MARY CHANNEN CALDWELL

SINGING AND LEARNING (IN) LATIN IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

ABSTRACT

Questo articolo esplora le modalità attraverso cui l'apprendimento fin dall'infanzia del latino come 'lingua madre' letteraria e testuale ha plasmato i contorni della canzone su testo latino nell'Europa medievale. Si evidenzia come, in contrasto con le tradizioni scritte della canzone vernacolare, la canzone latina medievale riveli tracce dell'infanzia, dell'adolescenza e della giovane età adulta trascorsa imparando a cantare, leggere e comporre in latino. La delucidazione avviene in tre modi: primo, considerando le canzoni latine notate destinate esplicitamente al canto dei bambini; secondo, esaminando la rifrazione dell'apprendimento della lingua latina nel canto; infine, esponendo i modi in cui il canto latino è collegato agli studenti o riflette sulla vita studentesca e sui contesti educativi in lingua latina. Collegare la vasta e complessa tradizione del canto latino con la realtà della vita quotidiana nell'Europa medievale e la sua enfasi sull'educazione latina permette di ampliare l'ambito degli studi attuali per mettere in primo piano i ruoli svolti da bambini, adolescenti e studenti nella creazione e nell'esecuzione musicale.

PAROLE CHIAVE canto latino, educazione, lingua, gioventù, studenti

SUMMARY

This article explores how the learning of Latin from childhood as a literary and textual 'mother tongue' shaped the contours of Latin-texted song in medieval Europe. I show how, by contrast to most written traditions of vernacular song, medieval Latin song reveals traces of medieval childhoods, adolescent years, and young adulthood spent learning to sing, read, and write in Latin. I illustrate this in three ways: first, by considering notated Latin songs explicitly intended for young people to sing; second, by examining the refraction of Latin language learning in song; and finally, by exposing ways in which Latin song reflects upon or is connected to students, student life, and Latin educational contexts. Connecting the vast and complex tradition of Latin song to the realities of everyday life in medieval Europe and its emphasis on Latin education expands the scope of current scholarship to foreground the roles played by children, adolescents, and students in the creation and performance of Latin song.

KEYWORDS Latin song, education, language, youth, students

«Why did one write poetry? One was taught to in school».
(Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, p. 468)

Ernst Robert Curtius's pithy question and answer from his foundational 1953 tome on European literature appears in the epigraph in a purposefully playful way. In the Middle Ages, as now, one could certainly compose poetry without having learned to do so in school; indeed, many medieval and modern poets would be insulted by the idea that their reason for writing poetry lay in its role as an academic subject they once studied.[1] Curtius's point, however, is well taken in the context of the majority of medieval poets and their surviving works. A basic level of literacy acquired during schooling was required to produce even the simplest of poems transmitted in writing.[2] For more complex poetry, an advanced level of education was necessary not only to compose the poetry in the first place but to write it down.[3] If this is true for poetry alone, it is amplified when music enters the picture and poetry becomes notated song – «Why did one write *song*? One was taught to in school». The ability to compose and copy song – music and text – was implicitly and explicitly taught and learned in schools at all levels from the grammar and song school to the university.

Musicologists and literary scholars have long acknowledged the learned roots of medieval song across languages, understanding the surviving written music of medieval Europe to reflect highly literate and frequently elite clerical, monastic, and lay communities.[4] The well-studied evidence of this literate culture of musical production is apparent in both Latin and vernacular repertoires through, among other features, the identification of intertexts and influences ranging from the classical and biblical to the contemporary and political.[5] Less acknowledged is that the level of literacy required to create and perform song in either Latin or a vernacular, that is, the ability not only to read and sing but also to create and compose, exposes the artificial categorization of song in medieval and modern contexts according to language.[6]

* Many thanks to Alberto Rizzuti, Ada Kuskowski, and James Blasina for offering valuable feedback on this article at various stages. My thanks to Jennifer Ottman for her assistance with translations.

1. Curtius continues onward to describe the 'tortures' of writing verse experienced by some medieval writers in CURTIUS, *European Literature*, pp. 468-469.
2. As Stephen C. Jaeger notes, Curtius statement «makes poetry into an assemblage of received learning»; JAEGER, *The Envy of Angels*, p. 139.
3. Scribes and poets were not necessarily one and the same, of course; on the relationship between scribes and authorship; see FISHER, *Scribal Authorship*.
4. John Haines argues that a great deal of non-notated or preserved music was also sung and performed in medieval Europe, much of it by women and non-literate communities who were unable or did not want to record their musical practices. HAINES, *Medieval Song*; ID., *Performance*.
5. In French song, see for instance BROWNLEE, *Literary Intertextualities*; PLUMLEY, *Intertextuality*. For Latin song, see the overview in EVERIST, *Discovering Medieval Song*, pp. 241-279. More generally, see CLARK – LEACH, eds., *Citation and Authority*.
6. This artifice is amply evidenced by the survival of works and genres routinely mixing languages. Yet, as Helen Deeming notes, scholarship on medieval song still features «a

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Yet, while Latin and vernacular song writing have much in common, differences emerge along linguistic contours, even if the boundaries are messy and ill-defined. Some differences are immediately clear – vernacular repertoires tend to be regionally circumscribed, connected to areas where a particular language is spoken, whereas Latin, the language of ecclesiastical, pedagogical, and civic spaces, was shared and transregional.[7] Vernacular song privileges amorous themes more so than Latin song, while satirical and historical themes appear more often in Latin than in vernacular song;[8] devotional themes, however, are common across languages, if more prevalent in Latin.[9]

Even when expressing similar themes or ideas, language shapes the expression of ideas.[10] How each language was learned by a given poet/composer factors into these differences – for much of the Middle Ages, vernaculars were initially learned orally and aurally in the home and community, developing as literary and written modes of communication only in higher levels of education and in some cases only adjacent to formal learning environments.[11] Latin education beginning in childhood for boys and girls, by contrast, took place in formal schools, most affiliated with the church, that were responsible for teaching Latin grammar, plainchant, reading, and composition, with music and grammar intimately intertwined.[12] This broad difference in the early acquisition of Latin as opposed to the vernacular in their written forms has implications for all kinds of literary productions, including song. The way in which a language was heard and learned, and the contexts of its acquisition, influenced when, why, and how text was assembled and performed with melody.

While a seemingly obvious point, this has, to my knowledge, never been stated or examined in any detail in the context of medieval song, and particularly of Latin-texted song. In this article, I begin to explore how the institutio-

tendency to retain the problematic categories of language, function, and musical texture», citing contrafacture among other confounding elements in terms of linguistic categorizations. DEEMING, *Latin Song I*, p. 1020.

7. This does not account for works that are translated or contrafacted; see for instance the networks described in DEEMING, *Multilingual Networks*.
8. There is no one catalogue for any single song repertoire that compares across languages; thematic groupings are always inherently messy too; these are generalizations by necessity.
9. See, for instance, EPSTEIN, *'Prions en chantant'*.
10. This is clearest in multilingual songs in which individual languages can be exploited for their respective expressive and formal resources and cultural resonances. See, for example, the case studies in MURRAY, *Telling the Difference*; DAVIS, *Hybrid Harmony*.
11. As Robert Black notes with respect to elementary education in Italy in particular, «A curious fact in the history of Italian pre-university education in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is that the vernacular was not used at what must seem to us as the most obvious point in the curriculum: the elementary stages of learning to read». *The Vernacular and the Teaching of Latin*, p. 707.
12. On the relationship between music and grammar in education, see LEACH, *Grammar*. See also ZIEMAN, *Singing the New Song*, on the collocation of 'reading and singing' in song schools. While girls were educated at a lesser rate than boys, they nevertheless received training in grammar and song, especially in the context of convents and in noble households; see, for instance, YARDLEY, *The Musical Education*, on musical training of girls in convents, and JACOBS-POLLEZ, *The Education of Noble Girls*, pp. 99-110, more generally.

nalized learning of Latin in schools as a literary and textual 'mother tongue' shaped the contours of Latin-texted song in medieval Europe – its performance, audiences, form, and thematic foci.[13] Rather than restating truisms around the elite learnedness of Latin song, my intent is to examine the embeddedness of formal Latin education and its surrounding cultures within repertoires of medieval Latin song.[14] In ways not as visible in written vernacular song practices, Latin song traditions reveal traces of medieval childhoods, adolescent years, and young adulthood spent learning to sing, read, and compose in Latin. In age, I am referring to youth from age seven (*pueritia*, childhood, which follows infancy, *infantia*) through late adolescence (*adolescentia*), falling between fourteen and eighteen years old, the latter age reflecting a benchmark when men could join major church orders and both men and women attained legal majority in many regions.[15]

During childhood and adolescence, boys and girls with financial and social access to formal learning environments associated with collegiate churches, cathedrals, local parishes, and universities underwent training in Latin and the liturgy.[16] Reading and singing were the foundations and, in some cases, students advanced to the study of rhetoric and composition, among other subjects. Many young people did not surpass functional literacy in Latin (some acquiring only liturgical literacy[17]) and moved into professional careers or positions. Others, however, continued their Latin education in universities (for men) or in monastic or clerical settings (for men and women).[18] These educational and religious contexts from the most elementary to the advan-

13. CANNON, *Vernacular Latin*, argues, in an English context, that Latin was effectively the «*sermo maternus* of literacy for every English writer, whatever language he spoke from birth», or the mother tongue of literacy. For a study that focuses on the intersection of music and Latin as well as vernacular literacy acquisition in a later period, see VAN ORDEN, *Children's Voices*.

14. Among the very few named poets and composers responsible for medieval Latin song, and especially the *conductus*, are intellectual and highly educated figures like Philip the Chancellor and Walter of Châtillon. For a study of the didactic nature of Latin song in more elite and erudite contexts, see, for instance, RILLON-MARNE, *Homo considera*; EAD., *La musique*.

15. The age at which children reached adulthood varied regionally and was dependent on gender, class, and social and cultural context. See RICHÉ, *Education and Culture*, pp. 447-448; SHAHAR, *Childhood*, pp. 21-31, 187-188; HANAWALT, *Growing Up*; ADAMS, *Medieval Children's Literature*, p. 4.

16. On education more generally and its institutional frameworks, David L. Sheffler makes the point that the «song schools, writing schools, schools of arithmetic, grammar schools and private instructors that made up the late medieval educational landscape did not constitute, except in the broadest sense, an educational system. Rather, they were a loosely knit, largely parallel, and frequently overlapping collection of institutions and individuals with widely disparate ends». *Schools and Schooling*, pp. 1-2.

17. On liturgical literacy, see ZIEMAN, *Singing the New Song*.

18. Women were largely excluded from universities (as well as from many public grammar schools), with only a handful of exceptions in medical schools; higher levels of education for women were pursued in convent settings or in personal households with tutors. For an exceptional case of a woman who cross-dresses in order to attend university, see SHANK, *A Female University Student*.

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ced reflect the cultural backdrop of Latin song in medieval Europe; surviving sources are overwhelmingly associated with clerical, monastic, and pedagogical institutions rather than with aristocratic courts or lay communities.[19] Where men and women were educated in the Latin language and liturgy, Latin song naturally flourished too.

The external evidence of manuscript sources and their contexts of production and use, as well as the internal evidence of songs themselves, including texts, forms, and musical settings, shed light on three ways the cultural and pedagogical backdrop of Latin education shaped the contours of extant Latin song repertoires. First, and perhaps most importantly, I consider the survival of notated Latin songs explicitly intended for children to sing. Although youth undoubtedly sang in the vernacular in informal and non-liturgical/non-pedagogical settings, children rarely feature in non-Latinate written and notated song traditions in the Middle Ages.[20] The majority of the songs connected to children as performers are related to the liturgy, which itself served as a locus for Latin learning and singing. Second, Latin songs refract language learning poetically and musically, demonstrating an indebtedness to early Latin education and classrooms in a range of schools. These include didactic songs aiming to teach everything from the church modes to the days of the week as well as songs in which learning is indexed in rhetorically and structurally creative ways. Finally, Latin song routinely reflects upon or is connected to students and student life, either in works paying homage to the classrooms in which Latin was learned or by revealing compositional signs of a broader educational milieu. Together, these disparate traces connect the vast and complex tradition of Latin song to the realities of everyday life in medieval Europe and to Latin education, expanding the scope of scholarship on Latin song to highlight the roles played by children, adolescents, and students in its creation, performance, and reception.

A Childhood of Latin Song

Latin was the language of elementary education across medieval Europe; even if children who attended the sometimes synonymous grammar and song schools did not progress to university or take monastic or clerical orders, they acquired familiarity with the sounds, words, and grammar of Latin.[21] Outside

19. Although limited to works falling under the designation of *conductus*, see the overview of material 'witnesses' to Latin song in EVERIST, *Discovering Medieval Song*, pp. 11-17.
20. Exceptional works that, if not explicitly for children, depict their voices include poems like the so-called 'Choristers' Lament' in Middle English, copied ca. 1350 on blank leaves in the miscellaneous London, British Library, Arundel MS 292, describing a choirboy's difficulties in learning to sing using highly technical musical language; see UTLEY, *The Choristers' Lament*; SCHRADER, *The Inharmonious Choristers*; HOLSINGER, *Langland's Musical Reader*.
21. As MURPHY, *The Teaching of Latin*, p. 167, argues the sound of Latin always preceded the grammatical learning of Latin thanks to hearing and singing Latin daily in the liturgy.

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the home the first written texts and notated musical works children would be exposed to were in Latin through the psalter and liturgical chant as well as through everything from grammatical treatises to religious and moralizing prose, poetry, and song.[22] Even before fully understanding the words, syntax, and grammar of the language, children often became proficient in singing in Latin since, in only a few short years, they were required to sing and memorize psalms and hymns, as well as other chants (or parts thereof).[23] Virtually all of the written and sung texts to which children had access in school were Latin; scant evidence attests to the role of the vernacular in written form in schools at any level before the fourteenth century.[24]

Given the highly Latinate textual and musical milieu of medieval education up to and including university, youth unsurprisingly feature as intended audiences for and performers of a range of newly composed liturgical and extraliturgical Latin song.[25] This is not a new observation; children are well-studied as performers and listeners of chant within the Office and Mass.[26] Their participation in adjacent forms of Latin music making, however, is not as well understood. Non-liturgical singing in the schoolroom or within school communities is sparsely attested to, with only didactic songs, some notated, and the odd pedagogical or mnemonic verse copied on a flyleaf as evidence of pedagogically focused musical practices.[27] Better known in scholarship and popular culture are songs penned by either students or adults as recollections of their youthful days in school, lamenting cruel teachers, boring lessons, and the coming of holidays.[28] Surviving notebooks belonging to students or tea-

22. This refers to within the confines of a Latin education; outside of the liturgy and school, children may have been exposed to a wider range of texts. See, for instance, the examples collated in KLINE, ed., *Medieval Literature*; ORME, *Fleas, Flies, and Friars*. Lists of standard pedagogical Latin texts can be found throughout scholarship on medieval education; for a selection, see GRENDLER, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 111-114; BLACK; REYNOLDS, *Medieval Reading*, pp. 7-16.
23. See, for instance, the accounts in WRIGHT, *Education*; *Music and Ceremony*, pp. 165-195; BOYNTON, *Training*; EAD., *Boy Singers*; BOYNTON – COCHELIN, *The Sociomusical Role*; BOYNTON – RICE, eds., *Young Choristers, 650-1700*; YARDLEY, *The Musical Education*; KIRKMAN, *The Seeds of Medieval Music*.
24. The majority of elementary educational texts were in Latin until the fourteenth century and later; Sarah B. Lynch suggests, however, that teachers may have aurally explained grammar and other subjects using the vernacular. LYNCH, *Elementary and Grammar Education*, pp. 114-115. For examples of the vernacular in elementary and college education in Paris beginning in the fourteenth century see GABRIEL, *Garlandia*, pp. 97-124. Generally speaking, the vernacular was not formally permitted in song and grammar schools, in the choir, or in universities settings except on special feast days; see FASSLER, *The Feast of Fools*, p. 94 n. 99; OVERMAN, *The Student*, p. 244; RAIT, *Life*, p. 39.
25. The question of children's song in medieval Europe is complicated and parallels, in many ways, the efforts of literary scholars to establish a category of medieval children's literature; see ADAMS, *Medieval Children's Literature*.
26. See, for example, the chapters collected in BOYNTON – RICE, eds., *Young Choristers*.
27. For one fascinating example of a Latin monophonic song that Michael Long argues served as a musical riddle for young people learning to sing, see LONG, *Singing*.
28. ORME, *Medieval Children*, pp. 154-157. See also the sixteenth-century printed collection of 'antique' (medieval) Latin songs in the *Piae Cantiones Ecclesiasticae et Scholasticae*

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chers also bear witness to an active culture of writing Latin poetry, some of which may have been set to music.[29] In dedicated songbooks – manuscripts or discrete gatherings therein which solely transmit song – the role played by children as singers or listeners is more challenging to discern. This is true for many of the so-called 'central' sources for Latin song, such as those transmitting Aquitanian *versus* and Parisian *conducti*, as well as later songbooks and song collections from German-speaking regions.[30]

The participation of children in the performance of liturgical and extra-liturgical Latin song is best attested to in service books, especially those transmitting festal liturgies for Christmastide, religious plays, and tropes. Children are not the sole performers or audiences in any notated service book of which I am aware, but instead are woven into the devotional and musical tapestries of festive liturgies. Rubrics offer insights into the intended performance of works by younger members of the church, designated by reference to their young age and age-related status within the church, most often 'puer', boy, or 'clericulus', the latter the diminutive of cleric for a young boy; rubrics indicating gender and/or age are relatively uncommon in liturgical books copied in or intended for female institutions.[31] However, both 'puer' and 'clericulus' are found widely in rubrics in service books and tropers and are included among the *dramatis personae* of plays for the former term. While rubrics like these are not the sole signals of participation by younger members of religious and pedagogical communities, rubrics furnish some of the clearest examples and point towards the forms and registers of Latin song especially associated with youth.

In notated songbooks and troped liturgies containing Latin song, *puer*

Veterum Episcoporum… ex Psalmis recentioribus, ed. Theodoric Petri (Greifswald 1582), repr. Chiswick Press 1910, compiled by a rector at a cathedral school and sung in Nordic schools into the nineteenth century. Many of the songs in this collection can be found in manuscripts from several centuries prior. MÄKINEN, *Piae Cantiones*; HADIDIAN, *A Study and Critical Commentary*; SMITH, *School Life*, p. 90 n. 1.

29. Primarily focused on university students, see for instance the letters (and occasionally poems and songs) discussed in HASKINS, *The Life of Medieval Students*. Collections of Latin letters written by teachers and students often included poems that may have been sung; see below and the so-called Arbois and Tréguier formularies discussed in HAURÉAU, *Jean, Recteur des Écoles d'Arbois*; DELISLE, *Le formulaire de Tréguier*; PRIGENT, *Le formulaire de Tréguier*; TURCAN-VERKERK, *Lettres d'étudiants*; *Le Formulaire de Tréguier revisité*. See also ORME, *English School Exercises*, for a range of school exercises, many in verse from, from England (in both Latin and vernacular).

30. For an overview of Latin songbooks up to the thirteenth century, see DEEMING, *Latin Song I*.

31. See *ad vocem* «clericulus» in DU CANGE, *Glossarium*, and references to *clericuli* in a Laon ordinal cited in BOYNTON, *Boy Singers*, ordinal edited in CHEVALIER, *Ordinaires*. *Clericuli* also appear in rubrics in the Moosburger Graduale (discussed below) and in manuscripts for the troped Feast of the Circumcision at Le Puy, France, edited in CHEVALIER, *Prosolarium*. Like many terms referring to children, the meaning and use of the word *puer* is variable according to time and place. ADAMS, *Medieval Children's Literature*, p. 16. Note that *pueri* can refer to boys or to children more generally, as cited and discussed in YARDLEY, *Performing Piety*, p. 88.

occurs both in rubrics and within musical works to indicate changing performing forces by explicitly cueing performance by children. In the Seckauer Cantionarium copied ca. 1345 (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 756), a liturgical book with a cantionale, possibly from a song school in Seckau, a strophic song for Christmas sung before the Magnificat, *Stella nova radiat* (fols. 186r-187r), features a changing cue for its refrain.[32] At its initial occurrence, the refrain, beginning «Ergo novis laudibus», is cued with «Chor.» for «chorus». On the next folio, the refrain cue transforms into the abbreviation for *pueri*, persisting to the end of the song except when textual cues are altogether absent (see Figure 1).[33] This is the only time in the cantionale when *pueri* are explicitly cued and, while it is not clear whether these *pueri* represent a section of the larger choir indicated by «chorus», the refrain was clearly intended to be sung by children. Since Charles E. Brewer has suggested a song school as a possible place of origin for the Cantionarium, these refrain cues may reflect scribal acknowledgement of the available performing forces, as well as a desire to integrate children into the troped Christmas liturgy, a holiday in which children are regularly celebrated in honor of and as stand-ins for the Christ-child.

Similar rubrics indicating the performance of refrains by children are found in the troped liturgy for St James in the twelfth-century Codex Calixtinus (Santiago de Compostela, Archivo-Biblioteca de la Catedral, MS s.s.).[34] The manuscript includes a collection of tropes and *conducti* celebrating the saint; among these, *Iacobe sancte tuum* (fol. 131r, rubricated as «Conductum sancti Iacobi ab antiquo episcopo boneventino editum») features the following direction directly before its refrain beginning 'Fac preclues': «puer hoc repetat stans inter duos cantores» («the boy repeats this standing between the two singers») (see Figure 2).[35] Two other *conducti* in the Codex likewise cue a *puer* to sing the refrain: *Resonet nostra Domina* (fol. 132r) and *Salve festa dies veneranda* (fol. 132r-v), the performance directions in each case clearly rubricated. In the Seckauer Cantionarium and the Codex Calixtinus, children are not tasked with singing the entirety of the songs but refrains alone, with a group implied by *pueri* for the former and a singular child, *puer*, for the latter. The ritual and musical spaces in which these songs were sung may have been determined and dominated by adult voices, but children nevertheless play a

32. For the suggestion of a school context, see BREWER, *In Search*, p. 99 n. 10.

33. CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains*, pp. 132-135. *Stella nova radiat* is rubricted as «Ad item» referring to the rubric of the song before, «In die nativitatis Domini super magnificat». In the other known sources for *Stella nova radiat*, the refrain is cued but without reference to performing forces: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 409, fol. 72r; Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim. 100, fols. 245r-246r; and St. Pölten, Diözesanarchiv, MS 13, fols. 14r-15r.

34. On the Codex Calixtinus with a focus on its troped liturgy see WAGNER, Hrsg., *Gesänge*; WILLIAMS – STONES, eds., *Codex Calixtinus*; CORRIGAN, *Codex Calixtinus*; ASENSIO PALACIOS, *Neuma, espacio y liturgia*.

35. The *conductus*, refrain included, is also transmitted polyphonically on fols. 215v-216r. The *conductus* includes a lectionary formula, indicating that it could be used to introduce a reading. On lectionary formulae in Latin song, see EVERIST, *Discovering Medieval Song*, pp. 52-56; HILEY, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 248-250; AHN, *The Exegetical Function*, pp. 128-131.

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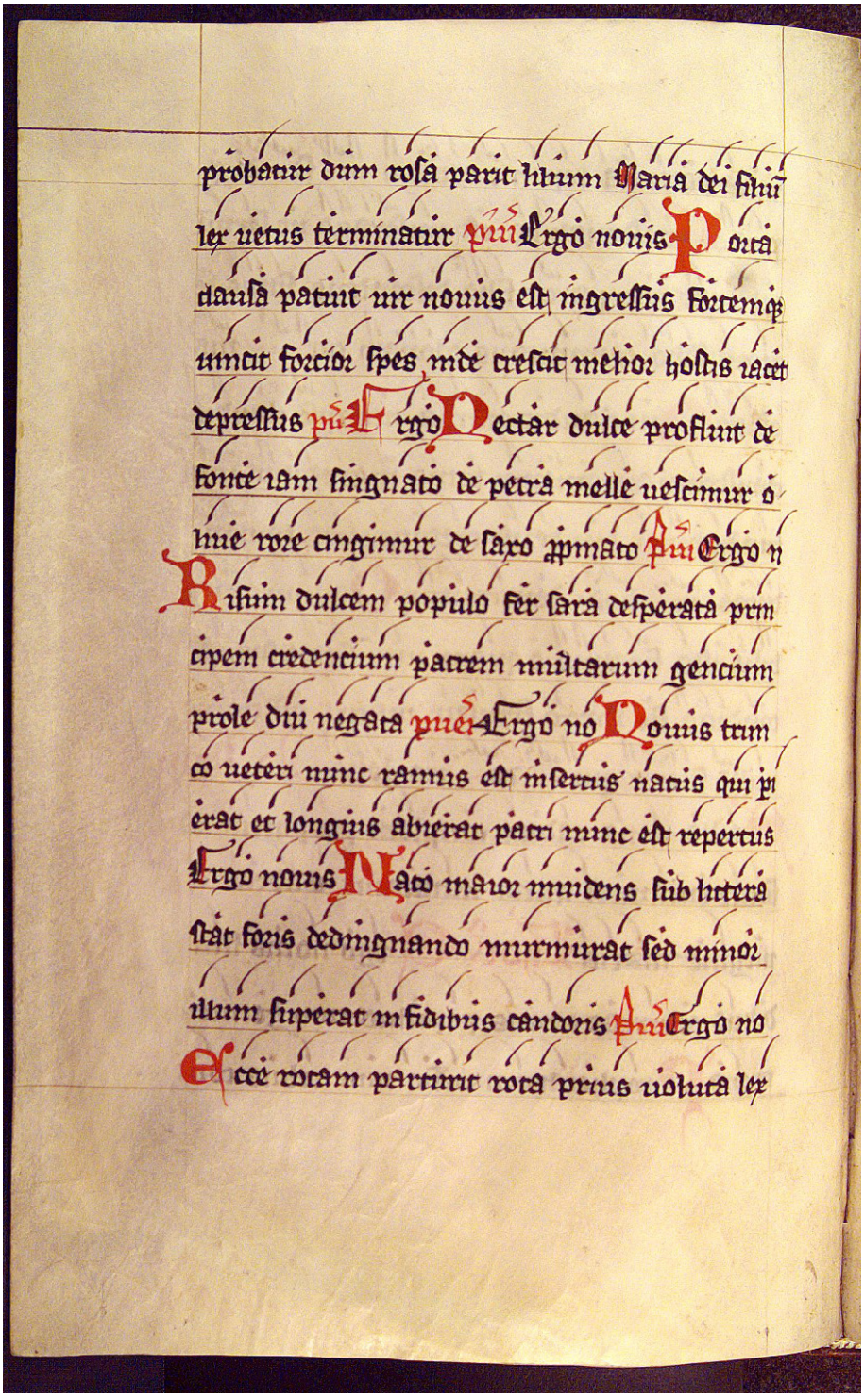

Figure 1. Seckauer Cantionarium, fol. 186v, *Stella nova radiat* (excerpt)

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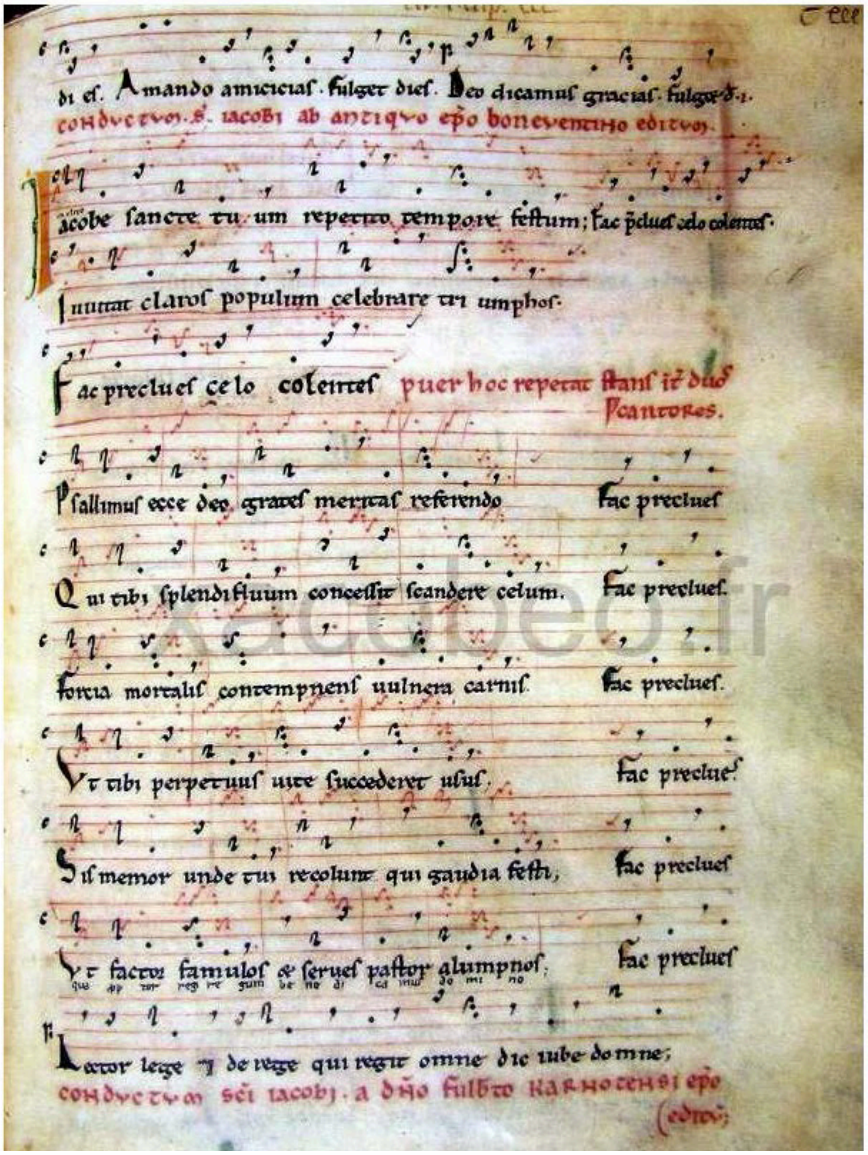

Figure 2. Codex Calixtinus, fol. 131r, *Iacobe sancte tuum* (excerpt)

visual and aural role, however carefully controlled through the performance of repeated refrains rather than changing stanzas.

The foregrounding of children at Christmas continues through to the Feast of the Holy Innocents on December 28, a commemoration of the massacre of young children in Bethlehem by King Herod following Christ's Nativity (Matthew 2:16-18).[36] The liturgy of the feast stresses the youth and innocence of children considered to be the first martyrs of the church in ways that eli-

36. On the Feast of the Holy Innocents, see YOUNG, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, vol. 2, pp. 102-124; DUDLEY, *Natalis Innocentum: The Holy Innocents in Liturgy and Drama*; BOYNTON, *Performative Exegesis*; DAHHAOUI, *Voyages*; *Le pape de Saint-Étienne*; HARRIS, *Sacred Folly*. See also BOYNTON, *Boy Singers*, pp. 45-48.

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cited a strong connection with children in the liturgy and in devotional song repertoires either as performers or as honorees. Such is the case with a song for the Feast of the Holy Innocents in the Later Cambridge Songbook, *Magno gaudens gaudio* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.I.17.1, fol. 4v [297v]).[37] While lacking a clear position within the liturgy of the day, it highlights the invocation of children as performers for a feast honoring the Innocents:

1. [M]agno gaudens gaudio nostra puericia sallat cum tripudio[38] propter hec natalia. Ad onorem innocentum sonent lire timpana. Lete mentis argumentum cantus sit et organa.	1. Let our company of boys, rejoicing with great joy, celebrate in song with great joy this anniversary feast! In honor of the Innocents let harps and drums sound! Let songs and instruments be evidence of a happy mind!
Iure festi *cum celesti* *curia* *gratulemur* *et letemur* *eya.* *Nostra sint familia* *iocus et leticia* *risus pax et gracia* *cum perenni gloria.*	*Rightly festive, let us rejoice and be merry with the court of heaven, eya! Let sport and gladness, laughter, peace, and goodwill make up our household with perpetual glory!*
2. Gaudeamus pueri, Herodes defunctus est. Facti sumus superi hostis noster victus est penam ferens infernalem surgere non poterit et nos agnum immortalem sequimur quo ierit.	2. Boys, let us rejoice, Herod is dead, we have conquered, our enemy is overcome. Suffering eternal torment, he will not be able to rise again; and we will follow the immortal Lamb wherever he may go.
Iure festi *cum celesti* *curia*	*Rightly festive, let us rejoice and be merry with the court of heaven, eya! Let sport and gladness, laughter,*

37. The foliation used here, representing the original order of the booklet, follows STEVENS, ed., *The Later Cambridge Songs*, 95-98, with the translation adapted from p. 97 (the modern foliation on the upper right reads fol. 6v and is employed in the digital facsimile; see Cited Manuscripts). Stevens describes the song on p. 29 as «if not a liturgical item in the strictest sense, is certainly closely connected to a feast. It celebrates the Holy Innocents, but even though sung on their day (28 December) seems to have moved further from the liturgical centre. The question, too complicated to resolve here, is whether the boys' procession is part of the procession at first vespers of Holy Innocents, or something less formal belonging to *nostra puericia* (2), to *Nostra ... familia* (15), at a 'gaudy' of their own. The music is tuneful, repetitive, memorable, and provided with a refrain».

38. Here the phrase «psallat cum tripudio» likely does not refer to dance, but instead reflects a stereotyped phrase that appears widely in the Latin devotional song tradition. See CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains*, pp. 158-165. Wulf Arlt, also citing this song, notes the frequent metaphorical use of the term tripudio from tripudiare; *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, pp. 42-43.

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gratulemur	*peace, and goodwill make up our*
et letemur	*household with perpetual glory!*
eya.	
Nostra sint familia	
iocus et leticia	
risus pax et gracia	
cum perenni gloria.	

The strophic melody accompanying this festive poetic text is relatively simple, featuring short-ranged gestures, a narrow ambitus, and a repeated refrain. John Stevens notes its singable qualities, describing it as a 'boys' song' and suggesting that boys likely performed it.[39] Indeed, the text calls upon «nostra puericia» to rejoice in honor of the Innocents in the first strophe, concluding the strophe by calling upon boys once again to «let songs and instruments be evidence of a happy mind». Similarly, the second strophe enjoins boys to rejoice («gaudeamus pueri»), while the refrain following each strophe emphasizes a familial setting with its «sport and gladness, laughter, peace, and goodwill».

While *Magno gaudens gaudio* lacks rubrication and contextual clues in the Later Cambridge Songbook to confirm its performance by children, another manuscript explicitly associates a series of new and old Latin songs with boy choristers: the Moosburger Graduale (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim. 100), a fourteenth-century gradual and troper produced for use by the collegiate church of St Castulus in Moosburg, Germany.[40] The manuscript includes a preface to a song collection attributed to the once dean of the song school, Johannes de Perchausen, in which he laments the singing of «worldly» songs in the choir for the Feast of the Boy Bishop and offers a collection of songs, cantionale, for use by the «new little clerks» («novellis clericulis») during high feasts.[41] He places the responsibility for singing the Latin songs that follow in the cantionale in the hands of the younger members of church, advising them to offer sung praise «as if from the mouth of infants and suckling children» («quasi ex ore infancium et lactencium»).[42] The songs, almost all of which are strophic with refrains, begin with the election of the Boy Bishop in Advent and revolve around Christmastide feasts (including the Holy Innocents), concluding with Epiphany songs.[43]

The initial songs and their rubrics are especially revealing of the performance context and speak to the role of devotional Latin songs within festive complexes like the Feast of the Boy Bishop. Typically ruling from the Feast of St Nicholas until the Feast of the Holy Innocents, the Boy Bishop was an

39. STEVENS, ed., *The Later Cambridge Songs,* pp. 31 and 95.
40. A facsimile with an introduction and inventory appears in HILEY, *Moosburger Graduale*. See also SPANKE, *Das Mosburger Graduale*; STEIN, *Das Moosburger Graduale*; RUHLAND, *Weihnachtsgesänge*; BREWER, *The Songs*, and on the liturgy at St Castulus see GRAIN, *Zur Liturgiegeschichte*.
41. Moosburger Graduale, fol. 230v. CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains,* pp. 45-46, translation emended from BREWER, *The Songs*, pp. 33-35.
42. CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains,* p. 46.
43. On the liturgical organization of the cantionale, see *ibid*., 31, Table 1.2.

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elected choirboy who temporarily took the vestments and seat of the bishop, reigning over the community and participating in its liturgy, including delivering sermons.[44] The first four songs in the cantionale form a festive tetraptych of sorts, navigating through the election of the Boy Bishop with the first song, *Castis psallamus mentibus*, rubricated as «when a bishop is chosen» («cum episcopus eligitur»), followed by *Mos florentis venustatis* and *Gregis pastor Tytirus*, sung according to the rubric «when he [the Boy Bishop] goes outside of the church to the dance (or to the street)» («cum itur extra ecclesiam ad choream»).[45] The fourth and final song for the Boy Bishop's festivities is *Anni novi novitas*, sung «as the mitered and vested bishop is enthroned» («cum infulatus et vestitus presul intronisatur»). Although the rubrication within the cantionale does not indicate *pueri* as singers except by implication, the preface by Johannes alongside the festal context of the initial four songs suggests a musical and ritual space in which children, and specifically boys (identified by Johannes as «clericuli»), were privileged as an audience and as participants.[46]

A striking structural feature of all the Latin songs discussed so far is the refrain. While refrains are significant within repertoires of medieval Latin song for a number of reasons, the connection between refrain forms and young people is especially notable given the witness of sources such as these.[47] Whether children were tasked with singing solely the refrain, as in the Seckauer Cantionarum and the Codex Calixtinus, or entire refrain songs, as in the Moosburger Graduale, the repetition of music and text appears to have been particularly associated with music by and for younger people. The attraction of this repetitive form makes some sense given the educational milieu of *pueri* and *clericuli* – repetition was key to many pedagogical techniques in medieval Europe, and children as well as adults were accustomed to repeating after teachers and memorizing lessons and chants through rote repetition.[48] More easily remembered than changing strophes, refrains presented an opportunity for participation by a wide range of performers with potentially uneven vocal skills.[49]

Outside of the devotional Latin sphere, moreover, Johannes de Grocheio attests in his ca. 1300 *Ars musice* to the appeal and utility of vernacular refrain songs, or *cantilenae*, to young men and girls («iuvenum et puellarum»), observing *rondeaux* being sung «by girls and young men at feasts and at great

44. On the feast, see most recently FORT, *Boy Becoming Man*, which cites the substantial scholarship on the feast.
45. Here the rubric «extra ecclesiam ad choream» might gesture toward a procession into the public space around the church, with «ad choream» indicating a public location in Moosburg in which revelers could witness the newly elected Boy Bishop. See AUWEILER, *The Chronica*, pp. 47-48; GELTNER, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism*, p. 56, by reference to «chora»; see DU CANGE, *Glossarium*, *ad vocem* «Chora».
46. As Susan Boynton and Eric Rice note, the Boy Bishop's Feast «engendered texts and music that form an integral part of the construction of childhood in this period». BOYNTON – RICE, *Introduction*, p. 5.
47. On the refrain in medieval Latin song, see CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains*.
48. For examples in the context of the liturgy, see BOYNTON, *Training*.
49. CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains*, chapter 3.

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celebrations for their enhancement».[50] The form and performance context for the French songs cited by Grocheio are not far removed from those for Latin song; although driven by religious ritual rather than by secular festivities, feasts during the Christmas season during which Latin refrain songs were performed are still 'holiday celebrations' that featured banquets and feasting in the refectory.[51] From *pueri* to *adolescentiae*, young people (and those young at heart) were drawn toward appealing, tuneful, and participatory songs in any language for special holidays and feasts.[52]

Grocheio refers to both «young men and girls»; girls, however, are absent in the trio of manuscripts just cited. The Seckauer Cantionarium, Codex Calixtinus, Later Cambridge Songbook, and Moosburger Graduale designate solely boys (*pueri* or *clericuli*) as the performers and audiences for Latin refrain songs, reflecting the all-male communities in which, and for which, the manuscripts were copied – in particular, song schools and boys' choirs for the Seckauer Cantionarium and Moosburger. While these manuscripts furnish some of the most direct evidence of performance by youth, numerous manuscripts transmitting Latin song are nonetheless associated with female religious communities, including ones in which girls were educated in Latin and music; such communities, however, would not have celebrated the highly gendered Boy Bishop's feast musically staged in the Moosburger Graduale.[53] Yet other feasts and festivals, including that of the Holy Innocents, were routinely celebrated in male and female religious communities, with youth, if they were present, the preferred performers of, and target audiences for, festive Latin refrain songs.[54] Not only did the Latinity of the songs align with and support the educational and liturgical backdrop of their daily lives in school and choir, highly singable and repeatable refrain forms afforded a high degree of celebratory participation and accessible musical and poetic expression.

50. GROCHEIO, *Ars musice*, ed. Mews *et al*., pp. 68-69. «Et huiusmodi cantilena versus occidentem puta in normannia, solet decantari a puellis et iuvenibus in festis et magnis conviviis ad eorum decorationem». See also PAGE, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, pp. 110-133.
51. On the refectory as a space for the performance of Latin song, see EVERIST, *Discovering Medieval Song*, pp. 57-62.
52. This is also the case for the slightly later English and multilingual carol repertoire, many examples of which can be linked to boy singers, especially those in the Chapel Royal. For a visual representation, see London, British Library, Add. MS 35324, fol. 31v, depicting the 'children of the chappell' with music books in hand as part of the funeral procession of Queen Elizabeth I to Westminster Abbey, on April 28, 1603. On the activities of choristers, see WESTFALL, *The Chapel*; FLYNN, *Thomas Mulliner*.
53. Despite the relative absence of women in the historiography of medieval Latin song (as opposed to poetry alone or literature more generally), women were unquestionably involved in both the composition and performance of Latin song. For one example, see the Hortus Deliciarum, a compendium of knowledge with notated Latin songs compiled by abbess Herrad of Hohenbourg in the twelfth century; see GRIFFITHS, *The Garden of Delights*.
54. This is hinted at in CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains*.

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Learning on Display through Song

As important as the participation of youth was in the musical and ritual lives of communities within the church and its schools, certain songs exhibit stronger poetic ties to the processes of learning Latin as a language and to the field and discipline of learning more generally. Two broad categories of didactic songs survive from medieval Europe: songs that teach specific skills or serve as mnemonics (for instance, works that instruct on complicated calendrical calculations or on musical theoretical principles); and songs that reflect learning through poetic, rhetorical, or musical design. It is challenging when it comes to any kind of didactic song to determine its utility within classrooms; it is not necessarily true that all songs that 'teach' a concept or display certain pedagogical conceits were used as teaching tools. Nevertheless, such works reveal aspects of life in educational environments and specifically how the composition and performance of Latin song intersected with didactic goals and pedagogical mindsets.[55]

Among the greatest quantity of notated Latin verses that function mnemonically or didactically are those concerning computation.[56] The rhythms of the liturgical calendar and the seasons governed much of life of all religious and educational institutions in medieval Europe and, since the calendar demanded a high level of literacy to understand, both in the case of calculating Easter, as well as with respect to daily, monthly, and yearly cycles, a substantial corpus of notated and unnotated verse developed around the calendar.[57] Knowledge of liturgical time was essential also for singing; as tenth-century astronomer Lupitus of Barcelona instructs: «every clergyman must learn the *computatio* of past and future times…so that he can state the beginning of Easter and the dates of other feast days correctly [and] also so that he can sing choral prayers at both day and night at the proper hours».[58] By the late thirte-

55. See, for instance, BUCKLEY, *The Cambridge Songs*, p. 81, who argues that the so-called Cambridge Songs, or *Carmina Cantabrigiensia* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5.35), «may be viewed as a *florilegium* of *musica scientia*, which embodied and transmitted a wealth of information on musico-poetic genres and performance practice usual in the eleventh century among learned audiences…It thus provides a window into the intellectual and sound-world of clerical culture of that time, and the types of musical and poetic styles and techniques that were taught and shared among performers and their audiences».
56. Music theoretical concepts are also well represented in the corpus of didactics songs; see ATKINSON, *The Other Modus*; BERNHARD, *Didaktische Verse*. On medieval didactic poetry more generally, see HAYE, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht*. For a different view of didactic Latin song, see RILLON-MARNE, *La musique*.
57. On the medieval calendar (natural and liturgical) and its complexities, see WARE, *Medieval Chronology*; MONDSCHEIN – CASEY, *Time and Timekeeping*.
58. Cited in BORST, *The Ordering of Time*, p. 54. «Oportet ergo quemlibet ecclesiasticum sollerti meditatione et ueraci inuestigatione preteritorum atque futurorum computationem temporum discere, ut paschalis sollemnitatis exordia ceteramque celebrationum certa loca sibi aliisque rite obseruanda intimare sciat. Ad hec, ut nocturna atque diurna officia certis decantet horis, quam dignum sit, priscorum partum pandunt exemplaria». Latin text edited in MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *Assaig d'història de les idees*, pp. 1, 271-275 at 273-274.

enth century, moreover, Grocheio would include in his *Ars musice* an elision of the Boethian trivium that states that the 'arts' a clergy must learn were grammar, computus, and music. [59]

Sung verse focused on computation ranges from the simplistic to the complex, reflecting the gradual acquisition of computistical skills by students and clergy. At the elementary level we find verses that have persisted into the twenty-first century, like *Thirty days hath September:* «Thirti dayes hath Novembir | April, June, and Septembir. | Of xxviii is but oon | And all the rememaunt xxx and i».[60] In medieval Europe these are realized in Latin, as in the thirteenth-century *Compotus Ecclesiasticus*: «Sep, No, Iun, Ap, triginta dato, reliquis magis uno. | Ni sit bisextus, Februus minor esto duobus» («Give thirty to September, November, June and April, one more to the remaining [months]. Unless it is a leap year, let February be less by two»).[61] While there is no evidence that mnemonic verses such as these were read aloud or sung, they beg to be spoken out loud in a sing-song voice, just as they still are today by children and adults.

Testifying to the desire to link music and the learning of the computus is the neuming of the most widely circulated computational Latin lyric attributed to St. Pachomius, *None aprilis norunt quinos*, surviving both with and without notation.[62] In Figure 3, the initial two lines of the verse from a twelfth-century manuscript from Bamberg (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 160) transmitting a variety of computistical and educational materials appears with neumes on a staff (see Figure 3).[63] In nineteen verses, *None aprilis* provides the nineteen years of dates required to determine the first full moon after the spring equinox, and therefore calculate Easter *ad infinitum*.[64] As Charles W. Jones observes, the poem is «of immense practical value….What might otherwise be known only through the Easter-tables inscribed in the vellum book of the bishop or abbot might by this means be carried in the head in a verse easily memorized by cleric or layman».[65]

59. Relevant passage edited and translated in GROCHEIO, *Ars musice*, ed. Mews *et al.*, pp. 90-91.
60. GRAY, ed., *The Oxford Book,* 131. Modern versions of the mnemonic also begin by naming November first rather than September.
61. Edited and translated in MORETON *et al.*, eds., *Compotus Ecclesiasticus*, pp. 23 and 68. For a later version, also in Latin, in the Sarum tradition, see MAYDESTON *et al.*, eds., *Ordinale Sarum*, vol. 2, p. 612, with notes and translation on p. 618.
62. Computus verses survive notated and unnotated; for overviews, inventories, and examples of computistical and calendrical verses, see CORDOLIANI, *Contribution*; BISCHOFF, *Ostertagtexte und Intervalltafeln*; LAPIDGE – BAKER, *More Acrostic Verse*, pp. 1-6 and 12-21; HENNIG, *Versus de mensibus*; HAMPSON, *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, vol. 1, passim. *None aprilis* has been widely edited from different sources; see, for example, WINTERFELD, *Rhythmi computistici*, Hrsg. Strecker, fasc. 2, pp. 670-671.
63. On this manuscript in particular, see IRTENKAUF, *Der Computus ecclesiasticus*, *passim*. In Figure 3, *None aprilis norunt quinos* continues onto fol. 34v.
64. For explanations of the verse and what it teaches, see BEDE, *The Reckoning of Time*, pp. xlvi-xlvii; JONES, *A Legend*.
65. JONES, *A Legend*, p. 200.

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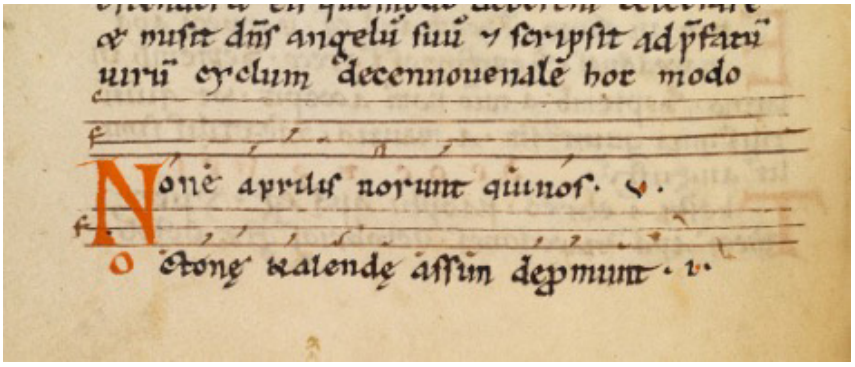

Figure 3. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 160, fol. 33v, *None aprilis norunt quinos* (excerpt)

The relative complexity of *None aprilis norunt quinos* as a computational work might seem far removed from song and grammar schools for children, for which little written-down or notated didactic verse survives, but it nevertheless speaks to a cultural framework for Latin song that sees the setting of verse to melody as a pedagogical opportunity.[66] The Latinity of mnemonic and didactic poetry is important to stress – although vernacular mnemonics begin to emerge around the twelfth century, didactic songs involved not solely the learning of the concept but the learning of the *language* itself pertaining to the subject. This includes learning the Latin names of the days and months, for instance, or unique vocabulary used in the study of astrology or music theory.

While some didactic/mnemonic songs illustrate the ideas they teach and underscore by means of musical and poetic design (songs teaching the melodic modes are an example of this), another group of Latin songs survives in which the lessons of Latin grammar and rhetoric are rhetorically woven into the musico-poetic structure. Some examples reflect a poet/composer employing specialized or technical language for expressive or theological purposes, as in *Diastematica vocis armonia* transmitted uniquely in the twelfth-century music booklet the Later Cambridge Songbook (fol. 2v (1v) – the same source transmitting the 'boy's song' for the Feast of the Holy Innocents, *Magno gaudens gaudio*.[67] Celebrating the Resurrection by invoking song itself, the second strophe of *Diastematica vocis armonia* employs a series of Greek music-theoretical terms referring to tetrachordal pitches:

66. Versification and music were both understood to benefit the memory; as Kate van Orden poetically describes in her study of the relationship between song and literacy in a slightly later period, «singing externalised reading, subjected it to surveillance, and rhythmically imposed song texts upon students. Singing incorporated texts, enticing students with musical pleasures and the physicality of music, which initiated an irresistible form of education beginning in the muscles and the breath». VAN ORDEN, *Children's Voices*, p. 230.

67. On this song, see RANKIN, *Taking the Rough with the Smooth*, pp. 213-216. Edited, translated, and discussed in STEVENS, ed., *The Later Cambridge Songs,* pp. 72-74; see also the discussion on p. 31.

Pro[slambano]menon ypate ypaton resonet cum meson tetracordo. Nethe sinemenon cum diezeugmenon plangant ut melorum poscit ordo.	Let the lowest note (*proslambanomenos* (A)) and the note above it (*hypate hypaton* (Bn)) sound with the tetrachord meson (E to a)). Let d (*nete sinemenon*: highest note of the 'hooked' extra tetrachord) and then e (*nete diezeugmenon*: highest note of the tetrachord above the meson tetrachord) make a lamenting sound as the ordering of the melody demands.[68]

As Stevens notes in his discussion of the song, however, the poet/scribe mangles the Greek terms; even if misinterpreted, however, the presence and use of the vocabulary is significant.[69] The invocation of music theory in this linguistically complex manner gestures towards knowledge of and familiarity with a musical theoretical tradition beginning with Boethius and the reception of Greek theory, even though the poet's/scribe's motivation in deploying these terms remains unknown since the pitch descriptions do not correspond to the notated melody. The presence of Greek, moreover, is noteworthy even in the music-theoretical context, since this type of sung multilingualism is often connected to scholastic contexts and especially to universities where Greek was studied and understood.[70] *Diastematica vocis armonia* indexes, in other words, an identifiable sphere of musical and technical learning and turns it toward expressive and theological ends.

More explicit in their signaling of the Latinate classroom are songs in which Latin grammatical paradigms and structures inform the poetic design. In some cases, songs play on grammatical learning in metaphorical ways, as in two unnotated refrain-form songs, the latter a contrafact of a German love song, in the fourteenth-century Erfurt Codex (Erfurt, Stadtarchiv, Ampl. quart MS 332): *Modus est indicativus* (fol. 101r) and *Cosmi proch inicium* (fol. 106r).[71] In these poems, grammatical references are employed theologically in order to express time, tense, and character. The poet employs Latin grammar and its power as a shared discipline as an interpretive and metaphorical lens in these songs.[72]

68. Edited and translated with explanations as to errors and issues in the manuscript in STEVENS, ed., *The Later Cambridge Songs,* pp. 73-74.
69. *Ibid*., p. 74.
70. Another example of multilingual Latin/Greek poetry is in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 15131, among a collection of poems likely attributable to either a teacher or student in Paris in the thirteenth century (discussed below). The other devotional context for Greek in the Latin West is the liturgy; see, for instance, ATKINSON, *O amnos*. See also BERSCHIN, *Greek Elements*.
71. In England before its acquisition and annotation by Johannes Barbara in Aachen at the collegiate church, the manuscript is catalogued in SCHUM, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 566-568. The poems are edited in NÖRRENBERG, *Ein Aachener Dichter*, pp. 62-63 and 64-65. On this pair of songs specifically, see FRANTZEN, *Ein spätes Zeugniß*, pp. 134-136. The term «proch» in *Cosmi proch incium* is likely an elided form of *prochi* due to the subsequent word beginning with «i».
72. On Latin grammar used in metaphorical/allegorical ways in the Middle Ages, see, for

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A small body of Latin songs highlights noun declension paradigms as a poetic conceit across strophes, suggesting a link with elementary levels of Latin learning like that taught in Donatus's *Ars minor*.[73] The learning of noun declension happens fairly early in grammar school education, falling within what is often termed 'pedagogical' or 'elementary' grammar by contrast to the speculative grammar taught in universities.[74] Not only was this level of grammar the earliest taught, its modes of teaching relied in most cases repetition and rote memorization; the basic structures of the Latin language were deeply ingrained and embodied in anyone who had successfully learned Donatus.[75] A song such as *Gregis pastor Titirus*, consequently, would have immediately stood out to *pueri*, *puellae*, *iuvenes*, *adolescentiae*, and *cleri* alike for its thoroughgoing and repetitive treatment of noun declension across strophes:[76]

1. Gregis pastor **TITIRUS**, Asinorum dominus, Pastor est et asinus. *Eya eya eya* *Vocat nos ad varia* *Titirus cibaria.*	1. Tityrus, shepherd of the flock, the lord of asses, is a shepherd and an ass. *Eya eya eya,* *Titirus summons us to his varied feast.*
2. Ad onorem **TITIRI** Festum colunt baculi Satrape et satiri. REF.	2. In honour of Tityrus, satraps and satyrs celebrate the feast of the staff. REF.
3. Laudes demus **TITIRO** Cum melodis organo, Resonante timpano. REF.	3. Let us give praises to Tityrus with polyphonic melodies and resounding drum. REF.
4. Veneremur **TITIRUM**, Qui nos propter baculum Invitat ad epulum. REF.	4. Let us revere Tityrus, who, on account of his staff, invites us to the solemn banquet. REF.
5. Digna laude congrua Deduc nos ad pascua **TITIRE** melliflua. REF.	5. With worthy and fitting praises, oh Tityrus, lead us to pastures flowing with honey REF.
6. De pastore **TITIRO** Gratulans hec concio Benedicat domino. REF.	6. May this assembly, giving thanks for the shepherd Tityrus, bless the Lord. REF.

instance, ALFORD, *The Grammatical Metaphor*; ZIOLKOWSKI, *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex*; DONAVIN, *Scribit Mater*.

73. See CALDWELL, *Singing Cato*.

74. On pedagogical grammar, see BURSILL-HALL, *A Census*, pp.12-13; HUNTSMAN, *Grammar*; CANNON, *Langland's Ars Grammatica*; FEDEWA, *Composing the Classroom*, pp. 5-12.

75. Repetition was the cornerstone of medieval education, but even more so when it came to Latin grammar; see for instance BAYLESS, *Beatus quid est*, p. 178.

76. Transmitted in full in London, British Library, Add. MS 36881, fol. 13v; the first four strophes are copied in the Moosburger Graduale, fol. 232r. For the former, see FULLER, *Aquitanian Polyphony*, vol. iii, p. 115; ANGLÉS, *La música del Ms. de Londres*, p. 1063. See also comparisons of the two versions in GILLINGHAM, *Secular Medieval Latin Song*, pp. 110-112; BREWER, *The Songs*, p. 39.

All six possible declensions of the second declension proper noun 'Tityrus' appear methodically across the strophes, following the exact order found in Donatus's *Ars minor* (see Table 1):[77]

Table 1. *Declension pattern in Donatus,* Ars minor *and* Gregis pastor Titirus

CASE ORDER IN DONATUS, *ARS MINOR*	*GREGIS PASTOR TITIRUS*
Nominative	Titirus
Genitive	Titiri
Dative	Titiro
Accusative	Titirum
Vocative	Titire
Ablative	Titiro

The foregrounding of this order in the initial lines of each strophe would have undoubtedly resonated with memorized declension patterns and invoked memories of rudimentary Latin lessons.[78] Moreover, Tityrus is a shepherd from Virgil's first *Eclogue*, a medieval schoolroom staple and thus a familiar character to children learning to read Latin.[79] In the song, Tityrus is celebrated as the lord of the ass, standing in for the fool honored in the Feast of Fools celebrated widely across medieval Europe by subdeacons.[80] *Gregis pastor Titirus* is transmitted in only two known manuscript sources: polyphonically in St-M D (London, British Library, Add. 36881), fol. 13v-14r, and monophonically in the Moosburger Graduale, fol. 232r. The former is a late twelfth/early thirteenth-century collection of twelfth-century Aquitanian *versus*, closely related to other Aquitanian *versaria* and reflecting a monastic milieu.[81] *Gregis pastor Titirus* is one of many Latin songs among other mu-

77. CHASE, *The Ars minor*, pp. 28-31. This is also a rhetorical featured called *annominatio*; see, for instance, the definition in LAWLER, ed., *The Parisiana Poetria*, pp. 116-121. Twelfth-century cleric, letter writer, and poet Gui of Bazoches includes a similarly structured poem in his letter collection, *Prothomartyr Stephanus tuus*, declining 'Stephanus' over the course of the rhymed, rhythmical poem, and terming it an example of *annominatio*; see BASOCHIS, *Liber epistularum*, ed. Adolfsson, pp. 18, 104-105.

78. BREWER, *The Songs*, p. 44, notes with respect to the cantionale on the whole that «[j]ust as some of the songs were designed to teach the Moosburg scholars proper grammar by demonstrating the correctly changing declension of a single word in different stanzas… it would seem that these songs by the former 'Rector scholarium' were designed to teach his charges advanced skills in singing untraditional 'modern' melodies».

79. The impact of Virgil on a wide range of medieval texts and genres is attested to at length in ZIOLKOWSKI – PUTNAM, ed., *The Virgilian Tradition*.

80. On the Feast of Fools, see HARRIS, *Sacred Folly*. On the theological symbolism of the ass in relation to the Feast of Fools, see AHN, *Beastly yet Lofty Burdens*. The song is also related to the *Benedicamus Domino* versicle, often intoned by children; see BARCLAY, *The Medieval Repertory*, *passim*; ROBERTSON, *Benedicamus Domino*; Boynton, *Boy Singers*. In the Moosburger Graduale, moreover, one of the *Benedicamus Domino* songs that follows the cantionale on fol. 250v includes a rubric for a 'puer', suggesting that these songs, as well as the Latin songs that precede it in the cantionale, were assigned to children.

81. Most recently, see GOLDEN, *Across Divides*. On Aquitanian *versaria* more broadly, see

sical and liturgical items in the *versarium*, corresponding to the celebratory and festal tone of the collection as a whole. Although lacking strophes for the vocative and ablative, in the Moosburger Graduale, *Gregis pastor Titirus* (with the shepherd's name spelled 'Tityrus') is located within the tetraptych for the Boy Bishop's Feast, linking the 'Lord of Ass' from the Feast of Fools with the Boy Bishop.[82] The grammatical inflection of this song, linking it to the schoolroom, seems utterly appropriate in the context of a choirboy's festal ritual.

Even more striking, the Moosburger Graduale transmits two other songs structured around noun declension, *Dies ista colitur* (fols. 236v-237r) for the Nativity and the New Year, and *Mater summi domini* (fols. 238v-239v) for the Virgin Mary.[83] In the margins beside these two songs, annotations appear that highlight the declension pattern in each strophe (see Figure 4).[84] The connection of the cantionale in the Moosburger Graduale to the *pueri* of the collegiate church and the dean of the song school Johannes de Perchausen is notable. The combination of the marginal annotations indexing noun declension, the festive setting within the Feast of the Boy Bishop, and the authorial preface penned by a pedagogical figure together strongly signal the relevance of the cantionale for the youngest members of the community (aged approximately seven to fourteen), those for whom the highlighting of schoolroom lessons in a song for the 'lord of the ass' might have inspired a chuckle or two as well as a strong visceral memory of reciting their 'Donatus' or early grammar exercises.

None of these 'grammar songs' explicitly concern grammar or learning in terms of content. Instead, they focus on festal topics, and grammar operates within them as a rhetorical and poetic marker of moral and Christian discipline.[85] The songs structurally and poetically refract Latin learning in order to extract meaning from its connection to a shared educational system, linking the study of the Latin language together with its expression in song. By contrast, works such as *Diastematic vocis armonia* and *None aprilis norunt quinos* showcase the complexity of Latin learning in a theological context, teaching

TREITLER, *The Aquitanian Repertories*; FULLER, *Aquitanian Polyphony*; GRIER, *The Stemma*; ID., *Some Codicological Observations*; ID., *Scribal Practices*; CARLSON, *Devotion to the Virgin Mary*.

82. There is often overlap between the Feast of the Boy Bishop and the Feast of Fools; see HARRIS, *Sacred Folly*, who notes numerous instances in which the two feasts intersect.

83. *Mater summi domini* is also transmitted in the Seckauer Cantionarium, fols. 193v-194r, St. Pölten, Diözesanarchiv, MS 13, fols. 9v-10v, and in a yet to be catalogued fragment recently purchased by special collections at Notre Dame University. *Dies ista colitur* is more widely transmitted in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, frag. 660, fol. 1b; Turin, Biblioteca nazionale, MS F.I.4, fol. 334v; Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 187, fol. 45v; Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1003, fol. 117r; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 258, fol. 2v; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 409, fol. 273r; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 225, fol. 178v; London, British Library, Egerton MS 2615, fol. 18r; Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 46, p. 33; St. Pölten, Diözesanarchiv, MS 13, fol. 8r; and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95, fols. 25v and 81r; as well as in uncatalogued fragments at Notre Dame University cited above in this note.

84. See also CALDWELL, *Singing Cato*.

85. For this argument, see *ibid*.

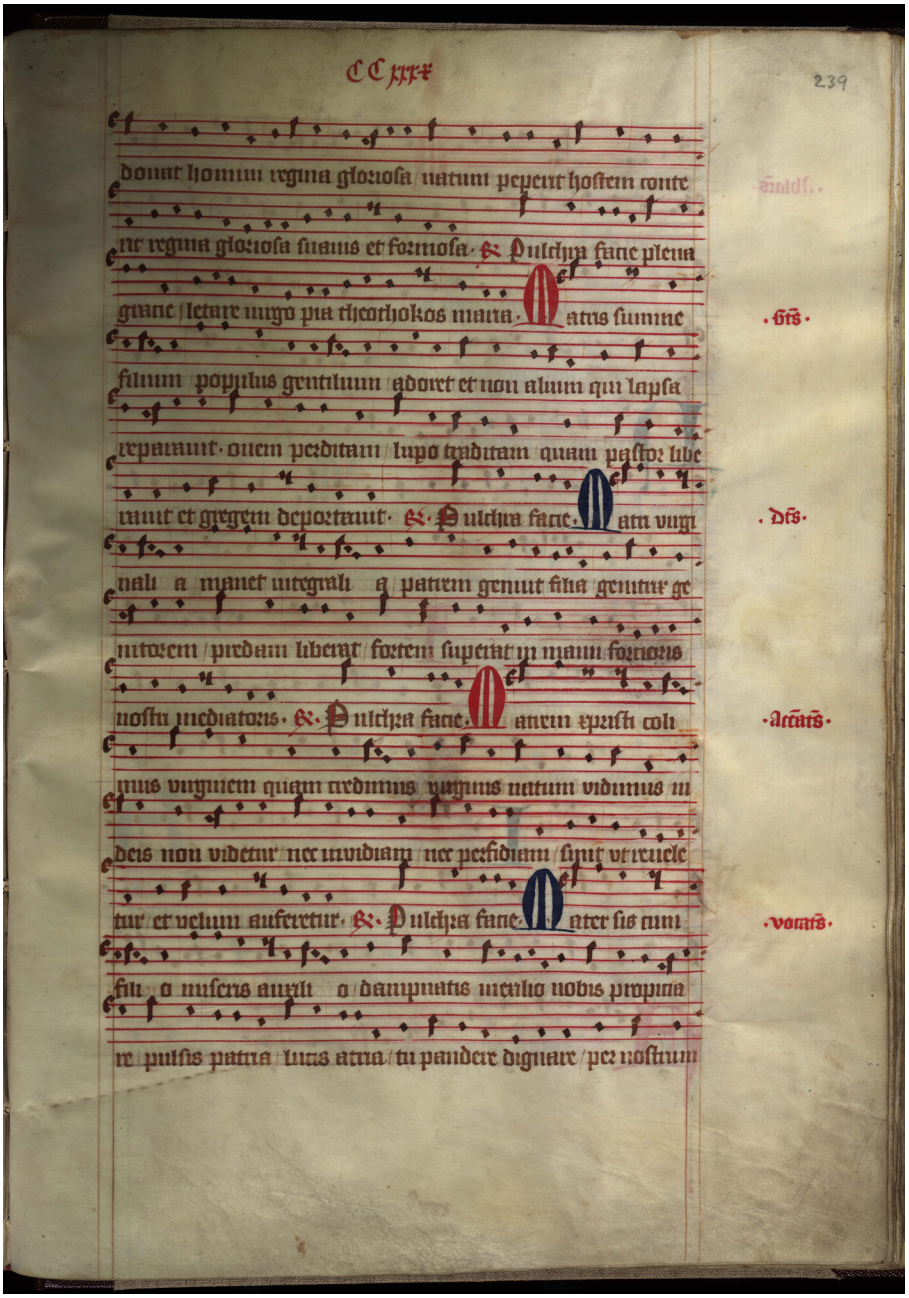

Figure 4. Moosburger Graduale, fol. 239r, *Mater summi domini*, with marginal annotations

its rules and playing poetically with Latin vocabulary. Together, these types of didactically inclined songs reveal the impact of schoolroom learning on the creation of new Latin songs, drawing a clear relationship between what was learned, what was sung, and who was singing.

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Writing Latin Poetry from and about School

It is not only school subjects like grammar and the computus that appear in Latin song, but also the students themselves and their classrooms. Notated and unnotated 'students' songs' survive across language from medieval Europe, whether works penned by students themselves, others written by those remembering their student days, and still others written by teachers.[86] Many such songs are copied in pedagogically inflected sources as opposed to service books or music books; these sources include notebooks, didactic miscellanies, and random folios marked by textual signs of student life (acrostics, pen trials, etc.).[87] The writing of verse, if not also song, was ingrained in the material culture of student life across Europe, often reflecting progress past pedagogical grammar and onto the more advanced yet still sometimes playful study of Latin composition and rhetoric.[88]

Although full-length poems and songs mainly emerge from the college and university milieu, students at more elementary levels attempted to write Latin lyrics too, including a student who apparently wanted to become a merchant. In the Latin/English *A mornyngis when I am callide to scole*, transmitted in two late medieval English miscellanies, a schoolboy prepares for a career as a merchant while attending school where he presumably learned enough Latin to construct a refrain and parts of each verse.[89] The Latin refrain provides a moral summary of the song as a whole: «Frangens scola disculus | est mercator pessimus» («A pupil breaking out of school is a bad merchant») (see Figure 5). Over the course of the multilingual poem, the student describes his tardiness, misbehavior, and poor attention, all of which would make him a «bad merchant». Concerning the performance of *A mornyngis when I am callide to scole* (likely sung, based on its carol form and the explicit directly below, «explicit bonus cantus»), Nicholas Orme notes its connection to schoolboys, even if they did not actually write it themselves, and suggests a performance context during school feasts or in private households.[90]

86. On Latin songs associated with students, see most recently the collection edited in CIGLBAUER, ed., *Carmina Clericorum*. For another perspective on student concerns reflected in a *conductus*, see PAYNE, *Aurelianis civitas*. On students' songs and verses in England, see ORME, *Medieval Children*, pp. 144-157.

87. Not all songs associated with student populations concern issues around their identity or the classroom; indeed, in CIGLBAUER, the majority of works connected to universities and pedagogical milieus are devotional, with a marked Marian emphasis.

88. For overviews on the teaching of composition which followed elementary or pedagogical education in grammar, see WOODS, *The Teaching of Writing*; EAD., *Poetic Composition*.

89. Indexed in the Digital Index of Middle English Verse as 4263 (related to 2332, a schoolboy's lament); transmitted in London, British Library, Add. MS 60577 (the Winchester Anthology), fol. 93r, and with the incipit *On days when I am callit to þe scole* in London, British Library, Add. MS 14997, fol. 44v (see https://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=4263#wit-4263-2). The latter edited in HAMMERLE, *Verstreute me*, pp. 203-204. The former is discussed in ORME, *Medieval Children*, pp. 156-157. In Figure 5, the repetition of the refrain is indicated to the right of the main text, and each new verse is introduced using a paraph-like mark on the left.

90. ORME, *Medieval Children*, p. 157.

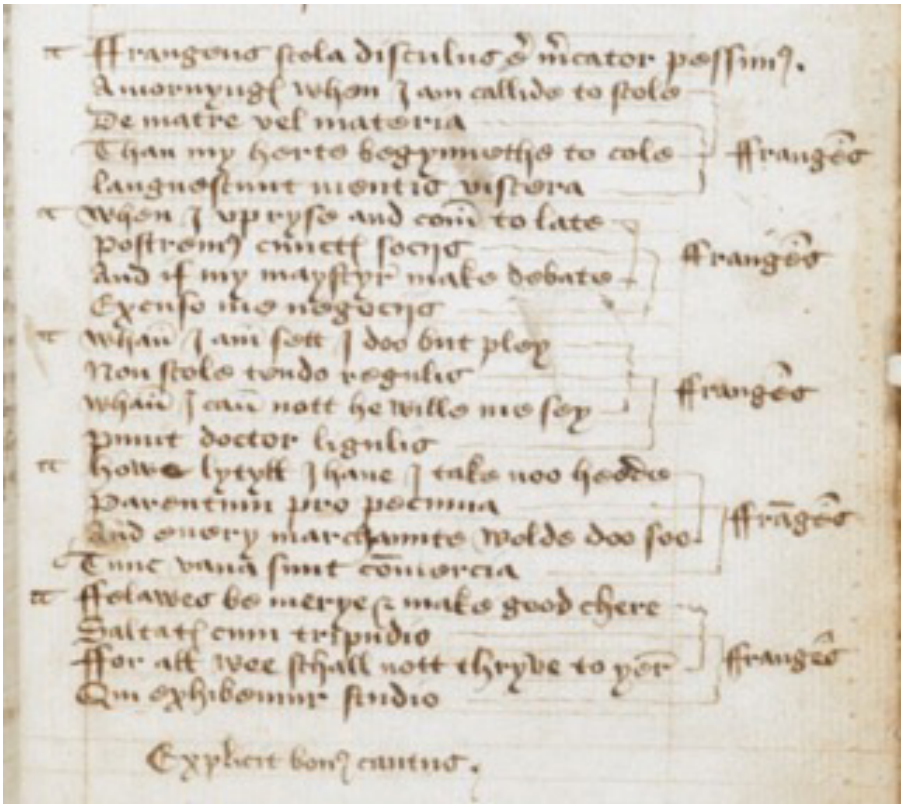

Figure 5. London, British Library, Add. MS 60577, fol. 93r, *A mornyngis when I am callide to scole*

This Latin/English poem highlights a frequent feature of students' song in medieval Europe: multilinguality.[91] Although most students did not formally study vernacular languages until into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in most of Europe, vernaculars served nevertheless as important aural and written modes of communication. Literacy in Latin, moreover, aided textual literacy in vernaculars.[92] Songs mixing languages, consequently, may have been intended for audiences for whom the aural delivery of the vernacular would have been familiar and welcome within a Latin context; alternatively, such works might have been composed as poetic exercises and experiments, exhibiting the ability of a poet to maneuver between written languages.[93] Especial-

91. See also *Diastematica vocis armonia*, above.
92. As Cannon notes, «[b]ecause Latin was the language of almost all basic grammatical training, it was the language every literate person met first in school, the language that first provided a schoolboy with access to books, and the language in which he was also first taught to write», including writing in the vernacular. CANNON, *Vernacular Latin*, p. 651.
93. Michael T. Clanchy writes that «the basic training of the schools was in the use of language, and the techniques learned there could be applied from Latin to the more difficult task of creating styles for writing vernaculars. Often perhaps it was the most sophisticated and not the most primitive authors who experimented with vernaculars». CLANCHY, *From Memory*, p. 215.

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ly for students who attended school in Latin but otherwise lived their life in the vernacular, multilingual poetry may have offered an expressive outlet for the linguistic duality that better characterized their quotidian linguistic existence.[94] The juxtaposition of Latin and vernacular equally shines a spotlight on language itself and its differently expressive features; students were aware that different languages necessitated and invoked different modes of address, style, and form, and that placing languages in dialogue allowed this to occur overtly.[95]

One manuscript associated with a university milieu showcases not only multilinguality as a poetic technique but also an interest in poetry from a didactic perspective. The compilation of materials in the St-Victor Miscellany (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15131) includes a gathering of Latin letters, sermons, and Latin and multilingual poems dating from after 1289.[96] With some of the materials indicating a connection to the abbey school of St-Denis, the collection of poetic, epistolary, and theological materials has been assumed to be the product of either a teacher or a student collecting together models and examples of the *ars dictaminis, ars praedicandi, and ars poetriae*. The poems are especially remarkable for their use of Latin, French, and Greek, as well as their range of devotional, secular, historical, and literary topics – all this despite being derided as 'poor' in quality by an early cataloger.[97] Of special note for musicologists, the unnotated songs reveal an interest in contemporary French-language song cultures through the citation of French-texted refrains, some with musical settings in contemporary sources.[98]

All told, the final gathering in the St-Victor Miscellany includes thirty-two poems, of which seventeen include French *refrains* as rubrics, eight include Greek words, and three include strophes that move between Latin and French,

94. In universities in particular Latin was mandated and vernaculars forbidden, with some exceptions in England; by the late Middle Ages, the vernacular was increasingly permitted according to university statutes. LUSIGNAN, *Parler vulgairement*, p. 100; OVERMAN, *The Student*, p. 244. In religious schools and institutions, Latin was a given except during particular feast days; see RODGERS, *Discussion of Holidays*, p. 51.

95. As Dante famously noted, Latin and vernacular occupied different cultural positions and were categorically different in how they were used; he argued that Latin's utility rests in its stable grammar and lack of change according to time and place (although this is not necessarily as true as he would have wanted), describing it as 'artificial,' whereas the vernacular was more flexible and natural, changing according to place and time. DANTE, *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. Botterill, pp. xviii and 2-3.

96. The manuscript and related fragments are catalogued in OUY, *Les manuscrits de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor*, pp. 548-549. On the final gathering and its literary and musical contents, see HAURÉAU, *Notice*, pp. 264-280; MEYER, *Chanson*; *Chansons religieuses*; Thomas, *Refrains français*; GENNRICH, *Lateinische Kontrafakta*; ZUMTHOR, *Un problème*, pp. 329-231; CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains*, pp. 196-207.

97. Hauréau found more to appreciate in the letters: «En somme, notre professeur de grammaire nous a laissé des vers très médiocres; mais ses modèles de style épistolaire ont, pour l'historien, un incontestable intérêt». HAURÉAU, *Notice*, p. 280.

98. On the relationship of the poems to vernacular song, see CALDWELL, *Conductus, Sequence, Refrain*.

one of which also includes a Greek word.[99] This last poem is *Universa creatura*, a celebration of the Virgin and Christ's Nativity, whose first strophe in Latin and French reads as follows:

1. Universa creatura Christi laudet mente pura La presente nativite Unde mirans est natura, Quia extra carnis iura Il est nez sanz iniquite.	1. Let every creature praise with a pure mind this nativity of Christ, because of which nature is amazed, since outside the laws of flesh, he is born without iniquity.[100]

Following the model of the first stanza, the remaining eight grammatically link Latin and French, each depending on the other for meaning and syntax.[101] No registral differences develop between the languages or even any contrast in terms of what each language expresses; instead, French and Latin are linked as united utterances. In the ninth and final strophe, moreover, a single Greek word is inserted in a Latin line in a moment of *barbarolexis* – the rhetorical insertion of a word from another language, sometimes viewed pejoratively – that reveals how knowledge of Greek terminology fits within a Christian theological framework (Greek in italics in original and translation):[102]

9. Regem ergo paradisi Mundo natum mira *physy* [φυσι] Prions tuit de cuer humblement Ut in illo nos confisi Hostis possimus innisi Escheuer le decevement. Amen.	9. Therefore let us humbly pray with all our hearts to the king of paradise, born in the world through a marvelous *nature*, that we who have trusted in him may escape unharmed from the enemy's deception. Amen.[103]

Smooth, grammatical transitions among languages are not easy to achieve; moreover, the kind of audience needed for a work like this was one that shared the education background of its creator, well-versed in Latin and French poetry and able to recognize Greek. The integration of languages in *Universa creatura*, in other words, indexes learning at an advanced level, one in which the Latin linguistic terrain of elementary pedagogy is enriched by textual and aural encounters with French and Greek.

Different in tone and scope, another poem does double duty in the St-Victor Miscellany: *Rector talis gymnasii*. Rather than exploring the interplay of

99. On the multilingual poems, see ZUMTHOR, *Un problème*, pp. 329-331; CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains*, pp. 196-207.

100. St-Victor Miscellany, fol. 186v (poem continues on fol. 187r). Edited (with issues) in DREVES *et al.*, Hrsg., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 20, no. 107. See also MEYER, *Chansons religieuses*, pp. 92-93. Paul Zumthor includes this poem as an example of what he terms 'linguistic alternation' in *Langue et technique poétiques*, pp. 97 and 105-106, where he notes the differing role of Latin versus French in the structure of the poem.

101. ZUMTHOR, *Langue et technique poétiques*, p. 97.

102. *Barbarolexis* is described in MÜLLER, *Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachmischung*. See also VAINIO, *On the Concept of 'barbarolexis'*.

103. St-Victor Miscellany, fol. 187r.

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languages, the poet crafts an epistolary poem by structuring seven strophes around the formulaic parts of a medieval letter.[104] In so doing, they connect the *ars poetriae* and the *ars dictaminis*, two of three rhetorical strands featuring in the final gathering of the miscellany. *Rector talis gymnasii* is, moreover, written from the perspective of a teacher, or 'academy director,' addressing his students:

1. [R]ector talis gymnasii Sub forma breviloquii Suis mandat discipulis Tam immensis [MS: immansis] Quam parvulis Salutare.	1. A certain academy director, in the form of a brief speech, gives a greeting to his students, both great and small.
2. Sicut refertur publice, Ac in libris rhetoricae Continetur stipendiis Nemo tenetur propriis Militare.	2. As is publicly reported and contained in books of rhetoric, no one is bound to do military service at his own expense.
3. Multum pueri stupeo Ac in stupendo doleo Super eo videlicet Quod bonum vobis displicet Propagare.	3. Boys, I am much amazed and tremendously pained, namely about this, that it displeases you to promote the good.
4. Per plures autem species Apparet quod segnicies Pangendi et dilatio Vos perficiat otio [MS: occio] Convacare.	4. By many tokens, however, it appears that slothfulness and delay in composition cause you to devote your time to idleness.
5. Unde cum tempus videam In quo circa vos debeam Non ob gratis adverbium Sed ob dignum salarium [MS: sallarium] Laborare,	5. Hence, since I see the time come in which I should work regarding you, not for a word without cost but for a worthy salary,
6. Ego pergliscens amodo Vestro vacare commodo Vos hortari communiter Inchoavi et breviter Implorare,	6. I, continuing henceforward to devote my time to your benefit, have begun to exhort you as a group and briefly to implore you
7. Ut vestri ad me veniant Parentes ac tam faciant Quod in moribus prosperis Vos tenear et litteris Informare.	7. that your parents come to me and act in such a way that I may be bound to form you in favorable morals and in letters.[105]

Rather than a typical schoolroom song featuring a student begging for money or complaining about studies, in this reversal a teacher seeks appro-

104. On the conventional form of medieval letters see CONSTABLE, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, pp. 11-25; HASELDINE, *Epistolography*, pp. 650-658. See also TURCAN-VERKERK, *Le Formulaire de Tréguier revisité*, p. 210, who refers to *Rector talis gymnasii* as «la lettre d'un professeur réclamant son salaire à des étudiants».

105. St-Victor Miscellany, fol. 177r. Also edited in HAURÉAU, *Notice*, pp. 273-274.

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priate reimbursement for teaching students «favorable morals and letters».[106] This petition, moreover, is framed by means of the rhetorical conceit of a formal letter and shaped according to the parameters of rhymed, rhythmical Latin poetry. Representing a didactic feat by combining the Latin *ars poetriae* and *dictaminis*, *Rector talis gymnasii* furthers its relevance – and potentially its humor – by means of its topical association with both pedagogical content and the individuals connected to the classroom.

Songs in sources connected to pedagogical institutions vary and, in many cases, do not exhibit obvious signs of their scholarly milieu beyond their learned Latinity and, in some cases, their artful mixing of languages or other rhetorical devices. Given the ephemeral nature of classroom materials, it is likely that some quantity of song and verse simply does not survive in written form, having been recycled for a new writing task or melted down into a fresh wax tablet.[107] Writing poetry, including that which may have been sung, was not always a creative act, but instead, as Curtius implies in the epigraph, the product of an educational system in which music and poetry played parallel roles as required subjects. It is impossible in most cases to determine whether a given song might have been 'merely' an exercise of sorts, although works like *Universa creatura* and *Rector talis gymnasii* in the St-Victor Miscellany convey the impression of experiments or models representing the *ars poetriae* and *ars dictaminis*, in keeping with the model letters and sermons copied alongside the poetry in the gathering.[108] Works like *A mornyngis when I am callide to scole* and *Rector talis gymnasii* were also opportunities for musical and poetic self-expression, ways to foreground in pedagogically, socially, and linguistically acceptable ways one's identity as student or teacher. Students' songs – and sometimes teachers' songs too – bear witness to the pedagogical and musical culture of formal schools, and especially universities, in which students, now closer to age eighteen and veering rapidly toward adulthood, were not only singing and learning in Latin, but also beginning to compose their own original Latin and multilingual works as pedagogical exercises, expressive offerings, and creative acts.

Conclusion

«Why did one write song? One was taught to in school». Returning to the reformulation of Curtius offered at the outset of this essay, I have gestured toward different ways in which the 'why' of writing song in Latin might be

106. On education (in the context of cathedral schools) as the teaching of *litteras* and *mores*, see JAEGER, *The Envy of Angels*.
107. For a study of the frequently ephemeral and non-textual material culture of medieval education, see WILLEMSEN, *Back to the Schoolyard*.
108. The poems in the St-Victor Miscellany also feature topical and thematic repetition, a possible sign of a pedagogical context in which model works were produced and reproduced; see CALDWELL, *Devotional Refrains*, p. 95. See also WOODS, *The Teaching of Poetic Composition*, pp. 134-138.

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connected to the education of young people in the Latinate school systems of medieval Europe, from elementary schools teaching grammar and chant to universities. Although the Latin songs I discuss did not necessarily develop within the structures of curricula nor were they produced as school assignments (although some may have been), songs and the sources in which they survive reflect ways in which song and singing was entrenched in and informed by Latin-based educational and religious systems. Written and notated traditions of Latin (and sometimes multilingual) song were shaped by pedagogical systems in which its creators and singers were themselves formed and molded, just as the distribution of surviving sources speaks to networks and nodes of Latin literacy traceable throughout Europe and beyond.

I have begun to consider only three of the many ways in which Latin educational systems impacted the creation and performance of Latin song; other avenues remain to be explored. I began by outlining roles played by *pueri* and *clericuli* as singers, tracking the presence of youth in manuscript rubrication and paratexts and highlighting issues of gender. I illustrated, moreover, how festive rituals offered opportunities to foreground children as performers and subjects, most especially the Feasts of the Holy Innocents and Boy Bishop. These feasts fostered opportunities for young choristers to sing and be sung about in newly composed Latin songs within and adjacent to the chanted liturgy. I also identified connections to Latin learning in didactic songs – works in which learning is either the goal or a cultural and musico-poetic referent. Such works highlight learning in Latin in ways that reveal the indebtedness of song to the schoolroom as an 'assemblage' of received learning.[109] Lastly, I explored the connection between Latin song and the main players of education – students and teachers. Representing the familiar category of 'student songs', works reflecting upon the classroom and its structures offer compelling, if constructed, glimpses into educational spaces, their concerns, and their multilingual contours.

Much more can be said about how formal educational programs influenced the writing, performance, and dissemination of Latin song, rather than taking for granted the Latin literacy upon which the expansive repertoire is constructed. Most significantly, locating the sociality of Latin song within younger communities, and between youth and adults, rather than solely within adult contexts, reframes the kinds of questions we can ask about song and helps to better connect the music taught in medieval schools and through the liturgy with that emerging through the interstices between church, school, and daily life.

109. To quote JAEGER, *The Envy of Angels*, p. 139, on Curtius.

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CITED MANUSCRIPTS AND DIGITAL FACSIMILES[110] (WHERE AVAILABLE)

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Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 258	https://unipub.uni-graz.at/obvugrscript/id/7821137
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 409	https://unipub.uni-graz.at/obvugrscript/content/titleinfo/7435915
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 756	https://unipub.uni-graz.at/obvugrscript/content/titleinfo/3856669
Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 225	
London, British Library, Add. MS 14997	
London, British Library, Add. MS 35324	https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/drawings-of-the-funeral-procession-of-elizabeth-i (only a portion, with images)
London, British Library, Add. MS 36881	https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_36881
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Santiago de Compostela, Archivo-Biblioteca de la Catedral, MS s.s.	
Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 46	https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/25087/manifest

110. Last access: December 4, 2023.

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