

Scholastic Imagery in The Florence Manuscript¹**George Catalano**

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The Florence manuscript² was produced in Paris during the mid-thirteenth century by a lay workshop now known as the Johannes Grusch *atelier*, a name coined by Robert Branner.³ This manuscript contains the largest extant collection of music in the "Notre Dame" style. Apart from Branner's work, the Parisian origin of this manuscript has been determined in several ways: (1) It includes a copy of what a 13th-century theorist, commonly known as Anonymous IV, described as the *magnus liber organi* used at the cathedral of Paris;⁴ (2) The chants upon which the polyphonic compositions of the *magnus liber organi* are built are Parisian variants;⁵ (3) Though several manuscripts containing this music are extant, this is the only one in which the polyphony conforms without exception to the edicts of the Bishops of Paris governing polyphonic performance;⁶ (4) Furthermore, the correspondence between details of its liturgical cycles of organa and the known activities of the singers of the cathedral is often so strong that there can be little doubt that this manuscript represents a copy of the cathedral's *magnus liber organi* and not another church's within the Parisian diocese.⁷

The illumination of the manuscript consists of thirteen historiated initials and one full-page miniature which serves as its frontispiece.⁸ It is the frontispiece (see Figure 1) which establishes the theme of the manuscript's illumination, so its interpretation is essential to correctly interpreting the cycle as a whole.

In his 1988 article, "Lady Music and Her Protégés, from musical Allegory to Musicians' Portraits," which appeared in *Musica Disciplina*, Tilman Seebass repeats a customary interpretation of this painting which is found in many standard works.⁹ The left-hand frames have been identified as the allegorical figure *Musica*, and the right-hand frames have been equated with Boethius' division of music into three types: *musica mundana*, *humana*, and *instrumentalis*.¹⁰ The three figures are said to pass various judgments on their adjacent types of music, according to the hierarchy prescribed by Boethius.

Using this interpretation (the frontispiece's depiction of various types of music) and the contents of the manuscript (which proceed from liturgical polyphony to dance music), Seebass takes the iconography of the frontispiece as a direct, general assessment of the position of music at this point in history:

In musical sources and documents of that time one can observe that sacred and secular monophony, vocal polyphony, speculative theory and practice-oriented treatises, as well as instrumental music, have entered a new, more interdependent relationship. In other words, no longer restricted to mainly liturgical practice and to cosmologically oriented theory, the term 'music' now receives a wider meaning." [Seebass, 27.]

It is this interpretation and conclusion which this paper aims to revise by re-identifying the female figure in the frontispiece and constructing an interpretation consistent with the re-identification.

The success of the customary interpretation depends on identifying the female figures as the allegorical *Musica*. However, this identification is problematic. To summarize, if this is *Musica*, two important aspects of the Florence realization (to be discussed below) are unique, the visual symmetry of the left-hand zone conflicts with the ideological hierarchy of the right-hand zone, and she is identified by none of her usual attributes.

On one hand, singularity renders an image nearly impossible to identify. On the other hand, an image which has been identified, but has unique traits usually indicates a questionable identification; one may be viewing the image in a false context and its singularity is only relative within that context. The females figures of the Florence frontispiece share two singular traits within the context of their identification as the allegorical *Musica*. As the traditional interpretation would have it, the left-hand zone represents the same figure three times, a trinity of sorts. However, to accept these as *Musica*, is to also accept that this is the only time she is so represented. A second singular aspect of this image is the judging of various types of music by the allegorical figure, which, when Martianus Capella invented her,¹¹ was the embodiment of all music.¹² This interpretation leaves *Musica* in the awkward position of passing judgment on herself. To my knowledge, there is no medieval literary source for *Musica* in this judgmental role. As we are considering a previously identified figure, these singularities may be relative to the conceptual context created by a dubious identification; considered in the proper context these traits are, as I will show, not singular, but typical.

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Furthermore, if we take these to be a threefold repetition of the same figure, we would expect them to be visually repetitive; however, the painter or the patron has taken pains to carefully make distinctions among the three figures. Beginning with relative body sizes, the figures at top and bottom are the same, while the middle figure is considerably larger, her crown actually touching the architectural frame. Likewise, the crowns of the top and bottom figure are similar while the central figure's is a bit more ornate. The outer figures are also equated by being dressed in similar cloaks. Attributes such as the white veil, the ornate throne, and the rope belt are distributed among the figures in such a way that anything an outer figure has, the central figure shares, but not the opposite outer figure. The combination of these techniques produces a central figure which appears superior to her flanking companions, her higher status being further emphasized by the red color of her tunic.

Making the middle figure the most splendid might be seen as a matter of symmetry. However, in this case, the symmetry established is in conflict with the hierarchy of types of music in the right-hand frames, which runs from top to bottom. This inconsistency between the left and right hierarchies is the principal downfall of the customary interpretation of the frontpiece.

There is yet another problem with the identification of the left-hand figures as *Musica*. *Musica* is typically represented standing, holding a musical instrument, sometimes accompanied by a famous practitioner such as Pythagoras. Sometimes she is seated, but usually only to perform on a musical instrument such as the harp or lute. Occasionally, when she appears without her attributes, the context makes her identity clear, as in a series of the seven liberal arts. Of the eight examples provided in Seebass's study of Lady Music,¹³ the figure from this frontispiece is the only one that involves multiple representations, that is crowned, enthroned, holding a staff or scepter, and the only seated figure without a musical instrument. In short, she has none of the traditional attributes of *Musica*.

These problems are not insoluble if we take the implications of the iconography as our guide to re-identifying this figure: a crowned, enthroned, sceptered, allegorical woman, or group of women, in a position to pass judgment on music.

This last criterion, the right of judgment, belonged to only one figure in the Middle Ages: Philosophy. Boethius introduced the allegorical representation of Philosophy in his *Consolation of Philosophy*, one of the best known works of the Middle Ages.¹⁴ The porch

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of the north portal of Notre-Dame of Paris bears a relief sculpture which is a fairly accurate depiction of Boethius's literary description and shares most of the characteristics we are seeking. A flanged roundel depicts a woman seated upon a throne, holding a scepter topped by a fleur-de-lys in her left hand, and in her right she holds two books, one open, one closed. A ladder of nine rungs leans against her chest. Behind her head are wavy lines representing clouds, the heavens, or heaven itself. The figure's head and feet, as well as the bottom of the ladder and the wavy lines, break across the inner edge of the roundel's flange; nothing breaches the outer edge, but the wavy lines about it (see fig. 2). However, here again, there is substantial disagreement between the attributes of this figure and the Florence figure. Most obviously, the ladder and books are absent from the Florence miniature, and the crown is absent from the Paris

sculpture.

This sculpture, however, while representing the attributes mentioned by Boethius, incorporates two that do not derive from his description: the figure's seated position and her throne. Oddly enough, these are the attributes that correspond to the Florence frontispiece. The sculptor was certainly depicting Philosophy; the ladder identifies her unmistakably. It seems, however, that he had a second iconographical tradition which served as the source for the sculpture's non-Boethian attributes.

This same mixing of Boethian and non-Boethian attributes occurs in another representation of Philosophy. This example contains even more non-Boethian influence than the Paris sculpture, providing evidence for a second iconographical tradition from which the non-Boethian attributes of the Paris sculpture derive. Figure 3 shows a diagram from the Newberry Library's Ms. 8 F9 which contains an eleventh-century Austrian copy of Boethius' *De institutione musica*. The diagram shows the seven liberal arts grouped around the central figure of Philosophy. Each petal of the rose design contains a description of the allegorical figure and practitioner peculiar to each liberal art. The central disc contains the following description of Philosophy:

Lady Philosophy, crowned, sitting on a throne, treading upon the necks of two kings; on her right knee there is a book, in her hand she holds a scepter. At her right stands a woman holding this verse, Those who contemplate heavenly things, venerate me. At her left is another woman with the verse, those who pursue worldly things, become my followers.¹⁵

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Michael Masi, who published a brief article on this diagram, saw these descriptions as instructions for an artist and identified them with the illuminations of the 13th-century Austrian manuscript: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 2599 (see Figure 4). Indeed the miniatures of the Munich manuscript could hardly be more faithful realizations of the earlier descriptions.

While every aspect of the Newberry diagram's description is faithfully portrayed, the Munich realization goes beyond that description. While the description generically prescribes 'two kings,' these kings are specifically identified as the Old Testament kings, Nebuchadnezzar and Antiochus. In addition, the posture of Philosophy "treading on the necks of two kings" is both distinctive and traceable to a Biblical source. This symbolic act of conquest appears several times in the Old Testament, most prominently in Joshua 10:24:

Joshua ... said to the commanders of the soldiers ..., "Come forward and put your feet on the necks of these kings." They came forward and put their feet upon their necks. 25. Then Joshua said., "...This is what the Lord will do to all the enemies against whom you fight."¹⁶

Together, these indicate the Bible, particularly the Old Testament, as the source of the non-Boethian attributes in the examples discussed above.

Finally, an additional inscription is added in the arch above Philosophy:

per me calcavit, per me qui cuncta creavit, colla superbiorum summus deus ipse deorum. [Through me he has trampled (referring to the kings), through me who created everything, together with God himself, the highest of the proud gods.]

This verse, emphasizing as it does the figure's relation to kingship and her role in creation, points to the precise source of the second iconographical tradition from which the non-Boethian attributes of the Paris, Florence and Munich depictions of Philosophy were drawn: the personification of Wisdom from the Book of Proverbs. Wisdom's dominion over kings is established by the following verses from Proverbs 8:

15. By me [i.e. Wisdom] kings reign, and lawgivers establish justice; 16. By me princes govern, and nobles; all rulers of the earth.

And her role in creation is revealed in another passage from Proverbs 8:

27. When he established the Heavens I was there, when he marked out the vault over the face of the deep; 28. When he made firm the skies above, when he fixed fast the foundation of the earth; 29. when he set for the sea its limits, so that the waters should not transgress his commands; 30. Then I was beside him as his architect.¹⁷

The correspondence between the Munich Philosophy and the Florence frontispiece is, indeed, remarkable. The crown, the throne, and the scepter all correspond, as, most importantly, does the triple representation that was absent from the Paris portal sculpture. The hierarchy of the figures in the Florence illumination is paralleled in the Munich Philosophy by the centrality of Philosophy between her two handmaidens and the central figure's greater relative body size. Furthermore, the verses which the handmaidens carry parallel the ladder in Boethius's description, reflecting the practical and theoretical aspects of philosophy, and sharing a natural affinity with Boethius's *musica mundana* and *musica instrumentalis*, which are evoked by the frames opposite Philosophy's handmaidens in the Florence miniature.

Having identified the sources of the attributes of the Florence figure as belonging to Philosophy (who herself bore aspects of Wisdom), we may now build a new interpretation of the frontispiece. Indeed, the description from the Newberry diagram can be used as a guide to the woman's attributes and to the layout of the frames. The central left-hand frame contains Lady Philosophy, crowned, sitting on a throne, holding a scepter (shown as a white rod).¹⁸ The upper and lower left-hand frames contain her handmaidens and their adjacent right-hand frames contain depictions of types of music analogous to the verses the handmaidens carry.¹⁹

The overlay of Wisdom's properties on Philosophy is not without its own purpose and finds specific resonances in this painting, which are realized in its three horizontal zones.

In the top zone of the Florence painting, Philosophy/Wisdom demonstrates her relationship with the cosmos and its creation according to the passage from Proverbs quoted above (Proverbs 8:27-30). Figure 5 presents a miniature from the 'Old Testament Picture Book,'²⁰ now in the Morgan Library in New York, which shows a contemporary scene of creation. The similarities between this mini-

ature and the upper zone of the Florence frontispiece are their depiction of the cosmos as a circular, or spherical, entity (a thought that goes back to Plato), the depiction of the four elements within the circle, and the presence of a personified creative force. Here Jesus is shown in the activity of creation in accordance with the gospel of John, in which it is stated that all things were created through the Word of God, which was Christ.

A similar creation scene can be found in moralized Bibles which were produced contemporaneously with both the Morgan Library illumination and the Florence manuscript.²¹ These scenes, like the Morgan Library image, show Christ as the creating Word of God; however, in these images, he is shown "marking out the vault over the face of the deep" with a compass, the tool of an architect. The connection between the Word Incarnate and the personification of Wisdom is thus neatly expressed pictorially, that is to say, the verse represented, "marking out the vault..." is spoken by Wisdom (Proverbs 8:27) who claims to have been present, but is not distinctly represented. Wisdom is thus implicitly present in the person of Christ. The staff which the Florence figure holds can be seen as homologous to the compass in the images from the moralized Bibles. In fact, the homology extends to the personified creative forces, both of which can be described as Wisdom incarnate.

We can then understand the Florence miniature's upper horizontal zone as: (1) an adaptation of a common contemporary subject of illumination to a specific, musical context; (2) a marvelous example of how supple and versatile the manipulation of iconography was during the 13th-century.

;In addition to her role in the creation, Wisdom plays an active role in the life of mankind and this is reflected both in the two lower zones of the frontispiece and in the 8th chapter of Proverbs, which continues:

30. Then I was beside him as his architect, and I was his delight day by day, playing before him all the while, 31.

playing on the surface of his earth, and I found delight in the sons of men.

However, in the following passage Wisdom makes a clear distinction between two types of men and in the way she treats them:

32. So now, O children, listen to me; 33. instruction and wisdom do not reject! Happy the man who obeys me, and happy those who keep my ways, ... 35. for he who finds me

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finds life, and wins favor from the Lord; but he who sins against me afflicts his own soul; all who hate me prize death.

The distinction between wise men and fools is made in the Florence frontispiece by the representation of clerics, who are distinguished by their tonsures, and laymen. Note that while the clerics' heads are turned toward Wisdom, taking her direction, the heads of the laymen look in the opposite direction, ignoring her.

While the middle zone concentrates on making this distinction, the particular theme of foolishness is stressed in the lowest zone. Both the presence of musical instruments and the posture of Philosophy/ Wisdom expand on the fact that she is being ignored. Her posture reflects yet another verse from Proverbs:

1:22. How long, you simple ones, will you delight in foolishness? 23. How long will you turn away at my reproof?

The aptness of using musical instruments as a symbol of foolishness is established by Boethius' description of instrumental musicians:

Those of the class who are dependent upon instruments and who spend their entire effort proving their skills on musical instruments are excluded from comprehension of musical knowledge, none of them makes use of reason, they are totally lacking in thought."[22](#)

Thus, this iconography incorporates commentary not only on the relationship between Philosophy and Music (in Boethius' traditional three-fold division), but also on the relationship between reason and musicians (which is the basis for Boethius' division of musicians into three classes: musicus [one who can judge music rationally], composer [one who creates by instinct], and performer [mechanical skill]).

The following passage from Boethius, which describes the opposite end of the spectrum from the instrumental musician, provides an ancillary example of music (as a rational science) in relation to Reason, personified as a noble mistress.

Every art considers reason inherently more honorable than a skill which is practiced by the hand or the labor of an artisan. In fact, physical skill serves as a slave, while reason rules like a mistress. How much nobler then, is the study of music as a rational discipline than as composition and performance![23](#)

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The primary theme of the Florence frontispiece, then, is the extolling of Music's relationship to Philosophy and Wisdom. This relationship is established visually by the two vertical zones, the left zone being the personification of Philosophy/Wisdom with her handmaidens, the right symbolizing the Boethian three-fold division of music; and musically by the study of music as a quadrivial science preparatory to philosophy in the Neoplatonic tradition.[24](#)

The overlay of Wisdom's attributes on the figure of Philosophy is reflected in the further commentary of the three horizontal zones. The upper zone refers to the cosmological role of music and the speculative theory that supported this tradition. The visual allegory of wise men and fools in the two lower zones establishes the superiority of liturgical music to secular music, and shows the instrumentalist and his music, appropriately, as the greatest of buffoons.[25](#)

In this way, the traditional emphasis on speculative theory and liturgical practice is upheld while the "foolish" forms

of music are derided. This interpretation is in diametrical opposition to Seebass's conclusion that this image represents, "a new, more interdependent relationship," between types of music in a period which, 'no longer restricted to mainly liturgical practice and to cosmologically oriented theory, allows the term 'music' to receive a wider meaning."

The fact of this opposition does not, however, necessitate an opposite assessment of the historical context to which this image refers. The perspective of the frontispiece supports views and scholastic norms which, at the time, had already been in place for centuries. If the point of the frontispiece were indicative of an historical context which merely continued this tradition, there would be no need to demonstrate the supremacy of cosmological theory and liturgical music, nor to downgrade other types of music and musicians in this subtle game of name-calling.

The Florence frontispiece must be understood, not as a simple, accurate reflection of its contemporary musical culture, but as the representation of a traditionalist perspective within its culture, a culture that threatened the traditional importance of musical genres and theories as they had been practiced and taught for ages. The inclusion of various musics and musicians in the frontispiece was necessary to re-emphasize the proper place and importance of each in the divinely established, traditional order.

The allegory of wise men and fools shows us how this image related to the musical culture of its day²⁶ and allows us to draw an analogy

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to our own culture. As we have seen in political elections of recent years, there is no better time to call one's opponent a fool than when he first becomes a serious threat to one's incumbency.²⁷ The Florence frontispiece reflects a similar defense of traditional musical values in a changing historical context which threatened the traditional status of those values and those who espoused and taught them.

Notes

1. This paper is dedicated to Anne D. Hedeman.
2. This paper is a narrow slice of a broader study, yet to be published, which considers Florence Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurenziana Pluteo 29.1 [FI] as a whole, interpreting its illuminations, not as separate images, but as a cycle on music's proper place in education and in society. Ideologically, this theme incorporates the conflicts between the Aristotelians and the defenders of Neoplatonism; historically, it involves the conflicts within the Parisian educational system between the Cathedral circle and the University. For a broad, but up to date overview of this topic see: *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, Norman Kretzman, Anthony Kenny, Jan Pinborg, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) chapters 2-4 and 6; Bowen, James. *A History of Western Education* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975): vol. 2, chapters 3 and 4. See also Rashdali, H. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Revised edition, F. M. Powicke and A.B. Fanden, eds. 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936): vol. 1, 334-344; Kibre, Pearl. *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages*. Medieval Academy of America Publications 72 (Cambridge, Mass., 1962): 92 ff.
3. Branher Robert, 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter,' *Art Bulletin* (March, 1972): 24-30. See also *Ibid*, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley: University of California, 1976).
4. Critical Latin text: Reckow, Fritz. *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4 (1967): 46. English Translation: Yudkin, Jeremy, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV; A New*

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- Translation Musicological Studies & Documents* 41 (1985): 40. For a brief synopsis see Hoppin, Richard. *Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1978): 217.
5. Husmann, Heinrich. "The Origin and Destination of the Magnus liber organi," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1965): 311-50.
 6. Other Manuscripts include: Wolfenbüttel 677 (olim Helmst. 628) [W1]; Wolfenbüttel 1099 (olim 1206) [W2]; Madrid, BN MS 20486 [Ma]; On the edicts see: Handschin, Jacques. "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame" *Acta Musicologica* 4 (1932): 5-17, 49-55, 104-5.
 7. Payne, Thomas B. "Associa tecum in patria: a Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXIX (1986): 247-252. Payne demonstrates that a piece sung at another church, St. Eligius in Paris, by the canons and vicars of the cathedral on that church's patron's feast (Feb. 1) finds its proper place in the liturgical sequence of Florence's *magnus liber* copy.
 8. Firenze, Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1, see: Luther Dittmer, ed., *Medieval Musical Manuscripts* vols. 10-11 (New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1967). This is a facsimile of the entire manuscript, except empty folia; the reproduction is in black and white and of poor quality, but it is the only common source for all the illuminations. For color (frontispiece only), see also plate V in Seebass, Tilman. "Lady Music and Her Protégés; from Musical Allegory to Musicians' Portraits," *Musica Disciplina* XLII (1988): 23-61 (on F, 27-30 and plate V).
 9. For example, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. Boethius; Bessler, Heinrich. *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, (Potsdam, 1931): plate 1.
 10. Critical Latin text: Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus. *De institutione musica*, ed. G. Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867) English Translation: Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus. *Fundamentals of Music*. Calvin M. Bower, trans., Claude Palisca, ed., (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989): 9-10. (further citation will refer to this translation)
 11. Critical Latin text: Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. James

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- Willis, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: BSB B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983). English Translation: Stahl, W., Johnson, R., Burge, E.L., *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 2 vols., I: "The Quadrivium of Martianus Capella" (New York & London, 1971), II: 'Martianus Capella's 'The Marriage of Philology and Mercury', (New York & London, 1978).
12. Martianus describes her both as having appointed the planets their particular tones which produce the celestial harmony and as holding in her hand a mobile of miniature, golden musical instruments.
 13. Seebass, Tilman. "Lady Music and Her Protégés; from Musical Allegory to Musicians' Portraits," *Musica Disciplina* XLII (1988): plates I-VIII.
 14. Boethius. *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. W.V. Cooper (Chicago: Gateway Editions, 1981): 34. "There appeared standing over my head a woman's form, whose countenance was full of majesty, whose eyes shown as with fire and in power of insight surpassed the eyes of men, whose color was full of life, whose strength was yet intact though she was so full of years that none would ever think that she was subject to such age as ours. One could but doubt her varying stature, for at one moment she repressed it to the common measure of a man, at another she seemed to touch with her crown, the very heavens: and when she had raised higher her head, it pierced even the sky and baffled the sight of those who looked upon it. Her Clothing was wrought of the finest thread, by subtle workmanship brought to an indivisible piece. This she had woven with her own hands

as I afterwards did learn from her own showing. Their beauty was somewhat dimmed by the dulness of long neglect, as is seen in the smoke-grimed masks of our ancestors. On the border below was inwoven the symbol pi, on that above was to be read a theta. And between the two letters there could be marked degrees, by which, as by the rungs of a ladder, ascent might be made from the lower principle [practical] to the higher [theoretical]. In her right hand she carried books, in her left was a scepter brandished."

15.Masi, Michael. "A Newberry Diagram of the Liberal Arts," *Gesta* XI/2 (1972): 52-56. "Philosophia in trono coronata sedens, et pedibus duorum regum, colla calcans super dextro genu librum; in sinistra sceptrum tenet. A dextris eius stat mulier hunc versum tenens: qui contemplantur celestia me venerantur; a sinistris eius alia mulier cum hoc versu: hi qui sectantur mundana mihi famulantur."

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16.Proverbs 8: 15-16, New American Bible translation. [Vulgate--15. per me reges regnantet legum conditores iusta decernunt 16. per me principes imperant et potentes decernunt iustitiam] All translations are NAB or my own from the Vulgate.

17.Again, the translation is NAB with the exception of the word, "architect." There is considerable equivocation among the English translations on this verse: KJV reads, "as one brought up with him"; RSV reads, "like a master workman," but adds in a note, "another reading is little child"; NAB gives, "craftsman," and adds in a note, "furnishing God with the plan, as it were, for creation." Our main concern as medievalists, however, is what the Latin Bible said, and the Vulgate reads, "cum eo eram cuncta componens." I have substituted the word "architect" for the sake of clarity in the present context, because in the Middle Ages, and in its art, the customary way of conceptualizing this function of the godhead was explicitly as an architect. As a justification, I would point out that, in Wisdom 9, Solomon, while praying to God for aid in building the temple, is clearly asking for Wisdom in the role of architect. The analogy between Proverbs 8:30 and Wisdom 9 is stronger than the word "craftsman" or even "master craftsman" will allow.

18.Furthermore, her crown, in accordance with Boethius' description, touches the heavens; the analogy between architectural vaults and the vaults of heaven was a common one. The artist of F depicted the phrase, "she seemed to touch with her crown, the very heavens," while the Notre Dame sculptor used the next phrase, "and when she had raised higher her head, it pierced even the sky," for his rendition; the wavy lines signify the sky and her head, *sans* crown, is also thus explained.

19.Only two elements present in the Munich image are missing from Florence: the kings and the book. I would suggest that these elements were excluded for compositional and thematic reasons. The necessary posture of each woman, turning to her left to imply her interaction with the adjacent frames would make holding a book on her knee, especially her right knee, awkward if not impossible. The kings, furthermore, would take up too much space and would not relate to the musical subject at hand.

20.New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 638, fol lr. Facsimile & commentary: Cockerell, Sydney C. ed. *A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the Middle of the Thirteenth Century*.

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Sent by Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski to Shah Abbas the Great, King of Persia, Now in the Pierpont Morgan Library at New York (The Roxburghe Club: Cambridge University Press, 1927): plate 1 (described p.77).

21.For example, Vienna, Austrian National Library, codex 1179, fol. 1. [A color reproduction is easily accessible on the front cover of: Gimpel, Jean. *The Cathedral Builders*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1980)]

22.Boethius, *Fundamentals*, 51.

23.Boethius, *Fundamentals*, 50.

24.Schrade, Leo. "Philosophy in the Music of Boethius," *Musical Quarterly* XXXIII (1947): 188-200.

25.Gushee, Lawrence. "Minstrels," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. "The troubadour Giraut Riquier ... suggested that street entertainers [including instrumental musicians] should be called *bufones*; that he who could comport himself among the rich with *cortesia* and *ciencia* in playing instruments and singing songs ... made by others should be called *juglor*, that he who could make (*trovar*) words and melody should be called *trovador*."

26.The musical culture, that is, of Paris c. 1245. Another problem with Seebass' conclusion is the equation between this image and European musical culture generally. The iconography may only relate to a very localized situation (and I tend to believe this is the case), so that at present we cannot say more than this with any degree of confidence.

27.Just as laws are established to suppress crimes, so defenses are mounted to suppress threats. Perhaps an even closer analogy to our own century can be found in the reaction against Rock & Roll during the 1950s; the *Encyclopedia Britannica* 1954 yearbook makes the following assessment of the music then rising to prominence in 'white' music markets: "The rock 'n' roll school in general concentrated on a minimum of melodic line and a maximum of rhythmic noise, deliberately competing with the artistic ideals of the jungle itself." By contrast, Chuck Berry was gaining renown with lyrics like, "Hail, Hail, Rock 'n' Roll, deliver me from the days of old" and "Roll over Beethoven, tell Tchaikovsky the news" which operate on the premise of overthrowing hallowed, but constricting traditions.