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# Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*, King Solomon's Temple, and the Veneration of the Virgin\*

By CRAIG WRIGHT

IT HAS LONG BEEN KNOWN that Guillaume Dufay's isorhythmic motet *Nuper rosarum flores* was composed for the consecration of the cathedral of Florence in 1436. But only since the appearance of Charles Warren's provocative essay in 1973,<sup>1</sup> which interprets the

\*A shorter version of this essay was presented at the Fifty-ninth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Montreal, Canada, 5 November 1993. The author wishes to thank Dr. Robert Babcock and Professors Walter Cahn, James Grier, and Philip Jacks of Yale University, Dr. Adelaide Bennett, of the Index of Christian Art, at Princeton University, the Musicorum Collegium Oxoniense (inter alia Drs. Margaret Bent, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens), as well as Professors Barbara Hagg, Alejandro Planchart, Frank D'Accone, Andrew Hughes, Margot Fassler, and Charles Brewer, and, not least, the staff of the Sala di Studia of the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana in Florence, Dr. Anna Lenzuni, director.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Warren, "Brunelleschi's Dome and Dufay's Motet," *The Musical Quarterly* 59 (1973): 92–105. Previous discussions of *Nuper rosarum flores* include Franz Xavier Haberl, *Bausteine für Musikgeschichte*, vol. 3, *Die Römische "Schola cantorum" und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1888), 189–296; Charles van den Borren, *Guillaume Dufay: Son importance dans l'évolution de la musique au XVe siècle* (Brussels: Maurice Lamertin, 1926), 171–78; idem, *Études sur le quinzième siècle musical* (Antwerp: N. V. de Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1941), 74–76; Heinrich Bessler, "Erläuterungen zu einer Vorführung ausgewählter Denkmäler der Musik des späten Mittelalters," in *Berichte über die Freiburger Tagung für deutsche Orgelkunst von 27. bis 30. Juli 1926*, ed. Wilibald Gurlitt (Augsburg: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1926), 141–54; Eduard Reeser, "Guillaume Dufay, *Nuper rosarum flores* 1436–1936," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 15 (1936): 137–46; Gerhard Croll, "Dufays Festmusik zur Florentiner Domweihe," *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 23 (1968): 538–47; Massimo Mila, *Guillaume Dufay*, 2 vols. (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1972), 1:153–60; Patricia Carpenter, "Tonal Coherence in a Motet of Dufay," *Journal of Music Theory* 17 (1973): 2–65; Rolf Dammann, "Die Florentiner Domweihmotette Dufays," in Wolfgang Braunfels, *Der Dom von Florenz* (Olten, Lausanne, and Freiburg im Breisgau: U. Graf-Verlag, 1964), revised in *Chormusik und Analyse* 1 (1983): 43–66; David Fallows, *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982), 45–47; Bonnie J. Blackburn, "On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century," this JOURNAL 40 (1987): 269–74; Sabine Zak, "Die Quellenwert von Giannozzo Manettis Oratio über die Domweihe von Florenz 1436 für die Musikgeschichte," *Die Musikforschung* 40 (1987): 2–32; and Hans Ryschawy and Rolf W. Stoll, "Die Bedeutung der Zahl in Dufays Kompositionsart: *Nuper rosarum flores*," in

structure of the motet in terms of the architectural ratios of the cathedral, has the piece come to be treated as an icon in the history of Western musical culture. The fame of the motet rests partly on the extraordinary structure of the work, and partly on its connection with an important event in the history of architecture—the completion of Filippo Brunelleschi's dome and the concomitant consecration of the cathedral by Pope Eugenius IV on 25 March 1436.<sup>2</sup> For the people of Florence, the dedication of this colossal cathedral to the Virgin Mary, Santa Maria del Fiore as she is called there, was a glorious moment in the history of their city. Municipal leaders (the *Signoria*), the pope and his curia, leading humanists, artists, architects and musicians, including Brunelleschi and Dufay, as well as much of the Florentine citizenry were all in attendance.<sup>3</sup> Because Dufay's motet, Brunelleschi's new Renaissance architecture, and nascent Florentine humanism shared a common historical context, it has been natural to view *Nuper rosarum flores* as a musical avatar of the new Renaissance sensibility.

As is known to every student of the history of music, *Nuper rosarum flores* possesses a systematic, indeed architectonic, design. It comprises four sections of music and a short concluding "Amen." Section one commences with a duet for the two higher voices (superius and contratenor altus) lasting twenty-eight breves (transcribed as twenty-eight measures in the standard modern edition);<sup>4</sup> the lower two voices (tenor I and tenor II) then enter and support the upper voices for a period of time equal to the opening duet (twenty-eight measures). Sections two, three, and four unfold in precisely the same way: an opening duet is followed by four-voice polyphony of the same duration. Each time the lower voices enter, they present the same notes in approximately the same

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*Musik-Konzepte 60: Guillaume Dufay*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Etzger and Rainer Riehn (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1988), 1–73.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking, although the dome was nearly complete when the cathedral was dedicated on 25 March 1436, work continued until 30 August 1436 whereupon the dome itself was consecrated by the bishop of Fiesole, Benozzo Federighi, as senior suffragan bishop substituting for Cardinal Vitelleschi, newly appointed archbishop of Florence (Howard Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore* [London: A. Zwemmer, 1980], 276).

<sup>3</sup> A list of the dignitaries and famous personages known or assumed to have been present is given in Arjan R. de Kooomen, "Dufay's *Nuper Rosarum Flores* and Santa Maria del Fiore: A Case of Misinterpretation" (unpublished). On this source, see below, n. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Guillelmi Dufay, *Opera omnia*, ed. Heinrich Bessler (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1966), 1:70–75. A new edition of the motet, edited by Bonnie J. Blackburn, will be published shortly in Fazer Editions of Early Music, Paul Hillier general editor.

rhythms as in the previous section—hence the designation “isorhythmic” motet. The upper two voices proceed more or less freely, ungoverned by strict melodic or rhythmic repetition. What creates the distinctive form of *Nuper rosarum flores* is the use of mensuration signs applied to the two lower voices; the meter of each of the four sections is determined by its own sign (O, C, C, Φ, respectively). These signs change the relative length of the notes and rests, and thus a different overall duration results for each section, according to whether the breve is perfect or imperfect, and whether it is measured in terms of *integer valor* or *diminutio*. As can be seen in Table 1, the structure of the motet, reduced to its most basic expression, is governed by a proportional relationship with the values 6:4:2:3. The proportion 6:4:2:3 is not found elsewhere in Dufay’s isorhythmic motets nor does it appear in those of any other composer.<sup>5</sup>

*Nuper rosarum flores* is also noteworthy for the fact that a second set of numbers is prominent here:  $4 \times 7$  and  $2 \times 7$ . As Table 1 shows, there are four sections to the work, each consisting of twice twenty-eight ( $4 \times 7$ ) breves. Moreover, the composer has chosen as a cantus firmus the first four words and the first fourteen notes of the Introit of the Mass of the Dedication of a Church, *Terribilis est locus iste*, which he disposes in quasi-canonic fashion in the two lower voices in two groups of seven notes (Ex. 1).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Dufay was one of the few composers to create isorhythmic motets of this complexity. The earliest musicians writing motets with strictly repetitive rhythms, Philippe de Vitry (1291–1361) and Guillaume de Machaut (ca. 1300–1377), did not often make use of proportional relations, and when they did, as in de Vitry’s *Tuba sacre / In arboris / Virgo sum* (ed. Leo Schrade, in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* [Monaco: Éditions de l’Oiseau-Lyre, 1956], 1:88–90), only one proportion is set out (e.g., 2:1). Their successors, including Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1370–1412) and the mathematician and astronomer John Dunstable (ca. 1390–1453), extended this proportional relationship, normally present in the tenor, to two successive ratios. Dunstable’s *Christe sanctorum decus / Tibi Christe splendor patris* (ed. Manfred Bukofzer et al. in *Musica Britannica*, 2d rev. ed. [London: Stainer and Bell, 1970], 8:64–67) is typical in this regard, possessing an isorhythmic structure of 9:6:3 with two statements of the rhythmic pattern in each of the three sections. Among isorhythmic motets coeval with *Nuper rosarum flores* and equaling or surpassing it in complexity are *Ave, virtus virtutum / Propbetarum fulti suffragio* by Dufay’s friend and mentor Nicolas Grenon (ca. 1380–1456), with the isorhythmic proportions 8:6:2:2:1:1, and *Romanorum rex*, variously attributed to Johannes Brassart (fl. 1420–45) or Johannes de Sarto (fl. 1439–69), with the relationship 4:3:2:1:1:2:3:4:1:1:1:1. For a useful discussion of proportions in the isorhythmic motet of the late Middle Ages, see Charles Turner, “Proportion and Form in the Continental Isorhythmic Motet c. 1385–1450,” *Music Analysis* 10 (1991): 89–124.

<sup>6</sup> Although the modern *Liber usualis* (Tournai: Desclee, 1962, p. 1250) gives seventeen notes for the first four words, late medieval chant books, such as the important Florentine

TABLE I

<i>Duets</i>		<i>All Four Voices</i>			
28 perfect breves in <i>integer valor</i>		28 perfect breves in <i>integer valor</i>			
28 imperfect breves in <i>integer valor</i> <sup>a</sup>		28 imperfect breves in <i>integer valor</i>			
28 imperfect breves in diminution		28 imperfect breves in diminution			
28 perfect breves in diminution		28 perfect breves in diminution			
	<i>Section 1</i>	<i>Section 2</i>	<i>Section 3</i>	<i>Section 4</i>	
Superius	84 + 84	56 + 56	28 + 28	42 + 42	
Contratenor altus	84 + 84	56 + 56	28 + 28	42 + 42	
Tenor II	O _____ 84	C _____ 56	♯ _____ 28	♯ _____ 42	
Tenor I	O _____ 84	C _____ 56	♯ _____ 28	♯ _____ 42	
	= 168	= 112	= 56	= 84	
	= 6	= 4	= 2	= 3	

<sup>a</sup>In section 2 the upper voices switch to diminution while only the lower two maintain *integer valor*. The equivalent durations in the upper voices, however, as stated in the table, are equal to twice twenty-eight imperfect breves in *integer valor*.

### Example 1

A fifteenth-century Florentine gradual of the usage of the papal curia. Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 42, fol. 215v.



While the lower voices proclaim this ancient chant, the two upper parts sing a newly created Latin poem, likely penned by Dufay himself.<sup>7</sup> It is arranged in four stanzas, each with seven (normally) seven-syllable lines.<sup>8</sup>

cathedral source I-Fl, MS Aedilium 151 (fol. 7v), clearly show fourteen notes. Obviously it is this fifteenth-century tradition, not that of the *Liber*, that Dufay knew.

<sup>7</sup> Dufay undoubtedly was the author of many of his nonliturgical texts. I am entirely in agreement with my colleague Alejandro Planchart, who identifies the texts of the following works of Dufay, in addition to *Nuper rosarum flores*, as coming from his hand: *Salve flos tuscae gentis*, *Rite majorem Jacobum*, *Mirandas parit*, *Fulgens jubar*, and *Craindre vous vueil* (see Planchart, "The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay," this *JOURNAL* 46 [1993]: 341–68). On Dufay's expertise with the Latin language, see Willem Elders, "Guillaume Dufay as Musical Orator," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 31 (1981): 1–15.

<sup>8</sup> The seventh and last line of each of the four strophes is clearly octasyllabic, but other, internal lines that appear to have eight syllables (e.g., strophe one, line three) likely were conceived as heptasyllabic and assume the application of elision.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>Nuper rosarum flores</i><br/> <i>Ex dono pontificis</i><br/> <i>Hieme licet horrida</i><br/> <i>Tibi, virgo celica,</i><br/> <i>Pie et sancte deditum</i><br/> <i>Grandis templum machinae</i><br/> <i>Condecorarunt perpetim.</i></p> | <p>The harsh winter [of the Hebraic Law]<sup>9</sup><br/>         Having past, roses,<br/>         A recent papal gift,<sup>10</sup><br/>         Perpetually adorn<br/>         The Temple of the grandest structure<br/>         Piously and devoutly dedicated<br/>         To you, heavenly Virgin.</p> |
| <p>2. <i>Hodie vicarius</i><br/> <i>Jesu Christi et Petri</i><br/> <i>Successor Eugenius</i><br/> <i>Hoc idem amplissimum</i><br/> <i>Sacris templum manibus</i><br/> <i>Sanctisque liquoribus</i><br/> <i>Consecrare dignatus est.</i></p>     | <p>Today the vicar<br/>         Of Jesus Christ and successor<br/>         Of Peter, Eugenius,<br/>         This same most enormous Temple<br/>         With sacred hands<br/>         And holy oils<br/>         Has deigned to consecrate.</p>  |
| <p>3. <i>Igitur, alma parens</i><br/> <i>Nati tui et filia</i><br/> <i>Virgo deus virginum,</i><br/> <i>Tuus te Florentiae</i><br/> <i>Devotus orat populus</i><br/> <i>Ut qui mente et corpore</i><br/> <i>Mundo quicquam exorarit,</i></p>    | <p>Therefore, sweet parent<br/>         And daughter of your son,<br/>         God, virgin of virgins,<br/>         To you your devoted<br/>         Populace of Florence petitions<br/>         That whoever begs for something<br/>         With pure spirit and body,</p>                                |
| <p>4. <i>Oratione tua</i><br/> <i>Cruciatus et meritis</i><br/> <i>Tui secundum carnem</i><br/> <i>Nati domini sui</i><br/> <i>Grata beneficia</i><br/> <i>Veniamque reatum</i><br/> <i>Accipere mereatur.</i><br/> <i>Amen.</i></p>            | <p>Through your intercession<br/>         And the merits<br/>         Of your son, their lord,<br/>         Owing to His carnal torment,<br/>         It may be worthy to receive<br/>         Gracious benefits and<br/>         Forgiveness of sins.<br/>         Amen.</p>                               |

Unbroken runs of seven-syllable lines are exceedingly rare in classical Latin poetry and equally scarce in late medieval Latin verse.<sup>11</sup> The

<sup>9</sup> A justification for this translation is offered below, in "The Temple in Sermons for the Dedication of a Church."

<sup>10</sup> Just the previous week Pope Eugenius IV had presented the cathedral, and by extension the city of Florence, with a Golden Rose to adorn the high altar. The gift of the Golden Rose, as reported by the chronicler Giannozzo Manetti, is discussed in Guillaume de Van, *Guilielmi Dufay: Opera omnia*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1948), xxvii. Walter Cahn informs me that several of these symbolic roses, which popes are known to have presented annually on Mid-Lent Sunday to an important church or to a champion of the Church, are preserved in the Musée de Cluny in Paris.

<sup>11</sup> See Joseph Henry Allen and James B. Greenough, *New Latin Grammar* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1903), 410–21; and Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification*

poet, whether Dufay himself or one of his colleagues in the papal curia, has striven to produce successions of seven-syllable lines, even if an unconventional verse form is the final product.<sup>12</sup> Thus the prominence given the numbers four and seven here is not the result of mere happenstance, but of careful cogitation, likely with the aim of expressing a symbolic meaning.<sup>13</sup>

Taken together, the musical and textual structure of *Nuper rosarum flores* embodies two prominent and, as will be shown, symbolic numerical relationships: the proportion 6:4:2:3 (the overarching isorhythmic design), and  $4 \times 7$  and  $2 \times 7$  (factors inherent in the number and duration of the sections, the selection and disposition of the chant in the tenors, and the structure of the text).<sup>14</sup> These relationships, in

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*latine médiévale* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1958), 110–11 and 117. Useful general studies on this subject are F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934), vol. 2; and Paul Klopsch, *Einführung in die Dichtungslehren des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980). I would like to thank Robert Babcock, James Grier, Andrew Wright, and especially Leofranc Holford-Strevens for their thoughts on this text and that of *Nuper almos rose flores* discussed below.

<sup>12</sup> It is not possible to tell the textual form of the motet by using only the two known musical sources for it (I-Tr, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buon Consiglio, MS 92, fol. 21v, and I-Moe, MS Cod. lat. 471, fol. 67v). But a textual source from the library of the cathedral of Florence (I-Fl, MS Aedilium 168, fol. 204v) contains the poem without music and shows clearly that the intention of the poet was to create four seven-line stanzas.

<sup>13</sup> The simple observation of the philologist Ernst Robert Curtius is apposite here: "It must be borne in mind that both the number of lines and the number of stanzas in a poem, as well as the number of chapters in a book or of books in a work, can be determined by number symbolism" (*European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973], 505). For an overview of the importance of number symbolism in medieval literature, see "Über die Lage der Forschung zur literarischen Zahlenkomposition," part 3 of Ernst Hellgardt, *Zur Problem symbolbestimmter und formalästhetischer Zahlenkomposition in mittelalterlicher Literatur* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973), 253–302; for its importance in medieval song, see "Number in Music and Verse," part 1 of John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13–47.

<sup>14</sup> This is not to say that there are not other less overt relationships lurking beneath the surface of *Nuper rosarum flores* and possessing numerical significance. Such subliminal signifiers are pursued exhaustively, perhaps excessively, in Ryschawy and Stoll, "Die Bedeutung."

It should be pointed out that Ryschawy and Stoll discuss a possible connection between Dufay's motet and the biblical tradition of the Temple of Solomon (p. 47). As stated in the version of this study delivered in Montreal (see unnumbered note, p. 395), however, the present writer began to pursue this Solomonic line of inquiry, not in reading Ryschawy and Stoll (which he came to rather late in his research), but when rereading a passage in Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), where the dimensions of Solomon's Temple are discussed in connection with a theological tract of Peter Abelard (pp. 37–38).

one way or another, inform every moment of the motet. But do they reflect the structure of the cathedral of Florence as Dufay perceived it in 1436?

*Nuper rosarum flores and the Architecture of the Cathedral of Florence*

In 1973 Charles Warren sought to demonstrate precisely this: that Guillaume Dufay had incorporated the architectural proportions of the cathedral of Florence, and its newly completed dome, into his motet for the dedication of the church.<sup>15</sup> Thus, according to Warren's thesis, on the day of dedication, 25 March 1436, music, architecture, and spacial mathematics sounded in perfect harmony. Warren's study, a classic in the field, has similarly developed a following among scholars in other disciplines, and for a reason that is easy to understand: it seems to prove a clear, causal connection between related media of artistic expression, the sort of causal link between the arts that all observers intuitively sense but aestheticians can rarely demonstrate.

To review briefly Warren's hypothesis: He posits that a basic module of 50.8 braccias (the square of the crossing beneath the dome) served as the fundamental measurement for the entire building.<sup>16</sup> Warren first sees three of these units in the nave, two in the transept (one on either side of the crossing), and one in the apse. Next, now measuring vertically from the base of the cupola, he finds one and a half modules in Brunelleschi's dome. By multiplying each of these parts of the church by two he arrives at the ratio 6:4:2:3. Aside from the fact that there often is a discrepancy in the numbers (there are, for example, only 72 braccias in the height of the dome,<sup>17</sup> not 76.2 [50.8 × 1.5]), this analysis does violence to the architecture of the church.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Warren, "Brunelleschi's Dome," 92–105.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 94. A braccia was a Florentine unit of measure approximately .59 of a meter, or 22.5 inches, in length.

<sup>17</sup> Saalman, *Brunelleschi*, 58.

<sup>18</sup> In 1989 Charles Brewer sought to challenge Warren's thesis, primarily from the point of view that Gothic buildings such as the cathedral of Florence were laid out using geometric, not arithmetic, principles and procedures ("Defrosted Architecture: The Incommensurability of Dufay's 'Nuper Rosarum Flores' and Brunelleschi's Work for Santa Maria del Fiore," paper read at the Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Austin, Texas, 1989). The resulting numbers are thus irrational numbers such as .707etc. (the ratio of a side of a square in the process of "squaring down") and .618etc. (the ratio resulting from the application of the Golden Section), and not the simple harmonic numbers present in the motet. Brewer also noted some of the inconsistencies in Warren's analysis. I am grateful to Professor Brewer for having made available to me his paper prior to publication.



For example, Warren sees three modules of 50.8 braccias in the nave; but the nave of the cathedral of Florence is only 136 braccias long, not 152.4 ( $3 \times 50.8$ ).<sup>19</sup> For his three modules to fit, he is forced to begin measuring the nave approximately 16 braccias inside the crossing, indeed well under the dome (see Fig. 1). Obviously the dome of the cathedral is not part of the nave. Warren next puts forth a measurement of 28 braccias as a secondary module, seeing six units in the nave, four in the transept, and so forth. While a module of 28 braccias might provide an easy analogue to the units of 28 breves in the motet, it forces Warren, once again, to extend his measurement of the nave into and under the dome ( $6 \times 28 = 168$ , not 136). Warren's assessment fails to meet the most basic analytical requirement: for any architectural analysis to have validity, it must relate accurately, indeed exactly, to the components of the structure that is being measured, either as that structure presently exists or as it existed earlier in history.

The cathedral of Florence was begun about 1294 under the direction of architect (*capudmagister*) Arnolfo di Cambio.<sup>20</sup> Work on the west facade and the north and south side walls continued until 1334 when money and energy were diverted to the construction of the famous bell tower under the charge of painter and architect Giotto. Not until 1355 did the *operai* of Santa Maria del Fiore (the overseers of the fabric of the cathedral) and the consulting architects turn their attention back to the cathedral proper. Between 1355 and 1384 the side walls, bays, and vaulting of the nave progressed steadily from west to east. In its final form the nave consisted of four bays, each with a center square of 34 braccias.<sup>21</sup> The total width of the nave (fractionally less than 68 braccias) was made to be twice the measurement of any one side of the square, and the total length of the nave

<sup>19</sup> Saalman, *Brunelleschi*, 39–55 and pl. 4.

<sup>20</sup> This paragraph is drawn mainly from Howard Saalman's definitive monograph on the cathedral of Florence (see n. 2 above), especially 45–55 and 83–85. Equally detailed, but more limited in scope, is Eugenio Battisti, *Filippo Brunelleschi*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (New York: Rizzoli, 1981). Two important earlier articles, both published in *Art Bulletin*, are Saalman's "Santa Maria del Fiore: 1294–1418," vol. 46 (1964): 471–500; and Franklin K. B. Toker's "Florence Cathedral: The Design Stage," vol. 60 (1978): 214–31. For further studies of the design and construction of the cathedral and its cupola, see the bibliography in Battisti (p. 358).

<sup>21</sup> To be precise in describing the module of the nave, a document of 1357 states that the unit was to be something fractionally less than an exact square: the width of the "square" was to be  $33 \frac{9}{16}$  braccias and the length 34 braccias. Thus while the length of the nave is  $4 \times 34$  or 136 braccias, the width is  $2 \times 33 \frac{9}{16}$  or approximately a braccia shy of 68 (see Saalman, *Brunelleschi*, 40).

(136 braccias) four times the side of the square (see Fig. 2). The height of the vessel rose to an impressive 72 braccias.

As the nave neared completion, attention increasingly focused on the east end of the church. From its conception Santa Maria del Fiore had been planned so as to culminate in a large octagonal dome, shaped to conform with the spirit of the famous twelfth-century octagonal baptistry that stood before the west facade. But the size of the dome and the nature of its supporting structure were an issue of continuing debate. In 1367 the architects chose to construct the larger of two domes then under consideration, one measuring 72 braccias side to side at the base, and to place this enormous cupola on a circular drum.<sup>22</sup> Drum and cupola were to begin at a height of 72 braccias (the height of the roof of the existing nave) and extend upward an additional 72 braccias. Flanking the cupola on the north, east, and south sides were three radial chapels each of a uniform dimension, but a smaller size than the large, center octagon. These were completed in 1408, 1415, and 1421, respectively. The drum was substantially finished by 1417, and upon it Brunelleschi began to erect a prescribed double shell cupola which rose and curved inward, according to the geometric formula of a *quinto acuto*, to a point 72 braccias above the base of the drum and 144 braccias from the floor of the church below.

The cathedral of Florence is, then, an edifice that combines two rather different architectural forms with two significantly different sets of dimensions:<sup>23</sup> a longitudinal, simply proportioned nave comprising four bays centering on four squares of 34 braccias (see Fig. 2); and a proportionally larger, geometrically derived transept and apse centered on a dome with a primary dimension of 72 braccias. The proportions that rule here are thus 2:1 and 4:1 in the nave (and also 12:11 if height and width are compared), and, on a wholly different scale, 3:1 in the centralized area of the dome. The octagonal nature of the dome further invokes 8:1 as a relationship of potential significance.

<sup>22</sup> The striking concept of a double shell cupola, one shell reinforcing the other, was apparently not original with Brunelleschi but was “firmly determined well before [he and his competitor Ghiberti] came on the scene” (Saalman, *Brunelleschi*, 85). Indeed, double shells of this sort had been employed previously in domes of other large temples. Brunelleschi’s great accomplishment, as all contemporary commentators acknowledged, was to build this gigantic edifice without benefit of “centering” (the substructural scaffolding traditionally employed when erecting domes and vaults).

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of the “composite type” of cathedral in fifteenth-century Italy, including those at Florence, Pisa, Siena, and Pavia, see Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), 11.

The unique ratio 6:4:2:3, which governs Dufay's motet, is, however, in no way immanent, or even superficially apparent, in the design of the cathedral of Florence.<sup>24</sup>

### *Theories of Proportion*

Why then the unique proportional scheme in *Nuper rosarum flores*? Perhaps Dufay had no intention of creating mimetic art, of mirroring the dimensions of any particular building. Perhaps he wished only that his motet be well balanced and structurally harmonious. Certainly there was a strong injunction in classical and medieval aesthetic theory requiring that an artifact, edifice, or musical work be proportional in its parts and imbued with appropriate numerical ratios.<sup>25</sup> From Pythagoras through Plato (*Timaeus*), Augustine (*De musica*), Boethius (*De institutione musica*), William of Conches (*Glosae super Platonem*), Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum naturale*) to Dufay's colleague Leon Baptista Alberti (*De re aedificatoria libri decem*) came the doctrine that man and his creations need reflect a celestial and universally valid harmony, one that was expressed through numerical ratios.<sup>26</sup> Run-

<sup>24</sup> During the final stages of work on this article, two other critiques of Warren's theory became available. The first, brought to my attention by Professor Creighton Gilbert, is Christine Smith's *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism: Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence, 1400–1470* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) and the second, coming to me through the kindness of Professor Anna Maria Busse Berger, is Arjan R. de Koomen's forthcoming article "Dufay's Nuper Rosarum Flores and Santa Maria del Fiore: A Case of Misinterpretation." Although both writers come to the same conclusion as Charles Brewer and I—that Warren's analysis of the building is fatally flawed—they are able to do so with greater insight and force, being trained architectural historians. Typical of their assessment of Warren's work are statements such as: "His derivation of the measurements of the building by a system of quadratura, although it might reflect the process by which the building was designed, has no relation to how its measurements were perceived in the Quattrocento. . . . Their measurements [the measurements of the cathedral made by Manetti, Dati, and Albertini] do not yield ideal proportional relationships and cannot be related to musical intervals or mensurations" (Smith, p. 94); and, "Those numbers do not harmonize with those of the motet and in order to make them congruent Warren turns them around, doubles them, and rounds them off to integers. In this way he is able to deduce 6:4:3:2 from the building, thus transforming irrational geometrical ratios into arithmetic, rational, or musical proportions" (de Koomen, p. 17). I am grateful to Dr. de Koomen for allowing me to view his paper prior to publication.

<sup>25</sup> See "The Aesthetics of Proportion," chapter 3 of Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, trans. Hugh Bredin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

<sup>26</sup> On this doctrine generally, see Wittkower, *Architectural Principles*, 27–33. The salient passage in the *Timaeus* is found at 35B (*The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961]). On Boethius's extension of this Platonic notion, see Book 1 of *De institutione musica* as given in *Fundamentals of Music: Ancius Manlius Severinus Boethius*, trans. Calvin M.

ning collateral with this tenet of classical thought was a similar Christian tradition which held that all holy things resounded with a unified harmony. This notion derived from the biblical proclamation, oft repeated by medieval theologians and music theorists alike,<sup>27</sup> that “God created all things in measure and number and weight” (Wisdom of Solomon 11:20).<sup>28</sup> Two such fundamental aesthetic doctrines could hardly be ignored, and indeed Dufay satisfied both by creating an isorhythmic motet characterized by proportionally balanced sections. But given the distinctive, indeed unique, ratio 6:4:2:3 and the exceptional rigor with which  $4 \times 7$  and  $2 \times 7$  are applied in *Nuper rosarum flores*, it seems reasonable to inquire whether the composer intended to communicate something more specific than proportions that are merely pleasing.

### *The Temple of Solomon as Symbol of the Christian Church*

The key to understanding *Nuper rosarum flores* is to be found neither in Renaissance architecture nor in an aesthetic theory deriving from classical or later Christian philosophy, but rather in two

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Bower, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 1–19. For a discussion of Platonic thought at the School of Chartres, see Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), especially 30 ff. On Vincent of Beauvais’s interest in numerical proportions, see Eco, *Art and Beauty*, 29 and 37. Alberti’s spiritual affinity to an earlier work with a similar title by Vitruvius (*De architectura libri decem*; first century B.C.) is discussed in Peter Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), 5 and 45.

<sup>27</sup> Quotations and echoes of this passage can be found, for example, in the writings of Augustine: “Neque enim mensura et numerus et pondus in lapidibus tantummodo et lignis atque hujusmodi molibus, et quantiscumque corporalibus vel terrestribus vel coelestibus animadverti et cogitari potest” (*De Genesi ad litteram*, in J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completa: Series latina* [Paris, 1844–64; hereafter *PL*], vol. 34, col. 299); St. Bonaventure: “Nihil in universo est inordinatum” (*Sententiarum libri IV*, vol. 2, dist. 6, art. 2, quest. 1); Walter of Châtillon: “Creatori serviunt omnia subjecta, sub mensura, numero, pondere perfecta” (cited in Curtius, *European Literature*, 504 and n. 9); Magister Lambertus: “Deus omnia in numero, pondere et mensura constituit, et hoc principale extitit exemplar in animo conditoris” (cited in Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1993], 123); Johannes de Muris: “Deus omnia fecit numero, pondere et mensura, quia omnia, que a primeva tertium origine processerunt, ratione numerorum formata sunt” (cited in Walter Grossman, *Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum Musicae von Johannes de Muris* [1924; reprint, Nendeln, Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1976], 75); and Nicolaus Burtius, “Omnia siquidem ut inquit sapiens: in mensura: et numero: ac pondere consistunt” (cited in Ann E. Moyer, *Musica Scientia: Musical Scholarship in the Italian Renaissance* [Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992], 47 n. 17).

<sup>28</sup> “Sed omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti.”

venerable traditions holding great sway over medieval clerics: biblical exegesis and religious number symbolism. Dufay's motet is a spiritual vehicle with a symbolic message. Its theme is the divine unity of the Temple and the Virgin Mary. In order to understand how the concept of this union entered the mind of the composer, it is necessary to return to one of the most significant images in biblical history, the Temple of Solomon. For, as was well known to the churchmen of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the dimensions of the biblical Temple of King Solomon produced the proportion 6:4:2:3.

The first Temple of Jerusalem, which King Solomon erected to the Lord in about 966 B.C., is described in the Old Testament in 1 Kings (3 Kings in the Vulgate).<sup>29</sup> Fulfilling the wish of his father David, Solomon laid out a splendid monument atop Mount Moria, importing materials and skilled craftsmen from Lebanon. The completed Temple measured sixty cubits long,<sup>30</sup> twenty cubits wide, and thirty cubits high.<sup>31</sup> It was divided into two chief halls: a house of prayer and a smaller holy place (*sanctum sanctorum*) for the mysteries of the priest. The house, the equivalent of the nave of the later Christian church, was forty cubits in length, while the holy place, the counterpart of the later Christian sanctuary, was a perfect square twenty cubits on a side. The dimensions of Solomon's temple, reduced to their lowest common denominator, were thus 6 (total length), 4 (length of nave), 2 (length of sanctuary and width of

<sup>29</sup> There is a parallel account of the construction of the Temple in 2 Chronicles 3 and 4, though it tends to magnify the dimensions immeasurably. The later biblical account of a temple by the Prophet Ezekiel is more visionary fantasy than historical description (Ezekiel 40 and 41), but it had a certain currency in the Middle Ages, especially in the writings of Richard of St. Victor. Ezekiel's temple and visionary drawings of it accompanying Richard's *De Ezechielem* are the subject of two articles by Walter Cahn, "Architectural Draftsmanship in Twelfth-Century Paris: The Illustrations of Richard of Saint-Victor's Commentary on Ezekiel's Temple Vision," *Gesta* 15 (1976): 247-54; and "Architecture and Exegesis: Richard of Saint-Victor's Ezekiel Commentary and Its Illustrations," forthcoming in *Art Bulletin*, 1994.

<sup>30</sup> A cubit is a measurement approximately eighteen inches long.

<sup>31</sup> 1 Kings 6:1-20: "Domus autem quam aedificabat rex Salomon Domino habebat sexaginta cubitos in longitudine, et viginti cubitos in latitudine, et triginta cubitos in altitudine . . . et fecit interiorem domum oraculi in Sanctum sanctorum. Porro quadraginta cubitorum erat ipsum templum pro foribus oraculi. . . . Oraculum autem in medio domus in interiori parte fecerat, ut poneret ibi arcam foederis Domini. Porro oraculum habebat viginti cubitos longitudinis, et viginti cubitos latitudinis, et viginti cubitos altitudinis." For a thorough analysis of the plan of Solomon's Temple based on 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles, see Barnabas Meisermann's article "Temple of Jerusalem," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton, 1912), 14:499-504; and Günter Bandmann, "Tempel von Jerusalem," in *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 4 (Rome: Herder, 1972), cols. 255-60.

building), and 3 (height of building). The Bible also relates that work was begun in the fourth year of Solomon's reign, that it took seven years to complete, that it was dedicated in the seventh month of the year, and that the service of dedication required twice times seven days ("Seven days and seven days, even fourteen days" as the King James Version states in 1 Kings 8:65).

This monument of great spiritual importance to the people of Israel quickly assumed equal significance with the early Christians. If the Temple of Solomon became the focal point of the religion of the people of the House of David, for Christians the Temple became, by analogical extension, the symbol of the Church, indeed the Church Militant throughout the world. Every sanctuary in Christendom drew upon the vision of the Temple of Jerusalem as the source of its spiritual authority and external form.<sup>32</sup> Later medieval Christian theologians sought not to discredit or reject the witness of the Old Testament, but to regard it all as prophecy, a prophecy which would lend legitimacy to the Christian Kingdom to come.

### *The Temple in Medieval Exegesis*

Thus it was that the image of the Temple of Solomon appeared in many forms in the medieval world: in canonical Old and New Testament scripture, in exegetic elaborations on scripture, in sermons, in the liturgy, in explanations of the liturgy, in manuscript illuminations, in poetry, and in music. As a cornerstone of theological doctrine, the image of the Temple passed from generation to generation, from writer to writer, and gradually became a stock literary topos. For Augustine and Isidore of Seville, the Temple of Solomon

<sup>32</sup> Hence Jerome in *Commentarium in Sophoniam Prophetam* (PL, vol. 25, col. 1376): "Sciat Jerusalem in Scripturis sanctis semper typum habere Ecclesiae"; and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, in *Questiones in Librum I Paralipomenon* in J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completa: Series graeca* (Paris, 1857–68; vol. 80, col. 814): "Nam quoniam Christus, secundum carnem quidem Davidis filius, ut Deus autem, dominus et herus Davidis, erat aedificaturus ecclesias quae sunt in toto orbe terrarum, non sivit Davidem aedificare templum Judaicum: sed iussit illius filium hoc facere, cujus appellatio praefigurabat pacem nostri Servatoris. Salomo enim exponitur *pacificus*: et Dominus noster *pax* appellatur."

Sicardus of Cremona, Honorius of Autun, and William Durandus say virtually the same thing at the outset of their respective discussions of the symbolism of the Church: "Jussit Dominus fieri templum, quod Salomon aedificavit in pace, opere mirificum et aere toto famosum, duasque habens partes, ut tabernaculum. Ab utroque nostra materialis ecclesia formam accepit, in cujus parte anteriore populus audit, et orat; in sanctuario vero clerus praedicat, jubilat et ministrat" (Sicardus, *Mitrale*, in PL, vol. 213, col. 15).

prefigures and provides a model for the Christian Church, just as Solomon of the Old Testament presages Jesus Christ of the New.<sup>33</sup> With the Venerable Bede, Rabanus Maur, and Walafriid Strabo the dimensional symbolism of the Temple is revealed; its length (sixty cubits) signifies the faith of an exiled people, its width (twenty cubits) charity toward friend and foe alike, its height (thirty cubits) hope for the bounty of the Lord on the living earth.<sup>34</sup> Bede reduces the numbers to their lowest common denominator and offers an additional explanation: "Six therefore represents the perfection of the work, two the dilection and proximity of God, three the hope of divine vision."<sup>35</sup> In the twelfth century it was Richard of St. Victor (ca. 1123–73), canon regular of the Augustinian house of that name in Paris,<sup>36</sup> who expatiated most often on the structure of the Temple of Solomon, particularly with regard to its sanctuary (*sanctum sanctorum*) and nave: "Moreover, the length [of the Temple] is determined by the longitude of both [sanctuary and nave]. The Temple was forty cubits outside the *sanctum sanctorum*, and if the exterior portion was forty cubits,

<sup>33</sup> Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum XXIX* (PL, vol. 36, col. 433) and *Enarratio in Psalmum CXXVI* (PL, vol. 37, col. 1668; also in *Corpus christianorum series latina* [hereafter CCSL], vol. 40 [Turnolt: Brepols, 1956], p. 1857): "Quia et iste Salomon aedificaverat templum Domino, in typo quidem et in figura figurae Ecclesiae et corporis Domini; unde dicit in Evangelio: *Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo excitabo illud*; quia ergo ipse aedificaverat illud templum, aedificavit sibi templum verus Salomon Dominus noster Jesus Christus, verus pacificus"; and Isidore of Seville, *Questiones in vetus testamentum: De templi aedificatione* (PL, vol. 83, col. 415): "Quid enim domus illa, ut predictum est, nisi sanctam Ecclesiam, quam in celestibus Dominus inhabitat figurabat?"

<sup>34</sup> Bede, *De templo Salomonis liber* (PL, vol. 91, col. 749; also in CCSL 119:160): "Domus autem quam aedificabat rex Salomon Domino, habebat 60 cubitos in longitudine, etc. Longitudo domus longanimitatem designat sanctae Ecclesiae, qua in exsilio peregrinationis hujus patienter adversa quaeque tolerat, donec ad patriam quam exspectat, perveniat. Latitudo insinuat charitatem, qua dilatato sinu mentis non solum amicos in Deo, sed inimicos gaudet diligere propter Deum, donec veniat tempus, quando ad pacem suam conversis seu funditus extinctis, cum solis gaudeat amicis in Deo. Altitudo spem denuntiat futurae retributionis . . . sola mereatur videre bona Domini in terra viventium." The nearly identical passage is found in Rabanus Maur, *Commentaria in libros IV regum* (PL, vol. 109, col. 142) and in the *Glossa ordinaria* attributed to Strabo in PL (vol. 113, col. 586), elsewhere to Anselm of Laon (see Stevens, *Words and Music*, 16 n. 13).

<sup>35</sup> Bede, *De templo Salomonis liber* (PL, vol. 91, col. 749): "Sex ergo ad operis perfectionem, duo ad dilectionem Dei et proximi, tria pertinent ad spem divinae visionis."

<sup>36</sup> For Parisian exegesis generally in this period, see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (London: Basil Blackwell and Mott, 1952), chaps. 3–5. In addition to the gloss on 1 Kings offered by Richard, see those of Hugh of St. Victor, *De templo Salomonis allegorice* (PL, vol. 177, cols. 868–72), and Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (PL, vol. 198, col. 1354).

therefore the more interior remained twenty cubits in length: for the temple was sixty cubits long.”<sup>37</sup> Richard’s remarks, and even more so those of his younger contemporary Peter Comestor (*Historia scholastica*), were perpetuated well into the fourteenth century, copied sometimes verbatim into the *Speculum historialis* of Vincent of Beauvais, the *Bible historiale* of Guillart Desmoulins (a French translation of Comestor), and the *Postilla in testamentum vetus* of Nicolaus of Lyra.<sup>38</sup>

If the Victorines of Paris and their intellectual successors expounded on the symbolism of the Temple in terms of Old Testament exegesis, their contemporaries Honorius of Autun (*Speculum ecclesiae*, ca. 1140) and Sicardus of Cremona (*Mitræle*, 1200) explained the symbolism of the Church as it was understood in the context of the Christian liturgy.<sup>39</sup> Here for the first time the numerical significance

<sup>37</sup> Richard of St. Victor, *Exegetica: De templo Salomonis ad litteram* (PL, vol. 196, col. 227): “Sequitur, in quo utriusque domus longitudo determinatur: Porro quadraginta cubitorum erat ipsum templum pro foribus oraculi. Si templum exterius quadraginta cubitos habuit, ergo interiori domui viginti cubitorum longitudino remansit: nam templum sexaginta cubitos longitudinis tenuit.” Richard’s interpretation of the structure and meaning of the Temple later came to be adopted as the lessons at Matins by some Dominican houses in Italy (see, for example, the Dominican source from San Marco in Florence, I-Fn, Conventi soppressi, MS I.IV.17, fols. 214ff.).

<sup>38</sup> There is no modern edition of these three sources, though manuscript copies and early prints are numerous. For this study a copy of the *Speculum historialis* printed in Strasbourg in 1473 was used (Yale University, Beinecke Library, 1973 Folio 24, fols. 38–38v), as well as a fifteenth-century manuscript copy of the *Bible historiale* (Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 129, fol. 242v). (Guillart’s text of this passage is of interest because it is one of the few works of medieval biblical exegesis in the vernacular: “De l’edification du temple selon ystoire—Par CCCC ans apres ce que les enfans Ysrael estoient yssus d’Egypte au quart an du regne Salemon au second mois que les Hebrieux appellent Zium et nous l’appiellons May commencha Salemons aedifier la maison nostre seigneur de blancq marbre. Josephus dist que ce fut V cents et ij ans apres ce que les Hebrieux furent yssus d’Egypte. La maison nostre seigneur que Salemons ediffica avoit de long lx coneustees et de largeur xx et la partie devant qui estoit devers orient estoit appelee Sancta, cest adire sancte avoit xl coneustees de long, et l’autre partie qui estoit devers occident et estoit appelee Oracles et sains des sains et avoit xx coneustees de long.”) Nicolaus of Lyra’s *Postilla* is discussed below, in “The Image of the Temple in Medieval Iconography.”

<sup>39</sup> Honorius of Autun, *Speculum ecclesiae* (PL, vol. 172, col. 1101): “Sapientia, karissimi, quæ sibi domum ædificavit est Christus, Dei virtus et Dei sapientia, qui Ecclesiam de vivis et electis lapidibus ad habitandum sibi fundavit. Ad hanc domum fulciendam VII columnas excidit, quia VII libros qui agiografa, id est sacra Scriptura, appellantur, omni sapientia et scientia perpolivit; quorum doctrina totius Ecclesiae structura ita ad cœlestia sustentatur, ut aliqua machina in aera columnis libratur. Has columnas VII dona Spiritus sancti ædificio Dei subposuerunt et his domum Dei ornando firmaverunt.”

Sicardus of Cremona, *Mitræle* (PL, vol. 213): “Salomon quoque altare auream fabricavit. Ab istis antiquis patribus altaria modernorum sumpsere exordium, quæ in cornua quatuor eriguntur, quorum quædam sunt unius lapidis, quædam ex pluribus



of the structure and ornaments of the Church receives almost obsessive attention, with four and seven by far the most prominent numbers. There are, for example, four cornerstones, four walls, four corners of the altar, four points on the cross, and four points on the compass, all arranged “by the hand of the supreme architect” to express the solidity and unity of the Church. The Temple is supported by seven pillars, the Seven Pillars of Wisdom, which are called the *fundamenta* of the structure. Significantly, Sicardus states that seven was only a symbolic number: that a church needed many more than seven columns for support, but that the columns of the Temple were said to be seven to signify the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Finally, during the liturgy of the Dedication of a Church, the high altar is censed seven times. (The symbolism of the sevenfold censing of the altar is likewise explained at length in Jacobus de Voragine’s enormously popular *Golden Legend*.)<sup>40</sup> The interpretations formulated by Honorius and Sicardus came to have special importance because they were copied, again almost verbatim, by William Durandus into his *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (1285–92),

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componuntur [col. 18]. . . . Ædificentur muri tui Hierusalem; ergo lapides in muris quatuor, sunt homines in collegiis, in quatuor mundi partibus constitutis, vel in quatuor eruditis, vel quatuor virtutibus stabilitis, omnes sunt expoliti et quadrati [col. 20]. . . . Columnas fecit argenteas, quæ, licet sint numero plures, tamen septem esse dicuntur, juxta illud: ‘Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, et excidit columnas septem; quia debent esse Spiritus sancti gratia septiformi repleti’ [col. 22]. . . . Postmodum cum pollice de aqua ista cruces faciat in altari in medio et per quatuor cornua, et aspergat in circuitum ipsum altare septem aut tribus vicibus. Altare, in hoc loco, designat Ecclesiam primitivam, in cujus medio crucem fecit, dum in medio terræ, scilicet Hierusalem, passionem subiit. Quatuor etiam cornua significavit, dum quatuor partes mundi cruce salvavit. Altare septies aspersit, cum Ecclesiam Hierosolymis baptizari præcepit ut sancti Spiritus septem dona perciperet. . . . Deinde ponit chrisma in confessione, per quatuor angulos in cruce, dicens: *Sanctificetur hoc sepulcrum, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti*, id est firmentur nobis ista cubilia in perpetuum propter fidem passionis Christi, quam prædicastis per quatuor climata mundi [cols. 32–33].”

<sup>40</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, typified by the edition of Conrad Winters (Cologne, 1480, fol. Qiiiij): “Secundum debent habere curam et vigilantiam, quod significatur per circuitus altaris . . . et considerationes quos circa septemplem virtutem humilitatis Christi debemus habere et per ipsas frequenter circuire . . . septima quod crucifixus pro crucifixis oribus clementer oravit. Vel ideo septies aspergitur ad significandum quod in baptismo septem dona spiritus sancti dantur. Vel per septem illos circuitus significantur septem vie Christi.” For a modern English translation, see the edition of Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941), 774.

which in turn would become, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the "official" manual of the liturgy for the papal court and papal chapel.<sup>41</sup>

*The Temple in Sermons for the Dedication of a Church*

This crowded procession of biblical and liturgical commentators suggests, if nothing else, that the image of the Temple of Solomon remained a powerful and enduring force in Western exegesis. A comparable succession of theologians who composed sermons on the subject of the Temple for the feast of the Dedication of a Church, might also be brought into view: to wit, Augustine, Ambrose, Bede, Rabanus Maur, Ivo of Chartres, Abelard, Hugh of St. Victor, Honorius of Autun, Peter Comestor, and Pope Innocent III.<sup>42</sup> While always invoking passages from the New Testament that make mention of the Temple (e.g., Matthew 21:13 and Apocalypse 21:2–3), these sermonizers nonetheless explicate, in one fashion or another, the themes of structural proportion and number symbolism expounded by the exegetes. The homilies of Augustine and Bede are especially important in this regard, because they became the basis of the readings at Matins in the liturgy of the Dedication of a Church.<sup>43</sup>

Bede's widely known sermon *In dedicatione templi* calls for special comment, because it sheds light on the meaning of Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*. Bede's homily was found, among other places, in a volume in the chapter library at the cathedral of Florence (I-FI, MS Aedilium 141) and, similarly, in a volume, with commentary on the

<sup>41</sup> On the influence of Durandus's work in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, see Joseph Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1924), 28–37. Given the authority of Durandus in matters of the liturgy, it is surprising that there is no modern edition of the *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*. Book 1, which deals mostly with the symbolism of the Temple and of the Church, exists in an English translation by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb under the title *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments* (Leeds: T. W. Green, 1843; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973).

<sup>42</sup> Although the texts presented in Migne's *PL* do not always represent the best modern edition, the index to sermons given in vol. 221 provides a convenient means to locate a sermon on a particular topic by any major writer into the thirteenth century. For those treating the subject of the dedication of a church, see vol. 221, cols. 36 and 48. Also useful as a source for locating sermons according to subject is J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. 43 (Münster, 1969–90).

<sup>43</sup> In the liturgy of the Dedication of a Church of the diocese of Cambrai, for example, the sermon of Augustine served as the fourth, fifth, and sixth lessons at Matins, while that of Bede was used as the seventh, eighth, and ninth lessons.

sermon, in the chapter library at Cambrai (F-Ca, MS 364), the northern French cathedral where Dufay received his education and would ultimately be buried.<sup>44</sup> The opening of Bede's sermon has an unmistakable resonance with the beginning of Dufay's motet. Prominent at the outset of both is the distinctive word *hiems* (winter), a term unusual in liturgical poetry. Winter, Bede tells us, is a metaphor for the asperity of the Jews, the harshness of those who denied Christ.<sup>45</sup> At the opening of Dufay's text "hiems" appears in opposition to the coming of the vernal Virgin. Traditionally "hiems" in the motet has been translated "despite cruel winter," making it a commentary on the meteorological conditions that obtained in Florence in late March 1436. Yet the true meaning of "hiems" has less to do with the season than it does with the characters and prophesy of the Old Testament: it should be rendered (translated as ablative absolute) "now that the harsh winter of the old law of the prophets has passed." That Dufay understood "hiems" in this sense—using winter as a foil to the new law, which springs from the fecund Virgin—is clear from a service he composed for the Virgin in 1457. Here, at the beginning of the climactic ninth lesson at Matins, the wintry old law is again contrasted with the flowering Virgin: "Now when the winter under the law and the prophets had passed, flowers of virtue appeared in our virgin land, from which truth arose."<sup>46</sup>

### *The Theme of the Temple in the Western Liturgy*

As this extract from the lessons of Matins shows, not only was the image of the Temple of Solomon inherent in medieval biblical exegesis and sermons, it was embedded in the liturgy as well. Strictly speaking, the liturgy for the Dedication of a Church in the West

<sup>44</sup> On this volume and its "brevis explanatio de templo Salomonis, extracta de venerabilis Bede presbiteri," see Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Cambrai* (Paris, 1891), 133.

<sup>45</sup> *PL*, vol. 94, cols. 243–44 (also in *CCSL* 122:358): "In illo tempore, facta sunt encenia in Hierosolymis, et hiems erat, et ambulabat Jesus in templo, in porticu Salomonis.

"Facta sunt, inquit, encenia in Hierosolymis, et hiems erat, et ambulabat Jesus in templo, in porticu Salomonis. . . . Caveamus hiemis exemplum, ne, videlicet, corda nostra Dominus adveniens a charitatis ardore torpentia reperiatur, et ideo ea citius aversatus relinquat. Quid enim pertinuit ad Evangelistam hiemis tempus commemorare, nisi quia duritiam perfidiae Judæorum per asperitatem aurarum voluit designare brumalium."

<sup>46</sup> "Iam hyems sub lege et prophetis abierat quando flores virtutum apparuerunt in terra nostra virginea, de qua orta est veritas" (F-CA, XVI C 4, fol. clv<sup>v</sup>). The service from which this text is taken is discussed below. n. 81.

consisted of two ceremonies: one a lengthy ritual of exorcism, purification, and consecration of the new church (celebrated by a bishop and only at the time of dedication);<sup>47</sup> and the other a cycle of canonical hours, including Matins, and Mass of the Dedication, which were said on the day of dedication and then annually to commemorate that event. Because the anniversary of the feast of the Dedication of a Church occurred each year, whereas the actual dedication ritual took place only once in the lifetime of a church, the texts of the canonical hours and Mass were more firmly planted in the minds of the clergy and populace.

For musicians familiar with Dufay's motet *Nuper rosarum flores*, the biblical imagery that might first come to mind is that of Jacob and his dream of a celestial temple (Genesis 28:17), for it is from this portion of the Bible that the phrase "Terribilis est locus iste" ("Redoubtable is this place") is drawn. But in point of fact, it is the passages which recount how Solomon built and dedicated the first Temple of Jerusalem (1 Kings 6:1–20 and 8:22–30) that provide most of the textual allusions incorporated in the canonical hours and Mass. This Solomonic imagery was especially powerful in the liturgical books of the dioceses of northern France, but somewhat less so in those of the papal court (and those following the *consuetudines romane curie*) where the theme of the throne of Saint Peter had, for obvious reasons, come to vie for pride of place with that of the Temple of Solomon. Guillaume Dufay had grown up with the liturgy of the diocese of Cambrai and had come to know that of the diocese of Paris through his association with the chapel of the court of Burgundy. As lessons at Matins both of these northern liturgies employed Solomon's prayer offered at the moment of the dedication of the first Temple (1 Kings 8:22).<sup>48</sup> At first and second Vespers both rites, as well as that of the papal chapel, required the chanting of the hymn *Urbs beata Jherusalem*, which describes the construction of the Temple.<sup>49</sup> Finally, at Mass many churches in France and the Low Countries employed the twelfth-century Victorine sequence *Rex Salomon fecit templum*, which at-

<sup>47</sup> The fascinating ritual for the Dedication of a Church is prescribed in most pontificals. Two representative examples of local practices preserved in pontificals of the diocese of Chartres and the archdiocese of Florence are preserved in F-Pn, MS Latin 945, fols. 45–72; and I-Fl, MS Pluteus, 23.1, fols. 135–76, respectively.

<sup>48</sup> "Then Solomon stood before the altar of the Lord in the presence of all the assembly of Israel, lifted his hands to the heavens and said . . ."

<sup>49</sup> Dufay set this text in three-voice polyphony during the 1430s (Dufay, *Opera omnia*, 5:54–55).

tempts to put into verse and music an exegetical commentary on 1 Kings, equating the axes of the building (length, width, and height) to the theological virtues (faith, hope, and charity).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Rex Salomon fecit templum,<br>Quorum instar et exemplum<br>Christus et ecclesia.   | King Solomon built the Temple<br>Of which the model and exemplar<br>Is Christ and the Church.             |
| 2. Huius hic est imperator,<br>Fundamentum et fundator<br>Mediante gratia.            | He [Christ] is its sovereign,<br>Its founder and foundation<br>By means of grace.                         |
| 3. Quadri templi fundamenta<br>Marmora sunt, instrumenta<br>Parietum paria.           | The foundations of the<br>Square sanctuary are of marble,<br>The accoutrements of the walls<br>are equal. |
| 4. Candens flos est castitatis<br>Lapis quadrus in praelatis<br>Virtus et constantia. | The white flower signifies chastity,<br>The square stone virtue and constancy<br>Among the prelates.      |
| 5. Longitudo,<br>Latitudo<br>Templique sublimitas,                                    | The length,<br>Width<br>And height of the Temple,   |
| 6. Intellecta<br>Fide recta<br>Sunt fides, spes, caritas. <sup>50</sup>               | By faith<br>Rightly understood<br>Are faith, hope, and charity.   |

### *The Image of the Temple in Medieval Iconography*

As with every important article of Christian faith, the symbol of the Temple as precursor of the Church was communicated not only in the written, spoken, and chanted word, but through visual imagery.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi*, ed. Guido Maria Dreves et al. (hereafter *AH*), vol. 55 (Leipzig, 1922), 35. As Professor Margot Fassler has kindly pointed out to me, Richard of St. Victor quotes this sequence verbatim in his discussion of the Temple in his *Liber exceptionum* (ed. Jean Chatillon, vol. 5 of *Textes philosophiques du moyen âge* [Paris: Librairie J. Vrin, 1958], 315–17). In a recent study (*Gotbic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 326–31), Fassler astutely observes that *Rex Salomon* is actually set to a melody originally associated with the sequence *O Maria, stella maris* and that in this context Mary becomes “a type of reformed church” and “represents the actions of the sacramental church.” On the union of Mary and the Temple in regard to *Nuper rosarum flores*, see below.

<sup>51</sup> Studies of the iconography of the Temple include Paul Durrieu, “Le Temple de Jérusalem dans l’art français et flamand du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Mélanges offerts à Gustave*

For in this way the topos of the Temple was insinuated more securely in the minds of simple cleric and layman alike. Usually this imagery appeared in the form of visual aids to the written word, specifically as illuminations in the psalter, the Bible, or commentaries on the Bible.<sup>52</sup> Typical of these is an illustration in a fourteenth-century English psalter, which depicts Solomon supervising laborers who measure and cut stones for the Temple (Fig. 3).<sup>53</sup> Similarly, an illuminated fourteenth-century French biblical commentary, a copy of Guillart Desmoulin's *Bible historiale*, shows Solomon directing the building of his sanctuary while a cleric calls the faithful to worship (Fig. 4).<sup>54</sup> Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple (1 Kings 8:22–30) is illustrated in a fourteenth-century copy of the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Ems in which the Old Testament king leads a Christian bishop and wealthy laymen in the dedicatory prayers at the altar (Fig. 5).<sup>55</sup> Perhaps the most renowned of medieval Temple scenes is the illumination that Jean Fouquet (ca. 1415–77) painted about 1470 in a volume intended for the French royal court (Fig. 6).<sup>56</sup> Pointing from a nearby palace, the crowned figure of Solomon directs construction of a Gothic edifice looking suspiciously like a hybrid of the cathedrals of Paris and Reims.

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*Schlumberger* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1924), 2:506–13; Carol H. Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 1–19; Walter Cahn, "Solomonic Elements in Romanesque Art," in *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Art*, ed. Joseph Gutmann (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 45–72; and Helen Rosenau, *Vision of the Temple: The Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity* (London: Oresko Books, 1979).

<sup>52</sup> Most of the illustrations discussed here became known to me by means of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University. I am grateful to the director, Dr. Adelaide Bennett, for her kind and generous assistance.

<sup>53</sup> GB-Lbm, MS Royal 2 B.VII, fol. 65v. On this source, see George Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter* (London, 1912).

<sup>54</sup> D-Bs, MS Phillips 1906, fol. 144v. Illuminations for a thirteenth-century copy of the similar *Bible moralisée* are discussed in Reiner Haussherr, "Templum Salomonis und Ecclesia Christi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 31 (1968): 101–21.

<sup>55</sup> CH-Zz, MS Rheinau 15, fol. 231. For a discussion of the *Weltchronik* as "the layman's single most important source of knowledge of the Old Testament," see Konrad Escher, *Die Bilderhandschrift der Weltchronik des Rudolf von Ems in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich* (Zürich: A.-G. Bebr. Leemann, 1935), 9.

<sup>56</sup> F-Pn, MS fr. 247, fol. 163. Fouquet's illuminations were part of a manuscript copy of Flavius Josephus's world history of the Jews, best known in the late Middle Ages under the French title *Antiquités judaïques*. For more on Fouquet's spectacular depictions of the Temple, see Guy Deutsch, *Iconographie de l'illustration de Flavius Josèphe au temps du Jean Fouquet* (Jerusalem: Sénat de Université Hébraïque de Jérusalem, 1978).

While most illuminated manuscripts depict the theme of Solomon and his Temple as a contemporary scene of “work in progress,” some recreate the temple with the help of schematic diagrams.<sup>57</sup> The greatest number of these floor plans and vertical cross sections are found as visual aids to a single fourteenth-century work of biblical commentary, Nicolaus of Lyra’s *Postilla in testamentum vetus*. In these the measurements of the Temple are given in cubits but the illustrations are rarely drawn to scale (Fig. 7).<sup>58</sup> Surviving today, whole or in part, in more than twelve hundred manuscripts, the *Postilla* was by far the most popular work of scriptural exegesis of the late Middle Ages.<sup>59</sup>

While these manuscript illuminations were intended to help establish an anagogic equation between the Old Testament Temple and the contemporary Christian church, this parallel is most forcefully demonstrated in a painting executed in Florence in the year 1436 (Fig. 8).<sup>60</sup> Though the identity of the painter and the theme of the work are matters of dispute,<sup>61</sup> the architectural armature of the scene is clearly identifiable. Here the biblical Temple of Jerusalem is transmogrified into the cathedral of Florence, the four bays of the nave and the newly completed dome evident to all by means of an impressive display of the nascent technique of linear perspective. By providing a framework for an important event in Christ’s apostolic

<sup>57</sup> An early, twelfth-century, example of this appears in connection with a gloss of 1 Kings as found in GB-DRc, MS A.III. 4, fol. 79. The volume is described in Roger A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 71.

<sup>58</sup> Manuscripts of the *Postilla* containing diagrams of the Temple are listed in Krinsky, “Representations,” 18 n. 65. To these can be added two manuscripts at Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 640 and MS Marston 215.

<sup>59</sup> Bernice M. Kaczynski, “Illustrations of Tabernacle and Temple Implements in the *Postilla in Testamentum Vetus* of Nicolaus de Lyra,” *The Yale University Library Gazette* 48 (1973): 1–11. See also Barbara A. Shailor, “A New Manuscript of Nicolaus de Lyra,” *ibid.*, vol. 58 (1983): 9–16; and Helen Rosenau, “The Architecture of Nicolaus de Lyra’s Temple Illustrations and the Jewish Tradition,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 25 (1974): 294–304.

<sup>60</sup> The painting presently resides in the Johnson Collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It is reproduced, discussed, and dated 1436 by Eugenio Battisti in “Il mondo visuale delle fiabe,” in *Archivio di filosofia: Umanesimo e esoterismo*, ed. E. Garin (Padua: CEDAM, 1960), 308–9.

<sup>61</sup> The Johnson Catalogue (item no. 17) of the Philadelphia Museum of Art ascribes it to Francesco di Antonio and entitles it *Christ Healing the Lunatic and Judas Receiving Thirty Pieces of Silver*, while Vasari attributes it to Andrea di Giusto and calls it simply *Christ Curing the Demoniac* (*Le Vite de’ piu eccellenti pittori, scultori et architettori* [Novara: Istituto geografico de Agostini, 1967], 2:227). Battisti (“Il mondo visuale,” 309) accepts Vasari’s attribution, but calls the work *Christ with the Apostles in the Temple*. According to Vasari, the painting was owned in the sixteenth century by the Florentine artist Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio.

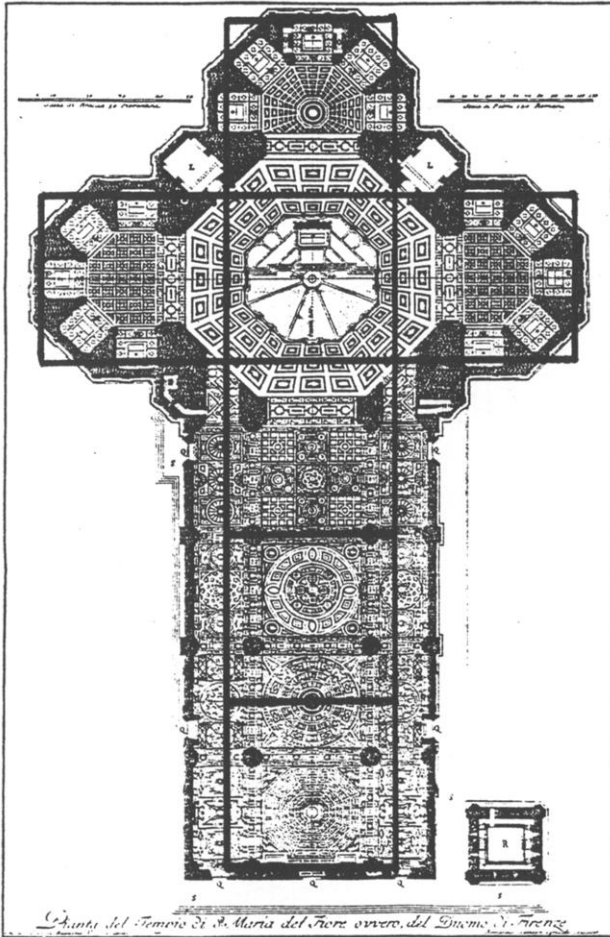


Figure 1. Plan of the cathedral from Warren's article, showing the inaccurate measure of the nave



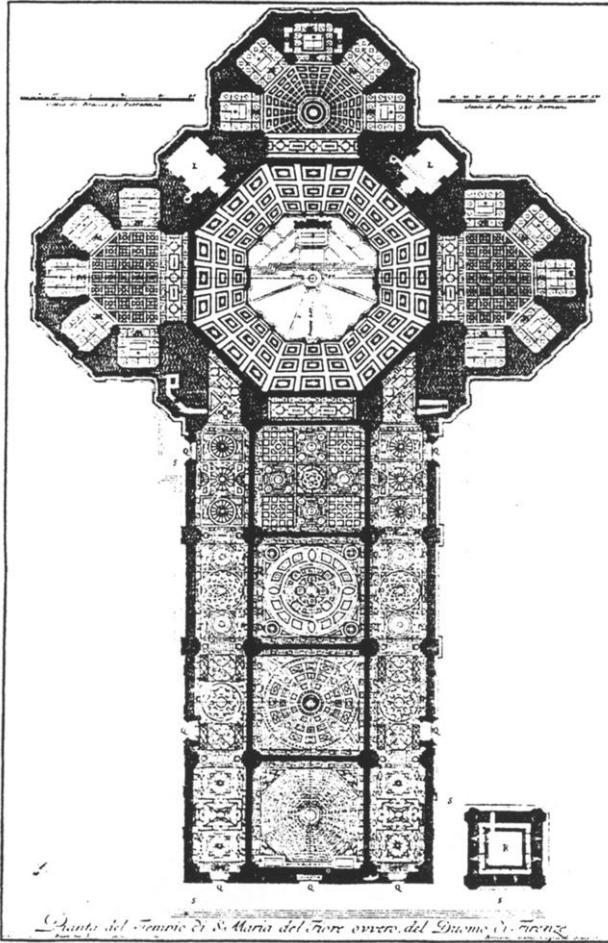


Figure 2. Plan of the cathedral showing the four squares of the nave



Figure 3. GB-Lbm, MS Royal 2 B. VII, fol. 65v



Figure 4. D-Bs, MS Phillips 1906, fol. 144v



Figure 5. CH-Zz, MS Rheinau 15, fol. 231

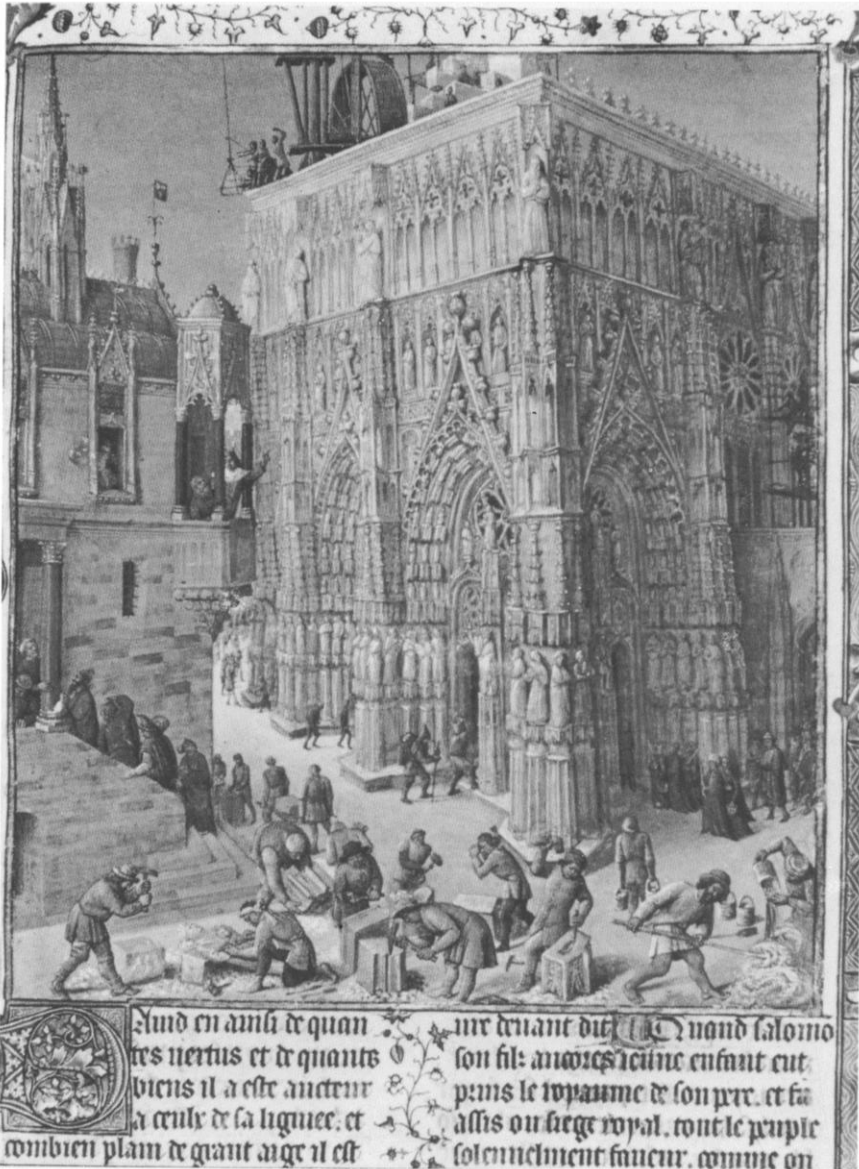


Figure 6. F-Pn, MS fr. 247, fol. 163

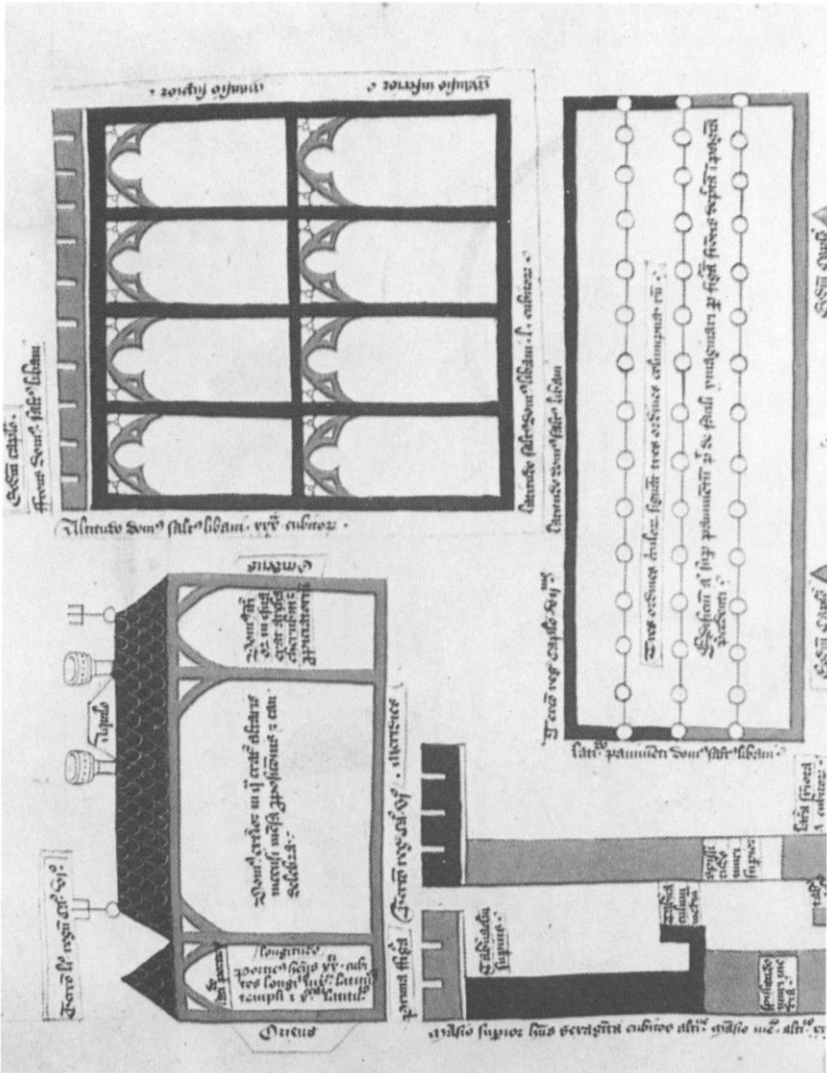


Figure 7. US-NHb, Beinecke Library, MS 640, fol. 96



Figure 8. Andrea di Giusto(?), *Christ Curing the Demoniac*. The Johnson Collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

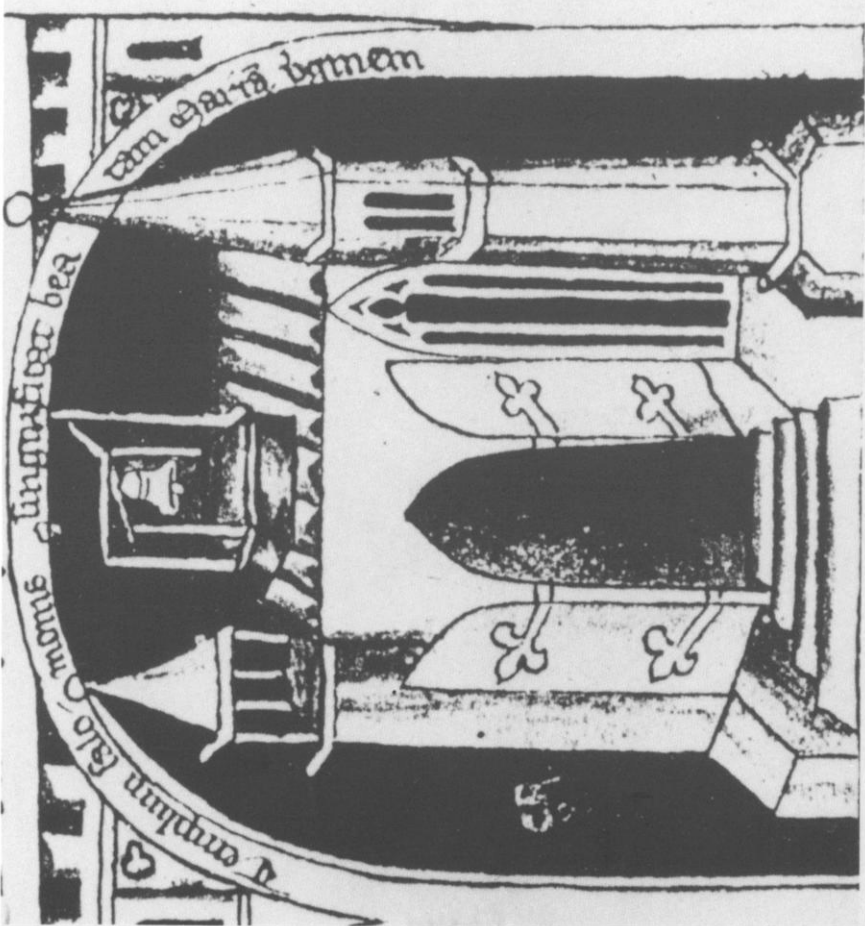


Figure 9. A-KR [Austria, Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek], MS 243, fol. 10





Figure 10. A detached folio from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier. France, Chantilly, Musée de Condé.



Figure 11. I-Fl, MS Aedilium 151, fol. 7v .

preaching (His "Curing of the Demoniac"; Matthew 17:14–18; and Mark 9:17–27), the cathedral of Florence is made to represent the Temple of Solomon and, by extension, to symbolize the ideal of the Universal Church.

*Accounts of the Dedication of the Cathedral of Florence*

Remarkably, the theme of this painting, or something very similar to it, was played out at the cathedral of Florence on 25 March 1436 as part of the ceremony of the dedication. A contemporary chronicle penned by the Florentine notary Giovanni Cambi offers the following report of the dedicatory exercises:

Afterwards Mass was said by the Cardinal of Venice [Marcus Condulmer, nephew of the pope] at the stated altar consecrated by said pope; and after said Mass the pope gave the benediction to the populace and granted indulgences to all in said church of seven years and seven forty days; and it remains to be said that, after the Credo of the high Mass, the magnificent *Signoria* of Florence, in order to increase the solemnity of the feast in honor of God, handed over to the pope fourteen condemned prisoners.<sup>62</sup>

Clearly, the symbolism traditionally associated with the Temple was not lost on Pope Eugenius IV and his advisors.<sup>63</sup> Acting as Christ's vicar on earth, he grants indulgences to the Florentine populace totaling seven years and seven quarantines. He liberates twice seven prisoners. If the pope could not heal in the cathedral of Florence, as Christ cures the Demoniac on the steps of the Temple, at least he might dispense mercy and grant absolution. Evidently the Florentine citizenry had, in fact, been deemed worthy of a remission of sin, as requested at the end of Dufay's motet ("that it may be worthy to receive gracious benefits and the forgiveness of sin. Amen").

Giovanni Cambi's account of the dedication of Santa Maria del Fiore is not the only contemporary witness of this sort. In fact, there

<sup>62</sup> "Dipoi si disse la Messa pel Chardinale di Vinegia insù detto Altare consagrato per detto Papa, e dipoi el Papa diè la benedizione al populo detta la Messe, e lasciò indulgentia hognanno in detta Chiexa 7. anni, e 7. quarantane; e restavami a dire, che detto el Chredo alla Messa grande, la Magnifica Signoria di Firenze per fare più solenne festa a lalde di Dio, donorono al Papa 14. prigioni di chondanagione" (*Istorie di Giovanni Cambi cittadino fiorentino*, ed. Ildefonso di San Luigi, vol. 20 of *Delizie degli eruditi Toscani* [Florence: Gaetano Cambiagi, 1785], 209–10).

<sup>63</sup> Feo Belcari reports that Eugenius had originally intended to grant remission of sin for six years and six Lenten seasons, but was encouraged to change to seven and seven by Cosimo de' Medici (information kindly communicated to me by Dr. Arjan de Koomen and contained in his "Dufay's Nuper Rosarum Flores," n. 40).

are extant more than a half-dozen such reports.<sup>64</sup> Of these the one best known to historians of music is that of the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti, for not only is it the longest account, it is the only one specifically to mention music.<sup>65</sup> Manetti relates how the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries processed from Santa Maria Novella, the papal residence in Florence, to the cathedral by means of a newly constructed wooden bridge, or elevated walkway, three feet above the ground. They were preceded by a large number of string and brass players, though whether these instrumentalists performed, or were present merely for symbolic purposes, is not certain.<sup>66</sup> But once inside the church, Manetti was clearly transported by musical sounds at the dedicatory Mass: "Indeed at the elevation of the consecrated Host all the places of the Temple resounded with the sounds of harmonious symphonies [of voices] as well as the concords of diverse instruments, so that it seemed not without reason that the angels and the sounds and singing of divine paradise had been sent from heaven to us on earth to insinuate in our ears a certain incredible divine sweetness."<sup>67</sup> How quickly we would trade all of Manetti's prolix classical constructions for a few simple words telling when and how Dufay's motet was performed!<sup>68</sup> But neither Manetti nor any of the

<sup>64</sup> Besides that of Cambi and those of Francesco Giovanni and Vespasiano da Bisticci discussed by Zak ("Die Quellenwert," 7 and 16), the brief notice of Matteo Palmieri (in his *De temporibus* printed by Ludovico Antonio Muratori in *Rerum italicarum scriptores . . . ex florentinarum bibliothecarum codicibus* [Florence, 1748], vol. 1, col. 231), and the lengthy account of Manetti to be discussed below, there are as well those of St. Antonin (*Chroniques de Saint Antonin*, ed. Raoul Morçay [Paris: Librairie Gabalda, 1913], 55–57), Leonardo Bruni (Leonardus Aretinus, *Historiarum florentinarum libri XII* [Strasbourg, 1610], 937–38), and Feo Belcari (in Saalman, *Brunelleschi*, 275–76).

<sup>65</sup> On the validity of Manetti's account, see the excellent study by Zak, "Die Quellenwert."

<sup>66</sup> "Primum namque tubicinum / fidicinumque ac tibicinum: Ingens ordo erat singuli quidem tubas fidetibus sua manibus instrumenta portantes" (Manetti's *Oratio . . . de secularibus et pontificalibus pompis in consecratione basilicae florentinae* is given as an appendix to Battisti, "Il mondo visuale," 310–20). Zak ("Die Quellenwert," 13) edits this text differently than Battisti and goes on to discuss the issue of the function of the instrumentalists.

<sup>67</sup> "In cuius quidem sacratissimi corporis elevatione tantis armoniarum symphoniis / tantis insuper diversorum instrumentorum consonationibus omnia basilicae loca resonabant: ut angelici ac prorsus divini paradisi sonitus cantusque demissi caelitus ad nos in terris divinum nescio quid ob incredibilem suavitatem quandam in aures nostras insusurrare non inmerito viderentur" (Manetti, *Oratio*, ed. Battisti, 319).

<sup>68</sup> Sabine Zak ("Die Quellenwert," 29) suggests that *Nuper rosarum flores* may have been performed at any one of four moments during the ceremony: (1) at the Introit of the Mass, (2) at the dedication of the high altar, (3) after the Credo, or (4) during the elevation of the Host. The members of the papal chapel, presumably including their

other chroniclers provides such information.

Manetti was, however, aware of the traditional anagogic equation of the Temple of Solomon and great Christian basilica, for in his discussion of papal plans for a new St. Peter's in Rome he quotes directly from the story of the Temple as given in 1 Kings: "The Temple which King Solomon built to the Lord had a length of sixty cubits, a width of twenty, and a height of thirty."<sup>69</sup> Although, in fact, the ideal which inspired the builders of St. Peter's was the corporal figure of Christ, and not the Old Testament Temple, the image of the Temple of Solomon would continue to impress itself on church architecture until the very end of the Renaissance.<sup>70</sup>

### *The Temple and the Virgin*

Thus the *figura* of the Temple as paradigm for the Church was an enduring concept throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. But what can be said of the relationship between the Temple and the Virgin Mary? It is the Virgin, after all, who is celebrated in Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores* as much as the Temple. Herein, too, lies an ancient spiritual theme, one that tells of Mary and her womb as the sanctuary, a maternal temple, in which Christ was nurtured. The figure of the *templum maternale* appeared most prominently in later medieval accretions to the canonical liturgy—in rhymed offices, sequences, and tropes, the latter collectively called, in this case, "the uterine tropes."<sup>71</sup> Not surprisingly, this "Mary as Temple of

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*magister* Guillaume Dufay, were positioned across from Pope Eugenius IV and on the Epistle (north) side of the chancel, according to the account of Vespasiano da Bisticci cited by Zak.

<sup>69</sup> "Domus, quam aedificavit Rex Salomon Domino, habebat LX. in longitudine, ac XX. in latitudine, et XXX. cubitos in altitudine" (an excerpt from Manetti's life of Nicolas V as quoted in Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture* [Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1958], vol. 9 of *Figura*, 361–62). I am grateful to Professor Philip Jacks for bringing this passage to my attention.

<sup>70</sup> On the influence of the model of the Temple of Solomon on Philip II's Escorial, see René Taylor, "Architecture and Magic," in *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser et al. (New York: Phaidon, 1967), 1:89–90 (I owe my knowledge of this source to Professor David Rosand). For a discussion of the Temple as the prototype for sixteenth-century Venetian churches, see Wittkower, *Architectural Principles*, 91 and 106.

<sup>71</sup> See, for example, the third stanza, beginning "Templum veri Salomonis / Aula summis plena donis" of the sequence *Laudes promat* (AH 10:62) as well as the opening lines of *Salve templum maternale* (AH 10:72). Similar sentiments are expressed in a fifteenth-century rhymed antiphon for the "Gaudia" of the Virgin beginning "Ave templum domini virgo gloriosa / Pneumatis sacrarium flos et florum rosa" (AH 24:173). These sources were brought to my attention by Alejandro Planchart, who

Christ" theme was also played out in the iconography of the time. An illustrated copy of a fourteenth-century biblical commentary, *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Fig. 9), for example, depicts the Temple surmounted by a banderole in which is written: "Templum Salomonis significat beatam Mariam virginem."<sup>72</sup> The syncretism of the Temple and the Virgin was facilitated by the fact that much of her life, according to medieval religious lore, transpired in the Temple.<sup>73</sup> It was there that she was reared until the age of fourteen, and it was there that she was married. The story of the wedding of the Virgin in the Temple, as related in Voragine's popular *Golden Legend*, was often depicted by illuminators and painters of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>74</sup> A clear example is, again, Jean Fouquet's illumination for the Chevalier Hours (Fig. 10) in which Mary, Joseph, and the disappointed suitors stand not in just any sanctuary but in, as the very faint horizontal inscription says, "Templum Salomonis."<sup>75</sup> (The twisted columns evident here are another Solomonic image.)<sup>76</sup>

It was also in the Temple that Mary, following the customs of Hebraic Law, presented her firstborn son after forty days of purification. Celebrated in the Christian Church on 2 February, this festival

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discusses the early liturgy for the Dedication of the Church in a remarkable study: "An Aquitanian *Sequentia* in Italian Sources," *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis* 36 (1993): 371–93.

<sup>72</sup> On illustrated manuscripts of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, see Krinsky, "Representations," 19 n. 68.

<sup>73</sup> The primary medieval source of the *vita* of the Virgin was Voragine's *Golden Legend*, where both the sparse biblical data of her life as well as the more numerous apocryphal events and elaborations by countless patristic fathers are narrated in connection with her feasts of Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity. The discussion given in association with the feast of her Nativity is especially detailed.

<sup>74</sup> In addition to the Fouquet illumination discussed here, there are, of course, the famous *spozalizio* paintings by Raphael, which inspired Liszt, and by Raphael's teacher, Perugino, both of which prominently display a Temple of Solomon.

<sup>75</sup> The manuscript painting and the inscription "Templum Salomonis" are discussed in *The Hours of Etienne Chevalier: Jean Fouquet*, ed. Charles Sterling and Claude Schaefer (New York: Braziller, 1971), no. 25.

<sup>76</sup> In 1438 Cardinal Giordano Orsini—the prelate who had officiated at the dedication of the cathedral of Florence, before the arrival of Eugenius IV and prior to the pontifical Mass—had one of the columns in St. Peter's encircled with an inscription stating that the columns had come from Solomon's Temple (Krinsky, "Representations," 13 n. 54). On twisted columns as an emblem of the Temple, see also Durrieu, "Le Temple de Jérusalem," 513; and J. B. Ward Perkins, "The Shrine of St. Peter and Its Twelve Spiral Columns," *Journal of Roman Studies* 42 (1952): 21–33.

is called either the feast of Purification or the feast of the Presentation.<sup>77</sup> It was of special significance for the cathedral of Florence. Before the *duomo* was dedicated in 1436, the day of the patron saint of the church, Santa Maria del Fiore, was commemorated on 2 February.<sup>78</sup> Significantly, the liturgy of the Purification/Presentation has much in common with that of the Dedication of a Church. There are common Vespers psalms and a common chant at Mass, the Alleluia *Adorabo ad templum*. In the minds of the faithful in fifteenth-century Florence, the conjunction of the Temple and the Virgin was a familiar one.

### *Dufay and the Meaning of the Temple*

Guillaume Dufay surely knew of the symbolic meaning of the Temple and its traditional union with the Virgin. From his earliest days as a choirboy and young chaplain of the diocese of Cambrai he would have heard the annual offices of the Purification/Presentation and the Dedication of the Church. He was, moreover, an exceptionally literate cleric: he was awarded the degree bachelor of canon law; he penned many of the texts he set to music; he was a correspondent with the Medici princes in Florence; and, by the end of his life, he had amassed a substantial library.<sup>79</sup> Among the books of Dufay that perpetuate the Temple theme were several breviaries and missals, Voragine's *Golden Legend*, Honorius of Autun's *Speculum ecclesie*, and two books of sermons. Moreover, as a chaplain at St. Géry and then canon at the cathedral of Cambrai, Dufay had access to the library of the cathedral, then and now one of the great collections of medieval books.<sup>80</sup> Preserved here were most of the works of scriptural exegesis,

<sup>77</sup> Not to be confused with the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin (21 November) added gradually to the Western liturgy beginning in 1372.

<sup>78</sup> Cesare Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore: La costruzione della chiesa e del campanile* (Florence: Tip. M. Ricci, 1887), 316–18; see also Zak, "Die Quellenwert," 24–25.

<sup>79</sup> On the contents of Dufay's library, see the present writer's "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," this JOURNAL 28 (1975): 214–18. For Dufay's biography generally, see, in addition, Fallows, *Dufay*; and Alejandro Planchart, "Guillaume Dufay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Court of Burgundy," *Early Music History* 8 (1988): 117–71. A facsimile of the letter of Dufay to Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, in the composer's own florid script, is reproduced in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 3, cols. 889–90, and is translated into English in Frank A. D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the Fifteenth Century," this JOURNAL 14 (1961): 318–19.

<sup>80</sup> The library of the chapter of Cambrai is today preserved, more or less intact, in the Bibliothèque municipale of that city and is catalogued as part of that collection in Molinier, *Catalogue*.

liturgical hermeneutics, and the sermons mentioned above including Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos* (F-Ca, MS 313), Isidore's *Questiones in vetus testamentum* (MS 407), Bede's *Homeliae* (MS 364), Voragine's *Golden Legend* (MS 525), Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (MS 446), Desmoulins's *Bible historiale* (MSS 398–400), and Durandus's *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* (MS 192).

Perhaps the most conclusive evidence showing Dufay's full cognizance of the meaning of the Temple as Church and of Mary as Temple of Christ is found in the service of the Recollection of the Virgin that he and Gilles Carlier, dean of Cambrai, composed in 1457.<sup>81</sup> Although these newly created texts and chants were ostensibly to honor the Virgin and her principal feasts collectively, they are replete with Solomonic imagery as well. Particularly telling are phrases such as "since she was worthy to become the Temple of the Holy Spirit and the residence of the son of God"<sup>82</sup> and "on earth there was no place more worthy than the virginal Temple in which Mary received the son of God."<sup>83</sup> The ninth lesson, as we have seen, is a virtual trope of the beginning of *Nuper rosarum flores* commencing, as it does, "Now when the winter under the law and the prophets had passed, flowers of virtue appeared in our virginal land, from which truth arose."<sup>84</sup> Dufay's intent in *Nuper rosarum flores* was to honor not merely the cathedral of Florence but all Christian sanctuaries, and to express this devotion while venerating the sanctity of the Virgin herself. His aim was fully consonant with his intellectual heritage and his spiritual activities.

#### *An Unknown Sequence for the Dedication of the Cathedral of Florence*

Dufay's demonstrable capacity to create new text and plainsong for the liturgy of the late medieval Church may shed light on the authorship

<sup>81</sup> A preliminary discussion of this service, important as much for the musical theory of the Middle Ages as for its musical history, can be found in Barbara Haggh, "The Celebration of the 'Recollectio Festorum Beatae Mariae Virginis,' 1457–1987," *Studia musicologica academiae scientiarum hungaricae* 30 (1988): 361–73. The subject will be treated more fully in her forthcoming edition of the office. I am grateful to Professor Haggh for calling my attention to the importance of the feast of the Recollection as it pertains to the theme of the Temple, as well as for generously making available to me sources with more complete texts for this office than are contained in F-CA, XVI C 4.

<sup>82</sup> "Puisque elle a ete digne de devenir le temple du St. Esprit et la demeure du fils de Dieu" (B-Br, MS II 1724, fols. 78v–79).

<sup>83</sup> "In mundo nullus locus dignior fuit virginali templo in quo dei filium Maria suscepit" (I-AObc, MS 35, fols. 126ff.).

<sup>84</sup> See above, n. 46.



of a heretofore unknown sequence, one composed specifically for the dedication of the cathedral of Florence and having several things in common with *Nuper rosarum flores*. Let us start with its unique source, a mid-fifteenth-century gradual, once preserved in the cathedral and now housed in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (I-Fl, MS Aedilium 151).<sup>85</sup> The liturgy of the Dedication of a Church commences near the beginning of the manuscript, on folio 7v, and is announced by a full-page illumination portraying the entrance of the tiara-bearing Eugenius into Santa Maria del Fiore on the morning of the dedication (Fig. 11).<sup>86</sup> He is attended on his right by a cardinal (either Giordano Orsini or Marcus Condulmer) and awaited at the door by a group of tonsured clerics, possibly the papal chapel itself. As can be seen at the bottom with the beginning of the chant "Terribilis est locus iste" (with a wrong note!), this manuscript painting introduces the traditional Mass of the Dedication of a Church. In the midst of the usual, commonly sung Proper chants of the Roman rite, however, rests a unique sequence, *Nuper almos rose flores* (see the Appendix). Specifically composed for the dedicatory exercises, it may be another musical creation of Dufay himself.<sup>87</sup> The beginning and end of the prosa constitute a textual trope of *Nuper rosarum flores*, referring to, respectively, the flowering of the Virgin and her intercession for the remission of the sins of the Florentine populace. Like the motet, the sequence alludes to the gift of the Golden Rose made to the cathedral the previous week by Pope Eugenius.<sup>88</sup> It also exploits, as did Dufay in his motet *Ecclesie militantis*, the double meaning of "Gabriel," the name of the missive archangel as well as the forename of Gabriele Condulmer, by which appellation this pope was known prior to his elevation to the throne of St. Peter as Eugenius IV. The text even mentions, as did the chroniclers Manetti and Cambi, the recently constructed wooden bridge

<sup>85</sup> The source is described under this siglum in A. M. Bandini, *Biblioteca Leopoldina seu catalogus manuscritorum qui iussu Petri Leopoldi*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1791).

<sup>86</sup> A color reproduction of this miniature, believed to have been painted by Zanobi Strozzi, is found in Anna Lenzuni et al., *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (Florence: Nardini Editore, 1986), pl. 168. On the miniatures in this source, see M. G. Ciardi Dupré, "Note sulla miniatura fiorentina del quattrocento in particolare su Zanobi Strozzi," *Antichità viva* 12, no. 4 (1973): 3–10.

<sup>87</sup> Upon inspection the melody proves to be yet another reworking of the twelfth-century Victorine sequence *Laudes crucis attollamus*. On the subject of the "*Laudes crucis attollamus* type," see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 194. While *Nuper almos rose flores* has all of the exceptional tonal clarity we have come to associate with Dufay—every phrase in this mixolydian chant begins or ends on G or D—a confirmation of this attribution to Dufay must await the thorough analysis of his plainsong melodies promised in the forthcoming study of Barbara Haggh (see n. 81).

<sup>88</sup> See n. 10 for a discussion of the traditional papal gift of the Golden Rose.

by means of which Eugenius, his curia, and the other dignitaries processed to and from the cathedral. Unlike the motet *Nuper rosarum flores*, but like most sequences of the period, the text of *Nuper almos rose flores* proceeds in highly regular, metrical, rhyming verse.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Nuper almos rose flores<br>Homo regens celi fores<br>Tibi virgo virginum,<br>Tibi stelle matutine<br>Dat et edit Florentine<br>Donum gemmis fulgidum.                          | Recently the man ruling the doors<br>Of heaven gives bountiful flowers of<br>The rose to you, virgin of virgins,<br>To you, morning star,<br>And presents at Florence<br>The shining gift with gems.                                      |
| 2. Nunc et die qua te verbo<br>Complet Gabriel eterno<br>Tibi templum dedicat.<br>Quis enarret quo tumultu<br>Quo tum corde quo tum vultu<br>Tibi quisque iubilat.                | Now, on the day on which Gabriel<br>Fills you with the eternal word,<br>He dedicates to you the Temple.<br>Who can tell of the tumult,<br>With what hearts and faces<br>All cry joyfully to you.  |
| 3. Cum pons vivis ligno structus<br>Apparatu miro fultus<br>Alte portat curiam.<br>Portat papam portat fratres<br>Et pastores et abbates<br>Quasi throni gloriam.                 | A wooden bridge for the living<br>Supported by a wondrous structure<br>Carries the curia on high.<br>It carries the pope, the friars<br>The priests and abbots<br>Like the glory of the throne.   |
| 4. Quis enarret quo tumultu<br>Quo tum corde quo tum vultu,<br>Grandis edes ungitur.<br>Non est orbi templum tale<br>Neque gaudium equale<br>Ut in templo panditur.               | Who can tell with what tumult,<br>With what hearts and faces<br>The great edifice is anointed.<br>No temple in the world is like it,<br>Nor is there joy that can equal<br>That displayed in the Temple.                                  |
| 5. Quis enarret quo tumultu<br>Quo tum corde quo tum vultu,<br>Virgo, tibi concinit.<br>Virgo, clerus laudes cantat<br>Super angelos exaltat<br>Nempe celum convenit.             | Who can tell with what tumult,<br>With what hearts and faces<br>[The clergy] sings to you, virgin.<br>Virgin, the clergy sings your praises,<br>Exalts you above the angels<br>For so is the duty for heaven.                             |
| 6. Virgo mater, virgo pura,<br>Nam te nostri tenet cura<br>Pium nos ad filium.<br><br>Pium purga nos ad natum<br><br>Ne respectet iam reatum<br>Sed preces humilium.<br>Alleluja. | Virgin mother, virgin pure,<br>(We pray to you) for you are<br>Solicitous for us before the<br>merciful son.<br>Plead our cause before the<br>merciful son<br>Lest he not regard (our) sin<br>But the prayers of the humble.<br>Alleluia. |

While both extol the great size of the cathedral of Florence, neither the text of this sequence nor that of the motet calls the edifice “cathedra” or “basilica” or even “ecclesia”; rather, it is invariably referred to as “templum.”

### *Nuper rosarum flores and Medieval Number Symbolism*

Although the polyphonic *Nuper rosarum flores* and the monophonic *Nuper almos rose flores* share a common subject matter, only the motet puts into play the venerable tradition of number symbolism. This is not surprising, for number symbolism was rarely incorporated into the medieval sequence. It was, however, a frequent companion of the isorhythmic motet. No other genre of artistic expression in the Middle Ages was more thoroughly immersed in number. Its very structure—in the note values within each section (or *talea*) and in the proportional relationships between the sections, to say nothing of the ratios of the harmonic intervals—depends upon numerical relationships. Perhaps this inherently numerical quality accounts for the fact that the isorhythmic motet was the favorite of composers wishing to convey a message beyond the explicit meaning of the text.<sup>89</sup> In the case of Dufay’s *Nuper rosarum*

<sup>89</sup> Wulf Arlt has shown how a motet in the *Roman de Fauvel*, the anonymous three-voice *Inflamatus invidia / Sicut de ligno parvulus / Victime paschali laudes*, reflects and amplifies, as a true medieval speculum, the story of the text by means of a carefully crafted musical structure. The theme centers on Judas’s selling of Christ for thirty pence. The music is sixty perfect *longae* (measures) in length and the words “triginta denariis” are placed in measure 30, which is made to be vocally the high point and structurally the exact midpoint of the motet. In the tenor this theme of betrayal, sacrifice, and redemption is reinforced by the Easter sequence *Victime paschali laudes*, the first fifteen notes of which are heard three times and produce a total of fifteen *maximae* and thirty *longae*. The thematic approach is like that of *Nuper rosarum flores*: stories from the Old Testament—the slaying of Abel by Cain and the selling of Joseph of Egypt for twenty (here changed to thirty) pence—are taken as precedential events for one in the New, Christ’s betrayal by Judas. See Arlt’s exemplary “‘Triginta denariis’—Musik und Text in einer Motette des *Roman de Fauvel* über dem Tenor *Victimae paschali laudes*,” in *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, vol. 29 of *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis* (Stockholm: Akademisk Produktion AB, 1985), 97–113.

This same sort of number allegory on the same theme of betrayal is at work in Guillaume de Machaut’s isorhythmic motet *Amours qui a le pouoir / Faus samblant m’a deceü / Vidi dominum*, according to Margaret Bent (“Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut’s Motet 15,” *Early Music History* 10 [1991]: 15–27). Bent has also shown how John Dunstable took pains to fashion a tenor *talea* of eleven notes in his four-voice *Veni sancte spiritus / Veni creator spiritus* that evokes the theme of the pentecostal descent of the Holy Spirit on the eleven remaining disciples (*John Dunstable* [London: Oxford University Press, 1981], 55).

Most germane to the Solomonic symbolism of *Nuper rosarum flores* is an anony-

*flores*, the felicitous union of the Temple and the Virgin was facilitated by the agreement of their symbolic numbers: four and seven for the internal attributes of the Temple, and seven for the Virgin as recounted in her seven sorrows, seven joys, seven acts of mercy, seven virginal companions, seven years of exile in Egypt, and, by Dufay's time, seven feasts.<sup>90</sup> The isorhythmic ratio 6:4:2:3, corresponding to the exterior dimensions of the Temple (with the length subdivided), merely adds increased weight to the Solomonic imagery. Had Dufay wished, he certainly might have written (or selected) a three-strophe poem and created a tripartite motet pursuant to the primary dimensions of length, width, and height (6:2:3). Instead, he chose a four-section plan to give expression to the traditional number symbolism of four, emphasizing the number four in the construction of the text (four seven-line strophes) and in the duration of each musical section ( $4 \times 7$  breves). In this he achieved a perfect union of the Temple and the Virgin, for the product of these numbers, twenty-eight, had since ancient times been recognized as a perfect number ( $4 \times 7 = 2 \times 14 = 1 \times 28$ ;  $1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14 = 28$ ).<sup>91</sup>

Historians of music have often equated Dufay's music, and particularly *Nuper rosarum flores*, with the beginning of the Renaissance, just as historians of art have viewed Brunelleschi's dome as the

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mous fourteenth-century isorhythmic motet in a Durham Cathedral manuscript (GB-DRc, MS C.I.20, fol. 338v), *Musorum collegio / In templo Dei posita / Avete*, in which eternal salvation in the heavenly Temple, with its minora of seven candlesticks, is asked for seven choirmen who sang the Saturday office of the Virgin Mary four times monthly. The music and text are edited and discussed in *Motets of English Provenance*, ed. Frank Ll. Harrison and Peter Lefferts, vol. 15 of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980), 147–52 and 203–4.

Another English motet of the period, *Salamonis inclita mater intronizata*, refers to Mary as the mother of Solomon, again demonstrating the theological unity of the Temple and the Virgin's womb (see *English Music for Mass and Offices (II) and Music for Other Ceremonies*, ed. Ernest Sanders et al., vol. 17 of *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* [Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1986], 77–81).

<sup>90</sup> Additionally, there were twenty-eight kings of Israel from Solomon to the time of Christ, fourteen before the Captivity and fourteen after, as recorded in the genealogy of Christ (Matthew 1:3).

The most extensive treatment of medieval number symbolism remains Vincent Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938). On this subject, see also Heinz Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese in Mittelalter: Methode und Gebrauch*, vol. 25 of *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1975), esp. 80–89; Stevens, *Words and Music*, pt. 1; Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, pt. 1, sec. 2; and Hellgardt, *Zahlenkomposition*, 157–251.

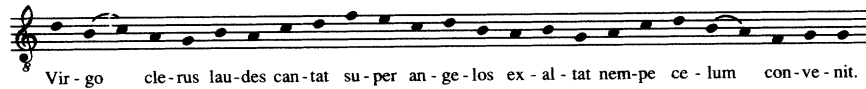
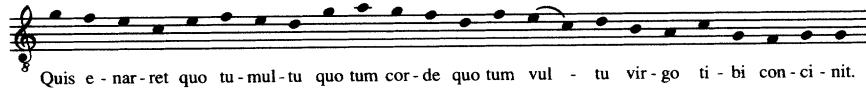
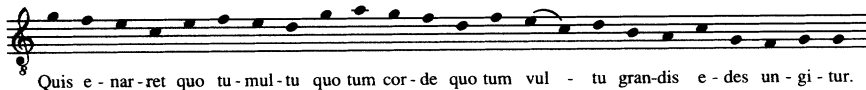
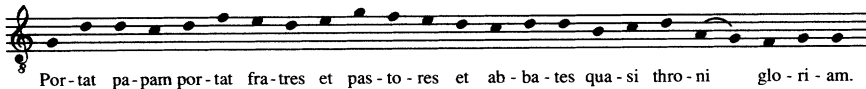
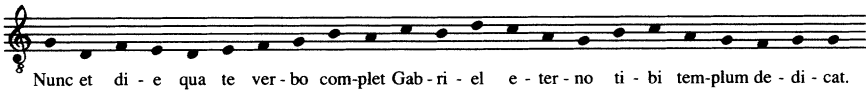
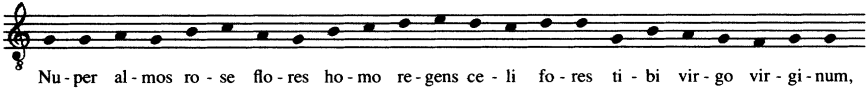
<sup>91</sup> Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, 44–45. I am grateful to Bonnie J. Blackburn for making clear to me the importance of this point.

first monument of Renaissance architecture. But Dufay's motet is more retrospective than forward looking, as is generally true of large commemorative compositions throughout the history of music. Though he composed *Nuper rosarum flores* while in Florence, the cradle of Renaissance humanism, Dufay's motet is devoid of any humanistic influence. Musical rhetoric of the sort Josquin would soon employ—intensifying the meaning of the text through purposeful changes in register, texture, meter, harmony, and the like—is wholly lacking. Instead of depicting overtly, by text painting, particular events, this motet seeks to signify implicitly, through symbolism, universal truths: the Virgin and the Universal Church are worthy of honor, not merely Santa Maria del Fiore and the cathedral of Florence. Number allegory conveys this message to an intellectual and spiritual elite. As a composition in which a foreground of audible sound is determined by a grand design of inaudible numerical ratios, *Nuper rosarum flores* conforms to an ancient Platonic ideal—the world as sounding number. Yet its isorhythmic structure of four homologous sections, and sections of sections, is rationally hierarchical in the tradition of the thirteenth-century Aristotelian scholastics. Its textual allusions are those of medieval scriptural exegesis. Its theme is a biblical paradigm: Solomon as precursor of Christ, and Mary as mother of both. While the dome beneath which *Nuper rosarum flores* was sung may be the first great monument of Renaissance architecture, the motet itself is a distinctly medieval creation.

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## APPENDIX

Guillaume Dufay(?), *Nuper almas rose flores*, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Aedilium 151, fols. 10v-15v



APPENDIX (*continued*)

## ABSTRACT

Analysis of the architecture of the cathedral of Florence suggests that there is no correlation between the structural proportions in that church and the durational ratios in Guillaume Dufay's motet *Nuper rosarum flores* (as suggested by Charles Warren in 1973). The inspiration for the formal plan of the motet was likely not architecture, but a biblical passage (1 Kings 6:1–20), which gives the dimensions of the Temple of Solomon as  $60 \times 40 \times 20 \times 30$  cubits. The vision of the Temple and, to a lesser degree, the image of the womb of the Virgin as the temple of Christ were elaborated upon by countless medieval exegetes, sermonizers, liturgical commentators, poets, and manuscript illuminators. Dufay expressed the traditional numerical symbols of the Temple (6:4:2:3, 4 and 7) and that of the Virgin (7) throughout the structure of his motet and thereby effected a musical union of these two spiritual forces.