium* …

adveniente ad summum pervenit, quum Christus putabatur, posteaque descendit ac fuit diminutus, ut vel ipse de se testis est: Me, inquiens, opportet minui, illum autem crescere.' See Beleth, 'De vigilia Sancti Ioannis', in *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, pp. 304–5, cited with translation from Billington, *Midsummer: A Cultural Subtext*, p. 20.

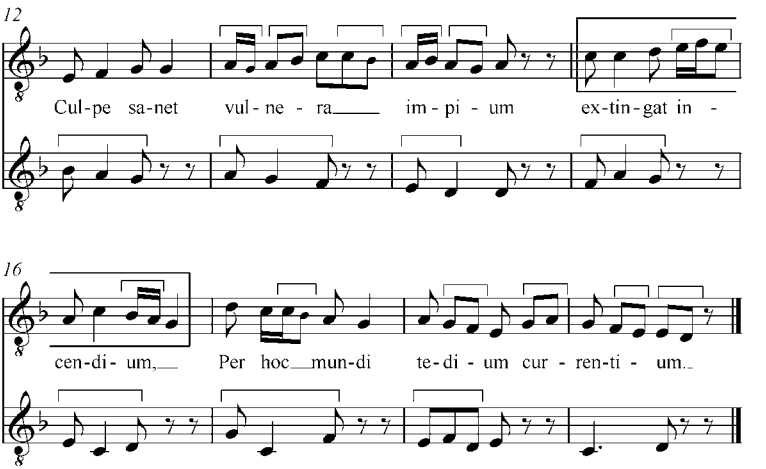
[68] The Roman festival for the goddess Fortuna was celebrated earlier in June, though not universally. On the connection between the ancient wheel-rolling practice and the 'Wheel of Fortune', see H. L. Chrétien, *The Festival of San Giovanni: Imagery and Political Power in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1994), p. 21; Billington, *Midsummer: A Cultural Subtext*, pp. 5–10, 213–20; and H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca, NY, 1981), pp. 155–6.

[69] I have found only three uses of 'fire' – all Latin – in a survey of some 600 Latin and vernacular motet texts. None of these examples approaches the specificity of *incendium* (i.e., a conflagration or large blaze). The Marian text *Ex semine Abrahe* (483), set above the Marian tenor EX SEMINE, uses the word 'ignem' for fire: 'Ex semine Abrahe, divino moderamine, *ignem* pio numine producis, Domine …' ('From the seed of Abraham, by divine control, thou in thy divinity dost bring forth a *fire*, O Lord …'). In *Adesse Festina* (58) over the ADIUVA ME tenor (from the feast of St Stephen), the reference to fire is in the context of a 'fiery furnace': 'craticula me crema ignea' ('*fiery* furnaces consume me'). Finally, a motet on the tenor [Benedicamus] DOMINO also uses the word 'fire'. The *text Alpha bovi et leoni* (762) engages 'fire' in a series of disparate items that are said to be praised as God's creation: '*igne* lepra grano, tramiti plano' ('The corn with leprous *fire*, the open path'). While the larger series is full

incendium does, however, appear in Ovid's *Metamorphorses*, befitting its pagan origin.[70] The phrase 'godless conflagration' is striking in itself, but might easily go unnoticed over any number of tenors in the large thirteenth-century motet repertory. When set against the tenor IOHANNE, however, the connection of an impious blaze to the activities associated with the feast of St John cannot be missed. The motetus declares that Christ will put out this 'godless conflagration of those struggling through the weariness of this world'. While Christ remained the one who was supposed to drive out the impurity of humankind, the fact remains that the most famous pagan or 'godless' fires in the medieval world were those bonfires kindled at Midsummer. Though the mention of fire may be understood metaphorically in this context, it is no surprise that the idea arose in connection with the IOHANNE tenor from the Baptist's Midsummer feast day, which coincided with the ubiquitous act of lighting bonfires. The music for this motet is marked for importance when mention of the 'conflagration' occurs: at the very moment that the upper voice sings *extingat incendium* ('put out the [godless] conflagration'), the composer breaks the established confines of the D–d compass in the upper voice, allowing it to ornament the first syllable of the word *incendium* with clarity, due to the absence of the tenor sounding beneath this upper voice (boxed in Example 2).

of scriptural references, Gordon Anderson (*The Latin Compositions*, ii, pp. 300–1) could not suggest an origin of this particular allusion, nor can I propose one. I am not counting several other instances related to fire in the motets, because there appears to be no contextual link to a fire festival or liturgical feast. The motet text *Dum superbit impius et pauper incenditur* (584d) uses the verb form of 'incendium' for fire (not 'ignis'), but instead figuratively to mean 'stirred up' or 'aggravated': 'While the wicked one shows too much pride, and the pauper *is aggravated*, the sword is brought forth raging, the innocent one is crushed, and the proud one is praised'. The entire vernacular motet repertory is effectively devoid of fire references. I consider forms of the French feminine noun *esprise* ('fire [of love]', according to *The Old French–English Dictionary*, ed. A. Hindley, F. W. Langley and B. J. Levy (Cambridge, 2000), p. 298) to be metaphorical references to fire. Forms of this word (including the past participle *espris*) occur in two motet texts, always in relation to love: *Amours dont je sui espris* (858) over the vernacular tenor CHOSE TASSIN and *Deboinerement* (638) over the TAMQUAM tenor. Similarly, the French *cheminëe* does not directly refer to fire, but rather to a place where fire is kindled (and is related more to the English 'chimney' than to fire), as in the case of *A la cheminëe* (453) ('by the fireside/mantle in the cold month of January'), which is set above the French tenor PAR VERITÉ.

[70] From Book XIII, which describes Aeneas' journey to Sicily following the fall of Troy (lines 713–18): 'Certatam lite Deorum Ambraciam, versique vident sub imagine saxum Iudicis, Actiaco quae nunc ad Apolline nota est, Vocalemque sua terram Dodonida quercu Chaoniosque sinus, ubi nati rege Molosso, Impia subiectis fugere *incendia* pennis' ('They saw Ambracia, now famous for its Apollo of Actium, once contended over by quarreling gods; and they saw the image of the judge who was turned to stone; Dodona's land with its oracular oaks, as well as Chaonia's bay, where the sons of Munichus, the Molossian king, escaped the impious flames on new-found wings'). See *P. Ovidii Nasonis quae supersunt. Ad optimorum librorum fidem accurate edita*, 3 vols. (Lipsiae, 1820), ii, p. 287.



Example 2 The motet *Virgo mater salutis exordium vocis supplicancium*/IOHANNE from W2, fol. 189^{r}

How are we to understand the charge to extinguish the 'godless conflagration' in *Virgo mater salutis* against the IOHANNE tenor heard on Midsummer Day? We know, for instance, that clergy did not universally condemn bonfire rituals; some probably participated in them, again blurring the lines between elite, official practices and popular lay customs.[71] The testimony of churchmen like Johannes Beleth and Jacobus de Voragine suggests that church officials were well aware of bonfire rituals and later evidence points beyond mere acknowledgement of the practices and towards the actual participation of clergymen in the Midsummer fire-kindling festivities. The church's involvement over time apparently sought to corral an otherwise non-Christian practice into the Johannine milieu, but learned and popular culture ultimately remained inseparable. In tracing vestigial Gallican practices, Alexandre Bertrand noted that bonfires were kindled near parish churches following the office of Vespers on the eve of the feast. While citizens brought fuel for the fire such as bundles of sticks, it was a priest who ignited the bonfire. After the fire was kindled, prayers were recited and even sacred hymns sung, including the hymn tune *Ut queant laxis* for John the Baptist.[72] In the light of Christopher

[71] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, x, pp. 188–91.

[72] A. Bertrand, *La religion des Gaulois* (Paris, 1897), pp. 116–21; F. Chapiseau, *Le folk-lore de Beauce et du Perce*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1902), i, pp. 318–19; C. Dupin, 'Notice sur quelques fêtes et divertissemens populaires du department des Deux-Sèvres', *Memoires et Dissertations Publiés par la Sociéte Royale des Antiquaires de France*, 4 (1823), p. 110; and J. L. M. Noguès, *Les moeurs d'autrefois en Sintonge et en Aunis* (Saintes, 1893), pp. 72 and 178. Clerical participation in the

Page's compelling arguments concerning the festival atmosphere that gave rise to some of the thirteenth-century motets, the composer of *Virgo mater salutis exordium vocis supplicancium*/IOHANNE might have been doing more than just using the timely metaphor of a 'godless conflagration'. Perhaps under the guise of a stock Marian plea to Christ, he was subtly admonishing his fellow clergymen who engaged in Midsummer rituals, the rules of which continued to be negotiated in the face of the Christian feast of the Baptist's Nativity.

A well-circulated contrafactum of *Virgo mater salutis exordium vocis supplicancium* is the motet *Grevé m'ont li mal d'amer mieus en vaudrai*/IOHANNE, found in no fewer than four sources (see Appendix 2). Here too, subtle glimpses into the festival atmosphere of St John's Day surface. The traditional celebration of the solstice, even with its temporal connection to the Johannine nativity feast, sanctioned a temporary suspension of social order and created an inversion of the medieval world-view, a subject to be explored shortly. In Jumièges, the election of a Green Wolf and the mock deposal of this fraternal leader illustrate this urge to change the course of human behaviour on St John's Day. Acceptable conduct could even yield to socially improper displays, specifically between the sexes. An allusion to this break with the status quo may be seen in this contrafactum.[73] Cast in a high literary register, the account tells of a male lover who makes known his noble intentions in his search for love. In the final verses of the motet text, the poet increases his overall restraint by vowing to steer away from distracting acts of folly (*foloier*).[74]

Grevé m'ont li mal d'amer:	Love's pains have made me suffer,
Mieus en vaudrai	But I will be better on account of it,
Car plus jolis en serai	For I will be worthier
Et mieus a voir m'en savrai,	And know better how to conduct myself.
Et bon gré m'en set amours	And love bears me good will,
Cui j'ai servie tous jours;	For I have always served her

lighting of Midsummer bonfires is confirmed first-hand by the late seventeenth-century Bishop of Meaux, Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, who reported that numerous parishes in France kindled 'ecclesiastical fires' at Midsummer in order to offset the practice of those who ignite mundane bonfires with no religious significance. See Bossuet, *Oeuvres complètes de Bossuet, évêque de Meaux: Revues sur les manuscrits originaux, et les éditions les plus corrects*, 43 vols. (Versailles, 1815–19), vi, p. 276.

[73] There is a fifth source of this motet (Louvain, Univ. Bibl., 'Herenthals fragment') that was destroyed in the First World War. Photographs of these fragments have been published in *Anthologie van muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen*, ed. E. Schreurs (Middleeuwen-Renaissance: Polyfonie, Monodie en Leisteenfragmenten in Facsimile; Leuven, 1995), pp. 3–6. Only the first phrase of *Greve m'ont li mal d'amer* survives, found at the bottom of the last verso.

[74] In this case, there is a sexual connotation to the act of 'follying', most closely aligning with intransitive verb *foloier* (sometimes spelled *foliier*), which can be defined as 'to sleep around' or 'to play the wanton'. See *The Old French–English Dictionary*, p. 324.

N'onques n'oi penseé aillours,	And never thought of another,
Ne n'avrai,	Nor will I ever.
Et si m'en chastierai,	This I would prevent myself from doing,
Car de **foloier** aillours	For I will keep myself
Me garderai.	From **follying** elsewhere.
Tenor: IOHANNE	John

When heard against the IOHANNE tenor, the poet's past foolish behaviour in the name of love accords well with general sexual licence that accompanied the Midsummer feast. Loose sexual behaviour and frivolous escapades in the spirit of Carnival were typical for this celebration of suspended social order.[75] St John's Day was also a day to discover a lifelong mate, one with whom a partner could vault over the Midsummer fire. The nobleman from this motetus might have been imagining such a scenario; at the very least, he testifies to the conflicting traditions (promiscuity vs. commitment) surrounding love at Midsummer.

FESTIVAL FOLIAGE

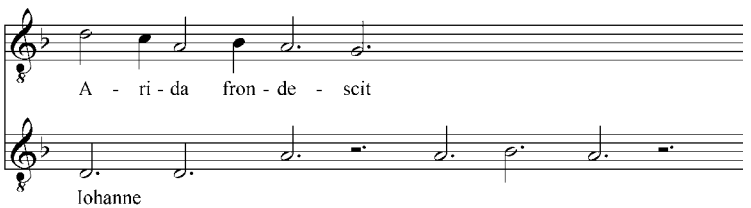
Understanding popular culture in part demands grasping the mindset of a rural society that was overwhelmingly dominated by agricultural concerns.[76] The fate of agrarian societies often turned on the capriciousness of the natural elements. But some things were for certain, such as the length of daylight at Midsummer. As the sun swelled to its highest intensity of the year, the Midsummer bonfire did its part to elevate the temperature. The heat of the season brought flowers, foliage and grasses near their peak and were cause for celebration, as plants were set to bear fruit in the late spring and be harvested later in the summer.

A short musical incipit from a motet in Franco of Cologne's treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis* hints at the vibrancy of natural life on this day. As Franco has received due attention for his innovations in rhythmic interpretation, it is easy to ignore the morsels of music that he used to register his new system.[77] Two of Franco's passing polyphonic examples in his discussion of discant and its species are set to the IOHANNE tenor, not surprising given the wide circulation of this popular melisma. Both fragments feature the opening gesture of a two-voice motet (i.e., with a tenor and texted

[75] See n. 35. Also, on the irony and humour of this motet text in the light of the IOHANNE tenor, see Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, p. 74.

[76] In late medieval France, some nine of ten men had some connection to the agricultural sector of the economy. See D. Potter, *France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 50–2.

[77] For a critical edition of Franco's treatise, see Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. G. Reaney and A. Gilles (Corpus scriptorum de musica, 18; Dallas, Tex., 1974). For a translation of this source and several related anonymous treatises that cite Franco's work, see Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis: XIIIème siècle*, ed. J-P. Navarre (Paris, 1997).



Example 3 *Arida frondescit*/IOHANNE, from Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*. Transcription after Strunk (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. edn (New York, 1998), p. 240

upper voice). One of the fragments (*Ave plena gratia*/IOHANNE) concords with a motet from W2,[78] but another snippet on the same tenor, *Arida frondescit*/IOHANNE (Example 3), is only known from Franco's treatise. The latter motet is recognisably a texted version of the two-voice clausula F-148, the only clausula connected with motets on the tenor IOHANNE.[79] In the case of *Arida frondescit*, Franco merely aimed to provide an example of a piece of discant that began at the octave.[80] Even in its extreme brevity for reasons of pedagogy, the text of the upper voice seems to accord with themes of fecundity that surrounded the Midsummer feast day. Despite a lack of context for this brief utterance in the upper voice and in the absence of a concordance for the entire motet, we can still gather that the formerly 'dry [parched] land' effectively 'shoots forth leaves' and flourishes, an idea advanced by the underlying tenor melody from the feast of St John. From this slightest of musical fragments, one witnesses a transformation in the natural world from dry foliage to green leafy plants – an image as fundamental to the summer celebration as the sun.

A product of the season's fruitfulness, blooming floral arrangements adorned many spring and summer feasts both within and outside churches. While May Day was best known as a celebration of seasonal flowers,[81] the feast of Midsummer likewise featured lavish displays of flowers and particular herbs in full bloom, especially in and around the

[78] Fol. 178[r].

[79] The tenor incipit in this case (D–D–a) is a variant of the typical D–a–a.

[80] Franco illustrates these intervals found in discant with six consecutive examples, of which *Arida frondescit*/IOHANNE is the second. In this section, the theorist demonstrates that a discant can begin at the unison, diapason, diapente, diatessaron, ditone (major third), or semiditone (minor third).

[81] The spring liturgies for Rogationtide and Pentecost saw considerable decoration of churches with foliage. See, for example, G. Huet, 'Coutumes superstitieuses de la Saint-Jean', *Revue des traditions populaires*, 25 (1910), pp. 461–5 and Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 90.

home.[82] In the storied Green Wolf ritual from Jumièges, citizens made a large loaf of bread bedecked with foliage in addition to ribbons. Midsummer Day was also the day to harvest the famous herb known as St John's wort (also called vervain).[83] In some ritual practices, bonfire participants held violets as well as other flowers and herbs, which they apparently cast into the blaze – a custom that was said to relieve eye ailments.[84]

The mention of flowers in the thirteenth-century motet repertory, particularly in pastourelle texts, was so common that it has become second nature within the genre. The lengthy triplum of the French double motet *Quant vient en mai qu'erbe va verdoiant/Ne sai que je die tant voi vilanie/*IOHANNE mentions a floral garland (*coroie*) and dancing (*baler*), which would seem to be unassuming references in the context of this pastoral encounter between a passerby and a maiden, who is eager to win back her love Robin. In its two sources (Mo and Ba), the triplum joins in polytextual declamation with the motetus *Ne sai que je die tant voi vilanie*, a text to be explored later with special connections to Midsummer through its subject of corruption:

Quant vient en mai qu'erbe va verdoiant,	When in May the grass turns green,
Que tuit amant doivent d'amors chanter,	And all lovers ought to sing of love,
Lors chevauchai par deles un pendant;	Then I rode beside a slope,
Truis pastoure: samblant fait de plourer.	I found a shepherdess: she appeared to be crying.
Je li requis que moi deist son penser	I begged her to tell me what was on her mind,
Et que de nule riens ne mi alast celans.	And not to go concealing anything from me.
Ele respond tout maintenant:	She answered straight away:
'Dolent sui que je vif tant!	'I am suffering, that I live so long.
Bien sai qu'autre veut amer Robin,	I do know that Robin wants to love another,
Que je li vi Marot mener	For I saw him leading Marot by her hand,
Par la main [a]u bois parfont pour jouer.	Deep into the wood to play.
Hé Dieus! Bien sai de voir	O God! I do know in truth
Qu'ele s'en vodra vanter,	That she will want to boast about it,
Mès Samedi, se je le puis encontrer	But on Saturday, if I can find him

[82] A. Franklin, *Midsummer: Magical Celebrations of the Summer Solstice* (St. Paul, Minn., 2002), p. 20 and Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, xi, pp. 45–75.

[83] For the power of vervain in Normandy, see A. Bosquet, *La Normandie romanesque et merveilleuse: Traditions, legendes, et superstitions populaires de cette province* (Paris, 1845), p. 294.

[84] For more on the healthy eye benefits gained at Midsummer, see Vlasopolos, 'The Ritual of Midsummer', p. 26 and Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, xi, pp. 54–6.

Droit a la velle, a li vodrai parler,	Right by the vale, I shall want to talk to him about it,
Coroie et gans blans et bourse li douner	Give him a **garland**, white gloves and a purse
Pour li recorder,	To win him back,
Pipe pour muser;	And a pipe to play,
Se de s'amour puis avoir son otroi,	If I can have the gift of his love,
Je voudrai **baler**.'	I would like to **dance**.'[85]
Tenor: IOHANNE	John

The exordium hails the month of May, which might seem to derail any link with the Baptist's principal feast in June. Moreover, this triplum has no obvious literary connection to the corruption text with which it is paired in both sources. And yet, the tale of the shepherdess's longing for love broadly concords with the search for a mate at Midsummer. As we shall see, this text resonates further with the spirit and rituals from the Midsummer festival, in the light of the female protagonist's references to a garland of flowers and dancing.[86]

In pastourelle narratives of the thirteenth-century repertory, one occasionally finds references to a garland or chaplet, as the protagonist often discovers the maiden producing such a floral decoration. But when mention of a garland is made above the tenor IOHANNE, a connection to themes of fertility and fecundity of Midsummer Day emerges that is not afforded by similar references in conjunction with other tenors.[87] Additionally, the garland is not being made nor is it worn by the shepherdess, as is typically the case in pastourelles. Instead, she explains to the protagonist that she will lure another man (Robin) with several items, one of which is a garland.[88] In fact, the wearing of garlands and the

[85] Translation by Smith, *French Double and Triple Motets*, pp. 261–2, with slight emendations.

[86] The use of the word 'erbe' in first line of the triplum may even be loosened from its traditional meaning as 'grass' to suggest a potent 'herb' or 'plant' (such as St John's wort or vervain). The word 'erbe' is defined more broadly in the Middle Ages as either 'grass, herb, or a plant (fed to animals)' in *The Old French–English Dictionary*, p. 278. The occurrence of this word in the vernacular repertory is surprisingly infrequent, despite the numerous references to nature in the proliferous pastourelle texts. Out of nearly 300 vernacular motet texts in the Montpellier manuscript, for example, only five texts use the word 'erbe' in the descriptions of the pastoral setting.

[87] I have found the word 'garland' (*chapelet/coroie*) in twelve of some 400 vernacular motet texts (or 3%) surveyed in the thirteenth-century sources. Two mentions of the word 'garland' are found in the triplum and motetus of a single motet (*L'autrier trovai une plesant tousete/L'autrier lés une espinete* (183) / [IN SECULUM]), unique to Mo (fols. 162^{v}–164^{r}). Other tenors located beneath a mention of chaplets or garlands in motet texts include IUSTUS, NOSTRUM, SECULORUM AMEN, IN SECULUM (2), ET GAUDEBIT, APTATUR and PORTARE. The garland's connection to the Marian realm (via the rosary) and springtime has yet to be articulated in the scholarly literature on motets.

[88] The garland is not associated with women alone in the Middle Ages. In the motet texts *L'autrie les une espinete* (previous n.) and *Les un bosket vi Robechon* (296), the male protagonists

display of wreaths with seasonal flowers are very often mentioned in accounts of Midsummer festivities.[89] Loosened from its usual context, the garland from *Quant vient en mai* text may be reconciled more strongly with themes surrounding the solstice, an idea prompted by the tenor IOHANNE.

While mention of garlands occurs sporadically in pastourelle texts, the added allusion to dancing (*baler*) in the final line of the upper-voice text *Quant vient en mai* provides an even stronger thematic nexus with the tenor from the Baptist's nativity. The concluding pseudo-refrain of the pastourelle text seems innocent enough at first: 'Se de s'amour puis avoir son otroi, / Je voudrai baler' ('If I can have the gift of his love, I shall want to dance').[90] One might think that the notion of dancing fits well into the playful pastourelle prototype, but it turns out that the subject is seldom found in the texts of thirteenth-century motets.[91] Dancing, however, is an

(the shepherd and Robechon respectively) also wear garlands. On the sexual connotations of the purse, an item hanging below the waist, see Pesce, 'Beyond Glossing', p. 42. On the weaving of garlands in some religious *Tagelieder* (dawn songs) and their secular connotations, see A. Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park, Pa., 1997), p. 105.

89 A particularly rich description of the St John's Day rituals, including references to garlands and even the hurling of a fiery wheel, survives from the mid-sixteenth-century south German Protestant theologian and dramatist Thomas Kirchmeyer in his polemical *Regnum papisticum* on the superstitions and abuses of the church. See *The Popish Kingdome or reigne of Anti-Christ, written in Latin verse by Thomas Naogeorgus and Englyshed by Barnabe Googe*, 1570, ed. R. C. Hope (London, 1980), fol. 54^{v}. A separate tradition derives from the French region of Comminges (Midi-Pyrénées), where garlands of flowers were fastened to the tops of trees. When the St John's fire was lit, the man who had been most recently married had to climb up a ladder and bring the flowers down. See Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, x, p. 192.

90 The concluding verse is catalogued as no. 1665 in *Rondeaux et refrains du XII^{e} siècle au début du XIV^{e}*, ed. N. H. J. van den Boogaard (Paris, 1969) and as no. 1441 in Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der französischen Refrains* (Langen, 1964). This text might appear to be a cleverly imported refrain from outside the motet sources; however, this musico-textual unit is only found in this motet. Therefore, in the absence of surviving evidence to the contrary, we must consider that this potentially ironic pseudo-refrain was part of the original fabric of the motet. On the possibility that the early vernacular motet could have given rise to some refrains in the broader vernacular repertory, see Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 55–7, 70. In fact, nearly half (282 of 651) of the refrains that have been catalogued are unica from the motet repertory. For an excellent case study on the subtlety of refrains woven into the motet repertory, see B. Evans, 'The Textual Function of the *Refrain Cento* in a Thirteenth-Century French Motet', *Music & Letters*, 71 (1990), pp. 187–97.

91 I have located only six other occurrences of 'dancing' in the vernacular motet texts (about 1.5% of those surveyed): *Amors vaint tot* (335), *Li jalous par tout* (467), *Tuit cil qui sunt* (468), *L'autrier les une espinete* (183), *S'Amours eust point* (531a) and *Au tens pascour tuit il pastour* (201). The texts *Li jalous par tout* and *Tuit cil qui sunt* appear to describe a similar ritual dance, occurring in the same motet on the VERITATEM tenor (uniquely in Mo, fol. 218^{v}). I am aware of only one other motet that speaks of both dancing and a chaplet (*chapel*) in the same context (*L'autrier lés une espinete*/IN SECULUM in Mo, fols. 163^{r}–164^{r}).

activity associated both with the festivities of the nativity feast of the Baptist and, more importantly, his notorious Beheading.[92]

The Midsummer allegory indeed takes an ironic turn when one considers that John the Baptist's death was brought about by a dance.[93] The infamous dance associated with John the Baptist is the dance of Salome, the daughter of Herodias and stepdaughter of Herod the Tetrarch. As told in the synoptic Gospels (most vividly in Matthew), Salome's evidently seductive dancing at Herod's birthday banquet pleased the King so much that he granted the young woman any wish. Prompted by her mother, Salome called for the beheading of John the Baptist, an event that the church commemorates with a feast day on 29 August.[94] As a symbol of the Baptist's martyrdom containing all of the elements of an intriguing drama (a *femme fatale*, incest and murder), the story of Salome's dance and John's beheading at the banquet of Herod Antipas was a popular subject in the visual arts in the Middle Ages and well into the modern era.[95]

The foregoing evidence gives further testimony that pastourelle texts should continue to be pursued in relation to their accompanying tenors. The temporal convergence of springtime narratives with the Midsummer feast helps unite the popular pastourelle genre with the musical foundation upon which it was constructed. Moreover, the use of uncommon turns of phrase involving garlands and dancing may be subtle clues to the hybrid

[92] On folkloric dancing rituals enacted at Midsummer, see W. S. Walsh, *Curiosities of Popular Customs and of Rites, Ceremonies, Observances, and Miscellaneous Antiquities* (Philadelphia, 1898), pp. 568–9. Dancing also had connections in the liturgy, especially in the Easter season, as described in Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*, pp. 129–58.

[93] The irony registers at the musical surface when one discerns the two simultaneous texts in the final gesture: at the moment the triplum declaims 'je voudrai baler' ('I would like to dance'), the duplum simultaneously utters 'font pis' ('do worse'). For an edition with the simultaneous texts, see Y. Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle: Le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de médecine de Montpellier*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1935–9), iii, pp. 128–30.

[94] Mark 6: 17–29. For a brief analysis, see C. Kraeling, *John the Baptist* (New York, 1951), p. 84.

[95] An illumination from the early thirteenth-century Munich Psalter by an English miniaturist (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 835, fol. 66^r, *c.* 1200–10) encapsulates the story of Herod Antipas's banquet in three registers with the dance of Salome (bending over backwards in her dance) occupying the central position in the image. On this particular illumination in the Munich Psalter, see M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (London and Baltimore, 1965), p. 98 and H. Steger, 'Der unheilige Tanz der Salome', in *Mein ganzer Körper ist Gesicht: Groteske Darstellungen*, ed. K. Kröll and H. Steger (Freiburg, 1994), p. 139, fig. 38. Nearly 400 artistic, literary, musical and theatrical presentations of the figure of Salome alone have been found even closer to the present, during the years 1840–1940. See A. Pym, 'The Importance of Salomé: Approaches to a *Fin-de-siècle* Theme', *French Forum*, 14 (1989), pp. 312–13. Recent musicological attention has been drawn to the American fascination with the character of Salome, reflected in popular songs around the turn of the twentieth century through to the 1920s. See L. Hamberlin, 'Visions of Salome: The Femme Fatale in American Popular Songs before 1920', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59 (2006), pp. 631–96.

nature of motet texts, even pastourelles, as they reveal commentaries on the sometimes overlooked tenor rubrics that undergird the thirteenth-century motets.

VERBAL VITRIOL

With their agriculturally oriented lives dependent on the weather, people in the Middle Ages were no doubt sensitive both to seasonal changes and to the cyclical course of the sun across the meteorological year. But they did more than simply internalise the change of heliological and theological course at the solstices: they understood the image of power connected with the sun and acted out the implications of its new waning path. Among the rituals at the winter solstice and the days to follow was a mock inversion of the world, which licensed the opportunity to alter social norms and typical behaviours, akin to Carnival celebrations in preparation for Lent.[96] Medieval musicologists are familiar with temporary inversions of social order from the case of the Feast of Fools (*festa stultorum*) on 1 January, where a role reversal in the clerical hierarchy at the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris around the turn of the thirteenth century produced some of the richest descriptions of early polyphonic practices in the history of Western music.[97]

The festival at the summer solstice was an analogous time of the year for such role reversals, which extended well outside the confines of the church.[98] On Midsummer Day, citizens used the occasion as a steam valve to inveigh against temporal authorities, sometimes burning effigies. They

[96] On the atmosphere of social inversion and protest engendered at Carnival, see N. Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 97–123; M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Bloomington, Ind., 1984), pp. 10–11; M. W. Walsh, 'Festivals and Celebrations', in C. Lindahl *et al.* (eds.), *Medieval Folklore: A Guide to Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs* (Oxford and New York, 2002), p. 135; and M. James, 'Ritual, Drama, and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town', *Past and Present*, 98 (1983), pp. 3–29.

[97] On the Feast of Fools and the proclamations against the practices associated with the inversion of power on 1 January, see W. Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1970) and C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 239–41. For other aspects of the Feast of Fools, see M. Fassler, 'The Feast of Fools and *Danielis ludus*: Popular Tradition in a Medieval Cathedral Play', in T. F. Kelly (ed.), *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 65–99 and R. C. Lagueux, 'Glossing Christmas: Liturgy, Music, Exegesis, and Drama in High Medieval Laon' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2004), pp. 371–442.

[98] On the rowdiness of the feast in early modern France, see Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 94–5. For a summary of the anthropological view of folk festivity in general as both a venue for ritual rebellion and a cultural refuge, see G. Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion*, trans. S. Singerman (Princeton, 1990), p. 12. See also studies by R. Caillois, *L'homme et le sacré* (Paris, 1961); M. Eliade, *Das Heilige und das Profane: Vom Wesen des Religiösen* (Hamburg, 1957); and M. Gluckmann, *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa* (Manchester, 1954).

rejoiced in the symbolic 'Fall from Fortune', which was performed with the downward rolling of the flaming wheel mentioned earlier. Just as the straw wheel was set ablaze and flung down a hill, so too were kings and nobles ultimately subject to imminent downfall.[99] The wheel-rolling practice conceptually activated the four 'figures' who typically surrounded Dame Fortune in medieval art – 'Regno, Regnavi, Sum sine regno, Regnabo' ('I reign, I have reigned, I am without a kingdom, I will reign').[100] In the period of palpable heliological crisis at Midsummer, earthly rulers were to have their authority questioned. They were reminded of their vulnerability by the public, who on this day could openly rebuke sovereigns without fear of castigation.[101] In some French locales, a different political demonstration took place at Midsummer, involving the election of a temporary lord or ruler, who effectively became a whipping post and symbol of the power of popular rebellion (most notably, the Green Wolf ceremony in Jumièges).[102] Various role reversals, mock elections and condemnation rituals were fundamentally legitimated by the solar turning point.

As with the other Midsummer practices, the criticism of earthly authority – so bound up with the pre-Christian concept of Fortune – persisted in a syncretic way under the sponsorship of John the Baptist. The survival of such a ritual at first appears irreconcilable with the meaning behind the Precursor saint and his nativity feast. And while some have suggested that the church must have resisted a connection between the Baptist and the criticism of authority, it is easy to forget that one particular episode in the life of the Baptist was a literal enactment of the

[99] For excellent studies on the hot-headed political attitudes in Midsummer found in French medieval literature and also on the symbolism of the hilltop as the locus both of the haughty and of Lady Fortune, see Billington, *Midsummer: A Cultural Subtext*, pp. 1–43, at pp. 21–2 and ead., *Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 63–5.

[100] H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 164–6.

[101] As a result, some rulers took part in the festivities to acknowledge their own vulnerabilities and submission to higher authority. Louis XI, for instance, lit the St John's bonfire in the streets of Paris in 1471. See J. de Roye, *Journal de Jean de Roye, connu sous le nom de Chronique Scandaleuse*, ed. B. de Mandrot, 2 vols. (Paris, 1894), i, p. 260. And in 1604, the Lyonnais historian Claude de Rubys (*Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon* (Lyon, 1604), pp. 499–501) vividly described the practice of public denigration of temporal rulers on the summer solstice.

[102] Evidence of early modern French and English 'mock lords' in summer has been proffered by Billington, *Mock Kings in Medieval Society*, pp. 55–85 and also ead., *Midsummer*, pp. 24–7. On inversions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy on the feast of Holy Innocents and the election of a 'boy bishop', see S. Boynton, 'Work and Play in Sacred Music', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Use and Abuse of Time in Christian History* (Studies in Church History, 37; Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 57–79, esp. p. 68. For additional studies of seasonal observances that included popular rebels assuming fictional regal titles, see Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* and Y.-M Bercé, *Fête et révolte: Des mentalités populaires du XVI^eme au XVIII^eme siècle* (Paris, 1976). A. van Gennep (*Le folklore du Dauphiné*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1933), ii, pp. 338–46) even found a residual tradition of a festival mock lord in the Dauphiné as late as the 1930s.

reprimanding of a ruler.[103] In the narratives of three evangelists, John the Baptist spoke out against the unlawfulness of Herod's illicit relationship with Herodias.[104] Out of fear of John's moral righteousness and under the evident influence of his sister-in-law and her daughter Salome, Herod would have the Baptist decapitated for his bold dissent of the King's actions. In this sense, the act of publicly rebuking authority fits better with the feast of the Baptist's decollation on 29 August than it does with the nativity commemoration on 24 June. Recognising this similarity between the castigation rituals of Midsummer and the narrative of the Decollation, Sandra Billington has even suggested that a broad summertime 'window' for the populace to speak out against authority might have lasted from Midsummer until the Decollation at the end of August.[105] The criticism rituals in any case have a connection to the Baptist, but the Johannine sheen around the summer feast did not fully stamp out the ancient traditions. As we will see in two motets on the tenor IOHANNE, attacks on the powerful and the privileged co-existed with, or even overshadowed, the musical model rooted in the feast of John the Baptist.

The opportunity to vilify authority publicly on St John's Day could not have gone to waste, given the ecclesiastical corruption and fraud brewing in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France. The clerical offences of simony and the trafficking of indulgences were beginning to spiral out of control, prompting nascent voices of reform to gather.[106] The city of Paris, now established as seat of a central government in France, was not immune to criticism, with several popular uprisings in the early fourteenth century in protest of royal fiscal policy, specifically regarding taxation and the devaluation of the coinage.[107] Cultural products registered these verbal assaults on these abuses of authority, including some Parisian music from the time in question. The works of Philip the Chancellor spring to mind, especially because of the poet's connection to the repertory that blossomed in Paris in the early thirteenth century. Philip's fierce opposition to the

[103] Billington (*Midsummer: A Cultural Subtext*, pp. 5, 12, 21) has shown that, in some cases, rituals related to the celebration of Fortune were allowed to continue, but only if the name of Dame Fortune was replaced with that of John the Baptist.

[104] See Matt. 14: 3–5, Mark 7: 17–19 and Luke 3: 19. On the censure of authority by several prophetic figures from the Old Testament, see Kraeling, *John the Baptist*, pp. 91–2. The most intriguing connection to John the Baptist's story is with Elijah (with whom John is frequently compared), who carried on a bitter feud with Ahab and Jezebel.

[105] Billington, *Midsummer: A Cultural Subtext*, pp. 14, 23, 37.

[106] On the extravagance and corruption of the Avignon papacy, along with its struggle with French kings in the fourteenth century, see P. N. R. Zutshi, 'The Avignon Papacy', in M. Jones (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vi: *c. 1300–1415* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 653–73.

[107] See W. W. Clark and J. Bell Henneman, Jr., 'Paris', in W. Kibler *et al.* (eds.), *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 1995), p. 705. On the lawlessness of the day, exhibited even by nobles, see Potter, *France in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 47–50.

election of William of Auvergne as Bishop of Paris (1227–8) and his outrage at the pluralism of benefices held by clerics undoubtedly fuelled some of the stinging rhetoric seen in his output.[108] Some of Philip's texts even survived in the major musical source of corruption criticism from the late Middle Ages – the fourteenth-century *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 146), a satire with musical interpolations probably serving as a document of admonition to King Philip V of France, implicitly alerting him to the dangers of malevolent counsellors and providing advice for ruling wisely as a monarch.[109] It is into this political context that two corruption texts explicitly on the tenor IOHANNE must be received.

It might be expected that echoes of the Midsummer tradition of fulmination towards authorities would scarcely survive as cultural artefacts, given that these attacks appear to be oral traditions emanating from popular circles, not those clerical or courtly ones that accounted for manuscript production.[110] Yet again, however, it turns out that those who created 'high art' digested popular traditions and weaved them seamlessly into the tapestry of their music. The Johannine tenor and attendant polyphonic clausulae apparently inspired clerical poet-composers to generate parodies of the feast, which must have included warnings to those in power, perhaps those within close reach.

Thirteenth-century Parisian motets speaking out against corruption do in fact survive, but they are few and far between.[111] Philip the Chancellor's

[108] On the political state of affairs surrounding Philip the Chancellor, see T. Payne, 'Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991), pp. 80–8.

[109] The years between 1310 and 1316 saw the rapid succession of four kings of France (Philip IV, Louis X, John I and Philip V). While Louis X was the son of Philip IV, the former could not produce a male heir, so the crown was passed laterally to his brothers Philip V and then Charles IV. The Capetian dynasty ended hereafter, causing the French succession crisis of 1328. On the succession of kings in this period, see J. Bradbury, *The Capetians: Kings of France, 987–1328* (London and New York, 2007), pp. 239–87 and R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987–1328)*, trans. L. Butler and R. J. Adam (London and New York, 1960), pp. 40–1. For recent discussions of the politics of the Fauvel manuscript, see J. C. Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir: Lire la satire médiévale* (Paris, 1994), pp. 82–106; M. Vale, 'The World of the Courts: Content and Context of the Fauvel Manuscript', in M. Bent and A. Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 591–8; A. Wathey, 'Gervès de Bus, the *Roman de Fauvel*, and the Politics of the Later Capetian Court', *ibid.*, pp. 599–614; and E. Dillon, 'The Profile of Philip V in the Music of Fauvel', *ibid.*, pp. 215–32.

[110] Billington, though, has admirably compiled several examples of midsummer criticisms in the vernacular from various town chronicles in western Europe. For accounts of rebellion and displays of civic power on the feast of Midsummer that have survived from the cities of Metz and Leuven, see Billington, *Midsummer: A Cultural Subtext*, pp. 115–26.

[111] There is no mention, for instance, of a 'corruption' category in Everist's *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, suggesting that vernacular texts on the subject were rare. It is likewise

Latin texts that were set to music evidently have little to do with the liturgical tenors that are set beneath them, if they were set to tenors at all.[112] Other Ars antiqua motets do not detail corruption so much as admonish the people addressed in the text.[113] Therefore, the occurrence of two corruption texts on the tenor IOHANNE appears all the more conspicuous. We have already seen two motet texts based on the two-voice clausula F-148 (Appendix 2). The motet fragment *Arida frondescit* vaguely suggested themes of greenery and fertility, while the triplum pastourelle text *Quant vient en mai* revealed subtle references to the Midsummer celebration in its mention of garlands and dancing. The motet text *Ne sai que je die tant voi vilanie* and its contrafactum *Cecitas arpie fex ypocrysie* are likewise based on the popular clausula F-148, but in this case they constitute an important connection to the general criticism rituals associated with the Midsummer feast.

Ne sai que je die appears with the tenor IOHANNE in five different manuscripts (listed in Appendix 2), making it the single most employed text in the entire Johannine family. It is found twice in the Montpellier Codex, first in a two-voice motet and later expanded to a three-voice setting with addition of the triplum *Quant vient en mai*.[114] The vernacular duplum *Ne sai que je die* speaks very generally to the age of corruption, but the explicit mention of the disappearance of *courtoisie* in those with the 'highest repute' points to misconduct among nobles or the king, not an unlikely charge for the later thirteenth century. The appearance of this corruption text above the tenor IOHANNE is no contradiction, but a clue to the compatibility of the tradition of public criticism with the feast of St John. As the poet reproaches those in power, he notes that the virtues of joy and good company have been dismissed as 'foolish' excesses. A form of the word *folie* was seen earlier in the motet *Grevé m'ont li mal d'amer*/IOHANNE, again revealing a clue to the pervasive spirit of misbehaviour recognised on the day when the sun changes its course.

instructive that no French motet texts from the large Montpellier Codex (except *Ne sai que je die*, to be explored here) address corruption.

[112] Some of the Chancellor's texts of admonition were used in conductus pieces and thereby do not properly have a liturgical tenor by definition (e.g. *Venit Jhesus in propria, Aurelianis civitas, Bulla fulminante* and *Crucifigat omnes*). The recipients of his attacks range from the clergy (*In veritate comperi*/VERITATEM, *Ypocrite pseudopontifices/Velut stele*/ET GAUDEBIT) and lawyers (*Venditores laborium*/EIUS) to humankind at large (*In omni fratre tuo*/IN SECULUM). For editions and commentary on Philip's texts, see Payne, 'Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony', pp. 642–1079.

[113] Several motet texts encourage repentance for evil-doers, including *O nacio nephandi generis* (599), *De facili contempnit omnia* (843) and *Ad solitum vomitum* (439).

[114] The two-voice motet appears on fol. 235^{r}, whereas the expanded three-voice correlate falls on fol. 305^{v}. For a brief analysis of *Ne sai que je die*/IOHANNE, see Göllner, 'Rhythm and Pattern', p. 158.

Ne sai que je die,	I do not know what to say –
tant voi vilanie,	I see so much villainy
et orgueil et felonie	and pride and evil
monter en haut pris.	rise in high esteem.
Toute courtoisie,	All courtliness
s'en est si fouie,	has utterly vanished
qu'en tout ce siecle n'a mie	that in this age
de bon dis,	there is no good counsel;
quar ypocrisie,	for Hypocrisy
et avarice s'amie,	and its sweetheart Avarice
les ont si seurpris:	have so overcome them:
Ce qui plus ont pris	those with the highest repute consider
joie et compaignie	joy and fellowship
tienent a **folie**,	to be **foolish excesses**,
mes en derriere font pis!	but ultimately they will do even worse.[115]
Tenor: IOHANNE	John

The IOHANNE tenor inspired a considerable range of upper-voice material, encompassing both theological and practical applications of the seasonal commemorations. In the two manuscripts where *Quant vient en mai* was layered above *Ne sai que je die* (Mo and Ba), the effect of the simultaneous declamation of texts delicately hints at a rich array of Midsummer traditions, from the joyous celebration of nature and dancing to the deep criticism of authority sanctioned on the feast. The tradition of Midsummer rebuke is carried one step further when the references become couched in an important musico-historical artefact that vigorously mocks and questions authority – the *Roman de Fauvel*.

The Latin contrafactum *Cecitas arpie fex ypocrysie* features a more admonitory tone than *Ne sai que je die*. Both motets are found in the W2 manuscript, possibly conceived as Latin and vernacular correlates.[116] More importantly, some two generations after the compilation of W2, the Latin motet with a variant first syllable (*Veritas arpie fex ypocrysie*/ IOHANNE) would be included in the *Roman de Fauvel*, the early fourteenth-century satire detailing the imagined effects of complete political and ecclesiastical upheaval in France. The authors of *Fauvel*, intimately familiar with the political ramifications of the Midsummer feast, knew exactly where to look for criticism material. Both corruption motets in fact are not just superficially critical of secular and sacred authority through the direct references in their upper voices, but they are 'hard-wired' to serve

[115] Translation by S. Stakel and J. C. Relihan in *The Montpellier Codex*, ed. H. Tischler, 4 pts. (Madison, 1978–1985), iv, p. 67.

[116] These motets are separated by two fascicles in W2. *Cecitas arpie fex ypocrysie* appears on fol. 191^{v} in fascicle 8 among the two-voice Latin motets, whereas *Ne sai que je die tant voi vilanie* occurs in the collection of two-voice French motets in fascicle 10 (fol. 219a).

this purpose through the association with the Baptist's feast at the summer solstice. The compilers of the *Roman* deftly positioned *Veritas arpie fex ypocrysie*/IOHANNE within in the 'roll call' section of the manuscript (fols. 12v–15v), where forty-nine allegorical Vices (including Carnality, Envy, Sloth, etc.) are named as courtiers of Fauvel (see Figure 1). This section of the manuscript directly precedes Fauvel's encounter with Dame Fortune, who will ensure the downfall of the donkey-ruler. The Latin poetry of this contrafactum maintains an important aural connection to the vernacular *Ne sai que je die* with the preponderance of the terminal [i][e] vowel sounds at the ends of lines:

Veritas arpie,	Truthfulness to the sword,
fex ypocrysie,	The lowest dregs of hypocrisy,
turpis lepra symonie,	The nasty disease of simony,
scandunt solium.	They all ascend to the throne.
Falsitatis vie	The pathways of falsehood
movent omni die	Stir up a battle every day
Christi veritate pie prelium.	With the pious truth of Christ.
Comites Golie	These comrades of Goliath
spernunt David prophetie	Scorn the words of witnesses of
verba testium,	The prophet David.
perdunt premium	They lose their reward –
filium Marie.	The son of Mary.
Simile Urie	Like Uriah,
Hostis tingunt gladium.	They whet the sword of the enemy.
Tenor: IOHANNE	John

Reminiscent of some of the texts by Philip the Chancellor, *Cecitas*/*Veritas arpie fex ypocrysie* is notable for its critical stance, drawing on Old Testament references to remind the nameless perpetrators that their reward in heaven will be lost should they continue their errant behaviour in church office. The separate allusions to both Goliath and Uriah suggest the imminent downfall of the corrupt ones rebuked in the upper-voice text. The comparison with the warrior Goliath is familiar. As the famous story from 1 Samuel goes, the confident Goliath, emerging from the camp of the Philistines, did battle with a young David, who fought on behalf of Saul and the Israelites. Goliath of course was mortally struck down by a slingshot from the undersized David.[117] The implication in the upper-voice text of this motet, then, is that the Philistines – a symbol for the enemies of the Church – will meet their demise for their arrogance.

The final utterance of the Latin motet ('Simile Urie / Hostis tingunt gladium') likewise engages an Old Testament analogy, as it compares the corrupt individuals to the lesser-known figure Uriah the Hittite. Uriah

[117] 1 Sam. 17: 1–54.

Figure 1 The motet *Veritas arpie fex ypocrisie*/IOHANNE. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146, fol. 13^{v} (middle column, top half)

himself was neither evil nor corrupt, but naive, manipulated and abused by the same King David. Similar to the hypocrites in power being admonished in the motet text, Uriah did not foresee his own downfall. After King David committed his infamous act of adultery with Uriah's beautiful wife Bathsheba, he sought to eliminate Uriah by placing him unprepared in the front lines of his army, where he was quickly killed by the enemy.[118] The Latin 'Simile Urie / Hostis tingunt gladium' confirms the notion that death is imminent.

Beyond the pure admonishment reminiscent of the Midsummer tradition, it should also be remembered that John the Baptist himself met a swift death by the sword as well, making the text resonate further with the John-inspired tenor. But there is yet more to the analogy between the Precursor and the Hittite: both were witnesses to corrupt rulers, specifically rulers who had each committed the act of adultery.[119] From this perspective, we can see how these scenes from the book of Samuel fit seamlessly into the solstitial ritual of criticising authority, not to mention the narrative of John the Baptist, especially when cued by the IOHANNE tenor.

Because of the mention of simony – the ecclesiastical crime of paying for offices in the Church's institutional hierarchy – the corrupt individuals who are censured in the upper voices of *Cecitas/Veritas arpie fex ypocrysie* appear to be clerics (and not temporal rulers). In the IOHANNE motet family, this Latin contrafactum serves as a complement to the targeting of temporal rulers in the text *Ne sai que je die*. Billington has explained that the Western Christian Church used the tradition of speaking out on the nativity feast of John the Baptist as a reminder of the ephemerality of worldly power and success, emphasising that the only permanent authority

[118] 2 Sam. 11: 1–17. The scenes with the overconfident Goliath and the naive battle-figure Uriah represent two important moments in David's life and encapsulate his rise and fall – from his courageous actions on the battlefield to his infamous moral lapse as king. See E. H. Peterson, *First and Second Samuel* (Louisville, Ky.,1999), pp. 180–3.

[119] A sermon by the late fifteenth-century preacher Johann Meffret of Meissen (*Sermones de tempore [I–II] et de sanctis [III], sive Hortulus reginae* (Nuremberg, 1487)) provides additional evidence that these specific figures both were witnesses to acts of adultery and remained 'loyal soldiers'. Meffret connects the plight of the Baptist to that of Uriah the Hittite in a sermon for the Decollation of John the Baptist (29 August): 'Ita etiam Johannes qui arguit Herodiadem de opere nephario iussu eius missus est in carcerem. Illud adulterium occiditur iam fidelem militem. Legit ii Reg. Xi. Postquam David adulterium commisit cum Bersabee uxore urie ducens eam in domum suam misit nunciu[m] ad Joab dicens, Mitte uriam ex adverso belli ubi fortissimum est prelium et relinquite eum ut processus interiat quod et factum est et plura alia mala fecit adulterium' ('Thus, John – who accused Herodias of a vicious deed – was sent to prison by his [Herod's] command. That adultery was struck down by the already loyal soldier. We read in 2 Kings [Samuel] 11: After David committed adultery with Bathsheba, wife of Uriah, by leading her into his house, he sent word for Joab, saying: Send Uriah to the front lines where the fighting is the strongest and then withdraw from him. Thus it was done and the adultery made many other bad things').

of this world belongs to Christ.[120] However, she does not broach the subject of those speaking out against corruption within the Church itself, as we witness in *Cecitas arpie*. This motet text, in short, suggests that clerical abuses should be included in the possibilities of St John's Day criticisms aimed at those invested with the power of ecclesiastical office.[121]

The stern warning to authorities, issued in both *Ne sai que je die*/IOHANNE and its Latin contrafactum, is registered at the musical surface. In two versions of this motet, the final gesture is modified from the clausula source and recast with an unexpectedly suspended *fa–mi* resolution in the upper voice for the final two notes over the tenor's final pitch D (Example 4). While this compositional turn represents a slight departure from other examples of this well-travelled motet, the conclusion deepens the emotion in this short work, and modern performances have tended to emphasise the ending's threatening quality quite profitably for its pathos.[122] The conclusion in the vernacular 'Mes en derriere font pis' ('ultimately they will do worse') from the Montpellier Codex and the corresponding Latin 'Hostis tingunt gladium' ('They whet the sword of the enemy') from the Fauvel manuscript are ominous suggestions on their own. But together with this striking musical gesture and the looming Johannine tenor, these foreboding texts sound a menacing warning to those in power.

That the Latin and vernacular motets on the IOHANNE tenor censure ecclesiastical and royal authorities respectively lends credence to the idea that there was still political significance tied to the feast of John the Baptist, as the Christian overlay to Midsummer Day.[123] Indeed, the coincidence of John's nativity feast with Midsummer rituals involving the admonishment of the powerful casts a political hue on the saint's reception. John's ministry itself can, in some ways, be considered a moral reprimand to his followers in preparation for the coming of Christ,[124] while the details

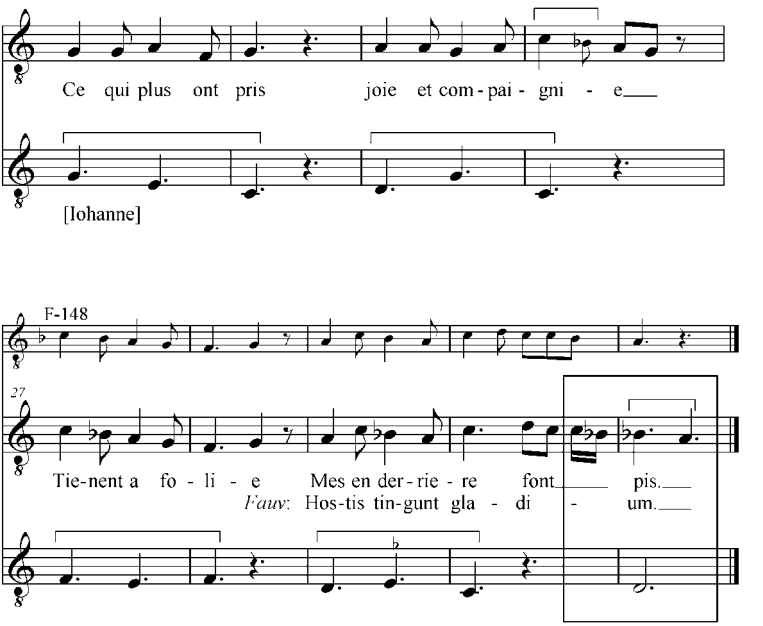
[120] Billington, *Midsummer: A Cultural Subtext*, p. 21.

[121] It may seem unusual to have this particular motet text, ostensibly aimed at clerics, included in the *Roman de Fauvel*, which was probably given to King Philip V of France. One must keep in mind, however, that the manuscript was not merely an *admonitio regum* (cautionary document to kings), but also aimed its satire at the church and society at large. See *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 146*, ed. E. H. Roesner, F. Avril and N. Freeman Regalado (New York, 1990), p. 1.

[122] For recordings illustrating the drama of the cadence in *Ne sai que je die*/IOHANNE, see *Love's Illusion: Music from the Montpellier Codex, 13th century*, Anonymous 4, Harmonia Mundi France 907109 and *Music of Medieval Love*, New York's Ensemble for Early Music, Ex Cathedra Records 70070-29005-2 (Text: *Veritas arpie*).

[123] This premise contrasts with the position of Charles Scobie, who, in his seminal book on John the Baptist, ascribed 'no political significance for John'. See Scobie, *John the Baptist* (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 86.

[124] See, for example, Matt. 3: 1–3.



Example 4 End of *Ne sai que je die*/IOHANNE (Mo, fol. 235[r]), following the transcription by Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIII[e] siècle*, iii, p. 9. Corresponding text in Fauv, fol. 13[r] included for comparison

surrounding John's beheading are a fitting example of his questioning of moral authority. However, the general nature of the Latin and vernacular corruption texts transports the idea of moral chastisement to a broader sphere, well beyond the usual exegetical territory associated with the Precursor saint.

The evidence for the repudiation of authorities is scarcely reported in the sources that have come down to us, probably due to the fact that these practices were performed by the powerless, who would have lacked the means to record and preserve these events for posterity. Still, traces of mock elections, the burning of effigies and other scattered pre-modern testimony intensify our picture of the political vitriol emanating from the populace in many locales and across several historical periods. The condemnation of the haughty was not surprising given the pre-Christian heritage of the 'Fall of Fortune' around the Midsummer festivities, where citizens reflected on the ephemeral nature of those in high office, even to the point of demonstrating their hot-headedness towards the powerful. The underlying presence of John the Baptist in the tenor of in *Ne sai que je die* and *Cecitas arpie* hardly lessens the admonishments in the upper voices.

Instead, the polysemic potential of the Johannine tenor melody effectively opens up a discursive space for the cautionary sentiments of the upper voices and even draws our attention to the time of year when it might have been performed.

CONCLUSION

The ancient Romans were no strangers to the great ambivalence of the summer solstice: it was at once a day of celebration and one of great crisis. Pliny considered the festival of Midsummer a moment of great interest to the whole earth, serving as an important turning point in the year (*magnus hic anni cardo*).[125] As people rejoiced in the blossoming plant life and the plentiful daylight during this critical time, they experienced the emotional 'high' of the season; at the same time, they were reminded of the 'low' to come in the colder and darker months ahead. The analogy with the waning sun in the cycle of the calendar year was echoed in a pessimistic view of earthly power. The earliest Christians' appropriation of Midsummertide as the nativity feast for St John established clear symmetry with Christ's nativity around the time of Midwinter, creating what James George Frazer has termed the 'golden hinges' of the calendar year.[126] But more importantly, the Forerunner's nativity feast accommodated the wide-ranging, pre-Christian imagery and practices that surrounded the Midsummer celebration. The Christian overlay on pagan observances was not overpowering, as demonstrated both in the Green Wolf ritual and in the admonitions of theologians, bishops and clerics.

One may think of this process in musical terms and apply it to this large family of thirteenth-century motets built on the tenors IOHANNE and MULIERUM. Mainly drawn from recognised liturgical plainchant, these all-important tenors are the authoritative voice of the Church. At the same time, the tenors are wordless and fragmented, and the control they exert on the upper voices varies widely, from texts that theoretically could be sung on a given liturgical feast to seemingly distant descriptions of ribald, pastoral encounters. The tenor implicitly reconciles and sanctions the thematic direction of these unpredictably layered voices, whether pious or profane in nature. This symbolic musical extraction does not stifle that which is discordant in the upper voices – it embraces the new poetry. Just

[125] Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. J. Bostock, 6 vols. (London, 1855–7), iv, pp. 92–3.

[126] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, x, pp. 181–2. Similarly, Françoise Laurent has called the opposing nativities 'le jeu de ricochet entre les destinées de Jésus et de Jean' ('The game of ricochet between the destinies of Jesus and John'). See Laurent, '"Une voix crie dans le desert…" Parole sainte et parole inspirée dans la *Vie* versifiée de saint Jean-Baptiste composée dans le premier tiers du XIV^e siècle', in *Jean-Baptiste: Le precurseur au Moyen Age*, Actes du 26^e colloque du CUER MA, 22–24 février 2001 (Aix-en-Provence, 2002), p. 155.

as a sermon could potentially draw on well-known images and use capricious rhetoric to illustrate as little as a single evangelical verse, so have composer-poets used motet texts to explicate their tenors, sometimes in unexpected and ironic ways.

In the present case of the solstitial references, these images were evidently embedded, perhaps almost from birth, in the minds of composers. The special markers of Midsummer (women, sun, fire, hot-headedness, flowers and general folly) are hardly conspicuous when viewed individually. But when they all appear in a single large family of motets, governed by the tenors associated with the nativity feast of John the Baptist, their repetition becomes meaningful and indicative of the mindset of the composers. The creators of these works instinctively incorporated wide-ranging seasonal associations in motets, a genre in which a tradition of commentary prevailed. Through analysis of entire motet families, these references can be distilled from what is otherwise the generic poetry of the pastourelles and courtly love songs of the late Middle Ages.

This study suggests that more connections remain between the venerable tenors and their expounding upper voices in these clerical ditties, many of which were probably created for a festival-type milieu. The ripest areas for further enquiry involve those tenors associated with saints' feasts, since these days generally include a melange of traditions, as we have seen with the nativity feast of John the Baptist.[127] Pursuing the cultural meaning and seasonal implications of these pithy tenors, we will continue to unearth references to popular culture embedded in other tenor families and other genres of late medieval music.[128] In doing so, we can witness an assimilation – or dissolution – of perceived sacred and secular poles, at the same time conceptualising a new kind of 'learned' musical product of the Middle Ages, one that admits popular allusions into some of our most revered polyphonic works of this period.

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[127] Another related case that awaits study is the intersection and relationship of May Day and Maypole rituals with the SUSTINERE/PORTARE motet complex for the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross (3 May).

[128] References to water and fecundity on the feast of St John the Baptist appear in the final stanzas of the sequence *Helizabet Zachariae* from Las Huelgas Codex. For a transcription, see *The Las Huelgas Manuscript*, ed. G. A. Anderson, 2 vols. (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982), i, pp. 111–12. Also, there was a widespread tradition of gathering dew on the feast, in order to cure various ailments. Curiously, allusions to dew in music for John the Baptist surface in *Basis prebens*, the lone sequence from the Ivrea Codex. For a study and transcription of this sequence, see K. Kügle, 'Aspects of Composition in the Late Middle Ages: The Rhymed Sequence "Basis prebens firmamentum"', in *Il Codice I-IV.115 della Biblioteca Capitolare di Ivrea, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, 15–16 settembre 2000*, ed. S. Baldi (Turin, 2003), pp. 51–62.

APPENDIX 1

The Green Wolf Ceremony

Source: J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, 3rd edn, 12 vols. (New York, 1935), x, pp. 183–4.

Every year, on the twenty-third of June, the Eve of St. John, the Brotherhood of the Green Wolf chose a new chief or master, who had always to be taken from the hamlet of Conihout. On being elected, the new head of the brotherhood assumed the title of the Green Wolf and donned a peculiar costume consisting of a long green mantle and a very tall green hat of a conical shape and without a brim. Thus arrayed he stalked solemnly at the head of the brothers, chanting the hymn of St. John, the crucifix and holy banner leading the way, to a place called Chouquet. Here the procession was met by the priest, precentors, and choir, who conducted the brotherhood to the parish church. After hearing mass, the company adjourned to the house of the Green Wolf, where a simple repast, such as is required by the church on fast-days, was served up to them. Then they danced before the door till it was time to light the bonfire. Night being come, the fire was kindled to the sound of hand-bells by a young man and a young woman, both decked with flowers. As the flames rose, the *Te Deum* was sung, and a villager thundered out a parody in the Norman dialect of the hymn *Ut queant laxis*. Meantime the Green Wolf and his brothers, with their hoods down on their shoulders and holding each other by the hand, ran round the fire after the man who had been chosen to be the Green Wolf of the following year. Though only the first and the last man of the chain had a hand free, their business was to surround and seize thrice the future Green Wolf, who in his efforts to escape belaboured the brothers with a long wand which he carried. When at last they succeeded in catching him, they carried him to the burning pile and made as if they would throw him on it. This ceremony over, they returned to the house of the Green Wolf, where a supper, still of the most meager fare, was set before them. Up till midnight a sort of religious solemnity prevailed. No unbecoming word might fall from the lips of any of the company, and a censor, armed with a hand-bell, was appointed to mark and punish instantly any infraction of the rule. But at the stroke of twelve all this was changed. Constraint gave way to license; pious hymns were replaced by Bacchanalian ditties, and the shrill quavering notes of the village fiddle hardly rose above the roar of voices that went up from the merry brotherhood of the Green Wolf. Next day, the twenty-fourth of June or Midsummer Day, was celebrated by the same personages with the same noisy gaiety. One of the ceremonies consisted in parading, to the sound of

musketry, an enormous loaf of consecrated bread, which, rising in tiers,was surmounted by a pyramid of verdure adorned with ribbons. After that the holy hand-bells, deposited on the step of the altar, were entrusted as insignia of office to the man who was to be the Green Wolf next year.

APPENDIX 2

Motets on MULIERUM and IOHANNE

Motet	Sources (fols.)[a]	Source clausula	Setting	Themes/keywords[b]
Prodit lucis radius veri solis previus (371)/MULIERUM	F (392^{v})	—	3v, conductus-motet	'*light*', '*sun*'
Prima cedit femina serpentis consilio (372)/ MULIERUM	W2 (184^{r})	—	2v, Latin	*Women* (Mary, Eve)
Prima cedit femina serpentis consilio (372)/Mulierum hodie major natus oritur (373)/MULIERUM	Ba (37^{r})	—	3v, Latin	*Women* (Mary, Eve), '*sun* of justice', 'first *light*'
Mulierum hodie major natus oritur (373)/ MULIERUM	Hu (110^{r})	—	2v, Latin	*Women*, '*sun* of justice', 'first *light*'
En grant esfroi sui souvent (374)/MULIERUM	W2 (217^{v}), R (206^{v}), N (186^{r})	—	2v, vernacular, 'courtly'	—
En grant esfroi sui souvent (374)/Souvent me fait souspirer (375)/MULIERUM	Mo (122^{v})	—	3v, vernacular, 'courtly'	Aural association of 'souvent' between Tr and Du; 'souspirer' connection with *Salve Regina*

Motet	Sources (fols.)[a]	Source clausula	Setting	Themes/keywords[b]
Mulieris marcens venter dum virescit (369)/ MULIER[UM]	F (406^{v}), W2 (174^{r}), Hu (110^{v})	W1-65	2v, Latin	*Woman* (Elizabeth), conception
A la revenue dou tens qui s'esclere (370)/MULIER[UM]	W2 (222^{v})	W1-65	2v, vernacular, pastourelle	Rejection, 'season which is *bright*', '*shade*' '*lambs*'
Mulierum natus est major (376)/MULIERUM	W2 (173^{r})	—	2v, Latin	*Women*, '*sun* of justice'
Mulier misterio sterilis (376a)/[MULIERUM]	Ma (135^{v}), Hu (90^{r})	F-146	2v. Latin	*Woman* (Elizabeth), conception
Mout souvent m'ont demandé plusour (377)/Mout ai esté en doulour longuement pour bien amer (378)/MULIERUM	Mo (177^{v}), Cl (383^{r})	—	3v, vernacular, 'courtly'	'mout' assonance with tenor MU-LIERUM
Clamans in deserto docens in aperto (379)/IOHANNE	F (409^{v})	F-148	2v, Latin	Johannine, '*lamb*'
Ne sai que je die tant voi vilanie (380)/[IOHANNE]	W2 (219[a]^{v}), Mo (235^{r}), LoC (3^{r}), Bes (no. 26)	F-148	2v, vernacular, corruption	*Admonition*, '*foolish* excesses'

Motet	Sources (fols.)[a]	Source clausula	Setting	Themes/keywords[b]
Quant vient en mai qu'erbe va verdoiant (382)/Ne sai que je die tant voi vilanie (380)/IOHANNE	Mo (305^{v}), Ba (44^{r})	F-148	3v, vernacular, pastoral/corruption	*Admonition* to secular rulers, '*garland*', '*dance*'
Cecitas arpie fex ypocrysie (381)/IOHANNE	W2 (191^{v}), Fauv (13^{v})	F-148	2v, Latin, corruption	*Admonition* to clerics
Arida frondescit (383)/IOHANNE	Franco[c]	F-148	2v, Latin (incipit only)	*Water*, *fecundity*?
La bele en cui je me fi merci cri (388)/IOHANNE	W2 (236^{v})	—	2v, vernacular, chanson-requette	'*Night* and *day*'
La bele estoile de mer cui amer doit l'en sans fauser (389)/La bele en cui je me fi merci cri (388)/ IOHANNE	Mo (397^{r-v}), Ba (34^{v})	—	3v, vernacular, chanson-requette, devotional	Marian, '*Night* and *day*'
Celui de cui je me fi que je fi (390)/La bele estoile de mer cui amer doit l'en sans fauser (389)/La bele en cui je me fi merci cri (388)/ /IOHANNE	Mo (24^{v})	—	4v, vernacular, chanson-requette, devotional	Marian, '*Night* and *day*'

Motet	Sources (fols.)[a]	Source clausula	Setting	Themes/keywords[b]
Ave plena gracia pia via per Maria (391)/IOHANNE	W2 (178^{r}), Franco[c]	—	2v, Latin	Marian
Ave plena gracia pia via per Maria (391)/Psallat vox ecclesie hodie regi glorie (392) /IOHANNE	MuB (VI^{v})	—	3v, Latin	Marian, Christological
Grevé m'ont li mal d'amer mieus en vaudrai (385)/IOHANNE	W2 (218a), Mo (251^{r}), N (180^{r}), R (205^{v})	—	2v, vernacular, 'courtly'	'*follying*'
Virgo mater salutis exordium vocis supplicancium (386)/IOHANNE	W2 (189^{r})	—	2v, Latin	Marian, '*godless fires*'
Sans orgueil et sans envie par un ajournant (387)/IOHANNE	W2 (246^{v}), Mo (256^{r})	—	2v, vernacular, pastourelle	—
Por noient me reprent hom de noumer en ma chacon (384)/[IO]HAN[NE]	W2 (239^{v}), StV (290^{v})	—	2v, vernacular, 'courtly'	—

Motet	Sources (fols.)[a]	Source clausula	Setting	Themes/keywords[b]
Mainte dame est desperee de loial amour avoir (393)/[IO]HAN[NE]	R (209^{v}), N (191^{r}), StV (290^{v})	—	2v, vernacular, 'courtly'	Love fulfilled
Ioanne Yelisabeth gravida visitatur a Maria virgine ac salutatur (383a/914)/[IOHANNE]	Ma (137^{r})	—	2v, Latin	Johannine, Visitation

[a] Subgroups boxed in boldface share the same music, whether or not the source clausula is known. Manuscript sigla, clausula numeration and updated catalogue numbers for the motets are taken from Hendrik van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, 1989).

[b] Italic words indicate a keyword specific to Midsummer images or rituals.

[c] From Franco of Cologne's theoretical treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis*.