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STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL MUSIC FESTSCHRIFT FOR ERNEST H. SANDERS

Advisory Board

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TYPESSETTING, MUSIC TYPOGRAPHY, AND PAGE LAYOUT

DON GILLER

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Preface

The present volume was conceived on the premise that there is no better way to honor a scholar than with an offering of scholarship from students, friends, and professional colleagues. Its purpose, then, is to recognize at the time of his retirement the contributions of Ernest H. Sanders to the Columbia University Department of Music and, even more significantly, to the profession of musicology.

Columbia has been the academic "home" for Ernest Sanders since 1950. It was there as a student that he earned the MA degree (1952) and the PhD (1963). Having been invited to join the Columbia faculty, he rose from Lecturer (1954) to Professor of Music (1972). He was called upon to chair the department for more than two full terms (1978–85), and upon retirement he became Professor Emeritus of Music (1987).

While editor of *Current Musicology*, Brian Seirup initiated this collection of essays on behalf of the journal and the Columbia University Department of Music in anticipation of Professor Sanders's approaching retirement. The project was made public in the fall of 1988 at a celebration of his seventieth birthday that was attended by many of his former students and colleagues. It now appears just shortly after his seventy-second.

By the scope of the topics addressed and the variety of viewpoints expressed, the present collection of studies will give the reader an indication of the breadth of the intellectual interests and the extent of the scholarly influence of the man in whose honor it has been assembled. Aspects of the medieval motet are explored in contributions by Rebecca Baltzer, Margaret Bent, and Sarah Fuller; the rhythm and notation of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century polyphony are studied by Richard Crocker and Norman Smith; and medieval English music culture is represented not only by Bent's essay but also in articles by Peter M. Lefferts and Anne Bagnall Yardley. The evolution of Western musical styles, and the individuality and significance of medieval musical cultures outside the Parisian tradition, are central concerns of Alexander Blachly's essay on the Germanic chant tradition, Shai Burstyn's review of the "Arabian Influence" thesis, and Kurt von Fischer's examination of the Landini *ballate*.

For students and colleagues at Columbia, however, academic activity is but one side, however important, of the engaging human being known to his friends as "Ernie." Any conversation with him about the scholarly matters that have occupied his thoughts in the course of his long career will quickly reveal that his enthusiasm for the intellectual issues is nicely balanced by his love of music and informed by his keen aesthetic insights (some of which he undoubtedly acquired while a student of piano at the

Juilliard School). The spare, elegant prose of his published writings is just one manifestation of his mastery of English, which was not his native tongue. It is also revealed in the wit of his daily discourse, the beautifully turned phrases of his correspondence, both administrative and personal, and in his remarkable skill at Scrabble. And those of us who have enjoyed his loyal friendship have come to know that under the sophisticated manner of the urban denizen—the prototypical New Yorker in many ways— is found the man who takes pleasure in negotiating the crowded streets of his adopted city by bicycle, delights in the rustic pleasures of rural Vermont, and has earned fame for his exquisite raspberry jam. It seems appropriate in this context, therefore, to wish Ernie and Marion, his lively and sociable wife, continued happiness and success as they pursue their productive lives in the relative leisure of retirement.

We are grateful for the patience of contributors over the time it has taken to produce this set of ten long and, in many ways, complicated essays. Special thanks go to Anthony Barone, Christopher Hatch, Mary McLaughlin, Thomas Payne, Eduardo Thieberger, Anne Bagnall Yardley, and Neal Zaslaw for editorial advice and assistance, and to Don Giller for his labors in producing this book “on the computer desktop.”

4 December 1990

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Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin

By Rebecca A. Baltzer

The feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, observed annually on 15 August, was the most important saint's feast in the liturgical calendar of Notre Dame of Paris in the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century, this occasion had a level of ceremonial and ritual splendor equaled only on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, for only these four feasts were given the highest liturgical rank, that of *annuum festum* or *festum annuale*, as it was variously termed in liturgical calendars at Notre Dame.

The complete round of services for the Assumption of the Virgin began with a Vigil Mass on the eve of the feast and proceeded through the services of First Vespers, Compline, Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, the Procession after Terce, Mass, Sext, None, and Second Vespers, finally concluding with Compline on the night of 15 August. Because of its importance, this feast in the thirteenth century also included more than half a dozen chants in polyphonic settings for two and three voice-parts, and it is these items of polyphony, together with their offspring in the form of early Latin liturgical motets, that are the focus of this paper.

On major feasts, the chants that might be provided with a polyphonic setting at Notre Dame included the great responsory and Benedicamus Domino of First Vespers; the third, sixth, and ninth responsories of Matins; the verse of the responsory or large antiphon used in the procession after Terce;¹ and the Gradual and Alleluia of the Mass. This is a total of eight items, and although no feast seems to have included organum for all eight possibilities, some did for as many as seven. The feast of the Assumption is also one of a number of occasions during the year that included a Vigil Mass, and, though I know of no specific regulations concerning the allowance of a polyphonic Gradual and Alleluia in such Masses, I have assumed their use to be permissible in this instance. Thus the list given in table 1 (on the following page) itemizes in liturgical order all the possibilities for organum on the feast of the Assumption, and if the chant is preceded by an O or M number (for Office and Mass), an organal setting does indeed survive in the repertory of Notre Dame polyphony that has come down to us.²

¹ Or, on certain occasions, in a procession after Vespers.

² The O and M numbers are those assigned in Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetutissimi stili*, vol. 1, *Catalog raisonné der Quellen*, part 1, *Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1910; repr. as *Musicological Studies*, vol. 7, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964).

Table 1
Possibilities for Organum on the Feast of the Assumption

a2	M 37	(Vigil) Gradual <i>Propter veritatem</i> Ψ . <i>Audi filia</i>
a2	M 54	(Vigil) Alleluia <i>Veni electa mea</i>
a2, a3	O 16	Vespers R. <i>Styrps Yesse</i> Ψ . <i>Virgo dei</i>
a2, a3	BD I	<i>Benedicamus Domino</i> for First Vespers
a2	O 17	3rd Matins R. <i>Veni electa mea</i> Ψ . <i>Specie tua</i> 6th Matins R. <i>Corde et animo</i> Ψ . <i>Laudem dicite</i> 9th Matins R. <i>Felix namque</i> Ψ . <i>Ora pro populo</i>
a2, a3	O 16	Processional R. <i>Styrps Yesse</i> Ψ . <i>Virgo dei</i>
a2, a3	M 32	Gradual <i>Benedicta</i> Ψ . <i>Virgo dei</i>
a2	M 33	Alleluia <i>Assumpta est Maria</i>
a2	M 34	Alleluia <i>Hodie Maria virgo</i>
a2	M 35	Alleluia <i>Post partum virgo</i> Alleluia <i>Per te dei genitrix</i>
a2	M 36	Alleluia <i>Ora pro nobis</i> Alleluia <i>Virga Iesse floruit</i>
a2	M 34	Alleluia <i>Hodie Maria virgo</i> (In place of a responsory at Second Vespers)

I should qualify this list slightly by noting that an Alleluia was sung in a Vigil Mass only if the vigil happened to occur on Sunday; on weekdays the Alleluia was omitted. It can be seen from this list that only two opportunities for organum were passed by—the sixth and ninth responsories of Matins. The Notre Dame repertory does contain polyphony for all the other chants for which organum was allowed.

Why were so many Alleluias included? Though they are all listed in liturgical books as options for the main Mass of the day, we shall see that there are good reasons for assuming that only M 33 and M 34, the Alleluias *Assumpta est Maria* and *Hodie Maria virgo*, were likely to have been chosen for performance on the day itself. The Alleluias to be used on the days within the octave of the Assumption were taken from the Vigil Mass and from this group, which in Paris missals and graduals are notated in sequence on the feast day and then merely cued as needed within the octave.³

³ The Alleluias *Ora pro nobis* (M 36), *Veni electa mea* (M 54), and *Post partum virgo* (M 35) are prescribed for the first three days of the octave, to be repeated in the same order for the next three days. On one day, Sunday would intervene; Sunday within the octave and the octave itself repeated the 15 August liturgy (*sicut in die*). Thus there was a polyphonic Alleluia every day during the octave of the Assumption, another mark of the feast's importance. (Following the Alleluia, a prose was also prescribed for each day of the Octave, a feature also not present on ordinary weekdays.)

The other notable feature about this list of Alleluias is the use of the Alleluia *Hodie Maria virgo* in Second Vespers in place of a great responsory. Normally Second Vespers did not have a great responsory at all—the service proceeded merely from chapter to hymn and versicle instead of chapter, great responsory, hymn, and versicle as at First Vespers. But because of the great importance of the feast of the Assumption at Notre Dame, this extra mark of liturgical elaboration was made, just as it was also done on Easter Sunday. In both cases, the Alleluia assigned to Vespers is one set in polyphony. And interestingly, the Alleluia *Hodie Maria virgo* at Second Vespers on the Assumption is followed by a prose (*Hac clara die*), just as an Alleluia in the Mass would be.⁴

Before we examine in some detail the character of the texts used in the Assumption liturgy, it will be useful to review briefly the history and circumstances of this feast in the medieval church. At the time the Notre Dame School flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there were of course four feasts in honor of the Virgin in the liturgy: the Purification on 2 February, the Annunciation on 25 March, the Assumption on 15 August, and the Nativity of the Virgin on 8 September.⁵ Like so many other things in the medieval church, the Marian feasts and the cult of the Virgin were an importation from eastern Christianity into Western Europe. Veneration of the Virgin really began in the fourth century with the establishment of Christmas itself, for the Mother of the Savior was as necessary a character in the Christmas story as her Son. The four Marian feasts mentioned above were introduced into the Roman liturgy in the mid-seventh century, and their purpose was the commemoration of important events in the life of the Virgin.

But these four feasts were not the first in honor of the Virgin. They were preceded by a feast whose focus was upon the paramount characteristic of the Virgin—Mary as the Mother of God. This feast honoring her divine and virginal maternity appeared in the West as early as the mid-sixth century, and it offered a second perspective on the mystery of the Incarnation: as Christmas celebrated the Incarnation of the Son of God, this feast dwelled upon Incarnation through the Mother of God.⁶

⁴ On Christmas the prose *Hac clara die* is also assigned to Vespers in place of the hymn, but without an Alleluia. The Easter Alleluia assigned to Second Vespers is *Epulemur in azimis* (M 15).

⁵ Not until the last quarter of the thirteenth century did the feast of the Conception of the Virgin on 8 December begin to be observed in the cathedral of Paris.

⁶ See Philippe Rouillard, "Marian Feasts," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* 9 (1967): 210–12. For a detailed study of the early development of Marian feasts, see Dom Frénaud, O.S.B., "Le culte de Notre Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine," in *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, 8 vols., ed. Hubert du Manoir de Juaye (Paris: Beauchesne, 1949–71), vol. 6

Although in Rome this first feast of the Virgin was originally placed on 1 January (emphasizing the connection with Christmas), in Gaul it was placed later in the month. It still appears on 19 January (labeled *Natale Sanctae Mariae*) in one of the manuscripts of Hesbert's *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, the late ninth-century Gradual of Senlis, which city lies just northeast of Paris.⁷ But liturgical books for the Gothic cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris indicate that this earliest Marian feast was not being celebrated there in the late twelfth century, though some of its texts appear in the liturgy for the Assumption.

At the time it was first observed in the West, the feast of the Assumption concentrated upon the Dormition (or falling asleep) of the Virgin, following the accounts of her death that had appeared in apocryphal literature. It later came to focus upon the glorification of the Virgin, in both soul and body,⁸ and hence the themes of veneration and praise of the Virgin are strong ones in the Assumption liturgy. But things are not exactly as we might expect. Instead of a sharp focus upon the idea of Mary's assumption into Heaven and its consequences for mankind, most of the liturgical texts are either quite general in praise of the Virgin or—perhaps to our surprise—they return again and again to what seems a Christmas theme, the idea of the Incarnation.⁹ But we should not regard the idea of Incarnation as exclusive to Christmas; it is one that appeared whenever the Virgin was honored, because Mary's role in the Incarnation was the central fact about her, the starting point for any consideration of her by the faithful, and the ultimate reason for her veneration. Thus the theme of Incarnation may not only recall the Christmas liturgy but may also reflect the perspective of the original Marian feast, Mary as the Mother of God.

And thus when we look at those texts in the Assumption liturgy that were allowable in polyphony (cf. table 1), we find three different emphases. Omitting the *Benedicamus Domino* from consideration, I would classify the thirteen other texts as follows:

(1961): 157–211. According to Frénaud, as other Marian feasts and the octave of Christmas were added to the Roman liturgy in the seventh century, this first Marian feast was dropped.

⁷ Dom René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex... d'après le graduel de Monza et les antiphonaires de Rheinau, du Mont Blandin, de Compiègne, de Corbie, et de Senlis* (Brussels: Vromant & Co., 1935), 31.

⁸ Daniel F. Hickey, "Dormition of the Virgin," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* 4 (1967): 1017–18.

⁹ Dom Frénaud has shown that some parts of the Christmas liturgy were in fact borrowed for use on the feast of the Assumption. See "Le culte de Notre Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine," especially 207–9.

Three are general in praise of the Virgin:

M 37, M 54, and O 17.

Eight either mention or focus entirely upon the ideas of the Incarnation and Mary the Mother of God:

O 16, 6th responsory, 9th responsory, M 32, M 35, M 36,
Alleluia *Per te* and Alleluia *Virga Iesse*.

Only two specifically trope the idea of the Assumption:

the M 33 and M 34 Alleluias.

The three texts that are general in their praise of the Virgin, the Gradual *Propter veritatem*, the Alleluia *Veni electa mea*, and the Matins responsory *Veni electa mea*, in fact share some of the same Biblical verses, a feature that links them together in character. But these three chants were also part of the Common of Virgins in the Paris liturgy, which means that they are not specifically Marian but were used for Marian feasts as well as the feasts of other female saints.

The eight texts that include the themes of Incarnation and Mary the Mother of God approach these ideas from several different directions. The Vespers responsory *Styrps Yesse* (O 16) takes an explanatory approach to the symbolism of Jesse's rod. This responsory was borrowed from the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, as its text does suggest. There it is the sixth responsory of Matins, and it is a text known to have been composed by Fulbert of Chartres in the eleventh century.¹⁰ While the sixth Matins responsory, *Corde et animo*, is one of praise for the Mother of God, the ninth responsory, *Felix namque*, seems to touch all the bases, for it includes both praise and petition to the Virgin, and it mentions both the Incarnation and the Assumption. With reference to this last feature, I should point out that this responsory was also the ninth one on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, and there the word *assumptionem* was simply replaced by the word *nativitatem*.

The Gradual *Benedicta* (M 32) returns to a single focus upon Mary the Mother of God; it was also the Gradual used for the Nativity of the Virgin, so it is textually not specific to either feast. The Alleluias *Post partum*, *Per te*, *Ora pro nobis*, and *Virga Iesse* all center upon Mary's role in the Incarnation; *Post partum virgo* and *Ora pro nobis* are both petitions for Mary's aid, while *Per te* and *Virga Iesse* comment upon her role in salvation.

That leaves us with only two texts, the Alleluias *Assumpta est Maria* and *Hodie Maria virgo* (M 33 and M 34), that are one hundred per cent specific to the idea of the Assumption of the Virgin. That is why I think these

¹⁰ See J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia latina*, CXXI (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1880), col. 345. Chant text and translation are in Appendix II.

two are the ones most likely to have been chosen for use on the feast day itself, *Assumpta est* in the Mass and *Hodie Maria* in Second Vespers.¹¹ With the exception of several antiphons used in Matins, Lauds, and a couple of the day hours, these two Alleluias are by far the most specific commentaries on the Assumption of any of the chants prescribed in the entire Office and two Masses. It is these two Alleluias, several Office antiphons, and the prayers prescribed that make it unequivocal which Marian event is the real focus of the day.

Returning to our list of fourteen chants that were possibilities for organum in the Assumption liturgy (table 1), we can eliminate the sixth and ninth Matins responsories and the Alleluias *Per te* and *Virga Iesse* from further consideration, since no polyphonic settings survive for them. Three of the polyphonic pieces, the responsory *Styrps Yesse* (O 16), the *Benedicamus Domino*, and the Gradual *Benedicta* (M 32), have a three-voice setting as well as a two-voice one. But our next major concern is to see which of these ten chants set in organum have early Latin motets—and by early, I mean motets in the Florence and second Wolfenbüttel manuscripts¹²—that on textual grounds would have been suitable for use in the Assumption liturgy.

Four of these organa can be dropped immediately, for they inspired no motets, either Latin or French: the Matins responsory *Veni electa mea* (O 17), and the Alleluias *Assumpta est Maria* (M 33), *Post partum virgo* (M 35), and *Ora pro nobis* (M 36). That leaves six polyphonic pieces (three of which have a three-voice setting also) for which there are early motets: M 37, M 54, O 16, BD I, M 32, and M 34. Table 2 lists a total of nineteen early Latin motets on these six chants that seem appropriate for liturgical use as a kind of polyphonic trope during the performance of the parent organum.¹³

¹¹ In thirteenth-century Paris missals and graduals, the Alleluia *Hodie Maria virgo* after mid-century moved from the end of the list to second place, immediately following the Alleluia *Assumpta est*, as if to give emphasis to the fact that these two texts were the most "proper" to the day. (This same order is also found among the organa in the Florence manuscript.) The Alleluia *Hodie Maria* was never notated in breviaries at Second Vespers on the Assumption; it was simply prescribed in the rubrics and would have to be retrieved from a missal or gradual.

¹² For photographic facsimiles, see Luther A. Dittmer, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29, 1*, 2 vols., Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, no. 10 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, [1966–67]); and idem, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1099 Helmstadiensis (1206): W₂*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, no. 2 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1960).

¹³ Motet numbers, manuscript sigla, and other source information are as given in Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten, Summa musicae medii aevi*, no. 2 (Darmstadt: published by the author, 1957). Some discoveries

Table 2
Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin
 15 August Annum festum with vigil

-
- M 37** Gradual for Vigil Mass: *Propter veritatem* ♯. *Audi filia*
- Motet 448: *O Maria, maris stella / Veritatem*
 a3 in *F*, 397v (1,25); *W*₂, 125 (1,3); and *Ch* [no source clausula]
 Other versions:
 a3 French (450) in *W*₂, 135 (1,14)
 a2 in *ArsA*, *ArsB*, *Ca*, *OLy*, and *ErfC*
 a3 Latin double (449 Tr) in *Cl*, *Mo*, *Ba*, *Bes*, and *Da*
 a4 (448; 449 Qua) in *Hu*
 a3 (449a Tr) in *Hu*
- Motet 478: *Audi, filia egregia / Filia*
 a2 in *F*, 408v (2,30) [no source clausula; unicum]
- M 54** Alleluia for Vigil Mass (if Sunday): Alleluia *Veni electa mea*
- Motet 529: *Quia concupivit vultum / Quia concupivit rex*
 a2 in *F*, 405 (2,19), and *W*₂, 152v (2,14)
- O 16** Vespers responsory *Stirps Yesse* ♯. *Virgo dei*
- Motet 647/648: *Stirps Yesse / Virga cultus / Flos filius eius* [= 649]
 a3 double motet in *F*, 409v (2,33–34) [a3 source clausula]
 Other versions:
 a3 French double (650, 651) in *W*₂, 206v (3,13), *R*, and *N*
 a4 French triple (652, 650, 651) in *Mo* and *Cl*
 a2 French (651) in *Ca*
 a3 Latin double (653, 654) in *Ba* and *Hu*
 a2 Latin (654) in *Bol* and *Ca*
- Motet 649: *Candida virginitas / Flos filius eius* [= Motet 648]
 a2 in *W*₂, 145v (2,3), and *LoC* [a3 source clausula]
- Motet 665: *Flos ascendit de radice / Flos filius eius*
 a2 in *W*₂, 161 (2,31)

made since Gennrich's work are noted in Norman E. Smith, "From Clausula to Motet: Material for Further Studies in the Origin and Early History of the Motet," *Musica disciplina* 34 (1980): 29–65. Published transcriptions are readily available in Gordon A. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Helmstadt 1099 (1206)*, vol. 2, *Transcriptions*, Musicological Studies, vol. 24, part 2 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1976); and Hans Tischler, *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982). Each motet listed in table 2 is based on a two-voice clausula unless otherwise noted. Duplum, Triplum, and Tenor are abbreviated as Du, Tr, and T.

Other versions:

a2 French (663) in *W₂*, 226 (4,29), and *LoC*

a3 French double (664, 663) in *Mo* and *Cl*

Motet 669: *Ave, rosa novella / Flos filius eius*

a2 in *W₂*, 178v (2,51) [no source clausula; unicum]

BD I *Benedicamus Domino* at First Vespers

Motet 655: *Virgo singularis / [Domino]*

a2 in *F*, 414 (2,45) (T = *E[ius]* from O 16)

Motet 760a: *Ave gloriosa mater / (Domino)* [no source clausula]

a2 conductus (Du and Tr only) in *W₂*, 140 (1, conductus 3)

Other versions:

a3 as conductus motet (score format with text under T) in *LoHa*

a3 double motet (760b, 760a) in *Cl*, *Mo*, *Ba*, *Hu*, and *Bes*

a2 conductus (T and Du) in *OLy* and *Da*

a2 motet in *ArsB*, *MüC*, and *Maz*

a1 (texted Du) in *Don*

O 16 Procession after Terce: *Styrps Yesse V. Virgo dei*

Motet 660: *O vere lucis aurora / Flos filius eius*

a2 in *W₂*, 175v (2,45) [source clausula in *StV*]

Other versions:

a3 French double (657) in *W₂*, 208v (3,16) (Tr music lacking)

a2 French (659) in *W₂*, 226v (4,31)

a3 French double (658, 657) in *Mo* and *Ba*

a4 French triple (658, 659, 657) in *Mo* and *Cl*

Motet 670: *Virga, virgo regia / Flos filius eius*

a2 in *W₂*, 189v (2,76) [no source clausula]

Other version:

a2 French (667) in *W₂*, 242 (4,66) [with musical variants]

M 32 Gradual *Benedicta V. Virgo dei*

Motet 411: *O Maria, mater pia, mater / Virgo* [= Motet 412]

a3 in *F*, 393 (1,18)

a2 in *W₂*, 183v (2,64) and *OLy*

Other versions:

a3 Latin double (411, 412) in *MüB*

a2 French (413) in *W₂*, 251v (4,87)

Motet 412: *Virgo plena gratie / Virgo* [= Motet 411]

a3 in *W₂*, 129v (1,9)

a2 in *W₂*, 154v (2,18)

Other versions:

a3 Latin double (411, 412) in *MüB*a2 French (413) in *W₂*, 251v (4,87)Motet 417: *Benedicta regia / Virgo*a2 in *W₂*, 145 (2,2) and 178v (2,52) [no source clausula]

Other version:

a2 French (418) in *W₂*, 220v (4,16) and 241v (4,65)Motet 420: *Mellea vite vinea / Virgo*a2 in *W₂*, 190 (2,78)

Other version:

a2 French (419) in *W₂*, 236 (4,53), and *Mo*Motet 422: *O pia, capud hostis / Virgo*a2 in *W₂*, 191v (2,82) [no source clausula]

Other version:

a2 French (421) in *W₂*, 248v (4,80)**M 34** In place of responsory at Second Vespers: Alleluia *Hodie Maria virgo*Motet 437: *Flos de spina rumpitur / Regnat*a3 in *F*, 393v (1,19)a2 in *W₂*, 147 (2,6) and 180 (2,56)

Other versions:

a2 in *Ma* (T missing) and *MüC* (T missing)a3 mixed double (438, 437) in *Mo* and *Bes*Motet 441: *Hodie Marie concurrent / Regnat*a3 in *F*, 394v (1,21)

Other version:

a2 conductus in *Ma* (Tr and Mo; no T)Motet 442: *Rex pacificus unicus / Regnat*a2 in *F*, 402v (2,10), and *W₂*, 153 (2,15)

Certainly some would work better than others, for both textual and musical reasons, but to summarize, there are:

- 2 motets for the Gradual *Propter veritatem* (M 37)
- 1 motet for the Alleluia *Veni electa mea* (M 54)
- 6 motets for the responsory *Styrps Yesse* (O 16)
- 2 motets for the *Benedicamus Domino* (BD 1)
- 5 motets for the Gradual *Benedicta* (M 32)
- 3 motets for the Alleluia *Hodie Maria* (M 34).

We are left with no motets for the Matins service. This phenomenon, however, is not confined just to the feast of the Assumption, for among

all the surviving Office motets in *F* and *W*₂, with a single possible exception,¹⁴ none seems originally intended for use in Matins. The parent responsory is used liturgically either as the Vespers responsory, the processional responsory, or some combination of these two with an additional use in Matins. In other words, there is no early Office motet based upon a responsory used only in Matins; such motets exist only with a Vespers or processional responsory (or both) for a parent. Only in later motet sources such as the Montpellier and Bamberg manuscripts do motets with tenors solely from Matins responsories begin to occur.

It is at this point that we would be wise to look not just at the text of the parent chant in assessing the "tropic" character of a motet text, but also at the surrounding liturgical context. Let us begin our consideration with the Proper texts of the Vigil Mass (reproduced as Appendix I.A) to see what the broader liturgical context was for motets for the Gradual and Alleluia of the Vigil Mass. It is noteworthy that except for the first part of the Alleluia verse, the texts of the Proper chants in the Vigil Mass—the Introit, Gradual, Alleluia, Offertory, and Communion—are all taken from Vulgate Psalm 44 (*Eruclavit cor meum*), and, in the Paris liturgy, all were part of the Common of Virgins. Yet they can serve the Virgin Mary as well as lesser saints.

The Introit *Vultum tuum* with its verse *Eruclavit cor meum* was the one prescribed in the original Marian feast of Mary the Mother of God, and it seeks to establish her preeminent place: "All the rich among the people shall implore thy countenance; after her shall virgins be brought to the King; her neighbors shall be brought to thee in gladness and rejoicing. *V.* My heart hath uttered a good word: I speak my works to the King." The Offertory uses much of the same text as the Introit antiphon, and the Communion reads, "You have loved righteousness and hated injustice; therefore God your God has anointed you." The Epistle or lesson from Chapter 24 of Ecclesiasticus reads:

From the beginning and before the world I was created, and unto the world to come I shall not cease to be, and in the holy dwelling-place I have ministered before him. And thus I was established in Syon, and in the holy city likewise I rested, and in Jerusalem was my power. And I took root in an honorable people, and in the portion of my God his inheritance, and my abode is in the full assembly of saints.

¹⁴ See below, Motet 665: *Flos ascendit de radice / Flos filius eius*.

The Gospel is a famous passage from St. Luke that directly praises the Virgin: "At that time, as Jesus was speaking to the multitudes, lifting up her voice, a certain woman from the crowd said to him, 'Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the breasts that thou sucked.' But he said, 'Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God and keep it.'"

Of the three prayers, the Collect, the Secret, and the Postcommunion, it is the Secret that most directly addresses the idea of the Assumption: "O Lord, in the presence of Thy mercy, great is the prayer of the Mother of God, whom Thou didst take up out of this present world that she might boldly intercede for our sins before Thee." One can see that such an idea leads very naturally to motet texts that petition the Virgin to intercede for penitent sinners. The Collect and the Postcommunion both sound the Incarnation theme of Mary the Mother of God; while the Collect mentions the impending feast without being specific, the Postcommunion refers to the requiem of the Mother of God.

We have noted that the Gradual and Alleluia in the Vigil Mass were used for other saints besides the Virgin. When we look in Appendix II at the text of the Alleluia *Quia concupivit vultum* (Motet 529), we can see that it is not specific to the BVM but would have been usable on the feast of any virgin for whom the Alleluia *Veni electa* (M 54) was prescribed. I suspect that this is because the Alleluia would have been used at the Assumption Vigil only once every six or seven years when the day fell on Sunday. Given that circumstance, it was simply easier to use a "common" motet with a "common" Alleluia. Nonetheless, the text clearly tropes the tenor words, though the motet did not go beyond its two earliest appearances in *F* and *W*₂.

In contrast to this "common" motet, both of the motets on the Gradual *Propter veritatem* (M 37)—one from the respond and one from the verse—are specifically in honor of the Virgin. Neither one is based upon a clausula, yet they could hardly be more different. *O Maria, maris stella* has a text that looks much like a conductus. It is wonderfully regular, with alternating rhymes, and the first-mode upper parts (over a fifth-mode tenor) are regularly disposed in four-measure musical phrases. The poetry offers a large serving of Marian epithets, and the praise culminates in a petition for the Virgin's aid. Not until the last word is there a tropic reference to the tenor word *Veritatem*, and nowhere is there an explicit reference to the Assumption. Both in musical quality and in popularity, this was a hugely successful piece; even with the original triplum replaced by a new melody in the sixth rhythmic mode, this is one of the best motets in the repertory.

The other M 37 motet, *Audi, filia egregia*, an unicum in the Florence manuscript, is much more typical of the early motet. Its lines of irregular

length all end in an *-a* assonance that creates an aural trope with the end of the tenor word, *filia*, and the beginning words of the motet clearly relate to the beginning words of the Gradual verse. Its text is a bit more learned in expression of praise and petition than the facile but effective epithets of *O Maria, maris stella. Audi, filia egregia*, however, is a second-mode piece that changes tenor patterns midway through; the phrasing in the motetus often works against that in the tenor, and this composition prompted no descendants.

We have already noted that the responsory *Styrps Yesse* (O 16) was originally borrowed from the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, where it was the sixth responsory of Matins, for use as the Vespers responsory and the processional responsory on the Assumption. Undoubtedly this transfer was made well before Leonin's time. Though the text relates obliquely to the Nativity of the Virgin, the primary themes are those of Incarnation and Mary the Mother of God, and the six early Latin motets on this chant do not alter those emphases.

When we look at the position of *Styrps Yesse* within the context of First Vespers of the Annunciation (see Appendix I.B), there is nothing in this service, either, to deflect the attention from the idea of Incarnation effected through the Virgin. Several of the antiphons praise the Virgin with verses from the Song of Songs. The Chapter uses the beginning two verses of the Mass lection for the day, again from Chapter 24 of Ecclesiasticus: "In all things I sought rest, and I shall abide in the inheritance of the Lord. Then the Creator of all things commanded and spoke to me; and He that made me rested in my tabernacle." The hymn *Quem terra* returns to the Incarnation theme; one of its stanzas and the Magnificat antiphon that follows bring in the idea of the Virgin as the restorer of all that was lost by Eve: though Eve closed the gate of paradise, the Virgin has opened it again. The prayer after the Magnificat is the same as the Collect from the Vigil Mass.

The six motets derived from *Styrps Yesse* are all built on the long melisma from the end of the verse, *Flos filius eius*. The first of these, which is based on a three-voice clausula in first mode, is a rare double motet in the Florence manuscript. Both of its texts are excellent glosses upon the parent responsory text, carefully elaborating and expanding its ideas, and the work went through a number of later reworkings in both French and Latin. Without the triplum, this music also serves for the two-voice motet *Candida virginitas* in *W*₂. In stating that the Virgin's chastity has opened the halls of heaven, the text, like that of the Magnificat antiphon, points to the Virgin's role in salvation.

Motet 665, *Flos ascendit de radice*, is also a first-mode piece that carefully tropes the chant at beginning and end. In between, however, as Gordon

Anderson interpreted it, the text urges the Virgin to intercede for the Jews if they show signs of conversion.¹⁵ This is the one motet that may be an exception to the idea that no early motets were composed for use in the Matins service. The responsory *Styrps Yesse* (O 16) was prescribed as the sixth Matins responsory on the Nativity of the Virgin, as we have noted. In that Office, both the fifth and sixth lessons of Matins are commentaries upon the prophecies of the Messiah from the book of Isaiah, and the fifth (not the sixth) lesson concludes with the words:

Egredietur inquit virga de radice Yesse: et flos de radice
eius descendit, et requiescet super eum spiritus domini.

The parallel with the beginning of *Flos ascendit de radice* and with the text of the responsory *Styrps Yesse* seems more than mere happenstance.¹⁶

The fourth motet on the *Flos filius* tenor, *Ave, rosa novella*, is an unicum in *W*₂. Although only two dozen measures long, it is both textually and musically defective in its sole copy; Gordon Anderson proposed one possible solution and Hans Tischler proposed two in published transcriptions. It is Anderson's emendation of the text that seems to relate the work more specifically to the Assumption.

I have suggested that the last two *Flos filius* motets, *O vere lucis aurora* and *Virga, virgo regia*, might well have been used when the O 16 responsory was sung as part of the procession after Terce. Normally this procession, immediately prior to the main Mass of the day, took place only on Sunday, but on the Assumption, there was a procession after Terce regardless of the day of the week. As the procession left the choir, the respond of a responsory proper to the day was sung; the procession then came to a halt and made a station before the cross atop the choir screen. Here the verse of the responsory was sung, and on the Assumption, the liturgical rubrics tell us that the verse of O 16 was either organized (i.e., performed polyphonically) or sung by six singers.¹⁷ It is here, as part of the polyphonic verse, that I propose the possible use of our last two *Flos filius*

¹⁵ Gordon A. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Helmstadt 1099 (1206)*, vol. 1, *Critical Commentary, Translation of the Texts and Historical Observations*, Musicological Studies, vol. 24, part 1 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, [1971]), 187.

¹⁶ The fifth responsory of Matins on the Nativity BVM is *Corde et animo*, which is the sixth responsory on the Assumption. It frequently happened that the lessons of Matins were compressed or shortened in the later Middle Ages, disturbing the original correspondence between lesson and responsory. In the Paris liturgy this phenomenon is observable within the course of the thirteenth century itself.

¹⁷ For more on such rubrics, see my 1985 paper, "Performance Practice, the Notre-Dame Calendar, and the Earliest Latin Liturgical Motets," in *Das musikgeschichtliche Ereignis*

motets. After the responsory, there was a versicle sung by the boys, followed by a Proper prayer. Nearly every procession at Notre Dame then terminated with a commemoration of the Virgin, since this was the Virgin's church. This commemoration consisted of a Marian antiphon sung as the procession reentered the choir, followed by a versicle and a prayer. Mass began immediately thereafter.

Both motets are petitions with a somewhat votive character that seems appropriate for the processional commemoration of the Virgin. *O vere lucis aurora* shows a delight in the kind of learned word play more common in the conductus repertory: *lucis/lucida*, *aurora/aura rora*, *placida/pacida*, *decora/decor ora*, and so on. But its text is far less of a trope than that of *Virga, virgo regia*. This latter text, which explicitly tropes the chant at beginning and end, also features that early *-a* assonance at the end of each line but two, and those two—*pius* and *flos filius*—produce the sound of the tenor words *filius eius*. Both motets are short, first-mode compositions that also exist in French-texted versions, though the music of *O vere lucis aurora* circulated longer and more widely in the later thirteenth century.

The melody of *Benedicamus Domino* I in the Notre Dame repertory is borrowed from the *Flos filius eius* melisma of O 16, and two motets on this tenor are appropriate for use at First Vespers on Marian feasts. The first of these, *Virgo singularis*, has a fifth-mode tenor (2 si / 3 li /) and a first-mode upper voice regularly disposed in two- or four-measure phrases throughout, which allows a poetic regularity not terribly frequent in the early motet repertory. The first eight lines seem to be two four-line stanzas with the same alternating rhyme scheme, while the remaining eleven lines are divided four, four, and three, and all end with an *-o* vowel sound. Though the scribe of the Florence manuscript began to label the tenor of this motet *E[lius]*, the last word of the verse from O 16, and though its text uses the first word (*Virgo*) twice, I have nonetheless listed this as a *Benedicamus* piece, since the source clausula is *Domino* no. 11 in *F*. The motet's emphasis on the *-o* vowel sound at the end of most lines makes it a kind of aural trope of the tenor word *Domino* as well, though there is no barrier to its further use in O 16 with the tenor *Eius*. Since the text is not specific to the Assumption, this motet could serve as a *Benedicamus* piece on any feast of the Virgin.

Similarly, the text of *Ave, gloriosa mater* is general enough to serve on any Marian feast, though the reference to the Virgin as mistress of heaven

'Notre-Dame,' ed. Wulf Arlt and Fritz Reckow, *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, no. 38 (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, forthcoming). Processional rubrics for the Assumption and the Nativity BVM are among those traced in Baltzer, "How Long Was Notre-Dame Organum Performed?" in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 118-43.

(*celi domina*) implies that the event of her Assumption has taken place. This excellent and lengthy first-mode composition has four eight-line stanzas that are regularly disposed in two-measure musical phrases; the resemblance to a conductus is not accidental. In W_2 this work appears as exactly that, a two-voice conductus without the liturgical tenor; its numerous appearances as a motet are all in later or peripheral sources. Though Friedrich Ludwig believed that the W_2 conductus version was the first, subsequent scholars have argued that the polyphonic archetype was probably a conductus motet with the *Domino* tenor included; MS Harley 978 in the British Library presents it both ways.¹⁸ But either as a motet included in the organum or as a conductus substituted for it, *Ave gloriosa* is a *Benedicamus* piece that is splendidly suited for all four feasts of the Virgin.

Our remaining motets for the Assumption have tenors taken from the Gradual *Benedicta* (M 32) and the Alleluia *Hodie Maria virgo* (M 34), so a brief look at the Mass Propers for both the Assumption (Appendix I.C) and the Nativity of the Virgin (Appendix I.D) is in order, since the Gradual and several other items were the same on both feasts. The Introit *Gaudeamus* was one of the most frequently used in the Paris liturgy, appearing more than a dozen times a year. Its reference to the Assumption was changed to the Nativity of the Virgin for its use on that day, but as part of the Common of Virgins it was also prescribed for a number of other female saints. In addition, it was sung on All Saints' (1 November), the Finding of Stephen and His Companions (3 August), and the newly established feast of the Reception of the Relics at Notre Dame (4 December). The Epistle (lection) from Chapter 24 of Ecclesiasticus overlaps that used in the Vigil Mass, and a continuation of the same chapter was prescribed for the Nativity of the Virgin. Though in the Biblical context this is the discourse of Wisdom, one can see that the elaborate similes in both readings could have provided some precedent (if any was needed) for the flood of Marian epithets in motets usable on either of these two feasts.

The prose *Letabundus* that followed the series of Alleluias in the Assumption Mass is one of transitional style from the eleventh century. Since it, too, deals with the theme of Incarnation, it is not surprising to find that in the Paris liturgy this piece was prescribed for Christmas as well as for the Assumption. Similarly, the prose *Hac clara die* that followed

¹⁸ Ludwig, *Repertorium*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 180. This composition has been much discussed; see the bibliography and the observations in Anderson, *The Latin Compositions*, 1:68–77. A stemma for the various versions of *Ave gloriosa* is offered in James H. Cook, "Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century Motets," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 1:65–81.

the Alleluia *Hodie Maria virgo* in Second Vespers for the Assumption was also used in Christmas Vespers, as well as in the Mass for the Nativity of the Virgin. And just as two of the Assumption Alleluias were among the proper items most specific to the day being celebrated, the same was true of the Alleluia *Nativitas* prescribed for the feast of Mary's Nativity. It is the Alleluias and the prayers—the Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion—that are the most direct and explicit about the day on both the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin.

The Gospel in the Mass for the Assumption describes the visit of Jesus to the home of two sisters, Martha and Mary. While Martha busied herself serving, Mary put first things first and sat at the feet of Jesus. When Martha complained of no help from her sister, Jesus replied to her, "Mary hath chosen the better part, which shall not be taken from her."¹⁹ Following the Gospel, the three choices for the Offertory all address the Virgin's role in the Incarnation, as does the third option for the Communion, *Beata viscera*. The second Communion chant stresses Mary's inviolate virginity. But the first Communion, *Regina mundi*, combines a petition for aid with a reminder of the Virgin's role in the Incarnation at the same time that it addresses her as queen and mistress of the world, implying that her heavenly glorification is complete. Thus this Communion and the first of the three Offertories, *Beata es, virgo Maria*, reappear as the prescribed chants, without option, in the Mass for the Nativity of the Virgin.

As we have noted, the focus of the Gradual *Benedicta* is upon Mary the Mother of God, with no reference to either her Assumption or her Nativity. One might suppose that the composers of motet texts on this chant would take advantage of the opportunity to make their trope more specific to the feast at hand, but such was not really the case. Of the five motets on the tenor *Virgo* (the first word of the Gradual verse), only the first composition mentions the Virgin as being upon the throne of Heaven—the sole explicit reference to the Assumption.

This motet, *O Maria, mater pia, mater salvatoris*, shares its music (first-mode upper voices over a fifth-mode tenor) with the second Gradual motet, *Virgo plena gratie*. In comparing their texts alone, we would never suspect that they were fitted to the same music, for equivalent lines do not all have the same number of syllables. The first motet alternates lines of eight and six syllables: "O Maria, mater pia, / Mater salvatoris." But the second piece begins with two seven-syllable lines: "Virgo plena gratie, / Thesaurus largitatis." The trick is that "Thesaurus largitatis" begins with a pick-up beat that in effect shifts the syllables to eight plus six. My

¹⁹ The Gospel for the Nativity of the Virgin is the Liber generationis, Matthew 1:1–16.

impression from such details is that the second motet, *Virgo plena gratie*, is indeed secondary and that *O Maria, mater pia* was the first text to be added to the clausula.

The third *Virgo* motet, *Benedicta regia*, is one of those intriguing pieces that for some reason appears four times in W_2 , twice with the same Latin text and twice again with the same French text. It is a second-mode piece without a clausula source, and its fussy, ornamental, small note values show all the hallmarks of a work whose French text came first. Yet the Latin text carefully tropes the parent Gradual *Benedicta* with the words *Benedicta, virgo venerabilis, tactus, and quem non capit*. The latter half of this text may be intended as a somewhat oblique reference to Mary as Queen of Heaven when it says, “among all creatures thou holdest the highest place” and speaks of her as leading men to the joys of the kingdom of heaven.

The next *Virgo* motet, the first-mode *Mellea vite vinea*, at its very end makes reference to the start of the Gradual verse, but the beginning words, *Mellea vite vinea*—“honey-sweet vine of life”—seem to be inspired by the text of the Epistle for the Nativity of the Virgin. It begins, “Like a vine I put forth the sweetness of perfume, and my flowers [are] the fruit of honor and integrity.” And a few lines later: “My breath [or my soul] is sweeter than honey, and my inheritance is better than honey and honeycomb.” In its Latin version, then, this motet may have been intended for the Nativity of the Virgin rather than the Assumption, but like the previous one, its French version probably came first.

The last *Virgo* motet, *O pia, capud hostis*, is another second-mode piece that contrafacts an earlier French version, one newly-composed without a clausula model. The first three lines of the Latin text echo a passage from the O 16 motet *Candida virginitas* (Motet 649), which states, “O Chastity, thou hast crushed the head of the enemy.” *O pia, capud hostis* makes no specific reference to its parent chant text, but the line *luce[m] das de superis*—“thou dost give light from above”—implies Mary’s position as Queen of Heaven following the Assumption.

The last three motets, on the tenor melisma *Regnat* from the Alleluia *Hodie Maria virgo* (M 34), are, like the Alleluia itself, wonderfully specific about the occasion for their use. Even someone without knowledge of the parent chant would have no difficulty in determining that these motets celebrate the Assumption of the Virgin. The first of the three, *Flos de spina rumpitur*, is a piece in the classic Perotinian style of the early motet, with a fifth-mode tenor (2 si / 3 li /) and trochaic upper parts. It is a three-voice conductus motet in the Florence manuscript and appears twice as a two-voice piece in W_2 . In the Madrid and MüC manuscripts, the tenor is left off to form a two-voice conductus. But it is pleasing to note that the

quality of this motet was sufficiently recognized in the later thirteenth century that it was included as a mixed double motet in both the Montpellier manuscript and the Besançon manuscript, of which only the index survives.²⁰ The text of *Flos de spina rumpitur*, particularly the beginning, is in fact like some conductus texts that delight in a kind of abstract meditation on a theological paradox. One almost has the impression that the opening lines trope the responsory *Styrps Yesse* (O 16), though the final three words, *cum filio regnat*, are a definite recall of the words *cum Christo regnat* in the Alleluia verse. Sixty-four measures long, *Flos de spina* is just one measure shorter than the Benedicamus motet *Ave gloriosa*; they plus the 64-measure final motet are by far the longest of the nineteen motets under consideration.

Also longer than most is the 40-measure *Hodie Marie concurrant*, whose *Regnat* tenor is laid out in duplex longs. This, too, is a three-voice conductus motet in *F* (with first-mode upper parts) that becomes a two-voice conductus without tenor in the Madrid manuscript. It is the beginning of this text that clearly tropes the Alleluia *Hodie Maria*, though the words *virgo* and *regnat* in lines six and seven also refer to the chant verse. In the words of this motet, each separate thought has its own two-syllable rhyme: *-ie* for the first seven lines; *-ia* followed by *-io* for the next eight; and *-ura* for the last three. The thought goes from praise of the Queen of Heaven on the day of her Assumption to petition for her intercession on behalf of her devoted servants.

The last motet, the two-voice *Rex pacificus* found only in *F* and *W₂*, is the only one to have a motetus in third and second mode.²¹ It is precisely the same length as the first *Regnat* motet, *Flos de spina*, because they use the same fifth-mode tenor pattern, one that is particularly associated with Perotin. After a small bow to the idea of Incarnation, the text focuses entirely on the Assumption; it combines a certain didactic quality with praise. Unlike most, it does not include a petition; it is simply a thoughtful reflection upon the day, and it concludes with the tenor word *Regnat*. As the final motet that might gloss the liturgy of the Assumption at Second Vespers, *Rex pacificus* strikes a fitting note upon which to end the feast itself.

²⁰ For information on this large but now lost source, see Gennrich, *Bibliographie*, xxv-xxvi.

²¹ To be more precise, I should state that the motetus changes from third to second mode beginning in m. 21, though some second-mode phrases continue to end with ternary longs as in third mode. I have elsewhere pointed to this piece (in its clausula form) as one in which second mode is "caught in the act," so to speak, of being born, the result of the consistent fracture of the ternary long of third mode.

With a last look at the list of Assumption motets in table 2, we can come to some summary conclusions. We observed that three of the five motets on the Gradual *Benedicta* (M 32), *Benedicta regia* (Motet 417), *Mellea vite vinea* (Motet 420), and *O pia, capud hostis* (Motet 422), appear to be contrafacts of French originals; in this sense they are liturgical afterthoughts, though they may work perfectly well in the liturgy. Three of the O 16 motets, *Flos ascendit de radice* (Motet 665), *O vere lucis aurora* (Motet 660), and *Virga, virgo regia* (Motet 670), also seem to have French originals. Needless to say, all six of these motets are found in W_2 rather than in F . And at least two of them, *Flos ascendit* (Motet 665) and *Mellea vite vinea* (Motet 420), may have been composed for the Nativity rather than the Assumption of the Virgin.

Two of the nineteen motets are unica, the M 37 motet *Audi, filia egregia* in F and the O 16 motet *Ave, rosa novella* in W_2 . Those two plus four others have no source clausula. Here it is interesting to observe that two of the pieces without a source clausula are among the most successful, both qualitatively and distributionally: the M 37 motet *O Maria, maris stella* and the Benedicamus piece *Ave gloriosa mater*. In contrast to this, eight of the nineteen motets do not go beyond copies in F or W_2 ; they have no descendants and thus remain "the earliest motets."

Perhaps the most noteworthy finding of this study is that the earliest motets as tropes do not function in quite the same way as tropes themselves. We are familiar with tropes that make what is implicit in the thing troped more explicit in the trope itself, but these "tropic" motets do not work that way. Instead, they are like good children: they take their cue from their parents and do as the parent chants do. If the chant is unequivocally proper to the feast at hand, as in the case of the Alleluias, so are the offspring motets; if the chant manifests a more general theme, so do the motets. In the case of motets for the Virgin, the most striking feature is the pervasiveness of the idea of Mary as the Mother of God—the Marian aspect of the Incarnation—whatever the specific feast may be. This idea of Mary the Mother of God is a kind of ever-present nimbus in any contemplation of the Virgin; it dominates every other aspect about her. In so doing, it not only focused the medieval cleric's attention on the most important reality about her; it serves as a link for us to what was the earliest liturgical practice in the veneration of the Virgin.

Appendix I

A. Vigil Mass for the Assumption of the Virgin

INTROIT: Vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes divites plebis: adducentur regi virgines post eam: proxime eius adducentur tibi in leticia et exultatione. *V.* Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum: dico ego opera mea regi. Gloria patri.

ORATIO: Deus qui virginalem aulam beate Marie in qua habitares eligere dignatus es: da quesumus: ut sua nos defensione munitos iocundos faciat sue interesse festivitati. Qui vivis.

EPISTLE: Lectio libri sapientie [Ecclesiasticus 24:14–17].

Ab initio et ante secula creata sum: et usque ad futurum seculum non desinam, et in habitatione sancta coram ipso ministravi. Et sic in Syon firmata sum: et in civitate sanctificata similiter requievi, et in Jerusalem potestas mea. Et radicavi in populo honorificato: et in partes dei mei hereditas illius, et in plenitudine sanctorum detentio mea.

GRADUAL: Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et iusticiam, et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua. *V.* Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam, quia concupivit rex speciem tuam.

ALLELUIA: [used only if Sunday] Veni electa mea et ponam te in thronum meum, quia concupivit rex speciem tuam.

GOSPEL: Secundum Lucam [Luke 11:27–28]. In illo tempore: Factum est dum loqueretur Ihesus ad turbas: extollens vocem quedam mulier de turba dixit illi: Beatus venter qui te portavit: et ubera que suxisti. Ac ille dixit: Quinimmo: Beati qui audiunt verbum dei: et custodiunt illud.

OFFERTORY: Offerentur regi virgines: proxime eius offerentur tibi in leticia et exultatione: adducentur in templum regi domino.

SECRET: Magna est domine apud clementiam tuam dei genitricis oratio, quam idcirco de presenti seculo transtulisti, ut pro peccatis nostris apud te fiducialiter intercedat. Per [eundem].

COMMUNION: Dilexisti iusticiam et odisti iniquitatem: [propterea unxit te deus, deus tuus].

POSTCOMMUNION: Concede misericors deus fragilitati nostre presidium, ut qui sancte dei genitricis requiem celebramus, intercessionis eius auxilio a nostris iniquitatibus resurgamus. Per eundem [dominum nostrum].

B. First Vespers for the Assumption of the Virgin**Antiphons:**

1 Virgo prudentissima, quo progredieris, quasi aurora valde rutilans? Filia Syon, tota formosa et suavis es, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol.

2 Beata progenies, unde Xpistus natus est; quam gloriosa virgo, que celi regem genuit.

3 Vidi speciosam sicut columbam, ascendentem desuper rivos aquarum cuius inestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis eius, et circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium.

4 Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te; favus distillans labia tua, mel et lac sub lingua tua, odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata; iam enim hyemps transiit, ymber abiit et recessit, flores apparuerunt, vinee florentes odorem dederunt, et vox turturis audita est in terra nostra: Surge, propera, amica mea; veni de Libano, veni, coronaberis.

5 Anima mea liquefacta est, ut dilectus locutus est. Quesivi et non inveni; illum vocavi et non respondit michi. Invenierunt me custodes civitatis; percusserunt me et vulneraverunt me; tulerunt pallium meum custodes murorum. Filie Jerusalem, nunciate dilecto quia amore languo.

Chapter: [Ecclesiasticus 24:11b–12; as at Mass] In omnibus requiem quesivi, et in hereditate domini morabor. Tunc precepit et dixit michi creator omnium; et qui creavit me requievit in tabernaculo meo.

Responsory: Styrps Yesse virgam produxit virgaque florem, et super hunc florem requievit spiritus almus. **Verse:** Virgo dei genitrix virga est; flos, filius eius. Et super. **Gloria patri** et filio et spiritui sancto. Et super.

Hymn:

Quem terra, pontus, ethera,
Colunt, adorant, predicant,
Trinam regentem machinam
Clastrum Marie baiulat.

Cui luna, sol, et omnia
Deserviunt per tempora
Perfusa celi gratia,
Gestant puelle viscera.

Beata mater munere,
Cuius supernus artifex,
Mundum pugillo continens,
Ventris sub archa clausus est.

Beata celi nuntio,
Fecunda sancto spiritu,
Desideratus gentibus
Cuius per alvum fusus est. Divisio.

O gloriosa domina
 Excelsa supra sydera
 Qui te creavit provide
 Lactasti sacro ubere.

Quod Eva tristis abstulit
 Tu reddis almo germine
 Intrent ut astra flebiles
 Celi fenestra facta es.

Tu regis alti ianua
 Et porta lucis fulgida
 Vitam datam per virginem
 Gentes redempte plaudite.

Gloria tibi, domine,
 [Qui natus es de virgine,
 Cum patre et sancto spiritu,
 In sempiterna secula. Amen.]

Versicle: Post partum, virgo, inviolata permansisti. [**Response:** Dei genitrix, intercede pro nobis.]

Magnificat antiphon: Paradisi porta per Evam cunctis clausa est, et per Mariam virginem iterum patefacta est, alleluya. Euouae. **Ps.** Mag[nificat].

V. In sanguine domini nostri Ihesu Xpisti quem a [ex] se incarnatum nobis genuit salvatorem.

Oratio: Deus qui virginalem aulam beate Marie in qua habitares eligere dignatus es: da quesumus: ut sua nos defensione munitos iocundos faciat sue interesse festivitati. Qui vivis [et regnas cum deo patre].

[**Benedicamus domino. R.** Deo gratias.]

C. Mass for the Assumption of the Virgin

INTROIT: Gaudeamus omnes in domino, diem festum celebrantes sub honore Marie virginis: de cuius assumptione gaudent angeli, et collaudant filium dei. **V.** Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum: dico ego opera mea regi. Gloria patri.

COLLECT: Veneranda nobis, domine, huius diei festivitas opem conferat salutarem, in qua sancta dei genitrix mortem subiit temporalem, nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit, que filium tuum dominum nostrum Jhesum Xpistum de se genuit incarnatum. Qui tecum [vivit].

EPISTLE: Lectio libri sapientie [Ecclesiasticus 24:11b-13, 15-20].

In omnibus requiem quesivi, et in hereditate domini morabor. Tunc precepit et dixit michi creator omnium, et qui creavit me requievit in tabernaculo meo. Et dixit michi: In Jacob inhabita, et in Israel hereditare, et in electis meis mitte radices.

Et sic in Syon firmata sum, et in civitate sanctificata similiter requievi. Et in Jerusalem potestas mea. Et radicavi in populo honorificato, et in partes dei mei hereditas illius, et in plenitudine sanctorum detentio mea.

Quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano: et quasi cypressus in monte Syon. Quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades: et quasi plantatio rose in Jericho. Quasi oliva speciosa in campis: et quasi platanus exaltata sum iuxta aquam in plateis. Sicut cynamomum et balsamum aromatizans: odorem dedi. Quasi myrra electa: dedi suavitatem odoris.

GRADUAL: Benedicta et venerabilis es, virgo Maria: que sine tactu pudoris inventa es mater salvatoris. *℣.* Virgo dei genitrix, quem totus non capit orbis, in tua se clausit viscera factus homo.

ALLELUIA: Assumpta est Maria in celum: gaudent angeli et collaudantes benedicunt dominum.

ALLELUIA: Post partum, virgo, inviolata permansisti: dei genitrix, intercede pro nobis.

ALLELUIA: Per te, dei genitrix, nobis est vita perdita data que de celo suscepisti prolem et mundo genuisti salvatorem.

ALLELUIA: Ora pro nobis, pia virgo Maria, de qua Xpistus natus est nobis, ut peccatoribus sit misertus.

ALLELUIA: Virga Iesse floruit: virgo deum et hominem genuit: pacem deus reddidit, in se reconcilians yma summis.

ALLELUIA: Hodie Maria virgo celos ascendit; gaudete, quia cum Xpisto regnat in eternum.

PROSA:

- 1a. Letabundus / exultet fidelis chorus, / alleluja.
 - 1b. Regem regum / intacte profudit thorax; / res miranda.
 - 2a. Angelus consilii / natus est de virgine, / sol de stella,
 - 2b. Sol occasum nesciens, / stella semper rutilans, / semper clara.
 - 3a. Sicut sydus radium, / profert virgo filium / pari forma:
 - 3b. Neque sydus radio, / neque mater filio / fit corrupta.
 - 4a. Cedrus alta libani / conformatur ysopo / valle nostra.
 - 4b. Verbum, mens altissimi / corporari passum est / carne sumpta.
 - 5a. Ysaias cecinit; / synagoga meminit, / nunquam tamen desinit / esse ceca.
 - 5b. Si non suis vatibus, / credat vel gentilibus / Sibillinis versibus / hec predicta.
 - 6a. Infelix propera, / crede vel vetera; / cur dampnaberis, gens misera?
 - 6b. Quem docet littera, / natum considera; / ipsum genuit puerpera.
- Amen.

GOSPEL: Secundum Lucam [Luke 10:38–42]. In illo tempore: Intravit Ihesus in quoddam castellum, et mulier quedam Martha nomine excepit illum in domum suam. Et huic erat soror, nomine Maria, que etiam sedens secus pedes domini: audiebat verbum illius. Martha autem satagebat circa frequens ministerium. Que stetit et ait, Domine: non est tibi cure quod soror mea reliquit me solam ministrare? Dic ergo illi: ut me adiuvet. Et respondens dixit illi dominus: Martha, Martha, sollicita es: et turbaris erga plurima. Porro: unum est necessarium. Maria optimam partem elegit: que non auferetur ab ea.

OFFERTORY: Beata es, virgo Maria, que dominum portasti creatorem mundi genuisti qui te fecit et in eternum permanes virgo.

OFFERTORY: Felix namque es, sacra virgo Maria, et omni laude dignissima: quia ex te ortus est sol iusticie, Xpistus deus noster, alleluya.

OFFERTORY: Ave Maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui.

SECRET: Subveniat, domine, plebi tue dei genitricis oratio, quam et si pro conditione carnis migrasse cognoscimus, in celesti gloria apud te pro nobis orare sentiamus. Per e[undem Dominum].

PREFACE: ...Et te in assumptione beate et gloriose semperque virginis Marie....

COMMUNION: Regina mundi et domina virgo Maria perpetua, intercede pro nostra pace et salute, que genuisti Xpistum dominum salvatorem omnium.

COMMUNION: Vera fides geniti purgavit crimina mundi, et tibi virginitas inviolata manet.

COMMUNION: Beata viscera Marie virginis, que portaverunt eterni patris filium.

POSTCOMMUNION: Mense celestis participes effecti imploramus clementiam tuam, domine deus noster, ut qui festa dei genitricis colimus, a cunctis malis imminentibus eius intercessionibus liberemur. Per e[undem].

D. Mass for the Nativity of the Virgin

INTROIT: Gaudeamus omnes in domino, diem festum celebrantes sub honore Marie virginis: de cuius nativitate gaudent angeli, et collaudant filium dei. *℟.* Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum: dico ego opera mea regi. Gloria patri.

ORATIO: Supplicationem servorum tuorum deus miserator exaudi, ut qui in nativitate dei genitricis et virginis congregamur, eius intercessionibus a te de instantibus periculis eruamur. Per e[undem].

EPISTLE: Lectio libri sapientie [Ecclesiasticus 24:23–31].

Ego quasi vitis fructificavi suavitatem odoris: et flores mei fructus honoris et honestatis. Ego mater pulchre dilectionis et timoris: et magnitudinis sancte spei. In me gratia omnis vie et veritatis: in me omnis spes vite et virtutis. Transite ad me, omnes qui concupiscitis me: et a generationibus meis implemini. Spiritus enim meus super mel dulcis: et hereditas mea super mel et favum. Memoria mea in generationes seculorum. Qui edunt me adhuc esurient: et qui bibunt me adhuc sitient. Qui audit me non confundetur: et qui operantur in me non peccabunt. Qui elucidant me vitam eternam habebunt.

GRADUAL: Benedicta et venerabilis es, virgo Maria: que sine tactu pudoris inventa es mater salvatoris. *℟.* Virgo dei genitrix, quem totus non capit orbis, in tua se clausit viscera factus homo.

ALLELUIA: Nativitas gloriose virginis Marie, ex semine Abrahe, orta de tribu Iuda, clara ex stirpe David.

PROSA:

- 1a. Hac clara die turba / festiva dat preconia
- 1b. Mariam concrepando / symphonia nectarea,
- 2a. Mundi domina / que est sola, / castissima virginum regina,
- 2b. Salutis causa, / vite porta / atque celi referta gratia.
- 3a. Nam ad illam sic nuncia / olim facta angelica:
- 3b. "Ave, Maria, gratia / dei plena per secula,
- 4a. Mulierum pia / agmina intra / semper benedicta,
- 4b. Virgo et gravida, / mater intacta, / prole gloriosa."
- 5a. Cui contra Maria / hec reddit fama:
- 5b. "In me quomodo tua / iam fiet nuncia?
- 6a. Viri novi nullam / certe copulam,
- 6b. Ex quo atque nata / sum incorrupta."
- 7a. Diva missus ita / reddit affata:
- 7b. "Flatu sacro plena / fies, Maria,
- 8a. Nova efferens gaudia / celo, terre nati per exordia;
- 8b. Intra tui uteri claustra / portas, qui gubernat ethera.
9. Omnia qui dat tempora / pacifica."

GOSPEL: Initium sancti evangelii secundum Matheum [Matthew 1:1-16]. Liber generationis Ihesu Xpisti filii David, filii Abraham. Abraham genuit Ysaac. Ysaac autem genuit Jacob. Jacob autem genuit Judam, et fratres eius.... Nathan autem genuit Jacob. Jacob autem genuit Joseph virum Marie, de qua natus est Ihesus, qui vocatur Xpistus. Credo.

OFFERTORY: Beata es, virgo Maria, que dominum portasti creatorem mundi genuisti qui te fecit et in eternum permanes virgo.

SECRET: Unigeniti tui domine nobis succurrat humanitas, ut qui natus de virgine, matris integritatem non minuit, sed sacravit; in nativitatis eius sollempniis, a nostris nos piaculis exuens, oblationem nostram sibi faciat acceptam. Qui tecum vivit.

PREFACE: ...Et te in nativitate beate [et gloriose semperque virginis Marie]....

COMMUNION: Regina mundi et domina virgo Maria perpetua, intercede pro nostra pace et salute, que genuisti Xpistum dominum salvatorem omnium.

POSTCOMMUNION: Sumpsimus domine celebritatis annue votiva sacramenta: presta, quesumus, ut et temporalis nobis vite remedia prebeant et eterne. Per [dominum].

Manuscript sources of Paris use for the liturgical texts:

Mass texts: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1112, 15615, and 9441.

Vespers texts: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15182.

Appendix II

A. Motets for the Vigil of the Assumption

M 37 Gradual for Vigil Mass: *Propter veritatem* Ψ . *Audi filia*

<p>Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et iusticiam, et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua. Ψ. Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam, quia concupivit rex speciem tuam.</p>	<p>Because of truth and meekness and justice, thy right hand shall conduct thee wonderfully. Ψ. Hear, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear, for the king hath desired thy beauty.</p>
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Motet 448: *O Maria, maris stella / Veritatem*

a3 in *F*, 397v (1,25), and *W*₂, 125 (1,3) [no source clausula]

<p>O Maria, maris stella, Plena gratie, Mater simul et puella, Vas munditie, Templum nostri redemptoris, Sol iusticie, Porta celi, spes reorum, Thronus glorie, Sublevatrix miserorum, Vena venie, Audi servos te rogantes, Mater gratie, Ut peccata sint ablata Per te hodie, Qui te puro laudant corde In veritate.</p>	<p>O Mary, star of the sea, full of grace, At once both mother and maiden, vessel of cleanliness, Temple of our Redeemer, sun of justice, Gate of heaven, hope of sinners, throne of glory, Supporter of the wretched, fountain of forgiveness, Hear thy servants beseeching thee, mother of grace, That (their) sins may be taken away through thee this day, Those who praise thee with a pure heart in truth.²²</p>
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²² Translations of motet texts not credited to Gordon Anderson (*The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Helmstadt 1099 (1206), part 1*) are my own.

Motet 478: *Audi, filia egregia / Filia*a2 in *F*, 408v (2,30) [no source clausula]

Audi, filia egregia,	Hear, illustrious daughter,
Audi, parens paris nescia,	Hear, mother unaware of a partner,
Quante forme splendis gloria,	You shine with glory of such great
Quanta regis viges gratia,	beauty, you thrive on such great grace
Qui creavit omnia.	of the King who created all things.
Pande brachia pia,	Extend thy merciful arms,
Quia tot instant naufragia.	because so many shipwrecks impend.
Servos reconcilia;	Reconcile thy servants;
De mundi miseria	from the misery of the world
Per te transeant ad gaudia	through thee let them pass
Celestia.	to celestial joys.

M 54 Alleluia for Vigil Mass (if Sunday): Alleluia *Veni electa mea*

Veni electa mea et ponam te in	Come, my chosen one, and I will place
thronum meum, quia concupivit	thee upon my throne, for the king
rex speciem tuam.	hath desired thy beauty.

Motet 529: *Quia concupivit vultum / Quia concupivit rex*a2 in *F*, 405 (2,19), and *W*₂, 152v (2,14)

Quia concupivit	Because the king hath
Vultum rex et decorem,	greatly desired thy beauty
Virgineum	and countenance, virginal
Et roseum,	and rosy, thou shalt
Serves eum florem.	preserve that flower.
Vas exuet	The earthly vessel
Te luteum	shall fall away from thee
Et induet	and the heavenly [vessel]
Ethereum	shall clothe thee
Te splendorem.	in splendor.

B. Motets for the Responary *Styrps Yesse***O 16 Vespers responary *Styrps Yesse* V. *Virgo dei***

Styrps Yesse virgam produxit virga-	The stem of Jesse produced a twig
que florem, et super hunc florem	and the twig a flower, and above this
requievit spiritus almus.	flower rested the nourishing Spirit.
V. <i>Virgo dei</i> genitrix virga est,	The Virgin Mother of God is the twig;
flos filius eius.	the flower, her son.

Motet 647/648: *Stirps Yesse / Virga cultus / Flos filius eius*
a3 double motet in *F*, 409v (2,33–34) [a3 source clausula]

Motetus

Virga, cultus nescia dum floruit, Quam celestis gratie ros imbuit, Ree virge diluit contagia. Glorie Fructum flos exhibuit; Trabeam carneam Verbum induit; Sol levi nume latuit.	A small stem, not knowing the hand of the cultivator while it flourished, which the dew imbued with heavenly grace, washed away all the filth from sinful man. The flower brought forth the fruit of glory; the Word put on a stately robe of flesh, and now the Sun lies hidden behind but a transparent cloud.
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(Anderson, 1:97–98)

Triplum

Stirps Iesse progreditur; Virga prodit celitus; Ex virga flos productur. Spiritus Septiformis gratie Florem perficit Fructu glorie; Flos electos reficit, Cuius odor mentium Remedium.	The stem of Jesse flourishes, and from heaven a small twig produces, and from this twig a flower blooms. The Spirit of seven-fold grace makes perfect the flower through the fruit of grace, and the flower, whose odor is a remedy of [troubled] minds, restores the elect.
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(Anderson, 1:98)

Motet 649: *Candida virginitas / Flos filius eius* [= Motet 648]
a2 in *W*₂, 145v (2,3) [a3 source clausula]

Candida virginitas ut lilium, Candida fecunditas per filium, Iubilet iocunditas humilium, Castitas, Caput hostis conterit, Atrium patrium Aperit, per id Fides et spes et caritas.	O virginity, spotless as a lily; O spotless conception, through the Son may all the joy of the humble shout forth. O chastity, thou hast crushed the head of the enemy and opened the heavenly halls; through it come Faith, Hope, and Love.
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(Anderson, 1:97)

Motet 665: *Flos ascendit de radice / Flos filius eius*
a2 in *W*₂, 161 (2,31)

Flos ascendit de radice,	A flower ascended from the root;
Virgo Iesse mistice,	O mystic Virgin of Jesse's stem,
Prophetie	look back again
Versa vice	at the word
Verbum respice,	of prophecy;
Cum (populo) respice	look back with [thy people]
Partu pro felice	and regard the happiness
Prolis unice	of thy only Son
Futurum despice	and look upon the future
Iudaice	of Judah,
Plebis in unice,	thy own people,
Ubi catholice,	whence was sprung the stem
Virga dei genitricis,	of the universal Mother of God;
Facta si vivifice,	if quickening with life,
Dic melice	speak approvingly on their behalf,
Flos filius eius.	O Flower, her Son.

(Anderson, 1:187)

Motet 669: *Ave, rosa novella / Flos filius eius*
a2 in *W*₂, 178v (2,51) [no source clausula]

Ave, rosa novella,	Hail, new rose-bud,
Rorem stillans et mella,	distilling dew and honey,
Maria, maris stella,	Mary, star of the sea,
Medicinalis cella,	store house of medicine,
Dei mater et puella,	Mother and Daughter of God,
Te quarentium	Put down the wars waged by
Inimici seda bella	the enemies of those seeking thee,
Post exilium,	and after this exile,
(Hoc obsecra in procella)	[seated in glory next to]
Regem omnium;	the King of all,
Tu pro nobis interpella	do thou intercede with thy son
Tuum filium.	for us.

(Anderson, 1:279)

O 16 Procession after Terce: *Styrps Yesse ♀. Virgo dei*

Styrps Yesse virgam produxit virga-	The stem of Jesse produced a twig
que florem, et super hunc florem	and the twig a flower, and above this
requievit spiritus almus.	flower rested the nourishing Spirit.
V. Virgo dei genitrix virga est, flos	The Virgin Mother of God is the twig;
filium eius.	the flower, her Son.

Motet 660: *O vere lucis aurora / Flos filius eius*a2 in *W*₂, 175v (2,45) [source clausula in *StV*]

O vere lucis aurora,
 Lucida
 Fulgeas aura rora,
 O fulgida;
 Nobis placa placida
 Et pacida,
 O virgo natum decora,
 Angelorum decor ora,
 Ne Sansonis Dalida
 Nos valida
 Fervida
 Figat, fervida
 Figat in ora.

O Morning Star of true light,
 shine brightly, O dewy air,
 O shining one,
 grant us thy peace
 in reconciliation,
 and grant, O pure Virgin,
 the gift of thy Son, and beseech,
 O most elegant of the angels,
 that unlike Samson, we will not
 fall into the wiles of Delilah;
 grant us strength and strengthen
 our fervor, and direct the fervor
 of our lips.

(Anderson, 1:251)

Motet 670: *Virga, virgo regia / Flos filius eius*a2 in *W*₂, 189v (2,76) [no source clausula]

Virga, virgo regia,
 Mater regis filia,
 Fax previa,
 Vite federa,
 Spes pervivia,
 Veni rei venia;
 Fac nobis sit pius
 Tua per suffragia
 Civis flos filius.

Stem, royal Virgin,
 Mother and Daughter of God,
 torch lighting the way,
 covenant of life,
 hope everlasting,
 come, pardon of sinners;
 grant through thy intercession
 that the Flower, thy holy Son,
 be present with us.

(Anderson, 1:360)

C. Motets for the *Benedicamus Domino***BD I *Benedicamus Domino* at First Vespers****Motet 655:** *Virgo singularis / [Domino]*a2 in *F*, 414 (2,45) (T=*E[ius]* from O 16)

Virgo singularis,
 Respice quod quero,
 Per te, stella maris,
 Gratie spem gero.
 Ianua salutis,
 Ad te propero

O Virgin remarkable,
 attend to what I seek;
 through thee, Star of the Sea,
 I entertain hope of grace.
 Gateway of safety,
 To thee I hasten,

Et fragmenta iuventutis	and remnants of youth
Tibi offero.	I offer to thee.
Te considero,	Thee I contemplate,
Quid sim, et agnosco,	Why I am, and I recognize
Unde licet sero	from whom, although (too) late,
Veniam depono.	I claim pardon.
Per te potero,	Through thee I shall have acquired
Quod desidero,	that for which I long,
Virgo, que sincero	O Virgin, thou who from a pure
Paris utero.	womb giveth birth.
Tuus sum et ero,	Thine I am and shall be;
De te non despero,	Of thee I despair not,
Quicquid egero.	whatever I lack.

Motet 760a: Ave gloriosa mater / (Domino)

a2 conductus (no T) in *W*₂, 140 (1, conductus 3) [no source clausula]
 [a3 motet in other sources]

Ave, gloriosa	Hail, glorious
Mater salvatoris,	Mother of the Savior,
Ave, speciosa	Hail, comely Virgin,
Virgo, flos pudoris,	flower of purity,
Ave, lux iocosa,	Hail, happy light,
Thalamus splendoris,	bridal chamber of splendor,
Ave, preciosa	Hail, precious
Salus peccatoris.	salvation of the sinner.
Ave, vite via,	Hail, pathway of life,
Casta, munda, pura,	chaste, clean, and pure,
Dulcis, mitis, pia,	sweet, mild, and merciful,
Felix creatura.	happy creature.
Parens modo miro	Parent in wonderful manner
Nova paritura,	of a new kind of birth,
Virum sine viro,	of man without man,
Contra carnis iura.	against the law of the flesh.
Virgo virginum,	Virgin of virgins,
Expers criminum,	free from guilt,
Decus luminum,	ornament of lights,
Celi domina,	mistress of heaven,
Salus gentium,	salvation of the people,
Spes fidelium,	hope of the faithful,
Lumen cordium,	light of hearts,
Nos illumina.	enlighten us.

Nosque filio
 Tuo tam pio,
 Tam propitio
 Reconcilia,
 Et ad gaudia
 Nos perhennia
 Duc prece pia
 Virgo Maria.

And reconcile us
 to thy Son,
 so just and
 so merciful;
 and lead us
 to joy everlasting
 through thy pious prayer,
 O Virgin Mary.

D. Motets for the Gradual *Benedicta*

M 32 Gradual *Benedicta* V. *Virgo dei*

*Benedicta et venerabilis es, virgo
 Maria: que sine tactu pudoris
 inventa es mater salvatoris.
 V. Virgo dei genitrix, quem totus
 non capit orbis, in tua se clausit
 viscera factus homo.*

Blessed and venerable art thou, O
 Virgin Mary, who without the touch
 of shame art become Mother of the
 Savior. V. Virgin Mother of God, he
 whom the whole world cannot hold,
 in thy womb was enclosed and became
 man.

Motet 411: *O Maria, mater pia, mater / Virgo* [= Motet 412]

a3 in *F*, 393 (1,18)

a2 in *W*₂, 183v (2,64)

O Maria, mater pia,
 Mater salvatoris,
 Tu nos audi, tue laudi
 Grata sit laus oris,
 Turris regis glorie,
 Templum redemptoris,
 Thalamus munditie,
 Signaculum pudoris.
 Fons misericordie,
 Virgo vernans specie
 In celi solio,
 O parens singularis
 Salvo gremio,
 Digna puellaris
 Partus gaudio.
 In hoc dubio
 Mundi nos navigio
 A naufragio
 Salva, stella maris.

O Mary, Holy Mother,
 Mother of the Savior,
 hear us, and let the praise of our
 lips be acceptable unto thee,
 O tower of the King of Glory,
 temple of the Redeemer,
 bridal bed of cleanliness
 and token of modesty.
 [Thou art] the fount of pity,
 the Virgin blooming in the
 glorious throne of Heaven!
 O Mother of unique distinction,
 seemly and maidenly,
 in thy saving bosom
 is the spring of joy.
 In this world of doubt,
 save us, thy ship,
 from utter shipwreck,
 O star of the sea!

(Anderson, 1:44–45)

Motet 412: *Virgo plena gratie* / *Virgo* [= Motet 411]a3 in *W*₂, 129v (1,9)a2 in *W*₂, 154v (2,18)

Virgo plena gratie,
 Thesaurus largitatis,
 Oculus clementie,
 Pupilla pietatis,
 Porta patens venie,
 Scala caritatis,
 Oleum letitie,
 Nomen suavitatis;
 Tu commune canticum,
 Propelleuma nauticum;
 Clamant omnia
 "Subveni Maria!"
 Instant tempora,
 Nova gravat hora,
 Operarios
 Plus abbrevia
 Dies hos Egyptios
 Propter filios,
 Virgo mater pia.

Virgin full of grace,
 treasury of abundance,
 eye of mercy,
 ward of piety,
 gate opening to pardon,
 ladder of charity,
 oil of joy,
 name of sweetness;
 thou art the universal song,
 the driving breeze to seamen.
 All things cry out,
 "Come to our aid, O Mary!"
 The times threaten;
 the new hour oppresses;
 shorten more speedily
 these Egyptian Days
 of labor,
 for the sake of thy children,
 O devout Virgin Mother.

Motet 417: *Benedicta regia* / *Virgo*a2 in *W*₂, 145 (2,2), and *W*₂, 178v (2,52) [no source clausula]

Benedicta regia
 Virgo venerabilis,
 Mater honorabilis,
 Eterni regis filia,
 Viri tactus nescia,
 Stella maris Maria,
 Piis pia,
 Inter animalia
 Tua ligas fascia,
 Quem non capit sensilis
 Mundi via;
 Tu nos duc ad gaudia
 Patrie, dux amabilis.

Blessed royal
 Virgin worthy of praise,
 Mother worthy of honor,
 daughter of the Eternal King,
 not knowing the touch of man,
 Mary, star of the sea,
 devoted to the holy;
 Thou tiest together the bands
 between all living things,
 Thou whom the path of the sensuous
 world has not degraded;
 lead us to the joys of the kingdom,
 O lovely leader.

Motet 420: *Mellea vite vinea / Virgo*
a2 in *W*₂, 190 (2,78)

Mellea	Honey-sweet
Vite vinea,	vine of life,
Vena venie,	vein of pardon,
Gratie	transparent
Lampas vitrea,	lamp of grace,
Legis vie	golden lineage
Linea	of the way
Aurea,	of the Law,
Lux etherea,	ethereal light,
Tellus rosea,	rosy earth,
Solium	royal
Regium,	throne,
Virga turrera,	stem, frankincense,
Mea spes, ave, dei	my hope, Hail! Mother of God,
Mater virgo Iessea.	Virgin from the stem of Jesse.

(Anderson, 1: 363)

Motet 422: *O pia, capud hostis / Virgo*
a2 in *W*₂, 191v (2,82) [no source clausula]

O pia,	O Holy One,
Capud hostis veteris	thou dost crush the head
Conteris,	of the ancient enemy;
Mater maris nescia,	Mother, not knowing man,
Maria,	Mary,
Stella maris, inferis	Star of the sea, to those below
Lucem [das] de superis,	thou dost give light from above;
Que rutilat pre ceteris	thou who shineth more brightly than
Previa	all others, by leading the way,
Spem salutis aperis.	thou dost open the hope of safety.
Tu nobis sis propitia,	Mayst thou be favorable towards us,
Ut de tua gratia	that through thy grace
Mundi per hec maria	the miserable who now suffer
Iam passis naufragia	shipwreck though these seas of the
Detur portus miseris.	world be given safe harbor.

E. Motets for the Alleluia *Hodie Maria Virgo*

M 34 In place of responsory at Second Vespers: Alleluia *Hodie Maria virgo*

Hodie Maria virgo celos ascendit; gaudete, quia cum Christo regnat in eternum.	Today the Virgin Mary ascends the heavens; rejoice, for with Christ she reigns in eternity.
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Motet 437: *Flos de spina rumpitur / Regnat*a3 in *F*, 393v (1,19)a2 in *W*₂, 147 (2,6) and 180 (2,56)

Flos de spina rumpitur,	A bud bursts forth from a thorn.
Spina caret	The flower lacks a thorn
Flos et aret,	and withers
Sed non moritur.	but does not die.
Vite florem	Through love,
Per amorem	the flower embraces
Flos complectitur,	the flower of life,
Cuius ex solatio	from whose nurture
Sic reficitur	it thus revives
In vigore proprio,	into its proper vigor
Quod non patitur.	because it has suffered no taint.
Virgo de Iudea	A Virgin from Judea
Sursum tollitur,	is raised up high,
Testea	and an earthly body,
Fit aurea	becoming golden,
Corporea sanctitur,	is sanctified;
Laurea	the blessed Mother
Redemitur	is encircled
Mater beata	with laurel wreath
Glorificata.	and is glorified.
Per cuncta mundi climata	Throughout all the regions of the
Civium	world the praise
Consortium	of the living
Celestium	heavenly consort
Laude resolvitur;	resounds.
Oritur	A day of joy
Fidelibus	has come
Dies iubilei;	to the faithful,
Dabitur	and the peace of God
Amplexibus	is granted to the followers
Marie quies dei.	embracing Mary.
Non ero	I shall not be cast down from
De cetero	amongst the band of the faithful
Iactatus a procella:	by the tempest,
Ecce, maris stella	for lo, the Star of the Sea
Aurem pii filii	fills with prayers
Precibus impregnat,	the ear of the holy Son—
Que stellato solio	she who with the Son rules
Cum filio regnat.	in the starry throne.

(Anderson, 1:113)

Motet 441: *Hodie Marie concurrant / Regnat*a3 in *F*, 394v (1,21)

Hodie Marie	Today let pious minds
Concurrant laudi mentes pie;	join together in praise of Mary;
Vocis armonie	let the concords of sound
Concordent vite melodie.	be in harmony with the melody of life.
Qua completa die,	For the day being completed,
Virgo cursum vie	the Virgin, on the Throne of Glory,
Regnat in throno glorie.	rules the course of the journey.
Mater ergo pia,	Therefore holy Mother,
Salutis nostre spes et via,	hope and path of our safety,
Previa,	leading the way
Precum gratia	with grace before,
Reconcilia	reconcile
Servos tuos filio,	thy servants to the Son
Ne sub iudicio	lest that under judgment
Libretur actio.	indictment be hurled.
Veniam procura,	Procure pardon,
Ne requirat iura	lest censure seek
Iudicis censura.	the rigors of judgment.

Motet 442: *Rex pacificus unicus / Regnat*a2 in *F*, 402v (2,10), and *W*₂, 153 (2,15)

Rex pacificus,	The King of Peace,
Unicus,	in marvelous fashion
Matris unice	born of a mother
Honorifice,	with signal honor,
Ministrantibus	gives to his
Celi civibus	ministering dwellers
Dat solium	of the heavens,
Egregium	before all others,
Pre ceteris,	his glorious throne,
De cuius muneris	in the reception
Presentia	of which
Militia	the whole company
Celi publice	of the heavens
Gaudet quia regia	rejoices because a royal child
Styrpis davitice	of David's line
Proles ad participium	is joined in participation
Regni iungitur	of the kingdom
Civium consortio	to the heavenly consorts
Verbi beneficio;	by the blessing of the Word;

Ubi mater filium,
Patrem videt filia
Summa cum letitia;
Ubi summo premio
Cum electis fruitur;
Ubi noscit et noscitur,
Ubi pane patrie
Pascitur;
Ubi regis glorie
Cernitur
Fascies;
Ubi quies
Quietem sequitur;
Ubi sanctorum acies
Regnat.

where the Mother sees her Son
and the Daughter her Father
with the utmost joy;
where the elect enjoy
the greatest reward;
where one knows and is known;
where one feasts
on heavenly bread;
where the face
of the King of Glory
is seen;
where rest
follows quiet;
where the whole company of saints
rules.

(Anderson, 1:142)

Subtiliter alternare: The Yoxford Motet *O amicus / Precursoris**

By Margaret Bent with David Howlett

In die omnium animarum fidelium defunctorum, mdcccclxxxvij

Two studies by Ernest Sanders will be among the first consulted by anyone curious about the late medieval motet: his articles "Motet" in the *New Grove Dictionary* and "The Medieval Motet" in a volume devoted to genre studies.¹ In addition, it is to Sanders and his coeditors Frank Ll. Harrison and Peter M. Lefferts that we now owe the availability of the English fourteenth-century repertory in a modern edition that sets the stage for the motet here discussed.² Ursula Günther in her edition and study of the Chantilly and Modena motets³ and Harrison in his editions of motets of French and English provenance⁴ have both defined the fourteenth-century motet largely by French standards. This was true even for Harrison's presentation of the English motet in the series for which San-

* The first modern performance of the simpler version of this motet (with Solus Tenor), edited by the present writers, was given by members of the Queen's College, Oxford, on 20 May 1988 in the chapel of All Souls College, on the occasion of the 550th anniversary of the College's foundation charter. Margaret Bent wishes to thank the Warden and Fellows of All Souls for the hospitality of a Visiting Fellowship during which the present reconstruction was made. She drafted this article and addressed the musical issues; David Howlett contributed the textual edition, translation, and commentary. The structural elements that link text and music, and the performance instructions embedded in the text, were worked out in collaboration. Facsimiles, music, text, commentary, and translations for this motet are presented in full at the end of this article, but are intended for constant reference.

¹ Ernest H. Sanders, "Motet, I: Medieval," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 12:617-28; and idem, "The Medieval Motet," *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt, et al. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973), 497-573.

² Frank Ll. Harrison, ed., *Motets of English Provenance*, texts ed. and trans. Peter Lefferts, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. 15 (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980) (hereafter PMFC XV). A few additional motets are edited in Frank Ll. Harrison, Ernest H. Sanders, and Peter M. Lefferts, eds., *English Music for Mass and Offices*, 2 vols., Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vols. 16-17 (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1983-86) (hereafter PMFC XVI-XVII).

³ Ursula Günther, ed., *The Motets of the Manuscripts Chantilly, musée condé, 504 (olim 1047) and Modena, Biblioteca estense, α. M.5.24 (olim lat. 568)*, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 39 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1965) (hereafter CMM 39); and idem, "The 14th-Century Motet and its Development," *Musica disciplina* 12 (1958): 27-58.

⁴ Frank Ll. Harrison, ed., *Motets of French Provenance*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. 5 (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968) (hereafter PMFC V); and PMFC XV.

ders, to some extent, and his former student Lefferts, more thoroughly, developed a case for an expanded definition of the motet in England. Notwithstanding Lefferts's excellent contribution,⁵ the English motet has not yet entered the mainstream of our medieval musical canons. The L'Oiseau-Lyre series largely excludes incomplete pieces; the number of complete motets, especially from the late fourteenth century, is still very small. Any addition to their number deserves comment; license for the extent of the present essay must lie in the cleverness with which its subject has been fashioned.

O amicus / Precursoris qualifies as a motet by even the most rigorous of French standards, with its duply proportioned tenor diminution, two different texts, and chant tenor. In addition, it undertakes many further subtleties, including an early, or even the earliest, combination of canon with isorhythm, canon on a plainsong, canon at the fifth, and mensuration canon. It occupies the center of a bifolium that now serves as the first pair of flyleaves to a manuscript Extent of the manor of Yoxford, Suffolk, dated 11 Edward IV (1471–72).⁶ Although first signaled in print as two pieces⁷ it is in fact a single motet, transcribed herewith (see pages 68–77). The motet bifolium has twelve red staves per page, each of 14 millimeter gauge. The Credo bifolium, of similar size and also of parchment, has the same rastrum gauge as the motets. It is possible that the two bifolia came from different locations in the same original manuscript, although conclusive evidence, such as matching worm-holes, is lacking.⁸ That the motets are in black notation, the Credos in void, and the scribal hands different, need not disqualify the Credos from being a later addition to an existing corpus of motets. In addition to being physically compatible, both bifolia combine music of the highest sophistication with redundant and provincial notational elements; both of the new complete pieces (the second of three Credos and the present motet) have a solus tenor and a numerical scheme of considerable ingenuity; and both invite a compositional dating around 1400. The two new completable compositions in *YOX* expand considerably our knowledge of complex compositional activ-

⁵ Peter Martin Lefferts, "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1983); and idem, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, Studies in Musicology, 94 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986).

⁶ I am grateful to Andrew Wathey for telling me about this manuscript, and to Adrian Bassett for sending me, prior to its publication, a copy of his paper delivered in 1983 to the Research Students' Conference in Manchester. I am indebted to Rodney Blois for graciously permitting me to publish this study. The manuscript is currently on deposit at Keble College, Oxford, to whose librarian, Mrs. Robinson, I also record thanks.

⁷ Lefferts, *The Motet in England*, 300–302.

⁸ Margaret Bent, "The Yoxford Credo," *Festschrift for Alvin Johnson* (forthcoming).

ity at that period, outside and preceding the repertory that is in the Old Hall manuscript or sources related to it by concordance.

Lower Parts

The Plainsong Tenor and Its Text

In outward and most immediate appearance, *O amicus* is a motet about John the Baptist. A cursory search of chants for John's Nativity (24 June) and Decollation (29 August) failed to yield any melodies beginning with the material of the present Tenor, which is labelled "Tenor" but otherwise undesignated. The sharp eyes of John Caldwell, however, noted the similarity of this Tenor to a portion (beginning in the middle of a word) from the Introit for the Nativity of John the Baptist, *De ventre matris*:⁹

Tenor:	d	c	e	c	d	f	l	f	d	f
chant:	d	c	d	c	d	f	l	(f)	d	ff
text:	[acu-]tum	sub	te-	gu-	men-			to	ma-	

Tenor:	d	c	e	lc	d	f	f	d	f	l
chant:	d	dcdc	c	d	lc	d	-	f	d	f
text:	nus	su-	e	pro-			te-			[xit]

Taken together with its psalm verse, *Bonum est*, the Tenor excerpt is drawn from approximately the middle of the Introit, whose full text is:

De ventre matris mee vocavit me dominus nomine meo: et posuit os meum ut gladium acutum: sub tegumento manus sue protexit me, posuit me quasi sagittam electam. Ps. Bonum est confiteri domino et psallere nomini tuo altissime.

Two variants of pitch in such a short excerpt, coupled with the unusual derivation of a tenor from the middle of a chant, might discourage this identification. However, an intriguing web of musical techniques and affinities linking the motets and the complete Credo in these associated bifolia gains further substance from the unusual relationship of the tenor to its plainsong model in each of the new complete compositions. In the case of the tenor of the Credo, the first two notes of its named chant are omitted; then textually pertinent words and their associated notes are drawn from the middle of the chant, and subjected to further liberties.

⁹ Walter Howard Frere, ed., *Graduale Sarisburiense* (London: Bernard Quaritch for the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1894; repr., Farnborough: Gregg, 1966), pl. I; see also *Graduale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae de tempore et de sanctis (Graduale Romanum)* (Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1974), 570.

But for its label "Omni tempore" in the manuscript, that chant would never have invited identification with the tenor of the Credo. Caldwell's identification for the motet Tenor looks secure by comparison and gains strength by the appropriateness of the words to the goal of the motet, in this case the solicitation of protection by a patron. Perhaps this is a temporal patron John as well as the saint, who may also be the namesake of the author, presumably called John, like Johannes Alanus, the petitioning composer of *Sub Arturo plebs*. The passage selected from the chant includes the words most consistent with votive appeal for a patron's protection ("he protected me under the covering of his hand").

The Solus Tenor, Lower-Voice Canon, and Tenor Lacuna

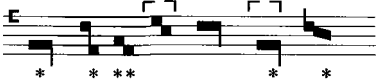
The motet is provided with a Solus Tenor as well as a Tenor, but lacks the expected Contratenor, although there is room on the page for one. The Tenor, on its own, provides an incomplete support for the upper parts. There must have been a Contratenor, and moreover a contrapuntally essential one, whose missing notes are embodied in the Solus Tenor part. The Solus Tenor permits a simplified but grammatically complete performance of the motet with only one accompanying voice that leaves no unsupported fourths or other solecisms. Its ungainly line is due to the fact that it leaps up during Tenor rests to provide notes from the missing Contratenor part (all higher in range than the Tenor, and sounding while the Tenor rests). See figure 1.

The extent of those notes supplied during the lengthy Tenor rests takes us most of the way towards reconstructing the Contratenor. When the Solus Tenor coincides with the Tenor, the Tenor must be the lowest part. When the Tenor is resting, the Solus Tenor must be reproducing the Contratenor. The Contratenor occupies a range consistently higher than the Tenor. The three consecutive Contratenor notes embodied in the Solus Tenor in the middle of each *talea* are notes 3–5 of the Tenor, but a fifth higher. The Solus Tenor also yields note 1 during another Tenor rest; thus fully four of the six Tenor notes can be accounted for in the Solus Tenor, transposed up a fifth. The Contratenor can thus be reconstructed in its general outline, in canon with the Tenor and a fifth higher, but artfully timed to avoid simultaneously occurring parallel fifths, although the parts begin and end simultaneously. This appears to be the earliest known canon on a chant. In our terms, but surely not in theirs, the canon is rhythmically free.¹⁰

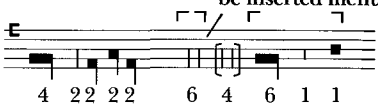
¹⁰ To construct a canon on a preexistent plainsong poses considerable constraints. Pycard's incompletely preserved Sanctus (*OH*, no. 123) has an upper-voice canon for two voices which squeezes its chant rhythmically into repeating segments that can be reconciled as harmonically constant over the free tenor. Canonic lower parts of any kind are

Figure 1. TALEA 1.

1a. Solus Tenor
(with redundant dots removed)
Tenor notes * * * * *




1b. Tenor
30 tempora = 4 22 22 6 4 6 1 1




(These red rests should be inserted mentally.)

1c. Contratenor
(derived from Tenor by reverse coloration prior to solution of rests)

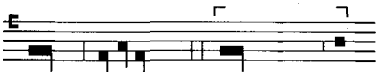


1d. Contratenor
(as derived from Tenor, with rests)
30 tempora = 6 3 3 3 3 4 6 1 1



(Brackets show reversals of note and rest in relation to Tenor.)

1e. Tenor
(presumed original form, permitting Contratenor derivation)



Contratenor



Tenor





This is one of the very earliest known examples of canon at the fifth; canons at the unison and octave are much more common. Landini's madrigal *De dimmi tu* competes with the present piece for the status of being the earliest canon at an interval other than unison or octave, as well as being perhaps the only precedent for a lower-voice canon other than voice-exchange tenors of the kind found in the Sumer canon, a pes possibly based on the "Regina celi" chant. Then there is the canonic *Quod jactatur*, presumably from the first decade of the fifteenth century, evidently intended by its clefs and rubric as a canon at the fifth 3 in 1, but still not satisfactorily solved despite Martin Just's ingenious proposal in his review of the Ciconia edition.¹¹ This instance in *O amicus* may be the first use of a plainsong presented in canon as the foundation of a motet; it is one of very few combinations of canon and isorhythmic structure; it is one of the earliest canons at an interval other than the unison; and it may be the earliest mensuration canon. *O amicus* is certainly the first piece to do all of those things. It shares with the other pieces mentioned here the capacity to be read from a single notated part; the challenge of the present piece is to reconstruct a solution that permits such a derivation, either with (as here) or without verbal modifiers.

All known pieces that are provided in one or more manuscripts with a solus tenor have an essential contratenor part; these include the few compositions with lower-voice canon.¹² In this motet, the powerful constraints of chant and canon in the lower voices determine that they must

not common. Landini's madrigal *De dimmi tu* is mentioned in the text below. There is one such Mass movement in Old Hall (Gloria no. 27, fols. 22v-23; see Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, eds., *The Old Hall Manuscript*, 3 vols. in 4, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 46, [n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1969], vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 70), which is actually a double canon. See Irmgard Lerch, *Fragmente aus Cambrai: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie*, 2 vols., *Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten*, 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), no. 13, 1:49-52, 2:88-108, for a very rare combination, also in a Mass movement, of a canonic duplum with isorhythm in all parts. The combination of canon and isorhythm is, to my knowledge, otherwise unprecedented in a motet until Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*, written for Florence in 1436, whose canonic scaffold is presented as a pair of tenors. The Old Hall double canon carries for the lower canon the instruction "Tenor et contratenor fugando quinque temporibus," indicating that the canonic parts could be thought of (at least in England) as a tenor-contratenor pair. In Dufay's songs the upper-voice canonic parts function mutually as discant-tenor and further added parts are not called Tenor but Contratenor(s).

¹¹ Martin Just, Review of *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, ed. Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 24, *Die Musikforschung* 41 (1988): 193-95.

¹² Margaret Bent, "Some Factors in the Control of Consonance and Sonority: Successive Composition and the Solus Tenor," *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress: Berkeley 1977*, ed. Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981), 625-33.

have been worked out first, then collapsed to a Solus Tenor as a scaffold upon which the upper parts could be erected.¹³ Despite the redundantly full notation of the surviving Tenor and Solus Tenor parts (see below), and quite apart from contrapuntal criteria, only the Solus Tenor can be used without emendation or reconstruction to support the upper parts in performance.

A major lacuna, corroborated by the Solus Tenor, renders the Tenor unperformable as it stands. The omission of two longs (breves in reduction) at the same point in all of the 3×2 Tenor *taleae* must be interpreted as rests of that value. This omission is all the more striking because the Tenor is (unnecessarily) written out in full to show the *color* repetition in reduced note values. It is unlikely that the replication of this omission can be explained by the copying of the Tenor rhythm from a single notated pitchless *talea* which was then reproduced for the two subsequent *taleae* that make up the *color*. More likely, the repeated error results from a misunderstanding or omission of colored rests. Either the scribe assumed an error of duplication (successive black and red rests) which he consistently eliminated or, as we shall suggest, he misunderstood the performance instructions.

But is the Tenor lacuna in fact an error? As we shall show, the piece could be musically complete as it stands, lacking only a set of qualifying verbal instructions.

Coloration

The modus relationship of red to black notes and rests throughout our motet is 3:2, a reversal of the more common hemiolic relationship of black to red. Here a red long is worth three imperfect breves, a black long two. Tempus and prolation are imperfect throughout. The scribe not only spelled out the rhythmic reductions of the second *talea*; he also provided dots of addition after each red note in the Tenor and Solus Tenor (long and maxima in *color* 1, breve and long in *color* 2) to confirm the note values as being half as long again as their black counterparts. This proliferation of dots violates the elegance of the notation and renders the redness of the notes, though not of the rests, redundant—a clumsy expedient.¹⁴ The scribe may not have understood the compositional conceit.

¹³ Although not involving canon, the ingenious construction of the second Yoxford Credo would have been facilitated by the crutch of a solus tenor, which would have been possible to fashion from its tenor and essential contratenor.

¹⁴ Other notational redundancies in the Yoxford manuscript include the provision of swallowtails for alteration in *Sub Arturo plebs* and of dots of syncopation in the complete Credo; these are discussed further below.

The original notation surely used both black and red (as the different rest evaluations require), but without dots. The red notes meant what dotted [black] notes would have meant, that is, they were perfect, and needed no dots. In the first (and originally the only) notated *color*, red notes would yield:

imperfect maximodus (maxima = 2 longs)
 perfect modus (long = 3 breves, *plenis tribus*?)
 imperfect tempus (breve = 2 semibreves [of the upper parts]).

Black notes were imperfect throughout. This reconstruction is supported by the rests; both red and black rests are required. Rests cannot receive dots of addition except, paradoxically, in some English practices lamented by the author of the *Quatuor principalia*.¹⁵ The scribe failed to make the adjustment that would have been necessary (if inelegant) for his spelling out in duple values (which could as well have been monochrome), namely, to give the Tenor rests that were originally red as perfect long rests spanning three not two spaces each. Breves, being duple subdivided, are not affected, hence the red-black Tenor-Contratenor hocket upbeat (perhaps another representation of *paribus pascibus*) to each new *talea* statement.

This projected use of red corresponds to one of the alternative meanings given in the "Vitrian" *Ars nova*, whereby red notation can change modus or tempus (or both) to become imperfect or perfect. The normal practice by around 1400 was for red to yield imperfect values within perfect black notation (as in the duplum of *Sub Arturo plebs*, which precedes *O amicus* in the Yoxford MS); *O amicus* thus has what is sometimes called "reverse" coloration. In the first *color*, it is only the modus relationship (long to breve) that is made triple (perfect) by red coloration. Maximodus, tempus, and prolation remain imperfect whether red or black. The red maximas contain two perfect longs; the red longs contain three imperfect breves. This usage corresponds to that described for the Vitrian motet: "*In arboris empiro*, nam in tenore illius moteti de rubeis tria tempora pro perfectione sunt accipienda, de nigris vero duo."¹⁶ *In arboris* differs only in using major prolation; *O amicus* is duple at that level. *YOX* furthermore spells out

¹⁵ Anonymous, *Quatuor principalia*, quartum principale, cap. XXXVII (Edmond de Cousse-maker, ed., *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera*, 4 vols. [Paris: Durand, 1864-76], 4:271b).

¹⁶ Philippe de Vitry, *Ars nova*, ed. Gilbert Reaney, Andre Gilles, and Jean Maillard, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, no. 8 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 28. See *ibid.*, 28-29, for the larger discussion of coloration on which this paragraph draws. See also Sarah Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985-86): 23-50 (doubts are raised about the date of these references in the treatise; 1321 may no longer stand).

the second *color* statement in diminished values, thereby at this level making just the tempus relationship (breve to semibreve) triple by red coloration. *In arboris* is again cited at the end of the short coloration chapter in *Ars Nova* not only for using red coloration to yield a triple red long before another, but also a triple red breve before another such. In other words, it spells out the same translated diminution in terms of the lower note values that is written out in *O amicus*. The *Ars nova*'s other examples of "reverse" coloration are the lost motets *Thoma tibi obsequia*, in which red notes were to be sung in perfect tempus while retaining imperfect modus, and *Plures errores*, cited as the converse usage of *Garison*, in turn one of the few (and surviving) pieces cited to illustrate the use of black for perfection and red for imperfection in both modus and tempus. The tempus-level variations cited for *Thoma tibi obsequia* and *Plures errores* would apply to the (conceptually redundant) written out diminution sections of both *In arboris* and *O amicus*.¹⁷

Yet another hemiolic relationship is present in *O amicus*: the first four reconstructed Contratenor notes occupy eighteen breves to the corresponding twelve of the Tenor, leaving respectively twelve and eighteen breves for the remaining two notes.

Reconstruction of the Original Notation

Figure 1a gives the first *talea* of the Solus Tenor in its reconstructed original notation, figure 1b that of the Tenor. Disregarding rests for the moment, the Contratenor can be assigned the same note values as the Tenor but with the colors reversed, as in figure 1c. Its colors are consistent with those of its embedded notes in the Solus Tenor, saving only the first *a*, left black in the Solus Tenor to reflect that it is the continuation of an already sounding note.

The adjacency in the Solus Tenor of notes 3–5 (*b g a* in *talea* 1) of the six canonic pitches shows that no rests can have intervened in the Contratenor at a point where the Tenor has red rests and where a like pair of black rests must also be inserted.¹⁸ This appears at first to be an insuperable obstacle to the goal of achieving a notation from which both

¹⁷ *Thoma tibi obsequia* and *In arboris* are listed in the 1376 index of the largely lost Trémoille manuscript. The only one of the three *YOX* motets to be cited in that index is the widely copied *Degentis vita / Cum vix artidici*, which follows *O amicus* in *YOX*. See now Margaret Bent, "A Note on the Dating of the Trémoille Manuscript," in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, Musicological Studies, no. 53 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 217–42.

¹⁸ On contrapuntal grounds the Contratenor needs no rests. Each note as reconstructed could be sustained through the ensuing rest. Such a solution, however, defies a rendering in original note values that can be accommodated to those of the Tenor.

parts can be derived. If, however, the canon that is so clearly embedded in the Solus Tenor is to remain strict with respect to its pitches, notes 5 and 6 of the Contratenor must be *followed* by the rests that *precede* them in the Tenor. A similar reversal can be applied to note 2 and its rest, though it is not a necessary assumption for that note. Ignoring for the moment the omitted pair of rests necessary to complete the Tenor, this proposed reversal of the order of notes and rests for the derived Contratenor removes the obstacle posed by the “restless” adjacence of notes 4 and 5 in the Solus Tenor and therefore in the reconstructed Contratenor, now shown in figure 1d.

The Contratenor must have been spelled out in notated form at some point, its colors thus made tangible, and the Solus Tenor derived from it, presumably by the composer after going through the present process of fixing the canon to meet the constraints of a single notation. None of the refinements devised here to permit the Contratenor to be derived from the Tenor’s notation is helped or hindered by musical sense. Further variations and refinements may be possible. The composer’s strategy, put at its simplest, was to create a harmonic foundation of sounding fifths (his “sweet-sounding emiollic concord”) from the canon at that interval, and to avoid direct parallel progressions between the two supporting parts by manipulating their mensural values and the location of rests.

By assuming a single notated part as the basis for the canon, dotless color-coding of sesquialtera relationships in black and red, and unwritten derivation of the *color* repetition in reduced values, we can restore an elegant original notated form to the Tenor that earns the motet’s textually self-proclaimed subtlety.

Missing Performance Instructions

The original instructions to derive the canon from the notated Tenor and to make the Tenor itself performable may have gone something like this:

Contratenor incipit cum tenore, fugando in diapente (3:2)
super tenorem.

Rubee note et pause in tenore debent cantari de modo perfecto, nigre de imperfecto; in contratenore e converso.¹⁹
Tempus et maximodus semper imperfecti.

¹⁹ There are two possibilities for the Contratenor. Either it has to be imagined with colors reversed from the Tenor (everything that was black becomes red, and vice versa) and with reversals of rests and notes as prescribed. (This is suggested by the notation of the Solus Tenor, which uses red for what would be red in such a reversal in the derived

Tenor (*sed non contratenor*) debet inserere duas pausas longas rubeas post quartam notam.

Contratenor debet cantare omnem notam ante pausam que se sequitur et non post.²⁰

“The Contratenor is in canon with the Tenor, beginning together with it at the fifth above. Red notes and rests in the Tenor are in perfect modus, black are imperfect; in the Contratenor the colors are reversed. Tempus and maximodus are imperfect throughout. The Tenor (but not the Contratenor) must insert two red long rests after the fourth note. The Contratenor should sing all notes before and not after the rest(s) following them.”

This may seem an excessive number of qualifications for a six-note canon, but they are certainly less extreme than some surviving examples of verbally qualified canon that permit performance from a single notated part, notably the much more elaborate Credo (*OH*, no. 75), on whose instructions the present ones are modelled.²¹

The rests omitted from the Tenor are needed only in the Tenor and may therefore have been prescribed verbally to enable the same notation to serve both Tenor and Contratenor. But the Yoxford scribe may have compounded our confusion by mistaking the instruction and inserting the red rests in place of the black rests which must directly have preceded note 5. Thus note 5 in the Tenor should be a red maxima immediately preceded by two black (not red) long rests; note 5 in the Contratenor was not preceded by rests, as the Solus Tenor shows; it must have been a black maxima followed by two red long rests (see figure 1e). From this point to the end of each *talea* there is a very straightforward, and not so subtle, alternation both of sound and silence and of red and black within and between the two “virile” parts.²²

The solution to note 6 also reverses note and rest in order to maintain the alternation; the Tenor is reconstructed as red rest plus breve, the

part; i.e., the Solus Tenor is notationally consistent in making red longs perfect and black imperfect.) Or are the meanings of the coloration to be reversed, as in a mental derivation? This yields the more elegant solution of a presumed rubric that would reverse the meanings of black and red in the Contratenor.

²⁰ This may apply passim or from the midpoint, *post has pausas*.

²¹ If these were conceived not as a Tenor and Contratenor but rather as two tenors there would be no “missing” Contratenor, and the above instructions could be rewritten accordingly.

²² See the translation for Text II’s “alternare subtiliter possit duum viriliter...” (l. 9–10).

Contratenor as black breve plus rest. The color difference is here cosmetic because the breve value is not affected by coloration, the breve (tempus) being imperfect throughout the first *color*. The Solus Tenor approaches the final Tenor note with two semibreves descending through the interval of a third; these cannot be accommodated in the canon. On their own they make sense, but the otherwise overwhelming evidence of canon has here been allowed to overrule the semibreve pairs in favor of the note a fifth above the Tenor. Only at the final cadence does the Solus Tenor come into its own, and that may indeed be its derivation; it provides a good cadence to the supernumerary final long.²³

But are the performance instructions in fact missing? By hindsight it may be possible to scent them, albeit camouflaged in deliberately ambiguous terminology, in the text of Voice II, to which we shall soon come.

The Final Cadence

This canonic reconstruction of the Contratenor is marred only by the penultimate breve of the Solus Tenor (in diminution, a semibreve). In *color 1*, two semibreves occur where the Contratenor should have a breve a fifth higher than the Tenor final, and in *color 2* there is a rest. The Solus Tenor thus forfeits the striking downward leap of a fifth between the two canonic parts at the end of each *talea* necessitated by the canon, and for which the cumulative evidence is now persuasive.²⁴ The inconsistency between the two written out *colores* within the Solus Tenor part is no less problematic than that between both of them and the Contratenor. All this could simply be due to a late compositional decision about placing the last note of the canon. Such anomalies in Solus Tenor parts often suggest that they were made from a premature version of the conflated parts.

While the concluding figure of each *talea* in *color 1* of the Solus Tenor does not match the canon, it is, on the other hand, appropriate to the adaptation needed (and supplied in this transcription) for the final cadence of the motet, whose resolution lies outside the canonic and rhythmic structure; I take it to originate from some form of that cadential provision. It could even have been applied to the internal cadences by a copyist who

²³ On the penultimate breve or semibreve of each *talea*, except the last time, Voice II sounds the Contratenor note a fifth above the Tenor.

²⁴ The only anomalous place, where the top parts do not go well with the reconstructed Contratenor, is at the end of the first *color*, m. 45, which is only marginally acceptable with the Solus Tenor. Given the exact correspondence of Voice II to the end of *talea 1* (mm. 14–15) here, I propose emending the upper part to correspond with Voice I. It will then avoid dissonance with both the Contratenor and Solus Tenor, and simply involves assuming that the passage was written one step too high.

did not realize that what he was looking at was in fact a draft for the end of the piece. The rests in the first two *taleae* of *color* 2 coincide, in Voice II, with notes that duplicate the pitch of the canonic Contratenor. No attempt has been made here to prescribe the final cadence in the qualifying verbal canon; the adaptation required to the Tenor as written and the Contratenor as reconstructed could have been devised by the performers, as it has been in this edition, on the clue of the misplaced cadential formulas of the Solus Tenor.

The necessity of a final chord on *f c f* is corroborated by the Solus Tenor, which makes the rhythmic adjustment needed for a final cadence outside the canonic and rhythmic structure, while the Tenor diminution is mechanically written out, with no provision either for the final chord or for a satisfactory approach to it. The reconstructed Contratenor must and can have *c* on the antepenultimate semibreve, but the Tenor needs an interpolated *g* on the penultimate, not *f* as in the Solus Tenor, descending to its final resolution on *f*, as in the Solus Tenor. If the Tenor must bend to approach the cadence, so may the Contratenor. The final note of the canon, a fifth apart, is thus delayed in both lower voices for the final simultaneous cadential arrival.

Voice I has a ligature of two semibreves, *a e*, and no resolution, where strict isorhythm would demand a semibreve and a semibreve rest. At least one part, possibly two, must supply *b-c* in a four-part cadence whose Tenor proceeds from *g* to *f*. This need can be addressed by a cadential adjustment in the reconstructed Contratenor. The top part has *a e* which must be followed by [*f*] (semibreve, semibreve, long). Musically more pleasing, but hard to defend by manuscript evidence or part range, would have been a reading for Voice I that doubles the Contratenor progression at the octave, *a [b c]* (semibreve, semibreve, long).²⁵

Upper Parts

Overall Plan and Durations; Relationship to Lower Parts

Color 1 is laid out in three *taleae* each of fifteen imperfect longs (= thirty imperfect breves), and *color* 2 in three *taleae* each of fifteen imperfect breves, by simple duple proportion. The upper parts operate in duple mensuration throughout, though they partake in the triple shift that is fundamental to the lower-voice design, a shift (of meter, not of mensuration) that is made prominent and audible in the second *color*. The upper parts maintain strict duple time with minor prolation throughout and have no coloration. Even when, at each *talea* midpoint, the supporting

²⁵ *Sub Arturo plebs* likewise has to be "fixed" at the end, in a sense "cast off."

Tenor and Contratenor assert a triple pattern (mm. 7–9 and corresponding places), the duple regularity of the texted upper parts is not only maintained but given deliberate sequential emphasis. This is, of course, especially noticeable in the second *color*, where the reduced values claim attention more aggressively.

At the end of each *talea* of the first *color* (mm. 14–15, 29–30, and 44–45), the insistently duple pattern of mensuration and syllabification is broken in two ways which serve to prepare the next *talea*: the clearly audible sequence (*cum dat plausus / gaudia / alvo clausus / previa*) is in both texted parts “displaced” so that two groups each of three semibreve beats are presented, while at the same time the eight-syllable lines of Voice II are at this moment divided not by fours but (again audibly) as 2 + 3 + 3 (*promant / gaudia / previa*).

The effect of rhythmic repetitions at corresponding positions in the *talea* repetitions is intensified by rhythmic and melodic sequence and by alternating dialogue between the two texted parts. Within *color* 1, both upper parts have an exact rhythmic repeat across the middle of the *talea*:

Voice I mm. 6–8 = 9–11; a second repetition starts in m. 12

Voice II mm. 5–7 = 8–10; a second repetition starts in m. 11

This repetition recurs at the corresponding places in the subsequent two *taleae*.²⁶

In *color* 2 at the corresponding points a different device is used. The shorter musical span of each *talea* would have been overwhelmed by a comparable rhythmic repetition. Instead, the composer juxtaposes the two audibly perfect lower-voice breves, produced by the *color* diminution, with the continuing duple tempus of the top parts. Voice I maintains duple measure throughout. After the spondee on [*incre-]pavit* (and corresponding places) come *three* rhythmically identical groups of minims separated by rests.²⁷ Voice II, although still subject to duple mensuration, has breves 7–9 of the *talea* (mm. 49–50 and corresponding) arranged in two equal triple groups.

²⁶ One could also count this simply as a repetition of both parts in mm. 6–8 and 9–11, but this cuts across words and is a cruder way of counting.

²⁷ Although these are actually each of three, two, and three minims = syllables, the second group is notated with two minim rests preceding the two minims, instead of the semibreve rest used elsewhere which would have sufficed here. This apparent notational anomaly (unlike the others) must be taken not as a coarsening by the scribe but as expressing the compositional intent of presenting this second group also as a unit of three minims (i.e., syllables), the first of which is, in this case, silent, though signaled by its visual separation.

In addition, many local repetitions contribute to a sense of careful planning and economy. These include repeated notes,²⁸ a falling fourth figure,²⁹ falling fifths,³⁰ and sequences.³¹

Relationship of Words and Music

The two texts of *O amicus / Precursoris* were clearly designed as a related pair, not as a single text to be divided. In what order might we suppose the texts and music to have been conceived and united?³² At least one motet in an English source is demonstrably a contrafactum: this is the English copy, latinized as *Domine quis habitabit* (in *Ob* 7), of the French motet *Se paour / Diex tant desir / Concupisco* (in *Iv* and *CA 1328*).³³ Another motet of English provenance, *Are post libamina* (*OH*, no. 146), has seemed to proclaim itself as a Latin contrafactum of a French original, but this interpretation will soon be challenged in a new translation by David Howlett. Weakened credentials of this piece as a witness to motet contrafaction must increase our caution about suggesting that texts might sometimes have been added to existing music, whether newly, simultaneously, or previously composed, instead of the more normal expectation (with its confusing English rendering) that texts are set to music newly composed for them. Together with *Are post libamina*, the Yoxford motets *Degentis vita* and *O amicus* belong to a very small number of mostly English motets that observe a strict relationship between notes and syllables, a relationship that at first sight might have inclined us even more to believe

²⁸ *Color 1, Voice I*: repeated notes: *ut dicam* (fff); *parvulus* (eee); *sonitum* (ggg); *nascitur* (eee); *tenero* (ggg); *meruit* (aaa) (*puer nascitur* is the inversion of *iam a tenero*)

Color 1, Voice II: m. 7, *mellisona* (eddd); m. 22, *epogdois* (aggg); m. 37, *possit duum* (feee); m. 10, *uti prona* (eccc; emend to dccc?); m. 25, *atque scemo* (eddd); m. 40, *currens suum* (feee); mm. 14–15 *gaudia previa* (ffc fff); mm. 29–30, *paribus pascibus* [actually not “equal” steps! (ccb and eee)]; mm. 44–45, *vel iter breviter* (ffc fff).

²⁹ Falling fourth figure: *antequam* (ggd), *creditur*, (aae), *sedulus* (aae).

³⁰ *Color 2, Voice II*: melisma-hocket at end of each *talea* is *ad, gc, ad*, falling fifths, mirroring the descending fifth heard in the canonic lower parts.

³¹ Sequences: *sed et propheta dicitur*, *dirigit rege superno* (but *maior Christus asseruit* is different rhythmically as well as melodically).

Sequences also end each *talea* in *Voice I*: *cum dat plausus alvo clausus* (fgaa efgg); *in expertum iter certum* (efgg deff); *ut qui scivit diffinivit* (gabb fgaa), starting respectively on *f*, *e*, and *g*, exact sequences to point the section ends. The first and third of these are over the same Tenor note but a step apart; the first and third *taleae* in *Voice II* (*gaudia brevia, vel iter breviter*) respond at the same pitch (ffc fff), a clever correspondence.

Color 2, Voice I: *vocavit limpha verbo lavit pavit* (aaae defga ag); *in questum dat abscisum festum mestum* (gggd cdefg gf); *scemata labe sume nota vota* (aaae defga ba).

³² This discussion addresses composition order. In the manuscript, as usual for syllabic music at this time, words were copied before music was added above them.

³³ The two versions of this motet are edited by Harrison (PMFC V, nos. 16, 16a).

that text preceded music. The texts of *O amicus* were surely written by the same person at about the same time, but that person must have known already the details of the musical construction in order to be able to build the prescriptive canon into the text. These technical prescriptions are so specific that subsequent composition of the text to fit the fully or partly composed motet must be considered a strong possibility. Certainly the texts are very closely tailored to each other and to the musical plan by:

- a) strictly syllabic setting in the top part, and in the syllabic portions of the second part. Presentation of syllabic text in one part against melismatic ligatures in the other contributes to text audibility. The musical setting in Voice I is relentlessly syllabic. Voice II has some short melismas, whose notes were ligated where possible. Syllabic text setting is almost a commonplace in English fourteenth-century composition. Despite their common background in the syllabic thirteenth-century conductus, such syllabic tailoring is all but totally absent from the French motet of the fourteenth century; *Degentis vita*, if indeed it is French, is an exception. The dotted semibreves in the second *color* (Voice II, mm. 52–53) are evidently intended to have no text, despite the manuscript underlay to them of *vi laudare*, here matched to the second and third *talea* statements.
- b) the many word breaks that fall at textually and musically corresponding places in successive *taleae*; most of those breaks are articulated by a musical rest. In *O amicus*, Voice I is not only strictly syllabic, but musical rests always coincide with word breaks. Either the music was planned so that no words would be interrupted by rests, or the text was written to fit the pre-composed music with the constraint of syllable count in relation to the notes of a predetermined rhythmic pattern, and of word lengths in relation to rests.³⁴ The “fore-running” choice of subject predetermined the chant tenor and the symbolism of its manipulation; the music was composed with an eye to equal rhythmic patterns that will accommodate regular line and syllable counts in fours and eights. Maximum play has been made with the musical caesuras; the placing of rests within lines not only disciplines the consistent positioning of word breaks, but often presents the secondary rhyme scheme more audibly than the primary one.

³⁴ In no other pieces does this kind of planning occur in such a sophisticated way. The English motet *Suffragiose virginis* (PMFC XVII, no. 54), for example, has twenty units each of six breves all rhythmically identical, overlapped with seven *colores*. The text of the upper parts is in simple rhythmic canon throughout, with alternating five- and three-syllable groups punctuated by rests.

- c) a secondary rhyme scheme which receives musical prominence in conjunction with some word breaks. Some other subsidiary rhymes are not maintained in each *talea*. Not only are musical rhythms exactly and prominently matched to each other but also to the text rhymes *subtiliter*, *viriliter*, and *simpliciter*. In addition, interestingly, those *same* rhythms, in diminution, are used for *vel iter* and *breviter*, interspersed with similarly matching music for *possit durum* and *currens suum*.
- d) text lengths that are exactly tailored to the musical requirements. The final "stanza" of text II has only three lines, one for each *talea* of the second *color*, breaking for a compelling musical reason the otherwise observed four-line integrity of the texts.³⁵ Although to us an obvious thing to attempt, the rigorous correspondence of stanza to *talea* found here was then very unusual. Each of the half-stanzas of the first *color* in text I is set to fifteen breves (half the *talea*). The stanza division (without a musical break after *ausus*, *desertum*, and *audivit*) occurs exactly at the midpoint of the *talea* (m. 7½), just as the two [!] "full threes" (*plenis tribus*) of the Contratenor red notes are audibly exposed to straddle the middle three units of the *talea*. *Plenis tribus*, moreover (in Voice II), is set to three imperfect breves.

The text of Voice II both advertises the compositional conceit and adumbrates how the performer is to retrieve it from a sphinx-like notation. This text must postdate the construction of the lower voices; it is a more complex case than the "bis sub emiolii" of *Sub Arturo plebs*, whose proportions could have been decided ahead of their implementation. The simpler explanation for *O amicus* is that the musical composition did in fact precede that of the texts, while proceeding in general anticipation of their content. First, a clever constructional conceit was in place together with its notated form—the chant-based lower-voice canon. Then a Solus Tenor was drawn from that foundation and the upper voices erected upon it. Finally, their strictly patterned rhythmic figures and repetitions provided a syllabic straitjacket into which the words were fitted.

The close interconnection of words and music makes it very likely that they are by a single author and conceived as an entity.³⁶ Indeed, the author of the text seems to identify himself as the musical composer by

³⁵ This also happens in the English motet *Carbunculus ignitus lilie* (OH, no. 143).

³⁶ For similar speculation with regard to Ciconia's motets, written for his own masters and patrons and often embodying his suppliant name, see Margaret Bent, "Text Setting in Sacred Music of the Early 15th Century: Evidence and Implications," *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ursula Günther and Ludwig Finscher, Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, no. 10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 291–326.

formulations such as *mea nota* and *cano*. The mutual accountability of text and music, and our concomitant reconstruction of the disciplines of construction faced at each stage by the creator, give us sure access to an authorial intent that we as editors may have recovered more fully, and may value more highly, than did the scribe through whose dim glass we see—and clean—the text.

The entire second text, starting with the word “precursor” to denote both John the Baptist and the canonic *dux*, plies an elaborate double meaning in counterpoint with the the canonic Tenor on an Introit (introductory if not precursive) for this saint. Clearly loaded with musical terminology as well as allusions to John the Baptist, Text II appears by hindsight to contain full performance instructions, themselves as camouflaged as their solution, for unlocking the concealed riddle of the double Tenor, whose mutually prefiguring constituents play out graphically and audibly the complementary, harmonious roles of the prefiguring Baptist and the prefigured Christ. The four-voice piece (*sic*) is supported on the symbolic structure of a chant-based canon two in one (*sic*); the texts of its upper parts (permeated by *fourfold* counts of lines, rhymes, syllables, and musical rhythms) are a *cento* drawn from all *four* Gospels, that counterpoints the Baptist story, in Voice I, with the musical performance instructions (framed by Baptist allusions “Precursoris” and “patronum”) in Voice II.

Neighboring Compositions

The unique copy of *O amicus* is sandwiched in *YOX* between two possibly significant neighbors, both of which are known from other sources. The first recto of the first bifolium contains the duplum and tenor of *Sub Arturo plebs*, not hitherto known from an English source. The last verso contains the triplum and tenor of the motet *Degentis vita*, hitherto known in continental sources only,³⁷ which now for the first time comes under suspicion of an English career if not, indeed, of English origin. The succession of these three pieces in *YOX* is highly suggestive. *O amicus* has technical affinities with each of the others that may point to common authorship, provenance, or at least technical concerns.

We have already observed that *Degentis vita* shares with *O amicus* the feature, unusual in French motets, of a strictly syllabic text. *Degentis vita* further shares with *Sub Arturo plebs* some syncopes, albeit in “easier” duple mensuration. It has yet to yield up all its cunning. It does not appear to be “signed,” despite some first-person references; and the verdict on its

³⁷ *Ch*, *BarcC*, *Nuremberg*, *Br*, and the lost *Strasbourg* and *Trém* manuscripts.

English candidacy must be left open for now. This composition, however, must antedate the 1376 *Trémoille* index in which it appears; neither of its two companions in *YOX* is in that index, although *Sub Arturo plebs* may date from the early 1370s.

The self-conscious cleverness of *Sub Arturo plebs* is recorded at the end of its duplum text:

Huius pes triplarii
 bis sub emiolii
 normis recitatur
 Ut hii pulsent dominum
 quorum munus nominum
 triplo modulatur,
 illis licet infimus
 J. Alanus minimus
 sese recommendat,
 quatenus ab invidis
 ipsum sonus validis
 laus horum defendat.

"The pes [i.e., tenor; see comments on "footsteps" in *O amicus*] of this three-part composition is repeated twice under the rules of hemiola [$2 \times 3:2$, i.e., 9:6:4]. In order that these men, the *munus* [i.e., last rites, service, gift] of whose names is being sung in the triplum, may "beat" [pun] upon their lord and patron, J. Alanus—although lowest and least—commends himself to them, so that their sound may defend him [Alanus] from the envious, their praise [may defend him] from the strong."³⁸

Physical time-beating by singers on each others' arms and shoulders is often illustrated in pictures. Such beating may be implied here, giving rise to a further pun: the unprecedented and unparalleled trick whereby the final three *taleae* of the triplum are each a minim shorter than those of the duplum and tenor, so that it progressively loses a minim in each statement in relation to the other parts. This would require beating of

³⁸ Roger Bowers ("Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," *Music and Letters* 71 [1990]: 333) claims that the triplum was conceived as much in Frenchman's as in Englishman's Latin, with G not W for William in the previously known sources. Actually, the Yoxford manuscript has "gwydo."

Several of the composers' names are associated with East Anglia, Norfolk, Bury, Ipswich. A local Suffolk connection for the musical fragments from Yoxford remains a possibility.

unusual concentration and probably vigor. The portion of chant selected for the tenor is "In omnem terram [exivit sonus eorum]" (Their sound is gone out into all lands), a thoughtful choice for an export or expatriate composition.

The Englishness of *Sub Arturo plebs*, never in doubt because of its celebration of English musicians and the contrafact-proof intimacy of its relationship between text and music, is now handsomely crowned by its belated discovery in an English source. Roger Bowers has recently proposed a date for *Sub Arturo plebs* in the early 1370s, before the death in 1373 of the strongest candidate for Aleyn, the composer. If that Aleyn is not the composer (and the name is common), nothing would prevent a dating in the 1380s. The piece is thus distanced from the uncomfortably early dating in 1358 originally proposed by Trowell.³⁹ Bowers is able to uphold most of Trowell's brilliant and ingenious identifications, partly by correlating past tense references and arguing that some of those praised were already dead at the time of composition. Musically, there is nothing in England or anywhere else quite like this piece; even Cooke's post-Agincourt motet that uses the same proportions is much less complicated.⁴⁰ Now that we know so much more English fourteenth-century music than when Trowell advanced his thesis, we are spared the need to accept an anomalous date for one of very few potentially datable pieces.⁴¹

³⁹ Brian Trowell, "A Fourteenth-Century Ceremonial Motet and its Composer," *Acta musicologica* 29 (1959): 65-75; Roger Bowers, "Fixed Points," 330-35; and Margaret Bent, editorial note to *Two Motets in Praise of Music[ians]* (Newton Abbot, Devon, England: Antico Edition, 1977): "it is hard to maintain such an early date for a piece which has no comparable stylistic or technical compatriots until after 1400. However, the stronger identifications and the presence of the music in a late 14th-century repertory do favour a dating somewhere between these extremes. The anomalies of style and date recede considerably in the face of a hypothesis that the motet may have been something of a diplomatic exercise, originating from the orbit of the Black Prince in Aquitaine. This would not only account for its presence in a manuscript whose repertory is strongly tied to Foix and Avignon, but removes the irony in the choice of a French genre and a French style by an English composer (presumably) advertising English achievements. A date in the 1370s now becomes plausible." On the biographies of musicians named in *Sub Arturo plebs*, see also Bowers, "Fixed Points," esp. 322-29 and 333, and Andrew Wathey, "The Peace of 1360-1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations," *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 150-54 and 165-74.

⁴⁰ Cooke's motet, *Alma proles* (*OH*, no. 112) is the only other piece that reduces 9:6:4, but the mensuration of the upper parts changes to facilitate their accommodation to those proportions instead of, as here, playing on the conflict.

⁴¹ Even more recently, Andrew Wathey has developed a thorough background against which to present his discovery of a reference in 1369 to Matheo de Sancto Johann in England. The identification of this composer of secular songs preserved in the Chantilly manuscript with the composer "Mayshuet" of at least one motet in *OH* (*Are post libamina*, *OH*, no. 146) thus gains strength. See Wathey, "The Peace of 1360-1369," 144-50.

Despite the early prescriptions in the *Ars nova* treatise and early use in the *Roman de Fauvel*, very few compositions of the fourteenth century, English or French, use coloration; *Sub Arturo plebs* is almost unique in having duplum coloration (it has no contratenor).⁴² Even a dating as late as the 1380s makes the piece early (by any standards) for such great rhythmic complexity, for a proportional reduction 9:6:4, and for its uniquely crafty overlaps in the final section, where the *talea* length of the triplum progressively overtakes the duplum and tenor.⁴³

YOX is evidently a provincial manuscript. Its use to bind a local administrative document may betoken local origin. The superficial appearance of awkward script, the unpractised musical notation and its inconsistent ductus, conspire with textual and musical infelicities to show that the scribe was out of his depth. The text includes spelling errors and obvious grammatical slips.⁴⁴ *Sub Arturo plebs* is provided in the *YOX* copy with unmistakably English swallow-tails on minims that are to be altered, a provincial anglicism that died out soon after 1400 and was purged from the *OH* repertory, although present in some of its concordant sources, including the Fountains Fragment. Although at first sight these signs appear to corroborate the English origin of the motet, they may, rather, be an attempt by a less sophisticated English user to deal with its unfamiliar mensural demands. This would then be yet another notational bowdlerisation by the scribe of this provincial manuscript, equivalent to his addition of redundant dots to the red notes in the Tenor of *O amicus*. The Yoxford Credo, although copied in another hand, has similarly superfluous dots of syncopation within wholly duple mensuration. *O amicus*, moreover, uses the major semibreve rest, a distinctive form peculiar to English fourteenth-century sources which, equivalent to a "dotted" rest, crosses above and below its staff line; it is not here always graphically distinguished from the minim rest, but musical sense and regular rhythmic repetitions leave no ambiguity in its evaluation.

⁴² For coloration in English motets, see also *Beatus vir* (*Lwa* 12185, 3); *Nos orphanos erige* (*Lwa* 12185, 4); *Maria diceris / Soli fines* (*US-SM* 19914, 3); *Humane lingue* (*Lbl* 40011B, 17); and *Alme pater* (*Lbl* 40011B, 18), if it is English. All of those have coloration in the tenor or contratenor or both; *Beatus vir* also has it in the duplum.

⁴³ Correctly transcribed by Harrison in *PMFC* V, no. 31, but not by Günther in *CMM* 39, no. 12.

⁴⁴ For example, *tripharii* for *triplarii*, and *guydo* in *Sub Arturo plebs*, *prehenda* for *prebenda* in *Degentis vita*. It has not been established whether they (a) give support to any of our emendations, or (b) suggest that the three motets, or at least the first two, had been copied from a source that habitually made the same kinds of errors. The latter would suggest that they might have been copied from the same source, thus firming up by a notch their claims to sibling pedigree.

O amicus shares with *Sub Arturo plebs*, its immediate predecessor in *YOX*, the following:

- a) the feature, very unusual in English music before *Old Hall*, of mensurally significant coloration;
- b) the (surprisingly) relatively uncommon maintenance of strict correspondence between stanzas and *taleae*;
- c) a text that embodies information about musical technique and a personal statement by the poet/composer:
 - i) in *Sub Arturo plebs*, a statement of the musical technique of proportional reduction, and a personal statement (with a request for the patron's protection against the envious) by the composer: "J. Alanus minimus sese recomendat");
 - ii) in *O amicus*, a qualifying verbal canon that corroborates the canonic derivation of the Contratenor part from the Tenor, together with a personal petition for a patron's protection.

Musically, their styles seem different because their mensurations are different; the technical verbal-musical challenges posed are of diverse but parallel ingenuity. They are so different from anything else in England at the time that the personalisation of the text by its maker, the likelihood that he wrote text and music in both cases, that he seems to be saying in the text that he wrote the music and that his name is John, and that he has a barely concealed if unctuous pride in his own work—all this suggests that *O amicus* may indeed be a companion piece to *Sub Arturo plebs* and by the same author, Johannes Alanus. If other features (including an equal level of ingenuity of a kind not yet mined from the text of *Sub Arturo plebs*)⁴⁵ do suggest common authorship, then it might confirm that the John of *O amicus* is indeed the J. of *Sub Arturo plebs*, and that both are therefore Alanus.

Leaving aside *Degentis vita* and considering just the suggestive adjacency of *Sub Arturo plebs* and *O amicus*, we seem to have here two works evidently with text and music by a Johannes (Alanus, in the case of *Sub Arturo plebs*), each a unique, cleverly posed and brilliantly solved technical essay that exceeds in self-conscious cleverness (signed and advertised in the text) any known English work and most non-English works of the period around

⁴⁵ *Sub Arturo plebs* has a *talea* length of 16 breves \times 3T \times 3C, reducing 9:6:4. (i.e., 16 \times 27: 16 \times 18: 16 \times 12 minims). Is the author punning on *minimus*? *O Amicus* has 15 longs (or 30 breves) \times 3T \times 2C, reducing 2:1. (i.e., 30 \times 12: 15 \times 12 minims).

1400. *O amicus* is an important addition to a small but significant repertory; it certainly calls for revisions and challenges to our existing view of the English and Anglo-French motet.

* * *

Manuscript sources are cited in this article according to the following sigla (RISM-type sigla are given in parentheses):

BarcC: Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 971 (olim 946) (*E-Bcen 971*)

Br: Brussels, Archives du Royaume, Archives Ecclésiastiques, 758 (*B-Ba 758*)

CA: Cambrai, Bibliothèque Communale, B.1328 (*F-CABm1328*)

Ch (*Chantilly*): Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047) (*F-CH 564*)

Iv: Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, 115 (*I-IVc115*)

Lbl 40011B: London, British Library, Additional 40011B (Fountains Fragment) (*LoF*) (*GB-Lbl 40011B*)

Lwa 12185: London, Westminster Abbey 12185 (*GB-Lwa 12185*)

Mod (*Modena*): Modena, Biblioteca estense, α. M.5.24 (olim lat. 568) (*I-MOe 5.24*)

Nuremberg: Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 9 (originally from binding Cent. V 61) (*D-Nst 9*)

OH (*Old Hall*): London, British Library, Add. 57950 (*GB-Lbl 57950*)

Ob7 (*EMus*): Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Mus. 7 (*GB-Ob7*)

Strasbourg: Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, 222 C.22 (*F-Sm 222*)

Trém (*Trémoille*): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 23190, formerly Serrant (*F-Pn 23190*)

US-SM 19914: San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, HM 19914

YOX: Yoxford, private possession (*GB-YOX*)

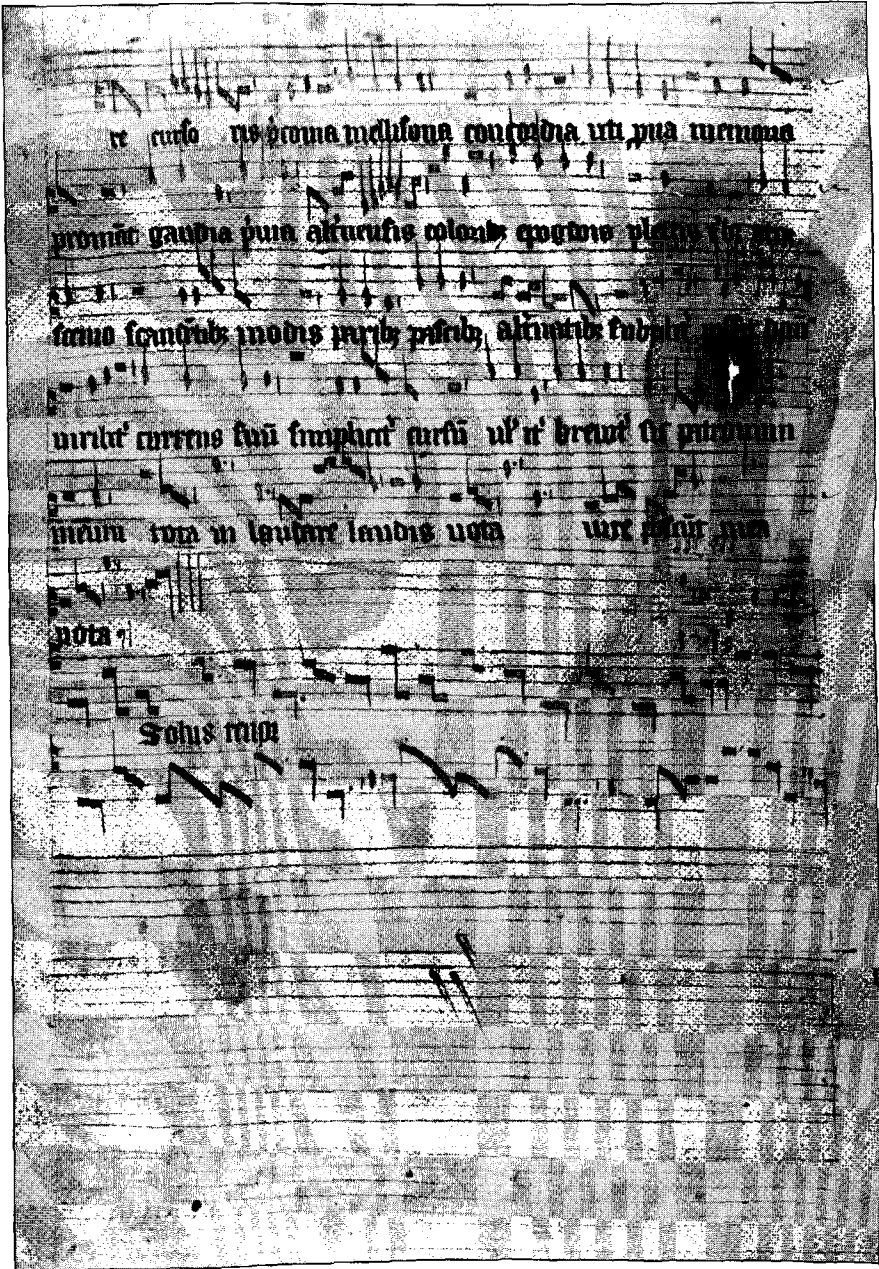


Plate 2: Yoxford MS, fol. ii.

' 1	' 2	' 3	' 4	' 5
BODLEIAN	1	LIBRARY	2	

O Amicus / Precursoris

1

I
II
Contratenor
Tenor
Solus Tenor

[O] A- mi- cus spon- si pri- mus, en za- ka- ri- e fi- li-
[P]re- cur- so-

4

us, bap- ti- sta do- mi- ni pu- rus, ut di- cam quod
ris pre- co- ni- a mel- li- so- na

8

fi- nit au- sus. An- te- quam pu- er na- sci- tur re-
 con- cor- di- a ut- i- pro- na

11

na- tus ip- se cre- di- tur, sed et pro- phe- ta di- ci- tur cum dat plau- sus
 me- mo- ri- a pro- mant gau- di-

15

al-vo clau-sus. Se-nex mu-tus sub-sti-tu-it
a pre-vi-a, al-ter-

T2

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 15 through 17. It features a vocal line with lyrics and three piano accompaniment staves. The vocal line starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "al-vo clau-sus. Se-nex mu-tus sub-sti-tu-it a pre-vi-a, al-ter-". The piano accompaniment includes a bass line and two other staves, with a "T2" marking on the second staff. The music consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some rests and slurs.

18

ac pro- phe- ta con- va- lu- it ex quo cir- cum- si- sus fu- it
na- tis co- lo- ri- bus,

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 18 through 20. It features a vocal line with lyrics and three piano accompaniment staves. The vocal line starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "ac pro- phe- ta con- va- lu- it ex quo cir- cum- si- sus fu- it na- tis co- lo- ri- bus,". The piano accompaniment includes a bass line and two other staves. The music consists of quarter and eighth notes, with some rests and slurs.

22

par- vu- lus, qui in de- ser- tum se- du- lus iam a
 e- pog- do- is ple- nis tri- bus

The musical score for measures 22-24 consists of a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The vocal line is in treble clef and contains the lyrics: "par- vu- lus, qui in de- ser- tum se- du- lus iam a" in measure 22, "e- pog- do- is" in measure 23, and "ple- nis tri- bus" in measure 24. The basso continuo line is in bass clef and features a long melisma of a single note (G) across measures 22, 23, and 24, with a fermata over the final note.

25

te- ne- ro cum vic- tu cul- tu a- spe- ro di- ri- git re- ge su- per- no
 at- que sce- mo scan- den- ti- bus mo-

The musical score for measures 25-27 consists of a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The vocal line is in treble clef and contains the lyrics: "te- ne- ro cum vic- tu cul- tu a- spe- ro di- ri- git re- ge su- per- no" in measure 25, "at- que sce- mo" in measure 26, and "scan- den- ti- bus mo-" in measure 27. The basso continuo line is in bass clef and features a long melisma of a single note (G) across measures 25, 26, and 27, with a fermata over the final note.

29

in ex-per-tum i-ter cer-tum. Plus- quam pro-
dis pa-ri-bus pas-ci-bus. Al-

T3

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 29, 30, and 31. It features a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "in ex-per-tum i-ter cer-tum. Plus- quam pro- dis pa-ri-bus pas-ci-bus. Al-". The piano part includes a trill marked "T3" in the bass clef. The music is in a common time signature and includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes.

32

phe-ta me-ri-to fit, a-gnum pro-mens di-gi-to, quem ba- pti-zat, et sic
ter- na- re sub-

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for measures 32, 33, 34, and 35. It features a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "phe-ta me-ri-to fit, a-gnum pro-mens di-gi-to, quem ba- pti-zat, et sic ter- na- re sub-". The piano part includes a trill marked "T3" in the bass clef. The music is in a common time signature and includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes.

36

si- to so- ni- tum pa- tris au- di- vit. Spi- ri- tum
 ti- li- ter pos- sit du- um vi-

39

sanc- tum me- ru- it vi- de- re quod nul- lus fu- it ma- ior,
 ri- li- ter cur- rens su- um sim- pli- ci- ter

43

Chri- stus as- se- ru- it, ut qui sci- vit dif- fi- ni- vit,
 cur- sum vel i- ter bre- vi- ter

This system contains four staves. The top two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom two staves are piano accompaniment. The music is in a major key and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "Chri- stus as- se- ru- it, ut qui sci- vit dif- fi- ni- vit, cur- sum vel i- ter bre- vi- ter".

46

for- ci- o- rem pro- phe- ta- vit ven- tu- rum, et in- cre- pa- vit quam
 sic pa- tro- num me-

C2
 T1

This system contains four staves. The top two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom two staves are piano accompaniment. The music is in a major key and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "for- ci- o- rem pro- phe- ta- vit ven- tu- rum, et in- cre- pa- vit quam sic pa- tro- num me-". The system concludes with the markings "C2" and "T1" above the final piano staff.

50

plu- res, et quos vo- ca- vit lim- pha, ver- bo, la-
um to- ta

Musical score for measures 50-52. It features a vocal line in treble clef and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The vocal line includes lyrics: "plu- res, et quos vo- ca- vit lim- pha, ver- bo, la- um to- ta". The piano accompaniment consists of a simple harmonic accompaniment with some rests.

53

vit, pa- vit. Tan- dem quod dam- pnat in- ce- stum non li- ce- re, non ho-
vi lau- da-

Musical score for measures 53-55. It features a vocal line in treble clef and a piano accompaniment in bass clef. The vocal line includes lyrics: "vit, pa- vit. Tan- dem quod dam- pnat in- ce- stum non li- ce- re, non ho- vi lau- da-". The piano accompaniment includes a section marked "T2" (Trill 2) in the bass line.

57

ne- stum, pu- el- le ca- put in que- stum dat
re lau- dis no- ta

Musical score for measures 57-59. It features a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "ne- stum, pu- el- le ca- put in que- stum dat" on the first line, and "re lau- dis no- ta" on the second line. The piano part consists of a bass line with a few notes and rests.

60

ab- sci- sum fe- stum me- stum. O Jo- han- nes, cum de- vo- ta
iu- re po-

Musical score for measures 60-62. It features a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "ab- sci- sum fe- stum me- stum. O Jo- han- nes, cum de- vo- ta" on the first line, and "iu- re po-" on the second line. The piano part consists of a bass line with a few notes and rests. A "T3" marking is present above the piano part in measure 62.

64

men- te ca- no vo- ce to- ta, pre- can- do pro me
 scunt me- a vo-

67

sce- ma- ta la- be su- me no- ta vo- ta.
 ta.

Appendix I

O Amicus / Precursoris
Text and Commentary⁴⁶

		Syllables in Text Lines	Syllables in Musical Units	Gospel References
Text I. Color 1.				
Ia	[O A]micus sponsi <u>primus</u> ,	8	22 (8, 8, 6)	J 3.29
	en zakarie <u>filius</u> ,	8		L 1.5-13
	baptista domini <u>purus</u> ,	8	5	Mt 3.1
4	ut <u>dicam</u> quod finit <u>ausus</u> .	8	8	
Ib	<u>antequam</u> puer <u>nascitur</u>	8	5	L 1.41-44
	renatus ipse <u>creditur</u> ,	8	8	
	sed et propheta <u>dicitur</u>	8	8	
8	cum dat <u>plausus</u> alvo <u>clausus</u> .	8	4 4	
IIa	senex mutus <u>substituit</u>	8	22 (8, 8, 6)	L 1.18-22
	ac propheta <u>convaluit</u>	8		L 1.67
	ex quo <u>circumsisus</u> <u>fuit</u>	8	5	L 1.59
12	<u>parvulus</u> , qui in <u>desertum</u>	8	8	L 1.80
IIb	<u>sedulus</u> iam a <u>tenero</u>	8	5	
	cum victu cultu <u>aspero</u>	8	8	Mk 1.6, Mt 3.4
	dirigit rege <u>superno</u>	8	8	L 1.79
16	in <u>expertum</u> iter <u>certum</u> .	8	4 4	
IIIa	plusquam propheta <u>merito</u>	8	22 (8, 8, 6)	L 7.26
	fit, agnum promens <u>digito</u> ,	8		J 1.36
	quem baptizat, et sic <u>sito</u>	8	5	Mk 1.9-11, Mt 3.16-17, L 3.21-22
20	<u>sonitum</u> patris <u>audivit</u> .	8	8	
IIIb	<u>spiritum</u> sanctum <u>meruit</u>	8	5	L 3.22
	videre quod nullus <u>fuit</u>	8	8	Mt 11.11, L 7.28
	maior, Christus <u>asseruit</u> ,	8	8	
24	ut qui <u>scivit</u> <u>diffinivit</u> ,	8	4 4	

⁴⁶ | = musical rest. The Gospels according to SS. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are referred to as Mt, Mk, L, and J.

		Syllables in Text Lines	Syllables in Musical Units	Gospel References
Text I. Color 2.				
1	forcio <u>rem</u> proph <u>et</u> av <u>it</u>	8	8, <u>8</u>	Mk 1.7, Mt 3.11, L 3.16
	ventur <u>um</u> , et increp <u>av</u> it	8		L 3.2-8
	quam plures, et quos voc <u>av</u> it	8	3 2 <u>7</u>	
28	limpha, verbo, lav <u>it</u> , pav <u>it</u> .	8	<u>2</u> <u>2</u>	
2	tandem quod dampnat incest <u>um</u>	8	8, <u>8</u>	Mk 6.17, Mt 14.3-4, L 3.19
	non licere, non hon <u>est</u> um,	8		
	puelle caput in quest <u>um</u>	8	3 2 <u>7</u>	Mk 7.22-28, Mt 14.6-8
32	dat abscis <u>um</u> fest <u>um</u> mest <u>um</u> .	8	<u>2</u> <u>2</u>	
3	O Johannes, cum devot <u>a</u>	8	8, <u>8</u>	
	mente cano voce tot <u>a</u> ,	8		
	precando pro <u>me</u> scem <u>ata</u>	8	3 2 <u>7</u>	
36	labe sum <u>e</u> not <u>a</u> vot <u>a</u> .	8	<u>2</u> <u>2</u>	

Ia/1: O as well as A is needed for the syllable count

IIa/2: prophetas

IIa/4: deserto

IIb/3: regi

Text II. Color 1.

I	[P]recursoris precon <u>ia</u>	8	4 <u>4</u>
	mellison <u>a</u> concord <u>ia</u>	8	4 <u>4</u>
	uti pron <u>a</u> memor <u>ia</u>	8	4 <u>4</u>
4	promant gaud <u>ia</u> prev <u>ia</u> .	8	2 <u>3</u> <u>3</u>
II	alternatis color <u>ib</u> us,	8	
	epogdois plenis trib <u>us</u>	8	<u>4</u> <u>4</u> <u>4</u> <u>4</u> <u>4</u>
	atque scemo scandent <u>ib</u> us	8	2
8	modis par <u>ib</u> us pasc <u>ib</u> us.	8	<u>3</u> <u>3</u>

		Syllables in Text Lines	Syllables in Musical Units	Gospel References
III	alternare subtiliter	(8)		
	possit duum viriliter,	8	4 4 4 4 4	
	currens suum simpliciter	8	2	
12	cursum vel iter breviter.	8	3 3	

Text II. Color 2.

1	sic patronum meum tota	8	4 2 2
2	vi laudare laudis nota	8	4 2 2
3	iure poscunt mea vota.	8	4 2 2

II/1: alternensis

II/2: The most usual meaning of *epogdois* is in reference to the 9:8 proportion. This piece leaves little scope for such an interpretation, and until it can be made to make sense, we propose the drastic emendation of *epogdois* to *hemiolis*, the piece being full of 3:2 relationships on all levels, most notably the relationship of red notes to black, the canon at the fifth, and the three *taleae per color*. If, however, *epogdois* is taken to mean more generally "on eights," it may stand, though much more weakly, as a reflection of the eight-syllable lines and the use of multiples of four both in metric structure and of the tempus and prolation values.

III/1: alternatibus

The ends of this strictly square syllable count are punctuated and articulated by threes that serve to prepare the new *color*.

Rhyme scheme**Text I. Color 1.**

Ia	-us	IIa	-uit	IIIa	-ito
	-us		-uit		-ito
	-us		-uit		-ito
	-am -ausus		-ulus -ertum		-itum -ivit
Ib	-am -itur	IIb	-ulus -ero	IIIb	-itum -uit
	-itur		-ero		-uit
	-itur		-erno		-uit
	-ausus -ausus		-ertum -ertum		-ivit -ivit

Text I. *Color 2.*

1	-avit	2	-estum	3	-ota
	-avit		-estum		-ota
	-avit		-estum		me -ota
	-avit -avit		-estum -estum		-me -ota -ota

Text II. *Color 1.*

I	-ia	II	-is -ibus	III	-iter
	-ona -ia		-is -ibus		-uum -iter
	-ona -ia		-ibus		-uum -iter
	-ia -ia		-ibus -ibus		-iter -iter

Text II. *Color 2.*

-um -um -ota
-ota
-ota

Text I has (for *color 1*) three (double) stanzas each of 8 lines \times 8 syllables, then (for *color 2*) three stanzas each of 4 lines \times 8 syllables. Text II has (for *color 1*) three stanzas each of 4 lines \times 8 syllables, then (for *color 2*) a stanza of 3 lines \times 8 syllables.

In text I *color 1*, the last line of each a-stanza is linked to the first line of each b-stanza by rhyme in the third syllable or the second and third syllables. The first three lines of each a-stanza share end-rhyme, and the first three lines of each b-stanza share end-rhyme. One rhyme at the end of each a-stanza is echoed twice at the end of each b-stanza. In *color 2*, by a simpler scheme, one feminine rhyme, which ends the first three lines of each stanza, is echoed twice in the fourth line. The last two lines of the third stanza share a further rhyme in -me.

Text II *color 1* has the same rhyme scheme as text I *color 2*, five feminine rhymes in each four-lined stanza, but two lines in each stanza share a further rhyme. In *color 2*, the end-rhyme -ota is repeated from the last stanza of text I *color 2*, and the rhyme -um is repeated from the last stanza of text II *color 1*. More than one third of the syllables of the entire composition belong to rhyme schemes.

In text I there are 144 words, 88 in *color 1* and 56 in *color 2*, arranged in the ratio 11:7. In text II there are 33 words in *color 1* and 12 in *color 2*, arranged in the ratio 11:4. The numbers 88 and 56 are the major and minor parts of the Golden Section of 144.

In text I John the Baptist is described as *baptista* in Ia3, who *circumcisus fuit* in IIa3, who *baptizat* in IIa3, and *limpha lavit* in the fourth line of *color 2*. Note *propheta* in Ib3, IIa2, IIa1, and *prophetavit* in the first line of *color 2*. The Baptist is *filius* in Ia2, *puer* in Ib1, *parvulus* in IIa4, *a tenero* in IIb1. But in IIa1 he is *plusquam propheta*, *nullus maior* in IIb2-3, who *forciozem prophetavit* in the first line of *color 2*.

Appendix II

O Amicus / Precursoris
Translations

Text I

O, the first friend of the Bridegroom,
Lo! the son of Zacharias,
the pure baptizer of the Lord,
4 that I may tell the crime that ended his life.

Before the boy is born
he is believed reborn
but he is also called a prophet
8 because he gives applause enclosed in the womb.

The old man, mute, cut short his speech
and regained his health as a prophet
from the time when the little boy was circumcised
12 who into the desert,

attentive now from a tender age,
with rough food and clothing
directs his certain journey
16 toward Him who has been tested by the Supernal King.

More than a prophet deservedly
he becomes, pointing out with his finger the Lamb,
whom he baptizes and thus quickly
20 heard the sound of the Father.

He deserved to see the Holy Spirit
because none was greater,
Christ asserted,
24 so that he who knew stated definitively,

He prophesied and roared out
that a stronger man was to come,
and very many people whom he called
28 he cleansed with water and fed with his word.

Finally because he judges that
incest is not allowed, not honest,
an ill-omened feast gives his head
32 cut off on the request of a girl.

O John, with a devout mind
 I sing, with my whole voice
 praying for myself, take my compositions,
 36 my noted offerings with their defect(s).

Text II

(For obvious reasons this translation is not arranged by line and is offered with alternative readings.)

Color 1

Stanza I: Let the preachings of the precursor make known the harbinger joys in sweet-sounding concord as from straightforward tradition [This alludes to John the Baptist's announcement of the coming of the Messiah as foretold by the Prophets. But as the rest of the text bristles with musical terminology it might also be construed: Let the declaimings of the one who runs ahead (the canonic *dux*) bring out from concealment (i.e., the hidden conceit of the musical canon notated in a single statement and expressed in hidden language) delights that lead the way from sweet-sounding concord (the fifth that starts the canon) as from a monument (i.e., the "Gregorian" Tenor of this composition) turned upside down (rather: inside out, with the color and mensural reversals, makes better sense than the implication of inversion).],

Stanza II: with alternating colors/*colores* in three full *epogdoi* [recte *hemioli*?] [There may be a further pun on "color"; red and black colors/*colores* alternate, as do the alternating *colores* in canonic statements.]

and by a scheme with accelerating *modi* [presumably meaning the Tenor *color* repetition in duple proportion; or, as suggested by Thomas Walker, treating *scemus* as an alternative spelling of *semus* (= imperfectus): by imperfection with accelerating *modi*]

and with paired [foot]steps [Tenor and Contratenor mutually reversing the order of notes and rests, red and black; *passibus* may also include a play on the English fourteenth-century usage of *pes* for tenor, especially when there are two *pedes* on equal terms.],

Stanza III: one of two [i.e., each] can in manly fashion alternate subtly [in presenting the chant, alternating notes and rests], running his own course simply or his journey briefly [with play on brevially].

Color 2

Thus do my noted [i.e., both written and famous] offerings seek by right to laud my patron [saint and temporal lord] with the whole power of praise.

Appendix III

O amicus / Precursoris
Musical Commentary

Voices are referred to as I, II, T, C, and ST. The references in the left column are to measure, voice, and note of the measure when applicable.

2.I.5	minim
4.II.2	<i>a</i> not <i>g</i>
6.I	rest and dotted semibreve are missing
7-9.T	The rests are omitted here and in all corresponding <i>taleae</i> , as discussed on p. 49.
10.II.1	<i>e</i> ; all appearances of this figure are now given as intervallically stepwise
12-13, 27-28, 42-43.II	the first two pairs of semibreve ligatures are written close together to indicate single syllabification
13.I.2	<i>e</i> (emendation to the triadic figure used elsewhere)
18.II.4	followed by extra minim <i>d</i>
29.I	last semibreve rest omitted?
37.T	clef changes to F4, with custos
42.ST	dot present?
44-45.I	was a step higher. Its first note appears to have been changed in the manuscript from one a step lower, leading to scribal confusion
46.ST	breve should be long (other <i>taleae</i> are correct)
58.II	minim rest after .1 omitted
62.T	<i>c</i> , <i>recte d</i> .

Final Cadence:

ST	after dotted maxima, has semibreve rest and semibreve <i>f</i> . We transfer the pitch to the final long and interpolate the cadential semibreve borrowed from earlier cadences in the Solus Tenor.
I	final long omitted; last three notes <i>b</i> , semibreve; semibreve ligature ? <i>a f</i> for <i>a e</i> . If we read the first semibreve as a minim to honor the isorhythmic scheme, and read the ligature as semibreve-semibreve <i>a e</i> , with the final <i>f</i> omitted, (or even semibreve-semibreve breve <i>a g f</i>) we come up with a more normal cadence that, despite the parallel octaves with Voice II, saves us changing the Solus Tenor <i>g</i> .
T	last note missing; <i>f</i> semibreve, penultimate, should be the pitch of the final, and the value of the penultimate [<i>g</i>]. The Contratenor must have provided <i>b c</i> at this cadence.

Some Observations on the “Germanic” Plainchant Tradition*

By Alexander Blachly

Anyone examining the various notational systems according to which medieval scribes committed the plainchant repertory to written form must be impressed both by the obvious relatedness of the systems and by their differences. There are three main categories: the neumatic notations from the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries (written without a staff and incapable, therefore, of indicating precise pitches);¹ the quadratic notation in use in Italy, Spain, France, and England—the “Romanic” lands—from the twelfth century on (this is the “traditional” plainchant notation, written usually on a four-line staff and found also in most twentieth-century printed books, e.g., *Liber usualis*, *Antiphonale monasticum*, *Graduale Romanum*); and the several types of Germanic notation that use a staff but retain many of the features of their neumatic ancestors. The second and third categories descended from the first.

The staffless neumatic notations that transmit the Gregorian repertory in ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-century sources, though unlike one another in some important respects, have long been recognized as transmitting the same corpus of melodies. Indeed, the high degree of concordance between manuscripts that are widely separated by time and place is one of the most remarkable aspects the plainchant tradition. As the oldest method of notating chant we know,² neumatic notation compels detailed study; and the degree to which the neumatic manuscripts agree not only

* I would like to thank Kenneth Levy, Alejandro Planchart, and Norman Smith for reading this article prior to publication and for making useful suggestions for its improvement. Thanks also to R. John Blackley for providing the photograph of Laon 239, fol. 10v.

¹ According to John A. Emerson, there are some “12 to 15 notational families [of plainchant]...each corresponding to a local geographical zone in Europe” (“Plainchant,” *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [1980] 14:807). There are also several distinct families of chant itself, including, among others, the Byzantine, the Mozarabic, the Gallic, the Ambrosian, the Old Roman, and the Gregorian. Only the last-named is considered in the present study (the term *Gregorian* is used here to distinguish from all other types the repertory that dominated northern Europe from the time of Charlemagne, much of which is believed to date back to before the eighth century).

² The earliest known notated sources of the Gregorian repertory date from ca. 900; but in a recent essay, “Charlemagne’s Archetype of Gregorian Chant,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 1–30, Kenneth Levy proposed that from indirect evidence within the early service books it can be established that chant was notated at least as early as ca. 800, despite the lack of any surviving notation until a century later.

with each other but also with the staff-notated twelfth-, thirteenth-, and fourteenth-century manuscripts makes it clear that all of these sources contain versions of the same melodies. In order to determine the pitches of the melodies from the earliest notation, scholars during the past hundred years have referred to later sources where the pitches can be read (e.g., the eleventh-century "alphabetic" manuscripts³ and the twelfth-, thirteenth-, and fourteenth-century staff-notated manuscripts). Thus, the apparent uniformity of the repertory suggests that we can recover music from ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-century sources that would otherwise remain indecipherable, thereby extending back in time by several centuries the earliest performable liturgical melodies.

While the relative uniformity of the chant tradition is undeniable and is undeniably impressive, there are several subsets within it that deserve independent recognition. One of these is the English "Sarum" rite, frequently identical to the chant transmitted in Romanic sources from France, Spain, and Italy, but also independent of these sources in many details. Another subset forms the subject of the present study, a branch of the plainchant tradition that Peter Wagner in 1925 termed a "Germanic dialect" of the Gregorian repertory. Here the differences from the Romanic books are both more pervasive and more systematic. In contrast, however, to the extensive research on and discussion of Romanic chant, including the Sarum rite, writings on the Germanic tradition as such have been comparatively meager, even in German-speaking lands. To date, there has been virtually nothing written about Germanic chant in English.⁴

³ Alphabetic sources notate the melodies letter (note) by letter (note). The most famous example is Montpellier, Bibliothèque de Médecine, H 159, dually notated with letters and neumes. See *Antiphonium tonale missarum XI^e siècle: Codex H. 159 de la Bibliothèque de l'École de Médecine de Montpellier*, Paléographie musicale, vols. 7-8 (Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & Cie, 1901-5). This manuscript is transcribed in its entirety, with thorough discussion of its notation, provenance, and function in Finn Egeland Hansen, *H 159 Montpellier: Tonary of St Bénigne of Dijon* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1974). A similar source is Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. 577, an eleventh-century tonary from Sens. See Bruno Stäblein, ed., *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. III/4 (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1975), 219, where a portion of fol. 62 is reproduced.

⁴ In Willi Apel's *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), for example, the Germanic tradition is mentioned only in passing. John A. Emerson's article on "Plainchant" in the *New Grove Dictionary* includes one reference to "German and French elements" (though these are not identified) during a rather extensive treatment of chant in northern and eastern Europe (14:823), but contains no discussion of Peter Wagner's Germanic dialect. In another article, "Neumatic Notations," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 13:132-37, Solange Corbin discusses German neume types in some detail, but does not confront the issue of pitches. Writing in the *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 97, Higinio

The Germanic tradition of plainchant is widespread, dominating chant books throughout German-speaking lands in the later Middle Ages. It is encountered not only in hundreds—possibly thousands—of manuscript and printed graduals and antiphonaries,⁵ but also in music treatises from German-speaking areas (e.g., Lampadius, Spangenberg, Vogelsang, Glareanus, Cretz, Zanger)⁶ and in chant-based polyphonic collections from these same regions (e.g., Heinrich Isaac's *Choralis constantinus* and the *Nicolaus Apel Codex*).⁷ Moreover, its characteristic "variants" from the

Anglés dismisses the very notion of a Germanic dialect: "It is not accurate to speak of Gregorian 'dialects,' for the varieties that may be found are utterly insignificant. An attempt was made in this direction by Peter Wagner in his theory of German Gregorian dialect, in spite of the fact that the few manuscripts which suggested the idea belonged to a rather late period." Gustave Reese, in *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1940), 122, recognized "the so-called German chant-dialect" in one sentence and one footnote, but attributed no great significance to its existence. To date, the most extensive account of the German dialect in English consists of one brief paragraph by Franz Tack in *Gregorian Chant*, trans. Evereth Helm, Anthology of Music, vol. 18 (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1960), 11. Even in the German literature there is not the sort of coverage one might expect: Bruno Stäblein's article "Choral" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 2 (1952): 1265–1303, for example, is virtually silent on Germanic chant, but it does make reference to another article by the same author, "Der röm. Choral im Norden," found in the same encyclopedia under "Deutschland," section B, "Mittelalter" (3 [1954]: 272–86). This article is an important contribution, but treats its subject as a local phenomenon without relevance to the plainchant tradition as a whole. Maria Elisabeth Heisler's "Studien zum ostfränkischen Choralidialekt" (Ph.D. thesis, Frankfurt, 1987) came to my attention in the American Musicological Society/International Musicological Society's *Dissertations in Musicology December 1988–November 1989*, ed. Cecil Adkins and Alis Dickinson (n.p.: American Musicological Society, 1990) after the present article went to press, too late to be considered here.

⁵ Examples from three different German chant manuscripts are given as figures 1, 2, and 3. For examples from printed German chant sources, see P. Raphael Molitor, *Deutscher Choral-Wiegendruck: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Choral und des Notendrucks in Deutschland* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1904); Franz Tack, ed., *Das gregorianische Choral*, Das Musikwerk, vol. 18 (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1960); and Christian Väterlein, ed., *Graduale Pataviense (Wien 1511) Faksimile*, Das Erbe deutscher Musik, vol. 87 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982).

⁶ *Compendium musices, tam figurati quam plani cantus, ab auctore Lampadio Luneburgensi elaborata...Bernae Helveti MDXXXVII* (see fol. Bi'); *Questiones musicae...Iohan. Span[genbergi]...Vitebergae Anno MDXLII* (see fol. Dvij'); *Musicae rudimenta...per Iohan. Vogelsangum Lindauensem...MDXLII* (see fols. Dvj, Diiij', and Diiij'); *Glareani Dodecachordum...Basileae 1547* (see pp. 144–45); *Compendiosa introductio in choralem musicam...Ioannem Cretz...Venetum MDLIII* (see fol. Diiij); *Practicae musicae praecepta...Ioannem Zangerum Oenipontanum...Lipsiae Anno 1554* (see fol. Gijj).

⁷ Heinrich Isaac: *Choralis constantinus*, vol. 1, ed. Emil Bezecny and Walter Rabl, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, vol. 10 (1898); Heinrich Isaac: *Choralis constantinus*, vol. 2, ed. Anton von Webern, *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, vol. 32 (1909); and Heinrich Isaac: *Choralis constantinus*, vol. 3, ed. Louise Cuyler (Ann Arbor: University of

Romanic tradition, as well as its distinctive styles of notation, are also to be found much further afield, in chant books from the entire eastern-European region and from Scandinavia.⁸

The only extensive accounts of the characteristics and chronology of the Germanic tradition—all written by a single scholar, Peter Wagner—appeared in print in 1926⁹ and 1930–32.¹⁰ Wagner's first description and discussion date back to the second edition of his *Neumenkunde* (1912),¹¹ where he published photo reproductions of pages from the twelfth-century gradual-sequentiary Graz 807 (one of the earliest sources identifiably transmitting the Germanic dialect) and from manuscripts from Trier, Bamberg, and Karlsruhe. Speaking before the Musicological Congress of the German Music Society in June, 1925, Wagner first elevated the notion of a German tradition of chant transmission to the concept of an independent Germanic dialect of the chant melodies.¹² He lamented that the musical phenomena involved, "like so many of my publications devoted

Michigan Press, 1950). Two of the more clear-cut cases of polyphony based on German-dialect chant in the *Nicolaus Apel Codex* are no. 62 (fols. 58v–59v), a four-voice setting (by Heinrich Finck?) of the Christmas introit *Puer natus est*, with the chant melody initially in the bass part in uninterrupted breves, and no. 170 (fol. 255–55v), a three-voice setting of *Gaudeamus omnes in domino*, with the first word intoned by the soprano voice, also in breves. See Rudolf Gerber, ed., *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel (MS. 1494 der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig)*, part 1, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol. 4 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 66–67, and Ludwig Finscher and Wolfgang Dömling, eds., *Der Mensuralkodex des Nikolaus Apel*, part 3, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol. 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975), 283. Additional works of this type may be found in *Selected Introsits from Leipzig 49/50 (1588)*, ed. Laura Youens, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, no. 59 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1984), e.g., a four-voice setting of *Puer natus est* by Conrad Rein, a four-voice setting of *Suscipimus deus* by Heinrich Isaac, and an anonymous four-voice setting of *Ecce advenit dominator dominus*.

⁸ Peter Wagner, Introduction to the facsimile edition of the Thomaskirche gradual (Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universitätsbibliothek, St. Thomas 391; formerly Codex 371 of the St. Thomas Archives, Leipzig), published in two installments: *Das Graduale der St. Thomaskirche zu Leipzig (XIV. Jahrhundert) als Zeuge deutscher Choralüberlieferung. Mit einer Einführung in das Gesangbuch* [hereafter cited as *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*], *Publikationen älterer Musik*, vol. 5, 7 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1930, 1932; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), IX.

⁹ Peter Wagner, "Germanisches und Romanisches im frühmittelalterlichen Kirchengesang," in *Bericht über den I. musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß der deutschen Musikgesellschaft in Leipzig vom 4. bis 8. Juni 1925* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926), 21–34.

¹⁰ Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch* (see note 8).

¹¹ Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien: ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft*, vol. 2, *Neumenkunde: Paläographie des liturgischen Gesanges*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912), 323–43, 443–48.

¹² Wagner, "Germanisches und Romanisches."

to Gregorian chant, have been ignored,"¹³ but he was pleased to note the recent publication of his student Erik Abrahamsen's doctoral thesis, which recognized Germanic elements in Danish chant books.¹⁴ In the years since Wagner's own groundbreaking publications on this subject, there have been only minor follow-up articles.¹⁵ Dom Jacques Froger's 1973 introduction to the facsimile edition of Graz 807 in *Paléographie musicale*, an impressively thorough investigation of the source itself and of everything written about it, has attempted to summarize and consolidate research to date.¹⁶

¹³ "Die musikalischen Dinge...wurden aber, wie so manches andere in meinen der gregorianischen Musik gewidmeten Veröffentlichungen, nicht beachtet" (*ibid.*, 23). Wagner was no doubt thinking of his continuing disagreements with the Benedictines of Solesmes, whose fundamental premise was that the "best" and "purest" version of the chant was necessarily the earliest. In contrast, Wagner and other "traditionalists" maintained that the tradition as a whole was worthy of study, later as well as earlier sources.

¹⁴ Erik Abrahamsen, *Éléments romands et allemands dans le chant grégorien et la chanson populaire en Danemark*, Publications de l'Académie Grégorienne de Fribourg, vol. 11 (Copenhagen: P. Haase & Fils, 1923).

¹⁵ There are several articles by Wagner's students: Hermann Müller, "Germanische Choraltradition und deutscher Kirchengesang," *Festschrift Peter Wagner zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Weinmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926); P. Basilius Ebel, *Das älteste alemannische Hymnar mit Noten* (Einsiedeln: Verlagsanstalt Benziger & Co., 1931); and P. Hubert Sidler, "Ein kostbarer Zeuge der deutschen Choralüberlieferung," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 34 (1950): 9–15. Additional brief discussions include: Karl Gustav Fellerer, "Der gregorianische Gesang im deutschen Mittelalter," *Musica sacra* (1936): 230ff.; *idem*, *Der gregorianische Choral im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1936); *idem*, *Deutsche Gregorianik im Frankenreich*, (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1941); Th. Seelgen, "Gralsglocken," *Musica sacra* (1937): 180ff.; and P. Dominicus Johner, *Wort und Ton im Choral*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1953), 104–17. Otto Ursprung included a one-page summary in *Die katholische Kirchenmusik*, Ernst Bücken, ed., *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 9 (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1931), 50. There have been additional brief commentaries: Jacques Handschin, "Die Rolle der Nationen in der Musikgeschichte," *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1931): 5–8; Walter Lipphardt, "Das Moosburger Cationale," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 3 (1957): 112; H. G. Hammer, *Die Allelujagesänge in der Choralüberlieferung der Abtei Altenberg*, *Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte*, vol. 76 (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1968); Leo Eizenhöfer and Hermann Knaus, *Die liturgischen Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrasowitz, 1968); and Karlheinrich Hodes, *Der gregorianische Choral: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974); among others.

¹⁶ D. Jacques Froger, ed., *Le Manuscrit 807 Universitätsbibliothek Graz (XII^e siècle), Graduel de Klosterneuburg*, *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 19 (Berne: Herbert Lang, 1974), 7*–42*.

German Notations

The most unusual and distinctive of the German notation types is known as *Hufnagelschrift* (hobnail notation) because of the shape of the virga: **f**. It evolved directly from the St. Gall neumes. This heavy, bulky script (also known as "gothic" notation) is well illustrated by the fourteenth-century Moosburg gradual (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek 2^o-156; see figure 1). A second branch of the German line of notations comes directly from the so-called German neumes, which bear many similarities to the St. Gall type.¹⁷ A third category of neumatic notation, adapted, like the other two, to the staff, is known as "Messine," because the neumes are derived from the notation found in manuscripts from Metz (see figures 2 and 3).¹⁸ More recently, Solange Corbin has recommended that the Messine script style be termed "Lorraine notation," since "paleographers now know that there was no early scriptorium in Metz. Besides, this notation was in use in the whole of medieval Lorraine" (central eastern France).¹⁹ Though not by any means identical in appearance to one another, or even derived from the same families of neumatic notation, the various types of German staff neumes have in common a close resemblance to their prestaff models, unlike quadratic notation, which constitutes a break or jump in notational evolution. More importantly, all types of Germanic staff notation are used to preserve the Germanic dialect of pitches (only rarely the Romanic versions²⁰), whereas square notation is used almost exclusively for the Romanic dialect.

From the twelfth century on, when the obvious advantages of Guido d'Arezzo's four-line staff had prompted most scribes throughout Europe (including those in German-speaking lands) to begin using it, German notators nevertheless refused to adopt the square notation of their neighbors to the west.²¹ Instead, they independently modified neumatic nota-

¹⁷ An example from a thirteenth-century plenary missal from the Abbey of Stavelot with German neumes on a four-line staff is reproduced in *Le Répons-Graduel Justus ut palma reproduit en fac-simile d'après plus de deux cents antiphonaires manuscrits d'origines diverses du IX^e au XVII^e siècle*, Paléographie musicale, vol. 3 (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1892), pl. 131.

¹⁸ Fine examples are preserved in the early fourteenth-century Thomaskirche gradual (figure 2) and in the twelfth-century Graz 807 (figure 3). Figure 4, showing fol. 10v of Laon 239, provides an example of tenth-century (prestaff) Messine notation.

¹⁹ Solange Corbin, "Neumatic notations," 137.

²⁰ An example is London, British Library, MS Additional 27921, a gradual of German provenance from the thirteenth century, notated in German neumes but transmitting the Romanic dialect. See *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 3, pl. 136 (see note 17).

²¹ The spread of square notation seems to be connected with the Franciscans, who used it in their gradual of 1251 and prescribed its use by Franciscan scribes thereafter. See Mary Berry, "Franciscan Friars," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 6:776-77.

Lxxxv.

te ve ni o non rogo ut trahas eos de mundo sed ut serues
 eos a maio ac v' in die sancto.
In ga hite i quid admira mi in aspi
 ciutes in te lum ac v' ia quemad
 modum vidistis cum ascendit in ce lum in ue nire a c
 v' ia i e v' ia ac v' ia. ps. **A** nunc
 gentes plaudite manibus inbilate deo in voce cant. **E** x p u n t.
A c v' ia.
A scendit de us in nubila a o ne et dominus
 in vo ce in be
 c v' ia.
A nuncius in f'ua in sancto
 scendit in alt um rapti nam

Figure 1. Munich, Universitätsbibliothek 2°:156 ("Moosburg" gradual, ca. 1350), fol. 95v, showing the end of the Mass for Ascension and the beginning of the Mass for the Sunday after Ascension.

SPIRITVS DOMINI
 repleuit orbem terrarum a s via & hoc
 quod contra nec omnia scientiam habet
 uocis a s via a s via a s via. **C**onfirma hoc deo qd' opa
 tus es in nobis a templo sancto tuo qd' e iherusalem.
As via **V**emite spiritum tuum &
 creabuntur & renouabis faci
 em terre. **A**s via
Ve in sancto spi ritus reple tuorum corda
 fidelium & tu amo
 in cignem accende. **C**onfirma hoc deus quod

Figure 3. Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 807 (ca. 1150), fol. 127v, showing the opening of the Mass for Pentecost.

tion, adapting it to the new task of representing specific pitches on the staff, but without in the process losing many ornamental note shapes that disappeared with square notation. (The exact nature of the ornaments the ornamental neumes indicate remains unknown.)

We can only speculate on the reasons for the German retention of the older notational style. Perhaps certain archaic performance practices lived on in the German churches. Mensural or "proportional" renditions, or renditions that included characteristic ornamental notes might have been preserved or clarified by the modified neumatic notation—but no accounts of such practices from medieval Germany are known. It is equally possible that the retention of neumatic shapes simply reflects a deep-seated conservatism on the part of the German singers: in other aspects, as well, German notation is conservative. The staves of the Thomaskirche gradual, for example, still retain the practice of coloring the *F* line red and the *C* line yellow, as recommended by Guido in his *Aliae regulae* of ca. 1025. (As a careful reading of John A. Emerson's survey of early chant manuscripts reveals, Romanic sources from the thirteenth century on had mostly abandoned red *F* lines and yellow *C* lines.)²² The Thomaskirche scribe, though writing in the last years of the thirteenth century or the very beginning of the fourteenth, adheres to Guido's rule with remarkable persistence, to the point of drawing a red line within a *space* when he uses a *C* clef on the third line of the staff²³ or when he uses a *G* clef on the top line,²⁴ or drawing a yellow line within a space when he uses an *F* clef on the second line of the staff.²⁵ Colored lines in spaces are found in other German sources as well.²⁶ Moreover, the Leipzig scribe retains the use of eight Latin and Greek vowels—*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *H*, *y*, and *omega*—to designate in the margin of the manuscript the mode of each chant, as well as the use of Latin consonants to indicate the *differentiae*—a system recommended by John Cotton in his *De musica* of ca. 1100.²⁷ As with most other aspects of

²² John A. Emerson, "Sources, MS, II.6: Western Plainchant, 12th–13th Centuries," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 17:627–32.

²³ For an example, see figure 2, first line.

²⁴ For an example, see the *Gloria in excelsis deo* on fol. CXVIII. Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*, vol. 2, pl. 238.

²⁵ For an example, see the Introit "Resurrexi" for Easter Sunday. Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*, vol. 2, pl. 116.

²⁶ E.g. Trèves, Bibliothèque de M. Bohn, gradual in 4° (thirteenth century); photographic copy of p. 282 in *Paléographie musicale* vol. 3, pl. 132.

²⁷ "One should also know that by some the *phthongi*—that is, the tones—are designated by vowels, and the *differentiae* of the tones—which some wrongly call *diffinitiones* [differing endings]—by consonants, in this way: *a* denotes the first tone, *e* the second, *i* the third, *o* the fourth, *u* the fifth, Greek *H* the sixth, *y* the seventh, and *omega* the eighth. And *b*

German music before the fifteenth century—e.g., the apparent lack of enthusiasm for polyphony in the German churches—the chant documents show a strong inclination to preserve tradition and to resist changes to it.

Melodic Characteristics of the Germanic Dialect

Within the the melodies themselves, as Wagner clearly showed, the Germanic sources feature numerous minor thirds in places where the Romanic manuscripts show a minor or major second. These minor thirds constitute the majority of the differences found between the Romanic and the Germanic traditions, and, though schematically they effect no major alteration in melodic shape and rarely are involved in questions of mode, they do produce a profound difference in the *quality* of the melodies. Wagner characterized the Germanic versions as “more resolute” and “masculine,” the Romanic as “softer” and “feminine.”²⁸ Normally the notes in question are *c-a* (Germanic) instead of *B-A* or *B^b-A* (Romanic), or *F-D* (Germanic) instead of *E-D* (Romanic), most often when such notes occur at the peak or the close of a phrase; sometimes the Germanic variants are also found at a phrase beginning (example 1 on following pages).

The preference for the minor third in such places is not the result of a German propensity to shun the notes *B*, *E*, or *A* altogether; quite the contrary, the Germanic tradition uses *B*, *E*, and *A* as integral elements of the scale in every mode. It appears, rather, that the German sensibility favored a stronger emphasis on *fa* in the hexachord, especially in those passages where the Romanic tradition places *mi* at the peak of a turn of melody or in an exposed—usually cadential—descent into *re* (example 2 on page 99).

The Germanic variants are not rare, isolated phenomena, but are to be found in virtually every chant melody; indeed, a melody from a German chant book that does not contain at least one Germanic variant is highly unusual. Wagner cited the Communion for the first Mass of Christmas, *In splendoribus*, as as a rare and exceptional piece for which there is no difference between the Germanic and the Romanic transmission.²⁹ Interestingly, this is the very piece that Gustave Reese mentions as an example of pentatonicism in the Gregorian repertory, and, in fact, it has several

indicates the first *differentia* of any tone, *c* the second, *d* the third, *g* the fourth, and so on, with the mute consonants in alphabetical order” (*Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, trans. Warren Babb and ed., with introductions, by Claude V. Palisca [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978], 121).

²⁸ Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*, 2:LII.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:XLV.

Example 1.

1a. Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek Codex 314, Montpellier, H 159, fol. 13
fol. 18 (14th cent., Hufnagelschrift)

Gau- de- a- mus o- mnes Gau- de- a- mus om- nes

Introit, Assumption of Mary

1b. New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 905 (Nurenburg, 1507, Hufnagelschrift)

Pa- ter, cum es- sem cum e- is

Montpellier, H 159, fol. 33

Pa- ter, cum es- sem cum e- is

Communion, Sunday within the Octave of Ascension

1c. Trier, Cathedral Library (1435, Hufnagelschrift) [= PM vol. 3, pl. 146]

Ius- tus ut pal- ma flo- re- bit sic- ut ce-

Rome, Dominican Library (1254) [= PM 1st ser., III, pl. 200]

Iu- stus ut pal- ma flo- re- bit sic- ut ce-

Gradual, Mass of a Confessor not a Bishop

Trier (continued)

drus ly- ba- ni

Rome (continued)

drus ly- ba- ni

Example 1. Continued.

Id. Graz 807, fol. 24v
(12th cent., Messine neumes)

Montpellier, H 159, fol. 21

Ec- ce- ad- ue- nit Ec- ce- ad- ue- nit

Introit, Epiphany

Ie. Rome, Bibl. Angelica T. 8.8. (German gradual,
14th cent., Hufnagelschrift) [=PM vol. 3, pl. 140b]

In o- mnem ter- ram ... -rum

L.U. 1486

IN ómnem * ter- ram ... -rum

Gradual, St. Barnabas

If. London, British Library Add. 24687
(German gradual, 15th cent., Hufnagelschrift) [= PM vol. 3, pl. 145]

V. Ad an- nün- ci- an- dum ma- ne

L.U. 1201

V. Ad an- nun- ci- an- dum ma- ne

Gradual, Mass of a Confessor

Ig. Aachen, Münsferschatz 35 (Index of
Mass chants, 15th cent., Hufnagelschrift)
[= Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 106]

Montpellier, H 159, fol. 77v

U- ni- uer si. U- ni- uer si.

Gradual, First Sunday of Advent

Example 1. Continued.

lh. Prague, Mus. Nat. Boh. Codex XIII.B, 17 Montpellier, H 159, fol. 113v
 (Messine neumes, 13th Cent.?)
 [= Josephus Hutter, *Notationis bohemicae
 antiquae* (Prague 1931) p. vii]

... in iu- di- ci-o in iu- di- ci- o
Offertory, Easter Sunday

li. Prague XIII.B, 17 [= Hutter, p. vii] Montpellier, H 159, fol. 83v

Hec di- es H ec di- es
Gradual, Easter Sunday

characteristically Germanic turns of melody.³⁰ It would appear that there may indeed be some connection between pentatonicism within the Gregorian repertory and the Germanic tradition, as Riemann proposed,³¹ but an investigation of this issue lies beyond the scope of the present study.

In a remarkably comprehensive set of tables,³² Wagner demonstrated that the Germanic variants are by and large concentrated in German sources and that, therefore, these sources transmit a Germanic dialect that is distinct from the "Romanic dialect" of the Italian, French, Spanish, and English sources. Occasionally the Romanic tradition appears to favor the Germanic preference for the *fa*, with minor thirds that bypass *E*, *B*, or *A* (as in the Introit for the First Sunday of Advent on the words *animam* and *inimici*); in these same places, the Germanic tradition, surprisingly, may appear more Romanic, writing the very notes that it ordinarily circumvents (example 3). Moreover, not all the German sources show all the Germanic variants. This is a point that Wagner recognized but did not pursue. In fact, no two German sources seem to show exactly the same variants, but rather vary among themselves in the degree to which they manifest Germanic or Romanic elements (example 4, page 100).

³⁰ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, 160.

³¹ Hugo Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, vol. 1, part 2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 62. This notion was rejected outright by Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*, 2:XLVIII.

³² Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*, 2:IX–XLIV.

Example 2.

2a. Moosburg gradual, fol. 11v
(14th cent., Hufnagelschrift)

Montpellier, H 159, fol. 57

(Di-)es san-cti-fi-ca-tus il-lu-xit (-es) sanc-ti-fi-ca-tus in-lu-xit
Alleluia, Christmas Day

2b. Thomaskirche gradual, fol. 148
(14th cent., Messine neumes)

Montpellier, H 159, fol. 56v

(accende) (-ia)
Alleluia, Pentecost

2c. Moosburg gradual, fol. 2v

Montpellier, H 159, fol. 106

Ad te do-mi-ne Ad te do-mi-ne
Offertory, First Sunday in Advent

2d. Codex Peter Bohn
(Trier, Stadtbibliothek 2254 [2197],
13th cent., Hufnagelschrift)

Montpellier, H 159, fol. 16

Statuit ... tes-ta-men-tum pa-cis Sta-tu-it ... tes-ta-men-tum pa-cis,
Introit, Mass of a Confessor

Example 3.

3a. Thomaskirche, p. 2 Montpellier, H 159, fol. 48v

a-ni-mam a-ni-mam

3b. Thomaskirche, p. 2 Montpellier, H 159, fol. 48v

in-i-mi-ci-me-i in-i-mi-ci-me-i

Example 4.

4a. Thomaskirche gradual Moosburg gradual

Ve- nit Ve- nit

4b. Thomaskirche Moosburg

Can- ta- te Can- ta- te

Offertory, Christmas Midnight Mass

4c. Graz 807 Moosburg gradual

quid ad- mi- ra- mi- ni quid ad- mi- ra- mi- ni

4d. Thomaskirche gradual Moosburg gradual

al- le- lu- ia al- le- lu- ia

Introit, Ascension

Chronology of the Germanic Dialect

Throughout his writings on the Germanic tradition, Wagner makes the important assumption that the Germanic variants are a late occurrence in the evolution of the melodies. "The German chant books transmit the end-point in the line of development of medieval liturgical song: in them the tendencies at work from the beginning come to a standstill."³³ Indeed, the most pressing question engendered by the existence of the Germanic dialect is one of chronology. Most scholars to date have assumed that the Germanic dialect is a late development, evolving out of the older Romanic version of the melodies. It is possible, however, that the Germanic dialect preserves an older layer of chant that later became modified in the Romanic manuscripts when square notation superseded the neumatic, or even earlier. Perhaps both dialects have roots that predate the advent of notation. Uncertainty on this critical issue no doubt accounts in part for the hesitant treatment scholarship has accorded the Germanic tradition to date.

³³ "Den Endpunkt der Entwicklungslinie der mittelalterlichen liturgischen Melodie liefern die germanischen Gesangbücher: in ihnen kommen die von Anfang an wirkenden Tendenzen zum Stillstand" (*ibid.*, LXII).

Wagner was aware of the fact that Germanic variants are not wholly restricted to Germanic sources, but also appear, albeit sporadically, in the earliest Romanic manuscripts with staff notation. This led him to reject the notion that the Germanic variants represent "an artistic influence from without, from the north," and to identify them rather as "a force already latent in the oldest version of the liturgical melodies."³⁴ This force, according to Wagner, manifests itself in an evolutionary development, with the end of the line occurring in the Germanic tradition. Such an evolutionary theory has the advantage of accounting for all early appearances of the Germanic variants, even in Romanic sources, although it cannot by itself explain why the evolution should have continued to a later stage in the Germanic lands. To bridge this gap, Wagner posits in effect a happy coincidence: The evolving chant tradition presented the ancient singers with what amounted to a choice. The German singers, because of their native artistic inclinations, went the route of the Germanic dialect, whereas the singers in Romanic lands held tight to the earlier tradition:

The strongest and most comprehensive expression which "the way on high" of the Germanic variants achieved was in no way some inorganic appearance in the development of the old melodies but rather the fulfillment of an inherent Gregorian tendency. That the phenomenon which elsewhere appears only as a rough outline and unopened bud should here be more fully developed, could only be the result of a special, inborn disposition of the German musical sensibility. Its deepest cultural-historical expression and its legitimacy becomes manifest if one places it side by side with the German gothic.³⁵

³⁴ "Was wir als germanische Varianten bezeichnen, erweist sich auch hier keineswegs als ausschließliches Eigentum der deutschen Überlieferung, sondern als rechtmäßiges gregorianisches Gut, von den allerdings die germanischen Sänger häufiger und unter gewissen Verhältnissen regelmäßigen Gebrauch machen" (ibid., LVIII). And again: "Selbst unsere italische Quelle ist nicht ganz frei von 'germanischen' Neigungen.... Über *servite* im Offert. *Jubilate*...haben sogar alle unsere handschriftlichen Quellen eine germanische Lesart, nur die Editio Vaticana folgt einer archaischeren. Derartige Dinge lassen sich nicht etwa durch eine künstlerische Einwirkung von außen her, vom Norden, erklären, sondern setzen einen in der ältesten Fassung des liturgischen Gesanges und seiner italischen Überlieferung latenten Drang voraus" (ibid., LXII).

³⁵ "Der stärkste und umfassendste Ausdruck, den so der 'Zug nach oben' in den germanischen Varianten erreicht, war keine unorganische Erscheinung in der Entwicklung der alten Melodie, sondern nur die Erfüllung einer gemeingregorianischen Veranlagung. Daß aber, was anderswo nur als Anlage und Keimkraft erscheint, sich hier voller entfalten konnte, war nur möglich infolge einer besondern, naturhaften Verfassung des

Most subsequent writers have accepted the notion that the Germanic tradition is a later "refashioning" of the Romanic version; and from this opinion it is but a small step to relegating the Germanic tradition to a lesser status. Froger's attitude is typical:

The term "dialect" to designate the German version of the Gregorian melodies is improper, for it suggests that the German readings are authentic to the same degree as the Romanic readings. Sidler³⁶ considers, with reason, that the Germanic "dialect" is an alteration; he mentions various theories and proposes his own (none is completely satisfactory) to explain its appearance. Federhofer³⁷...points out that this "dialect," according to recent views, is a refashioning (*Umformung*) of the Romanic version, effected in the high Middle Ages under the influence of western and eastern pentatonicism....³⁸

In justifying his assumption of the late evolution of the Germanic dialect, Wagner returned repeatedly to a single fact: that the practice of writing the dominant of the phrygian and hypomixolydian modes on *C* rather than *B* seems to have "achieved a systematic quality" in the German books, while it "emerges only exceptionally and in individual instances in the Romanic readings."³⁹ As he put it most emphatically in his discussion of mode 8 in the introduction to the facsimile edition of the Thomaskirche gradual, vol. 2:

germanischen Musikempfindens. Ihr tiefster, kulturgeschichtlicher Sinn und ihre Berechtigung offenbart sich sogleich, wenn man sie gegen die germanische Gotik in Parallele stellt" (ibid., LXIII).

³⁶ Sidler, "Ein kostbarer Zeuge" (see note 15).

³⁷ Hellmut Federhofer, "Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Kirchenmusik in Steiermark," *Singende Kirche* 11 (1964): 103-13.

³⁸ Froger, *Le Manuscrit 807*, 15* n. 4: "Le terme de 'dialecte' pour désigner la version germanique des mélodies grégoriennes est impropre, car il suggère que les leçons germaniques sont authentiques au même titre que les leçons romanes. Sidler considère avec raison que le 'dialecte' germanique est un altération; il mentionne diverses théories et propose la sienne (aucune n'est pleinement satisfaisante) pour expliquer son apparition. Federhofer, p. 103, signale que ce 'dialecte', selon des vues récentes, est une refonte (*Umformung*) de la version romane, effectuée dans le haut moyen âge sous l'influence du pentatonisme occidental et oriental, et cite à l'appui de cette théorie: Z. FALVY, *Zur Frage von Differenzen der Psalmtöne*, dans *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, vol. 25 (1962)."

³⁹ "...die künstlerischen Strebungen, die schließlich in den germanischen Büchern zur systematischen Auswirkung gelangten, nur ausnahmsweise und vereinzelt in den romanischen Lesarten auftauchen" (Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*, 1:IXn).

As is known, the archaic recitation tone in both the third and eighth modes was not *c* but *b*. Chant books from Montecassino, in proximity to Rome, show it still, for example, in the tract for Holy Saturday; our Italian source also, Cod. Vat. 6082, gives *b* as the recitation tone of the introit psalmody of mode 3, but *c* for mode 8. Here, accordingly, the first step in the migration to *c* has already been taken.⁴⁰

He saw this "migration" of the dominant in modes 3 and 8 as a "parallel phenomenon"⁴¹ to the pervasive appearance of Germanic variants in German books, as opposed to their merely occasional and individual appearance in the Romanic tradition. The notion of a later "migration" of the dominant is pursued further by Zoltán Falvy, whose study provides Froger with additional support for the idea of the "late" appearance of the Germanic tradition.

Froger was particularly impressed by the fact that Hugo Sidler⁴² had discovered several hundred cases in which the original neumes of Graz 807 had been corrected by a later hand, in each case the correction consisting of a change from the Romanic to the Germanic version:

The ideal would have been to publish Graz 807 in a double series of parallel photographs: on the left part of the pages images permitting the lower musical text of the palimpsest parts to be read, and opposite, on the right part of the pages, images realized by the normal photographic process, as in the present edition, where the upper text is seen. In this way one could make a systematic comparison between the "Romanic" version of the melody (doubtlessly that of the model of our gradual) and the "Germanized" version which is so to speak, superimposed on the same parchment leaves. Let us hope that this complementary publication can one day be realized.⁴³

Implicit in Froger's remarks is the notion that the Romanic version is thus demonstrated to be to the original and the Germanic version a refashioning that occurred *after* the initial copying of the manuscript. The corrections, however, can just as well be explained the other way around. We may easily imagine that the original scribe was not thoroughly familiar

⁴⁰ Ibid., 2:LIX.

⁴¹ Ibid., 2:LII.

⁴² P. Hubert Sidler, "Ein kostbarer Zeuge," 9-15.

⁴³ Froger, *Le Manuscrit 807*, 16*.

with the Germanic dialect and, copying from a staffless neumatic source, interpreted it in the Romanic manner. The diligent corrections back to the Germanic dialect would then indicate the *restoration* of a tradition that the monks of Klosterneuburg (the Augustinian community for which Graz 807 was prepared)⁴⁴ were unwilling to relinquish. The evidence of the corrections, therefore, is inconclusive with regard to establishing the priority of the Romanic or the Germanic tradition.

An explanation of the evolution of the Germanic dialect that agrees in essence with Froger's may be found in the final section of the Introduction to the facsimile edition of the Thomaskirche gradual, where Peter Wagner draws a parallel between the development of gothic architecture and that of gothic chant:

The gothic style of architecture was born in Romanic soil, but it found its peak of genius and final development of being in the German cathedrals and their pyramids of towers. Yet, long before the architectural wonders of the gothic cathedrals, German aspiration made its appearance in the musical monuments of German devotion, in the German chant books. There were only a few melodies in which [in their Romanic form] the German singer found his inclination toward characteristic melodic peaks satisfied; most of them he had to refashion himself.⁴⁵

That is, just as the gothic aesthetic originated in France but continued to develop and flower in Germany to a very late date, so also the plainchant tradition, likewise originating in the west, continued to develop and flower in Germany till a later time.

Despite Wagner's and subsequent scholars' agreement on the putative late development of the Germanic dialect, the notion of a "creative" and "progressive" German practice of refashioning the traditional melodies of the liturgy contradicts the known facts of the German attitude on this matter. For in every documentable aspect of the Germanic tradition—in the shapes of the written notes, in the preservation of archaic note types, in the use of pitch colors and modal indicators—the Germans did not show a progressive spirit at all, but rather the opposite: they *resisted change*. As Wagner himself puts it very well:

⁴⁴ Ibid., 32*: "En somme, Graz 807 présente dans son contenu liturgique quelques particularités qui désignent Klosterneuburg comme son lieu d'origine, et excluent Seckau."

⁴⁵ Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*, 2:LXIII.

The German chant books...surprise us up to the time of the first prints by their unbroken adherence to tradition; their musical notation is merely the organic end-product of the old neumatic notation, which scarcely differs from it in any essential way. The particular neume signs of strophicus, oriscus, salicus, pes quassus, and quilisma, which from the twelfth century on have as good as disappeared from the Romanic books to make place for more generalized notation, meet us still in the German printed graduals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This dependence on the outer appearance of the chant melodies is matched by the steadfastness of their cultivation.⁴⁶

One problem with suggesting an analogy between plainchant and the gothic aesthetic arises from the fact that the two phenomena in question originated many centuries apart from one another and came to German lands under wholly dissimilar circumstances. The thirteenth-century gothic aesthetic the Germans refashioned was still new at the time of the refashioning, and especially new to Germany. The Gregorian liturgy by that time, on the other hand, had been in German-speaking lands for over five hundred years. Thus, the German transformation of the imported French gothic in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries cannot be considered a parallel phenomenon to the German reception of the Gregorian liturgy, brought to the German-speaking regions as early as the time of the Celtic missionaries St. Columban and St. Gall in the early eighth century (see note 66).

Another problem with the theory of late development concerns chronology: When, in fact, could the "late development" of German chant have occurred? The earliest German sources with decipherable notation (twelfth century) show it already in its fully developed form.⁴⁷ If we compare, for a single chant melody, the twelfth-century Graz 807 with the late thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century Thomaskirche gradual, and these with the mid-fourteenth-century Moosburg gradual, we see that, contrary to expectations raised by Wagner's proposed dating, there is no clearcut progression from an earlier source more under the Romanic

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1:VII.

⁴⁷ See Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, 323, 330. The *Victime paschali* in Einsiedeln 366, which Stäblein (*Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, pl. 62) dates to the twelfth century and Franz Tack ("Gregorian Chant," p. 51) to the "11th and 12th century," shows the fully developed Germanic dialect. This may be the earliest surviving legible notation in Germanic dialect. The folio in question is reproduced by both Stäblein and Tack, the latter showing the entire sequence.

influence to later ones that are more Germanicized (example 5 on following pages).⁴⁸ Indeed, determining how and when any given chant center came to be more Germanicized or more Romanicized may not be possible. Our observations suggest that each post-eleventh-century manuscript from the eastern-European orbit represents a unique mixture of the two strains; but whether all or most of these manuscripts are the result of a common tendency to move from a Germanic origin to the more Romanicized version that comes down to us, or whether the progression worked from Romanic to Germanic, or whether there is some other explanation for the different mixtures of Romanic and Germanic elements, are questions that analysis of the chantbooks themselves may be unable to answer.

Other sorts of evidence, however, indicate that the Germanic dialect existed prior to the twelfth century—that, in fact, its origins can be demonstrated to lie in the era prior to the mid-ninth century.

Stäblein noted that a statement by Theoger, Bishop of Metz from 1117 to 1120, could be understood as a reference to the Germanic dialect: "Hoc decachordum secundi a plerisque deutonicis maxime frequentatum vitant Itali vel Romani, continentes se in b. molli; quos imitantur quidam Teutonici."⁴⁹ Stäblein reads this as a reference to "the lowering of B^{\natural} to B^{\flat} by the 'Itali vel Romani' in contrast to the C by the 'Teutonici'."⁵⁰

The treatise *De musica* by John Cotton (John of Afflighem?), which dates from ca. 1100 or possibly as early as 1078,⁵¹ includes musical examples written in staff notation. Comparison of these with Romanic chant manuscripts makes it clear that John was familiar with the Germanic dialect (example 6 on page 109). The comparison also supports other sorts of evidence that Claude Palisca has assembled to demonstrate that John "can be located in the south German area between St. Gall and Bamberg."⁵² We may say, then, that the Germanic dialect was known and accepted by John *before the twelfth century*.

⁴⁸ The excerpts in this example are typical rather than exceptional. A more detailed examination of the three German sources cited here would serve only to confirm the assertion that no clear-cut progression may be discerned from a more Romanic to a more Germanic style (or vice versa).

⁴⁹ Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, 3 vols. (St. Blasien, 1784; repr., Milan: Bollettino Bibliografico Musicale, 1931), 2:195.

⁵⁰ "Die Erniedrigung des h zu b bei den "Itali vel Romani" im Gegensatz zum c bei den Teutonici (wo sie allerdings auch bisweilen vorkomme) bezeugt dann Theoger" (Stäblein, "Der röm. Choral im Norden," 273).

⁵¹ The arguments regarding John's identification and the dating of *De musica* are reviewed by Palisca, *Hucbald, Guido, and John*, 87–95.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 94.

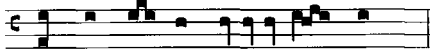
Example 5.

5a. Graz 807



Pu-er na-tus est no-bis ...

Thomaskirche



Pu-er na-tus est no-bis ...

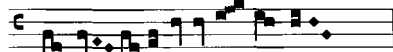
Moosburg



Pu-er na-tus est no-bis ...

Introit, Christmas Day

5c. Graz 807



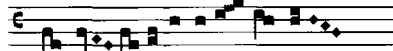
(do-) mi-nus

Thomaskirche



(do-) mi-nus

Moosburg



(do-) mi-nus

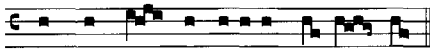
Gradual, Christmas Day

5b. Graz 807



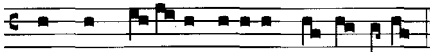
su-per hu-me-rum e-ius ...

Thomaskirche



su-per hu-me-rum e-ius ...

Moosburg



su-per hu-me-rum e-ius ...

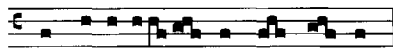
Introit, Christmas Day

5d. Graz 807



sa-lu-ta-re su-um

Thomaskirche



sa-lu-ta-re su-um

Moosburg



sa-lu-ta-re su-um

Gradual, Christmas Day

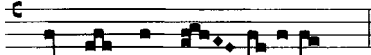
A statement by the south-German Aribo Scholasticus, living in the second half of the eleventh century, confirms the existence of the Germanic tradition prior to the twelfth century: "Omnes saltatrices laudabiles, sed tamen nobis generosiores videntur quam Longobardis. Illi enim spissiori, nos rariori cantu delectamur."⁵³ ("We [northerners] prefer melodic leaps more than the Italians [Lombards]; they enjoy more a stepwise melody, but we are more pleased by less common [i.e., less stepwise] melody").⁵⁴

⁵³ Gerbert, *Scriptores*, 2:212.

⁵⁴ Stäblein, in the introduction to *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale (Vat. lat. 5319)*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 36, suggests that

Example 5. Continued.

5e. Graz 807



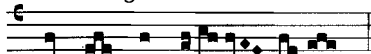
Tu- i sunt ce- li

Thomaskirche



Tu- i sunt ce- li

Moosburg



Tu- i sunt ce- li

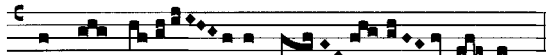
Offertory, Christmas Day

5f. Graz 807



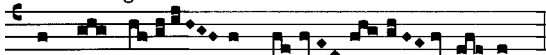
sa- lu- ta- re de- i no- stri.

Thomaskirche



sa- lu- ta- re de- i no- stri.

Moosburg




sa- lu- ta- re de- i no- stri.

Communion, Christmas Day

Aribo may in fact be referring to "Old Roman" chant when describing the chant sung by the "Lombards": "Ein Scholasticus Aribo (wohl in Süddeutschland in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts wirkend) definiert die beiden Melodie-Ideale an diesem Stilmoment. Die Südländer, sagt er, lieben den mehr dichten Gesang (der spissior cantus), während wir, Leute des Nordens, dem mehr lockeren Gesang mit Zwischenräumen (dem rarior cantus) den Vorzug geben. Ein kurzer Blick auf irgendeine beliebige Seite des Notenteils dieses Bandes macht klar, was Aribo mit dem spissior cantus meint: das engschrittige Dahingleiten, im Gegensatz zur teilweise Großschrittigen Gregorianik mit ihren die Zwischenräume überspringenden, hüpfenden (saltatrices) Intervallen."


Example 6.

John, *De musica*, p. 108



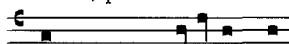
O rex glo- ri- ae do- mi- ne vir- tu- tum

L.U. 853



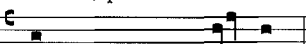
O rex gló- ri- ae,* Dó- mi- ne vir- tú- tum,
Antiphon for Magnificat, Ascension

De musica, p. 163



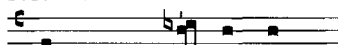
Te- cum prin- ci- pi- um

De musica, p. 163



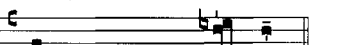
I- ste est Jo- han- nes

L.U. 412



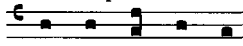
Te- cum prin- ci- pi- um
Antiphon, Christmas, Second Vespers

L.U. 420



I- ste est Jo- han- nes
Antiphon, Commemoration of St. John

De musica, p. 166



Il- le ho- mo qui

De musica, p. 166



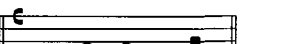
Gau- de- te

L.U. 1095



Il- le ho- mo,* qui
Antiphon, Commemorations, Vespers

L.U. 334



Gau- de- te
Introit, Third Sunday of Advent

These witnesses to the existence of the Germanic dialect prior to the twelfth century undermine the likelihood of Wagner's late-development theory (his writings imply a post-tenth-century origin), for they narrow the window of time available for the Germanic dialect to have "developed" to a single century.

The late-development theory becomes virtually impossible to sustain if we consider the observations by two ninth-century theorists also cited by Bruno Stäblein.⁵⁵ Commenting on Charlemagne's chapel singers, Aurelian of Réôme claimed that the *palatini* assigned the office antiphons of Advent to the first mode rather than the second "ob excelsiorem vocis modulationem (because of the higher vocal melody)."⁵⁶ By suggesting that their version of the melodies extended up to *c*, i.e., beyond the range of the second mode, he implies that they sang the antiphons in Germanic dialect.⁵⁷ Thus, example 7 rather than example 8.

Example 7.



Example 8.

L.U. 340



Dec. 17, Great Antiphon for the Magnificat

⁵⁵ Stäblein, "Der röm. Choral im Norden," 272-75.

⁵⁶ Aurelian of Réôme, *Musica disciplina*, in Gerbert, *Scriptores*, 1:45 (and see also the edition by Lawrence Gushee, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, no. 21 [n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1975], 92).

⁵⁷ "...die deutschen Quellen schreiben, falls sonst der untere der beiden benachbarten Halbtöne die Melodiespitze darstellt, den oberen, z.B. in der Adventsantiphon jedesmal bei *, also F statt E, und beim Melisma die Erhöhung aca

D E* D E* D D E* D E* F G a G a h a (bzw. aba)
a fi-ne us-que ad fi-nem for-ti-ter -----

Die Frage nach dem Alter beantwortet eine Stelle bei Aurelian von Réomé (9. Jh.): die "*palatini*", die kais. Kapellsänger rechneten die bekannten O-Antiphonen der Adventszeit nicht dem zweiten Ton, wie in außerdeutschen Quellen während des ganzen MA. üblich, sondern dem ersten zu" (Stäblein, "Der röm. Choral im Norden," 273).

Stäblein also understands a remark by John the Deacon to refer to the preference for thirds that characterizes the Germanic dialect: "Germani seu Galli...nonnulla de proprio Gregorianis cantibus miscuerunt (Germans, i.e., Gauls...have mixed that which is improper into Gregorian chant)."⁵⁸

One final observation by Wagner himself should help persuade us that the Germanic dialect extends far back in time, perhaps to the era of the earliest layer of the Gregorian tradition:

The graduals of the ember days in Advent, which all have the same melody type—and are all transposed up a fifth—, end remarkably often, and in both their parts, even in the Romanic versions, with a final figure *ca*, which appears German. Hence one can conclude that the Germanic cadences involving a falling third, which are especially frequent in the second mode, do not contradict the stylistic character of the liturgical melody, especially since precisely this frequently recurring gradual melody in our oldest chant books must certainly be reckoned to belong to the oldest layer of the entire chant book.⁵⁹

Though Stäblein, Anglès, Froger, and others have expressed doubt as to whether the division of the chant tradition into Romanic and Germanic dialects is the best way of accounting for the Germanic variants, two concrete and undisputed aspects of the chant tradition—geography and notation—support this division. Perhaps we may never be able to prove exactly how ancient the Germanic dialect is, but the testimony of John and Aribo Scholasticus establishes its existence already at the time of the earliest decipherable Romanic sources (the eleventh-century manuscripts with alphabetic notation).⁶⁰ From the time of the earliest sources in the Romanic tradition with decipherable pitches, therefore, contemporary witnesses recognized the differences between the Romanic and the Germanic versions of the melodies. From Aurelian and John the Deacon we can deduce the existence of the Germanic tradition already by the mid-ninth century, two hundred years earlier still.

From as far back as we can trace, therefore, there appears to be a Germanic family of the Gregorian tradition. It is identified by its heavy concentration of Germanic variants, phenomena that appear in the non-Germanic branches of the Gregorian tradition only sporadically. With

⁵⁸ Ibid., 273 (with reference by Stäblein to *Patr. Lat.* 73, 90).

⁵⁹ Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*, 2:L.

⁶⁰ E.g., Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H159 (see note 3, above).

only a handful of exceptions, manuscripts with square notation preserve the versions of chant with few Germanic variants, while manuscripts with Messine, German-neume, and *Hufnagel* notations preserve versions with a heavy concentration of these elements. The manuscripts with Messine, German-neume, and *Hufnagel* notations originated in the eastern part of Europe (Scandinavia, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, and Austria); the great majority of manuscripts in square notation originated in the Romanic regions (Italy, western France, Spain, and England).

Significance of the Germanic Chant Tradition

The notion that the Germanic tradition may be quite ancient has important implications. If this tradition dates back to as early as we have suggested, it would have existed at the time the earliest surviving chant manuscripts (the neumatic sources) were copied. It has long been recognized that the Germanic notations evolved from, among others, the Messine and St. Gall scripts, but it has not been acknowledged that the relationship may be relevant in reverse chronology as well, that is, that the later Germanic sources, in which the pitches are defined, may be able to tell us something about the nature of the melodies in the earliest neumatic sources, in which the pitches are not defined. Since these earliest neumatic manuscripts originated in a region that includes Switzerland, southern Germany, and parts of eastern France (St. Gall, Einsiedeln, and Laon),⁶¹ it stands to reason that later manuscripts from this same region that retain many of their notational features (i.e., the Germanic sources) would more accurately preserve their melodies than would later manuscripts from the Romanic family (many of which originated from further away and all of which use a different type of notation). It would seem

⁶¹ Among the oldest neumatic manuscripts are Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek Rep. I.93 (olim 169), which includes scattered pieces from ca. 900, written in German neumes with French elements; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 359, a cantatorium from the beginning of the tenth century, written in St. Gall neumes with *litterae significatae* (occasional letters written above the neumes that, according to various medieval writers, clarify certain aspects of rhythm); Laon, Bibliothèque municipale 239, a gradual from Laon, beginning of tenth century, written in Messine neumes with *litterae significatae*; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 339, a gradual from the second half of the tenth century, written in St. Gall neumes without *litterae significatae*; Chartres, Bibliothèque 47, a gradual from Brittany, tenth century, written in Breton neumes with *litterae significatae*; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Lit. 6 (Ed.III.7), a gradual and sequentiary from the Cloister of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, second half of the tenth century, written in St. Gall neumes with *litterae significatae*; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek 121, a gradual and sequentiary from ca. 1000, written in St. Gall neumes with *litterae significatae*; Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine H159, a tonary from the Cloister of St. Bénigne in Dijon, eleventh century, written in north-French neumes and in alphabetic notation (dual notation). On the last named, see note 3, above.

logical, that is to say, when attempting to reconstruct the pitches of the earliest neumatic manuscripts, to take into consideration the pitches preserved in the manuscripts that are closest to them both geographically and notationally.

To date, however, no published editions of chant have done this.⁶² Peter Wagner himself recommended against the procedure for, as noted above, he was of the opinion that the Germanic variants were a late phenomenon, postdating the tenth-century sources.⁶³ The monks of Solesmes have likewise failed to take note of the Germanic tradition in their various editions "according to the earliest sources," but for reasons that have never been explained. One ardent champion of their cause, as we have seen above (note 4), denied the very existence of the Germanic dialect. Admittedly, there are at this time no clear lines of descent that would establish how the Romanic and the Germanic traditions relate to one another. Even the way the neumatic scripts themselves relate to each other is still much debated. Moreover, the German sources vary considerably among themselves in the degree to which they reflect the Germanic or the Romanic traditions. Ironically, in the dispute that broke out between the Solesmes monks and the "traditionalists" like Peter Wagner when the *Kyriale seu ordinarium missae* was published in 1905,⁶⁴ the Solesmes monks (the "archaeological school") argued in favor of basing "official" editions of the chant repertory on the oldest notated sources. Yet, since they used sources from the Romanic tradition as their models for the reconstruction of the melodies, their publications reflect a version of chant that is devoid of the "Germanisms" that must lie hidden in the neumatic sources they purport to honor. The traditionalists, on the other hand, in wishing

⁶² R. John Blackley, Director of the Schola Antiqua, and Barbara Katherine Jones have privately transcribed the propers for all the Sundays and major feasts from neumatic sources (primarily Laon 239, but St. Gall 339, Einsiedeln 121, St. Gall 359, and Chartres 47 where Laon 239 is incomplete) with pitches derived primarily from Graz 807, other German graduals, and Verdun 759. With the Schola Antiqua Blackley has recorded three programs based on these transcriptions for the Nonesuch and Florilegium labels, but to date none of the transcriptions has appeared in print except for isolated examples in program booklets accompanying the Schola's recordings and concerts. (Several complete transcriptions, together with a detailed explanation of their derivation from neumatic and Germanic sources, were published in *Gregoriaans*, the program booklet of the chant conference held during the 1984 Festival Oude Muziek Utrecht [Holland].)

⁶³ "Ob übrigens die ältesten St. Galler Codices seit dem 10. Jahrhundert bereits die germanischen Lesarten vertreten, bedarf noch näherer Untersuchung. Manches spricht dagegen, so z. B. die Neumierungen der Psalmformeln des 3. und 8. Tones in Cod. 381 (XI S.) mit dem Rezitationston h, der durch den Akzentfranculus (=h-c) wahrscheinlich gemacht wird" (Wagner, *Einführung in das Gesangbuch*, 2: LXII).

⁶⁴ John A. Emerson, "Plainchant," 831.

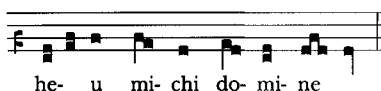
to acknowledge the historical and artistic validity of postneumatic chant, have helped make known manuscripts like the Thomaskirche gradual and other late Germanic books that may finally help us find a more reliable key to the melodic chant style of the tenth-century sources.

Certainly this key will not be easy to define. To take one specific example, we may ponder the situation with regard to the neumatic source Laon 239 (early tenth century, Messine script; fol. 10v is reproduced here as figure 4). It so happens that there are several other early manuscripts from Laon still held in the Laon Bibliothèque municipale. One of these, MS 263, dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and, like MS 239, originated at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Laon. It is written in a later form of Messine neumes on a four-line staff. No better source than this could be imagined for a reconstruction of the melodies in MS 239, except that the two books have almost no melodies in common. (MS 263 contains sequences, hymns, and liturgical drama while MS 239 is a gradual containing Propers for the entire church year.) Nevertheless, in MS 263 there are at least two instances of what appears to be a Germanic variant: on fol. 22, where the opening of the Introit for Christmas day is quoted (example 9), and on fol. 178, on the last syllable of "domine" (example 10).

Example 9.



Example 10.



Elsewhere in this source, the Romanic tradition is clearly in evidence (example 11). In a study of the contents of Laon 263, David G. Hughes, taking note of the presence of several proses that are found elsewhere only in German sources, states, "My impression...is that Laon 263 is rather more German-oriented than the average French proser of the time...."

Example 11.



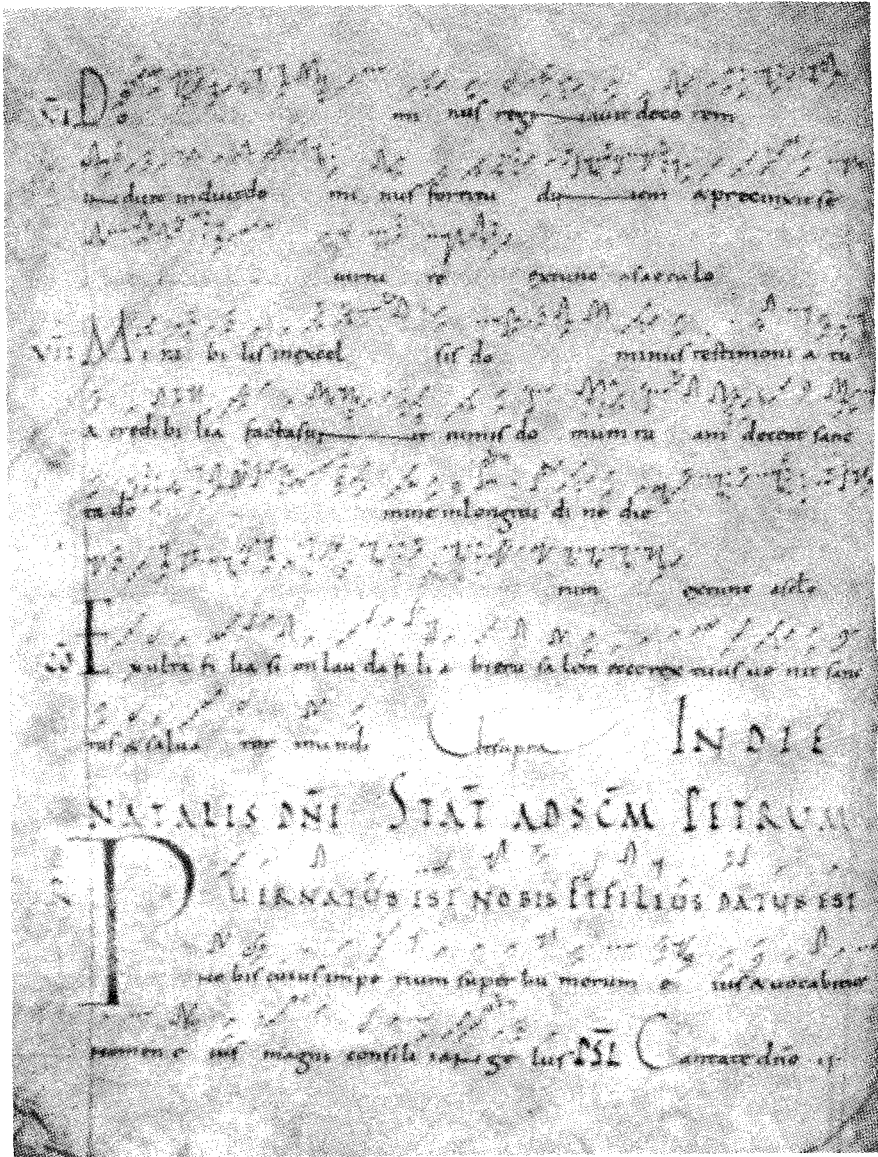


Figure 4. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 239 (ca. 930), fol. 10v, showing the end of the second Mass and the beginning of the third Mass for Christmas.

[*Hanc concordi*] appears almost exclusively in German sources, and is thus another example of Laon's curious interest in German pieces."⁶⁵

If MS 263 can be taken as a guide to the nature of the melodies in Laon during the Middle Ages, we would have to conclude that this was a chant center that felt the influence of both traditions, the Romanic and the Germanic. Reconstruction of the Laon 239 melodies should therefore take this into account.

With the St. Gall manuscripts the Germanic influence is presumably an even greater factor. (St. Gall lies within the German-speaking sphere, and *Hufnagelschrift* evolved directly from of St. Gall neumes.) Obviously, the degree to which any one source partakes of Germanic or Romanic elements may be difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, it is a falsification of history to deny the role of the Germanic tradition altogether, uncritically accepting Romanic sources as the sole keys to reconstructing the pitches in the oldest notated chant sources. Now, with interest in Carolingian and even pre-Carolingian chant on the rise, it is especially important to bring all the relevant evidence to bear in our attempts to reconstruct the ancient melodies. Otherwise these reconstructions will almost certainly be twentieth-century fictions that never existed in the past.

Conclusion

Peter Wagner assumed that the Germanic tradition evolved from the Romanic as a result of the "organic development" of a force inherent in the Gregorian melodies. It is not our purpose here to disprove his theory of organic development or to question his rejection of the notion that the Germanic tradition might have originated in the north (specifically, in the British Isles), whence it was brought into middle Europe by the Irish missionaries St. Columban and St. Gall and their disciples in the early years of the eighth century.⁶⁶ These issues deserve a separate study of their own. What seems clear is that, whatever and wherever its origins, the Germanic dialect *is* very ancient. From the eyewitness accounts of its existence ca. 850 cited above we may also infer that already at that time it was no longer considered a new phenomenon (otherwise we would expect Aurelian and John the Deacon to have remarked on the novelty of the practices to which they refer).

⁶⁵ David G. Hughes, "Music for St. Stephen at Laon," in *Words and Music: The Scholar's View*, ed. Laurence Berman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 143.

⁶⁶ Wagner himself, however, was the first to emphasize the role of the Irish missionaries in the early German church, citing particularly the monk Marcellus: "It is not without importance that the oldest known artist of S. Gall is of Irish origin." He continues: "The monks from the Island kingdom who christianized Germany certainly taught in the monasteries founded by them no other order of liturgy and chant than the one which was

Thus, Germanic plainchant appears to have been a liturgical practice in eastern Europe for as many as seven centuries or more before the great decline of chant in the last years of the Renaissance. As such it merits consideration as a major branch of the Gregorian tradition. Why the Germanic dialect should have arisen, and how it traveled throughout the eastern regions of the Frankish kingdom and Scandinavia, are areas for future research. The notation of Germanic chant must also arouse our curiosity. Could its distinctive appearance be connected with performance conventions? Why did German singers resist for so many years (approximately half a millenium) the practice of writing the melodies in quadratic neumes? All these questions invite further study.

current among them" (*Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, Part 1, trans. Agnes Orme & E. G. P. Wyatt [London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1901; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1986], 221). Franz Tack also considers the Anglo-Celtic influence to be important: "Since the conversion of Germany was accomplished shortly thereafter [after the Council of Glasgow in 747] by Irish and Anglo-Saxon Benedictines, whose Continental cloisters, including St. Gall, became missionary centers and advanced schools for liturgical chant, it is impossible to deny the strong influence on the oldest German manuscripts exerted by Irish and Anglo-Saxon plainsong notation" ("Gregorian Chant," p. 10).

The "Arabian Influence" Thesis Revisited

By Shai Burstyn

The Eastern influence on medieval European music was a hotly debated topic in the musicological literature from the early 1920s through the 1940s.¹ Interest in the "Arabian Influence" thesis has reawakened in recent years and appears to be slowly but surely gathering momentum again.² Firmly convinced that the origins of Western chant were rooted in Eastern sources (Byzantine, Syriac, and ultimately Jewish), chant specialists made efforts to uncover East-West links in the first Christian centuries—efforts

¹ Some of the landmarks in the debate include Henry G. Farmer, "Clues for the Arabian Influence on European Musical Theory," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1925): 61–80 (republished by Harold Reeves [London, 1925]); idem, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London: Reeves, 1930); Kathleen Schlesinger, "Is European Musical Theory Indebted to the Arabs?" *The Musical Standard* 2 (16 May 1925; republished by Harold Reeves [London, 1925]); Julián Ribera, *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1929); Otto Ursprung, "Um die Frage nach dem arabischen bzw. maurischen Einfluss auf die abendländische Musik des Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1934): 129–41; Marius Schneider, "A propósito del influjo árabe," *Anuario musical* 1 (1946): 31–141; and idem, "Arabischer Einfluss in Spanien?" *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Kongress-Bericht, Bamberg 1953* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), 175–81. For a comprehensive bibliography of the manifold aspects of the question, see Eva Perkuhn, *Die Theorien zum arabischen Einfluss auf die europäische Musik des Mittelalters* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde, 1976).

Throughout this article I use the general, somewhat vague geographical designation "Eastern" for lack of a more precise term. "Islamic" is inappropriate as it now comprises millions of Muslims who live outside the cultural orbit of my concern. Likewise, the term "Arabic" is at once too general as a national designation and too narrow as a linguistic indicator, for that culture includes speakers of languages other than Arabic. Nevertheless, the religion of Islam and the Arabic language are the two crucial factors which lent unity and cohesion to medieval Islamic culture. This culture "was a collective achievement, and not only of Arabs and Persians, but also of Copts, Aramaeans, Jews, Byzantines, Turks, Berbers, Spaniards, and not even excluding contributions from Africans and Indians" (Hamilton Gibb, "The Influence of Islamic Culture on Medieval Europe," *Change in Medieval Society*, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp [New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964], 156; originally published in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 38 [1955]: 82–98).

² See, among others, Alexander Ringer, "Eastern Elements in Medieval Polyphony," *Studies in Medieval Culture* 2 (1966): 75–83; idem, "Islamic Civilization and the Rise of European Polyphony," *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis* 3 (1974): 189–92; Don M. Randel, "Al-Fārābī and the Role of Arabic Music Theory in the Latin Middle Ages," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976): 173–88; Habib H. Touma, "Was hätte Ziryāb zur heutigen Aufführungspraxis mittelalterlicher Gesänge gesagt," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 1 (1977): 77–94; idem, "Indications of Arabian Musical Influence on the Iberian Peninsula from the 8th to the 13th Century," *Revista de Musicologia* 10 (1987): 137–50; Ernst Lichtenhahn, "Begegnung mit 'andalusischer' Praxis," *Basler Jahrbuch für*

that were usually deemed legitimate.³ Far less acceptable to many music scholars was the proposition of a second wave of Eastern influence on medieval European music, based on eight centuries of Arabic presence on the continent and on the close contact with the East during the Crusades. Still echoing the eighteenth-century contempt for non-European music, a marked Euro-centrist musicological penchant reacted to the "Arabian Influence" thesis in a variety of ways, ranging from vehement rejection of any influence whatsoever to disregard of the topic as if the question itself were not legitimate. These reactions form an interesting chapter in the recent historiography of Western music.

There is little question that the most knowledgeable and effective advocate of the "Arabian Influence" thesis was Henry George Farmer. For some fifty years, from 1915 until he died in 1965, Farmer flooded the musicological literature with studies of Arabic music and its contribution to Western music. His most cogent arguments are found in the book *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*.⁴ He amassed a wealth of information which he presented as facts "proving" the Arabic influence on medieval European music. He drew up an impressively long list of musical instruments of Eastern origin which found their way to Europe, followed by an even longer list of Latin, French, Spanish, and English words relating to music, of Arabic origin.

Many of Farmer's interpretations make good sense. Others are open to question. From a distance of six decades, Farmer still impresses with his powerful, often insightful advocacy of the "Arabian Influence" thesis. Obvious strengths of his writings are their grounding in medieval Arabic written sources of music theory, and their coverage of pertinent Latin

historische Musikpraxis 1 (1977): 137-51; Joseph Kuckertz, "Struktur und Aufführung mittelalterlicher Gesänge aus der Perspektive vorderorientalischer Musik," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 1 (1977): 95-110; Hans Oesch, "Zwei Welten—erste Gedanken und Fragen nach der Begegnung mit andalusischer Musik aus Marokko," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 1 (1977): 131-51; Stefan Ehrenkreutz, "Medieval Arabic Music Theory and Contemporary Scholarship," *In Theory Only* 4 (1978): 14-27; George D. Sawa, "The Survival of Some Aspects of Medieval Arabic Performance Practice," *Ethnomusicology* 25 (1981): 73-86.

³ Huckle rejects Idelsohn's view that Gregorian chant derives from Jewish tradition (Abraham Z. Idelsohn, "Parallelen zwischen gregorianischen und hebräisch-orientalischen Gesangsweisen," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 4 [1921/2], 515-24) and claims that "The forms of Western chant were developed in the West, even if they were sometimes stimulated from the Orient" (Helmut Huckle, "Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 [1981]: 439).

⁴ The book grew out of an extended scholarly argument between Farmer and Kathleen Schlesinger, who in her "Is European Music Theory Indebted to the Arabs?" sought to rebut Farmer's "Clues for the Arabian Influence."

sources. But, for all his usual caution, his strong convictions *sometimes* led him to read more into the evidence than was warranted. Indeed, some of his less credible "facts" seem to result from excessive zeal to show derivations at all cost. Despite his diligent spade-work and sharp intuition, Farmer's writings remain the work of a maverick who failed to leave an indelible mark on medieval musical scholarship. In order to have argued his thesis more convincingly, Farmer would have had to construct his arguments on information and methodology which were not fully available to him. In my opinion they are not available even today. Reviewing the voluminous literature on the thesis leads one to the conclusion that most attempts to assess Eastern influences on medieval European music—however interesting and ingenious they may be—stumble over one or more obstacles. The following are the most troublesome issues that must be sorted out prior to meaningful investigation of the topic:

- 1) The lack of sufficient knowledge about non-learned music traditions. This aspect of medieval music is of crucial importance to our subject, as it was very likely a meeting ground for oriental and occidental musicians in the Middle Ages. The concept of medieval European music as part of an essentially oral culture is largely undefined, and many questions remain unanswered, including the nature and role of improvisation in medieval musical practice, the applicability of the modal system in that musical culture, and the relationship between music theory and practice.
- 2) The lack of sufficient understanding about important aspects of Arabic music in general and its medieval theoretical and practical features in particular. A prime example is the concept of *maqām*, which, for all its centrality in Arabic music, remains a controversial topic even among specialists.
- 3) The methodological difficulty of dealing with oral musical practices, Eastern and European, which took place a millenium ago. To what extent can the extant written medieval musical repertory, cultivated by the Church and the upper classes, be taken to reflect non-learned oral practices? How much similarity can be conjectured between contemporary Eastern musics and their medieval predecessors? Without means to overcome these methodological obstacles, the "Arabian Influence" question remains largely moot.

4) The absence of a comprehensive theory of the musical influence of one culture on another. For all the progress made in recent years in acculturation studies, they fail to provide firm guidelines for understanding what happens when two cultures come into contact. Ethnomusicologists have studied many isolated cases of music acculturation, mostly relating to specific situations in well-defined non-European and non-Western locales. Historians of Western music, however, have rarely availed themselves of either general tentative theories of acculturation, or specific ethnomusicological findings as tools for understanding musical European processes.⁵ Thus, no attempt has been made to date to approach the "Arabian Influence" thesis from the standpoint of musical acculturation, although this approach offers a sorely lacking conceptual tool.

Even though definitive answers to these and related questions are presently unavailable, I shall address some of them as a necessary preamble to re-evaluating the "Arabian Influence" thesis.

The starting point for any investigation of the "Arabian Influence" thesis must be the recognition that Eastern music was in the Middle Ages, and still is today, an oral phenomenon. While one could never guess it from reading current textbooks on medieval music, this is also the salient feature of monophonic European music of the same period.⁶ As Pirrotta aptly put it, "The music from which we make history, the written tradition of music, may be likened to the visible tip of an iceberg, most of which is submerged and invisible. The visible tip certainly merits our attention, because it is all that remains of the past and because it represents the most consciously elaborated portion, but in our assessments we should always keep in mind the seven-eighths of the iceberg that remain submerged: the music of the unwritten tradition."⁷

⁵ See Klaus Wachsmann, "Criteria for Acculturation," *International Musicological Society: Report of the Eighth Congress, New York 1961*, 2 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961-62), 1:139-49.

⁶ Charles Seeger chastised "the majority of musicologists [who] are not primarily interested in music, but in the literature of the European fine art of music, its grammar and syntax (harmony and counterpoint), and have dug neither deeply nor broadly enough even in that rich field to find either oral tradition or folk music, except in some rather superficial aspects" (Charles Seeger, "Oral Tradition in Music," *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* [New York, 1950], 825).

⁷ Nino Pirrotta, "The Oral and Written Traditions of Music," *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 72.

It stands to reason that the submerged seven-eighths of oral musical tradition in medieval Europe is fertile ground for examining possible Eastern influences. Because our only remaining link with it is through the extant manuscripts, we must recognize the strong oral residue in those written documents, and see them as potentially reflecting oral musical practices.⁸ Nevertheless, for all its instructiveness and ingenuity, the act of forcing medieval written musical documents to yield information pertinent to vanished oral practices is a research technique of at best limited prospects.

The only other course open to the medieval historian is to study contemporary oral musical practices. This approach rests, of course, on the assumption that the changes in musical practices of the contemporary oral cultures have been small enough to allow meaningful comparisons with the European Middle Ages. This is indeed the course of action advocated, or at least implied, by Schneider, Bukofzer, Anglés, Wiora, Sachs, Harrison, and Apfel, to mention only a few.⁹ Justifying this method is the apparent need of oral cultures to preserve their conceptualized knowledge through frequent repetition, which establishes, according to Walter Ong, "a highly traditionalist or conservative set of mind that with good reason inhibits intellectual experimentation."¹⁰ Corroborating this view is Bruno Nettl's observation that oral cultures, due to their special nature, must depend on certain mnemonic devices such as repetition of melodic and rhythmic units, melodic sequence, predominance of a single tone, drone and parallel polyphony.¹¹ Alex Lomax agrees and finds that

⁸ See Leo Treitler, "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music," *Speculum* 56 (1981): 471-91.

⁹ Marius Schneider, "Kaukasische Parallelen zur mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit," *Acta musicologica* 12 (1940): 52; idem, "Klagelieder des Volkes in der Kunstmusik der italienischen Ars nova," *Acta musicologica* 33 (1961): 162-68; Manfred Bukofzer, "Popular Polyphony in the Middle Ages," *Musical Quarterly* 26 (1940): 31-49; Higinio Anglés, "Die Bedeutung des Volksliedes für die Musikgeschichte Europas," *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Kongress-Bericht, Bamberg 1953*, 181-84; Walter Wiora, "Schrift und Tradition als Quellen der Musikgeschichte," *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Kongress-Bericht, Bamberg 1953*, 159-75; idem, "Ethnomusicology and the History of Music," *Studia musicologica* 7 (1965): 187-93; Curt Sachs, "Primitive and Medieval Music: A Parallel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960): 43-49; Frank L. Harrison, "Tradition and Innovation in Instrumental Usage 1100-1450," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 319-35; Ernst Apfel, "Volkskunst und Hochkunst in der Musik des Mittelalters," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 25 (1968): 81-95.

¹⁰ Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982), 41.

¹¹ Bruno Nettl, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology* (New York: Free Press, 1964), 236. The same view is expressed by Alan Merriam in *The Anthropology of Music* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 297.

“musical style appears to be one of the most conservative of cultural traits.”¹²

There are no set criteria for determining the relevance of various contemporary oral cultures to the problem at hand, although geographic proximity and historical links are the more obvious possibilities.¹³ Some scholars draw the line for relevant “control groups” within Europe, while others extend the scope to non-European cultures.¹⁴ As for using contemporary Arabic music as a reliable model for medieval Arabic musical practices, several studies indicate sufficient grounds for comparison, provided caution is exercised. Beyond the slow rate of change generally assumed for the musical practices of oral cultures, the tonal materials used in contemporary Arabic music are thought to conform largely to those of medieval Arabic music.¹⁵ Moreover, the writings of medieval Arabic theorists contain important points of contact with contemporary Arabic practices. Al-Fārābī (d. 950) and al-Isfāhānī (d. 967?), among others, are important theoretical sources for establishing continuity in customs relating to the social functions of music, and even more significantly, for particular improvisatory and ornamental techniques.¹⁶ This is the *raison d’être* behind experiments such as the “Woche der Begegnung—Musik des Mittelmeerraumes und Musik des Mittelalters,” in which the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis brought together Moroccan professional musicians with Western colleagues specializing in research and performance of me-

¹² Alex Lomax, “Folk Song Style,” *American Anthropologist* 61 (1959): 930.

¹³ For corroborating his analysis of Homer’s *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in terms of formulaic epithet technique, Milman Parry turned to the still living oral tradition of Yugoslavian poet bards (Adam Parry, ed., *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971]). Albert B. Lord refined and further developed Parry’s theories in his field studies of Serbo-Croatian epic singers (*The Singer of Tales* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964]). And in medieval musicology Nino Pirrotta was able to establish links between contemporary Sicilian folk songs and compositions from the Codex Reina (“New Glimpses of an Unwritten Tradition,” *Words and Music: The Scholar’s View*, ed. Laurence Berman [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972], 271–91).

¹⁴ Such comparative approaches are at least tacitly gaining legitimacy in medieval musical research, as evidenced by, for example, the Round Table “Eastern and Western Concepts of Mode” which took place at the 1977 IMS congress (*International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977*, ed. Daniel Hertz and Bonnie Wade [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981], 501–49).

¹⁵ Sawa, “Medieval Arabic Performance Practice,” 80–83; idem, “Bridging One Millennium: Melodic Movement in al-Fārābī and Kolinsky,” *Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Music*, ed. Robert Falck and Timothy Rice (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 117–33.

¹⁶ Lois Ibsen al-Faruqi, “The Nature of the Musical Art of Islamic Culture: A Theoretical and Empirical Study of Arabian Music” (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1974), 78.

dieval music.¹⁷ At the same time we are cautioned that Arabic music has continuously changed as a result of contact with other cultures, and that the interpretation of medieval Arabic theoretical sources is fraught with difficulties.¹⁸

Assuming that enough information about medieval Arabic musical practices can be gleaned from the theoretical sources, the researcher must then devise a methodological framework for dealing with the "Arabian Influence" thesis in the context of music acculturation. But there is no universally accepted definition of acculturation, because anthropologists and sociologists constantly shift the emphasis and therefore the meaning of the term. We may start with the 1936 definition put forth in the so-called "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation": "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups."¹⁹ There is disagreement about the nature of the cultural contact implied in this definition: does it have to be continuous? does it have to be first-hand? In any case, acculturation clearly comprises phenomena such as cultural borrowing, diffusion, assimilation, and rejection. Moreover, the study of acculturation examines the process of change that cultural elements undergo as they are integrated into their new setting. Here we can consult the ethnomusicologists who have studied cases of music acculturation and attempted theoretical summations of this complex question.

Bruno Nettl, in his recent book on the Western impact on world music, enumerates the following factors relevant to the study of the response of the borrowing culture: "general character of a culture, its complexity, geographic proximity to Europe or North America, relative similarity to that of the West; relative complexity and similarity of a musical style and of its system of musical conceptualization, institutions, behavior, transmission processes in relation to the Western [style]; a society's attitude towards music, towards change and cultural homogeneity; type and length of exposure to Western music."²⁰ Mutatis mutandis, these factors are applicable to the "Arabian Influence" thesis.

¹⁷ Wulf Arlt, ed., *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 1 (1977): 11–151.

¹⁸ Annon Shiloah, "The Arabic Concept of Mode," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 19–20.

¹⁹ Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville Herskovits, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38 (1936): 149.

²⁰ Bruno Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1984), 23.

If there is any one singularly weak area in the voluminous literature on the "Arabian Influence" thesis, it is the treatment of the subject from the standpoint of acculturation—general, or musical, or both. In fact, most writers have not even identified the problems to be addressed. Farmer, for example, assumed that musical influence was proven by establishing etymological links between Arabic and European terms and names, and by tracing the migration of musical instruments from point A to point B. Current ethnomusicological studies show, however, that various reactions to the transplantation of a foreign musical instrument are possible. For example, Persian classical music adopted the Western violin to such an extent that it became its most popular instrument. With the violin came the tuning, playing and bowing styles, pizzicato, vibrato, and other typically Western playing techniques. Nettl observes that "more than his colleagues playing traditional instruments, [the Persian violin player] tends to alter the traditional scales, with their 3/4 and 5/4 tones, in the direction of the closest Western equivalents."²¹ In south India, on the other hand, the violin was also taken over, but stripped of its Western techniques. It was made to fit Indian style in playing position, sound production, and all other essential performing aspects. George List cites the adoption of a crude version of the Western fiddle by the Jibaro Indians of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon as an example of a type of hybridization "which parallels neither indigenous nor European forms."²²

Even assuming that the physical transfer of Eastern musical instruments to medieval Europe is a proven fact—as indeed it is in many cases—questions arise which Farmer never dealt with. When Europe adopted the Eastern musical instruments, did it also adopt stylistic traits of their indigenous music? and if so, to what degree? How much did European musicians accommodate the Arabic instruments to their own stylistic preferences? Relevant here is Jack Westrup's rebuttal of the claim that the European presence of Eastern instruments shows their influence in the songs of the troubadours and trouvères: "It is not conclusive in itself any more than the French origin of the saxophone has determined the character of the music written for it."²³

Studying the contact between African and New World Negro musics, Richard Waterman attributed the resultant high degree of syncretism to

²¹ Ibid., 47–48.

²² George List, "Acculturation and Musical Tradition," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 16 (1964): 20–21.

²³ Jack A. Westrup, "Medieval Song," *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 2, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 229.

several musical features of the two cultures.²⁴ Alan Merriam generalized from this and other case studies and hypothesized that “when two human groups which are in sustained contact have a number of characteristics in common in a particular aspect of culture, exchange of ideas therein will be much more frequent than if the characteristics of those aspects differ markedly from one another.”²⁵ Nearly all subsequent ethnomusicological writings on acculturation have taken this statement as their point of departure. Nettl refined the notion of basic stylistic compatibility as a plausible explanation of musical syncretism by differentiating between the transfer of actual compositions and stylistic features, and speculated that one could possibly be transmitted without the other.²⁶

The amount and type of material adopted by a borrowing culture are factors relevant to students of the “Arabian Influence” thesis. Margaret Kartomi argued that “transculturation occurs only when a group of people select for adoption whole new organizing and conceptual or ideological principles—musical and extramusical—as opposed to small, discrete alien traits.”²⁷ But however modest the status and potential cumulative influence of the latter, it should not be neglected, as “the borrowing of single elements is much more frequent than that of trait complexes.”²⁸

The adoption of a borrowed alien element always entails some degree of change, for that element must be integrated into the borrowing culture. Some scholars argue that the mutation acculturated elements undergo could make their identification more problematic if they belong to the aesthetic rather than the technological sphere. A borrowed technology is “culture transferable” in the sense that the adopting culture tends to change its uses, not the technology itself.²⁹ On the other hand, “no structural aesthetic element can be effectively transferred to another culture

²⁴ Richard A. Waterman, “African Influence on the Music of the Americas,” *Acculturation in the Americas*, ed. Sol Tax, Selected Papers of the XXIXth International Congress of Americanists, vol. 2 (Chicago, 1952; repr., New York: Cooper Square Publications, 1967), 207–18.

²⁵ Alan P. Merriam, “The Use of Music in the Study of a Problem of Acculturation,” *American Anthropologist* 57 (1955): 28.

²⁶ Bruno Nettl, “Speculations on Musical Style and Musical Content in Acculturation,” *Acta Musicologica* 35 (1963), 37.

²⁷ Margaret J. Kartomi, “The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts,” *Ethnomusicology* 25 (1981): 244. Kartomi distinguishes between the processes and results of culture contact and advocates the employment of the term transculturation to describe the former.

²⁸ Ralph Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), 485.

²⁹ Norman Daniel, *The Cultural Barrier: Problems in the Exchange of Ideas* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1975), 4–5.

unless in the process of transference it is adapted to the aesthetic tastes and requirements of the recipients."³⁰ This suggests that even if European medieval music were influenced by Eastern elements, the direct search for the latter in cantigas, troubadour chansons, and other medieval compositions would probably be unproductive. By the same token, the failure to demonstrate specific Eastern motives, melodies, or stylistic features in medieval music may not necessarily stem from their absence, but rather from inadequate methodology.

Analyzing the influence of Islamic culture on medieval Europe, Gibb drew "a fairly clear distinction...between 'neutral' borrowings from the Arabic-Islamic culture and the 'shaded' influences or adaptations. In the neutral sphere of science and technology, the medieval Catholic world took over everything that it could use. In the intellectual and aesthetic spheres, it is very remarkable that all the elements taken over into western culture prove to be either elements of European origin adopted into the Arabic-Islamic culture, or elements with very close relations in western culture."³¹ While Gibb's view is essentially correct, it may be too restrictive in view of the tremendous medieval enthusiasm and sensitivity to color, shape, and texture. According to Schapiro, "there is in western art from the seventh to the thirteenth century an immense receptivity matched in few cultures before that time or even later; early Christian, Byzantine, Sassanian, Coptic, Syrian, Roman, Moslem, Celtic, and pagan Germanic forms were borrowed then, often without regard to their context and meaning."³² Schapiro's telling examples of European adaptations of Arabic objets d'art squarely place this aesthetic preference at the center of medieval mentality. It affirms the "amazing openness of the medieval European mind to borrowings from alien cultures" that Lynn White observed mainly, but not exclusively, in the field of technology. "Europe's capacity to exploit and elaborate such borrowings far beyond the level achieved in the lands that generated them"³³ is highly suggestive to musicologists contemplating European adaptations of Arabic musical instruments, and even more so of coloristic drone effects turned in the West to structural purposes.

The aesthetic borrowing of medieval Europe from other cultures was not indiscriminate. Europe was oblivious to origin and context of those items whose aesthetic flavor it found compatible with its own. Compatibility in general, and aesthetic compatibility in particular, significantly influ-

³⁰ Gibb, "The Influence of Islamic Culture," 165.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 166-67.

³² Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art" (1947); repr. in his *Romanesque Art* (New York: Braziller, 1977), 16.

³³ Lynn White, "Cultural Climates and Technological Advance," *Viator* 2 (1971): 182.

ence the extent of acculturation. It seems to me that a well-made case for the basic compatibility between Western and Eastern musics in the Middle Ages could prove useful to investigators of the "Arabian Influence" thesis.

* * *

Middle Eastern musical tradition was recently delineated by the following characteristics, common to all regional dialects: "The vocal component predominates over the instrumental; the musician is both a composer and a performer; there are no time limits and no fixed program in the performance; rather the performance is a display of soloist virtuosity and the performer is permitted, and indeed encouraged, to improvise spontaneously; in this he is helped by the continuous interplay between himself and a limited, often intimate audience, which confronts him directly, without any formal barriers; the music is orally transmitted."³⁴

All these points describe central features of medieval music, Eastern as well as Western. Apart from possible historical influences, the striking similarity in basic musical attitudes of these musics stems above all from their orality. A comparison of passages from al-Fārābī and al-Isfāhānī with the socio-musical behavior of contemporary Middle Eastern audiences points to a continuity of customs, such as shouting words of praise and requests for popular songs.³⁵ No comparable theoretical evidence exists for medieval Europe before the thirteenth century, due to the inferior status of low class music and its itinerant performers. But the musical treatises of Johannes de Grocheo and Hieronymous de Moravia document a dramatic change in attitude towards secular music and dancing. Grocheo's novel "sociological" division of musical genres and Moravia's detailed viella tunings intended for playing secular music reflect the newly acquired prestige of low class genres, which seem to have newly enjoyed great popularity. Henri Bate's musical reminiscences of his student days in Paris (ca. 1266-70) provide but one example of numerous literary references attesting to the great predilection for popular music, and the distinctly informal nature of performer-audience rapport.³⁶ Oral perform-

³⁴ Amnon Shiloah and Erik Cohen, "The Dynamics of Change in Jewish Oriental Ethnic Music in Israel," *Ethnomusicology* 27 (1983): 229.

³⁵ Sawa, "Medieval Arabic Performance Practice," 75-78.

³⁶ For information on informal music making in medieval Europe, see Walter Salmen, *Der fahrende Musiker im europäischen Mittelalter* (Kassel: Hinnenthal, 1960). The relevant passage from Bate's treatise *Nativitas magistri Henrici Mechliniensis* appears in Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 59-60.

ers tailor their renditions to the specific audience they confront by improvising verbally and musically pertinent changes. Capturing the attention and participation of the audience is essential. According to Ong, "in oral cultures an audience must be brought to respond, often vigorously."³⁷ As to the orality of musical contents, the fact that medieval monophony was written down does not necessarily make it a product of literate culture. Rather, numerous written-out chants and secular songs have the earmarks of documented performances. The constraints oral culture imposed on the performer in the musical traditions under discussion here may be elucidated by assessing the role of melodic formulas in medieval Western and contemporaneous Eastern musics.

It has long been recognized that melodic formulas are found in a great deal of medieval monophony. But the formulaic phenomenon is not generally viewed from the performer's side, and its importance as an aid to a unified composition-performance act, as well as its function in a given piece, may therefore be missed. The positioning of formulas is most often syntactically oriented. Analyzing the nearly 300 extant troubadour melodies, Halperin isolated 130 recurrent formulas: 56 are employed at the openings of 60 percent of all phrases, 41 final formulas are found in almost 70 percent of the phrases, and 33 internal formulas appear in 39 percent of the phrases.³⁸ These initial, internal and final formulas are often linked together by ascending or descending seconds. A typical pattern of phrase structure in a troubadour chanson is constructed from an initial formula, one or two internal formulas, and a cadential formula. Nevertheless, the resulting music is far from being a mechanical stringing together of formulaic clichés, and at their best troubadour melodies display great flexibility and variety in their formulaic application.

The formulaic phenomenon has been studied extensively in the realm of plainchant, especially by Peter Wagner, Paolo Ferretti, and Willi Apel.³⁹ All three scholars interpreted the phenomenon according to a theory of centonization. As in the Jewish *Te'amim*, practiced to this day, from which centonization technique in Christian chant is possibly derived, the formulaic phenomenon makes great sense from a practical point of view:

³⁷ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 42.

³⁸ David Halperin, "Distributional Structure in Troubadour Music," *Orbis musicae* 7 (1979-80): 19.

³⁹ Peter Wagner, *Gregorianische Formenlehre: eine choralische Stilkunde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1921; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1930); Paolo Ferretti, *Estetica gregoriana, ossia Trattato delle forme musicali del canto gregoriano* (Rome: Pontificio istituto di musica sacra, 1934; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1977); Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958).

the purpose of centonization is "to facilitate the task of the singer by reducing the melodies to a limited fund of formulae that can be memorized and applied according to the requirements of the texts." The tracts of the eighth mode are "a perfect example of centonization, a unified aggregate of eight elements variously selected and combined."⁴⁰

Faulting centonization theory for its static approach, Treitler urged an alternate view, taking as his starting point the dynamic, "inexorable forward movement of the process" of oral composition.⁴¹ The idea of a fixed "frozen" collection of pitches and durations that the literate mind is in the habit of identifying as a specific "piece" is foreign to the musical conception of the oral mind. Rather than reproducing a totally preconceived opus committed whole to memory, a singer in oral tradition literally constructs the song, creating it as he performs. He is guided in this creative process by a "formulaic system," a pattern of the general direction the melody is to follow, with strategic points outlined along the way. Formulas, on the other hand, are stereotyped melodic figures which gradually crystallized through repeated performances guided by a formulaic system. As already observed in the case of troubadour melodies, formulas tend to be context-bound and are especially expedient at strategically important melodic points, above all at beginnings and endings of phrases.⁴²

Once the general melodic configuration of a chant, outlined and signposted by structural tones (*initium, flexa, mediatio, terminatio*), is known to the singer, he can proceed to pad out the melodic skeleton with formulas whose last (i.e., central) tones fit those of the melodic outline. That this is a realistic description of the process of musical reproduction under the constraints of oral music making may be seen not only by analysis of plainchant, but, more instructively, by observing living Middle Eastern traditions. The musical practice of the Christian Arabs is of particular interest here because it comprises stylistic traits of both the Byzantine Church and Arabic music based on the *maqāmāt*. Analysis of recorded

⁴⁰ Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 316.

⁴¹ Leo Treitler, "'Centonate' Chant: *Übles Flickwerk* or *E pluribus unus?*" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975): 12-13.

⁴² For a detailed exposition, see Leo Treitler "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974): 352-53. One could speculate about several stages in a process leading from a formulaic system to a relatively stable song. These would include the gradual formation of stereotyped melodic formulaic families, and later of specific formulas; the association of certain formulas with particular syntactical melodic functions; the growing tendency of some formulas to become contiguous and appear together in pairs or even in larger aggregates; and finally, the "settling down" of these elements together with the brief intervallic links connecting them into a permanent shape, a song having a specific musical identity. Variants among different renditions of the song will depend on the stylistic latitude permitted in the musical culture in question.

performances of Christian-Arab music reveals not only the centrality of melodic formulas, but also their largely fixed position in the melody. Some formulas are "mobile," however, and can be employed in different contextual positions. Of special interest is the "Resurrection Hymn" in the third *lahan* (i.e., mode-*maqām*) as rendered by nineteen different singers.⁴³ While no two performers position all ten formulas of this melody in the same way, the differences do not seriously affect the melodic contour. This is because the variations involve mainly formulas ending on the same tones, making them capable of fulfilling identical functions. Even more telling is the finding that in repeated performance some informants interchange the position of several formulas. Here, too, mostly formulas ending on the same tone are interchanged, indicating that what is important is not the formula per se, but the function it fulfills in the melodic pattern.

Melodic pattern, then, is the key concept in the three oral repertoires surveyed. This conclusion fully agrees with Lord's account of the training of oral epic singers in twentieth-century Yugoslavia:

Although it may seem that the more important part of the singer's training is the learning of formulas from other singers, I believe that the really significant element in the process is rather the setting up of various patterns that make adjustment of phrase and creation of phrases by analogy possible. This will be the whole basis of his art. Were he *merely* to learn the phrases and lines from his predecessors, acquiring thus a stock of them, which he would then shuffle about and mechanically put together in juxtaposition as inviolable, fixed units, he would, I am convinced, never become a singer. He must make his feeling for the patterning of lines, which he has absorbed earlier, specific with actual phrases and lines, and by the necessity of performance learn to adjust what he hears and what he wants to say to these patterns. If he does not learn to do this, no matter how many phrases he may know from his elders, he cannot sing.⁴⁴

⁴³ Dalia Cohen, "Theory and Practice in Liturgical Music of Christian Arabs in Israel," *Studies in Eastern Chant* 3 (1973): 25-26.

⁴⁴ Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 37.

The overriding importance of pattern over detail partially explains variants among concordances in the medieval monophonic repertory. It also provides a bridge with the compatible attitudes towards the composition, performance, and transmission of Eastern music.⁴⁵ The skeletal tones of which melodic patterns are created reflect the infrastructures that organize the tonal material available to the performer. These infrastructures, in our case, are the modes and the *maqāmāt*, two systems that have long resisted satisfactory explanation, let alone definition. Difficulties compound when mode and *maqām* are approached from a performance-oriented rather than from a purely theoretical viewpoint. The general Western tendency to interpret modes as scales was adopted by Middle Eastern music theorists as a model for classifying the bewildering assortment of *maqāmāt*.⁴⁶ This, however, has had the unfortunate result of slighting, and even disregarding, central *maqām* features other than scalar construction. It is ironic that the contemporary Eastern movement away from its real nature towards a scalar interpretation of the *maqāmāt*, coincided with the growing Western tendency to interpret the medieval modes as melodic types rather than mere scale formations. Harold Powers's suggestion to locate modal phenomena on a continuum spanning the poles of "particularized scale" and "generalized tune"⁴⁷ may profitably be applied to an analysis of medieval modal conception and its compatibility with essential traits of the *maqām* phenomenon.

In his mid-ninth-century *Musica disciplina*, Aurelian of Réôme discusses the various modes in terms of their melodic formulas.⁴⁸ The syllables attached to these formulas (*ANNANO, NOEANE, NONANNOEANE*, etc.) are derived from the *enēchēmata*, the Byzantine intonation formulas of the *oktōechos*. They also appear in the same context in other medieval treatises, among them the *De harmonia institutione* of Regino of Prüm and the later, probably tenth-century *Commemoratio brevis* whose author writes that "NOANE are not words signifying anything but syllables suitable for study-

⁴⁵ Although I am concerned in this article mainly with medieval monophony, the tenaciousness of orality in written and even literate culture (Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 115) should explain the pertinence of musical traits observed here in monophonic genres to the polyphonic repertory. In addition to melodic formulas, rhythmic modes, various isorhythmic constructions and *formes fixes* are obvious manifestations of the central position of schemata in medieval music. The drawings of Villard de Honnecourt (ca. 1240), among others, should remind us that schema is a pervasive phenomenon, indeed an ingrained habit, of medieval mentality.

⁴⁶ For a report on the 1932 Cairo Congress on Arabic music, see *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès de Musique Arabe* (Cairo, 1934).

⁴⁷ Harold S. Powers, "Mode," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 12:377.

⁴⁸ Aurelian of Réôme, *Musica disciplina*, ed. Lawrence Gushee, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, no. 21 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology: 1975), 82-84.

ing melody (*investigandam melodiam*).⁴⁹

The seemingly meaningless *NOEANE* syllables bear striking resemblance to the “nonsense” syllables employed by Samaritans in their singing to this day.⁵⁰ The Samaritans’ jealous guarding of their ancient traditions makes this link with the formative oral stage of Western chant all the more plausible and intriguing.

Hucbald also mentions the *NOEANE* syllables in his *De harmonica institutione* and applies Greek letters to the neumes in an attempt to fix their pitches. He intends the neumes and the letter-named pitches to remain joined, apparently “because then the subtle instructions to the performer embodied in neumes, intimating duration, tempo, tremulant or normal voice, grouping or separations of notes, and certain intonation of cadences are preserved.”⁵¹ Hucbald’s position reflects a crucial turning point. His desire to preserve the neumes and all they signify reflects strong ties with Eastern, especially Byzantine origins. His efforts to establish clear tetrachordal structures and to determine their intervallic makeup clearly indicate a move away from the melody-type pole of the modal continuum towards a scalar system with its rational classification of chant melodies. The developing notational system allowed new chants to be composed that were less dependent on the Eastern formulaic procedures and more keyed to the tonal selection of the diatonic modes.

It must be remembered that the modal system emerged amidst attempts to impose a theoretical framework upon an existing repertory of chants formed according to melodic principles at variance with those of the new theory. For all the theorists’ ingenious strategies, the resultant chant theory never managed to cover all cases. The persistent efforts of Carolingian theorists to modify problematic chants—especially through transposition—significantly narrowed the gap between practice and theory; but many inconsistencies and modal ambiguities remained, mainly in conflicting modal assignments of the same chants.⁵²

The struggle to accommodate *ex post facto* the existing plainchant melodies to the forming Western theory, which was itself replete with

⁴⁹ Hucbald, *Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, trans. Warren Babb and ed., with introductions, by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 6–7. On the transfer of the Byzantine *enêchēmata* to Western musical theory, see Michel Huglo, “L’Introduction en occident des formules Byzantines d’intonation,” *Studies in Eastern Chant* 3 (1973): 81–90.

⁵⁰ Ruth Katz, “On ‘Nonsense’ Syllables as Oral Group Notation,” *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974): 187–94; Eric Werner, “The Psalmic Formula *NEANNOE* and Its Origin,” *Musical Quarterly* 28 (1942): 93–99.

⁵¹ Palisca, *Hucbald, Guido, and John*, 10.

⁵² Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 166–78; Powers, “Mode,” 382–84.

Byzantine elements, is a fascinating case study in music acculturation. It is also an index of the increasing severance from Eastern roots of the developing theoretical framework which was to inform Western music for centuries to come.

If the modal system fails to explain plainchant practice comprehensively, its application to the troubadour and trouvère repertoires further exposes its inadequacy. Attempting to account for the plethora of discrepancies between concordant trouvère melodies, Hendrik Van der Werf posited the crucial position of the interval of the third, using it as a common denominator for grouping the Mixolydian, Lydian, and Ionian modes under "medieval major" scale types, and the Dorian, Phrygian and Aeolian modes under "medieval minor" scale types.⁵³ Halperin's analysis of the entire troubadour repertory showed a distinct preference for the major mode; Ernest Sanders repeatedly emphasized the strong English predilection for the interval of the third in general, and for the major mode in particular; and Curt Sachs long ago urged us "to get rid of our modal obsession" and pointed to "The Road to Major."⁵⁴ In addition to locating many major melodies, a recent modal analysis of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* came up against melodies that resisted rational explanation in terms of contemporary modal theory.⁵⁵ These studies strongly corroborate Johannes de Grocheo's statement that secular music does not follow the rules of the ecclesiastical modes.⁵⁶ Nor is Grocheo the only medieval theorist to insist that secular music does not obey the strictures of the modal system. At the end of his *Tractatus de musica*, Jerome of Moravia describes three alternate tunings for the viella. While the first "encompasses the material of all the modes,"⁵⁷ the second "is necessary for secular and all other kinds of songs, especially irregular ones, which frequently wish to run through the whole [Guidonian] hand."⁵⁸ It is not surprising that no medieval instrumental music spanning the range of two octaves and a

⁵³ Hendrik Van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972), 57–58.

⁵⁴ Halperin, "Distributional Structure," 17; Ernest H. Sanders, "Tonal Aspects of 13th-Century English Polyphony," *Acta musicologica* 37 (1965): 22, 27; Curt Sachs, "The Road to Major," *Musical Quarterly* 29 (1943), 381–82.

⁵⁵ Gerardo V. Huseby, "The 'Cantigas de Santa Maria' and the Medieval Theory of Mode" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1983), 270–89.

⁵⁶ "Non enim per tonum cognoscimus cantum vulgarem, puta cantilenam ductiam, stantipedem.... Dico etiam cantum ecclesiasticum, ut excludantur cantus publicus et praecise mensuratus, qui tonis non subiciuntur" (Ernst Rohloff, *Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo* [Leipzig: Reinecke, 1943], 60).

⁵⁷ "vim modorum omnium comprehendit" (trans. Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 64).

⁵⁸ "necessarius est propter laycos et omnes alios cantus, maxime irregulares, qui frequenter per totam manum discurrere volunt" (*ibid.*, 64–65).

sixth has been preserved, since that repertory was most likely improvisatory in nature and drew on oral musical idioms. While Jerome's secular genres are irregular because of their excessive range, an anonymous fourteenth-century treatise speaks of "irregular music [which] is called rustic or layman's music...in that it observes neither modes nor rules."⁵⁹

It stands to reason that medieval secular monophony would exhibit considerable deviation from the theoretical mainstream, not being nearly as tightly grounded in modal theory as plainchant and by nature more receptive to external influences. Numerous discrepancies between concordant troubadour and trouvère melodies involve *B* versus *B \flat* , *F* versus *F \sharp* , and *C* versus *C \sharp* . Could these possibly be the only notational solutions the diatonic system afforded the scribes who, in fact, attempted to record tones located *between* these intervals? In other words, "did the scales used for the melodies of the troubadours and trouvères contain some intervals that were larger than a minor second but smaller than a major second?"⁶⁰ The theorists clearly document that microtonal intervals were an integral part of the tonal materials used in the early stages of plainchant. Early neumatic notation, intended as a mnemonic aid outlining melodic direction rather than discrete pitches, was ideally suited to the Eastern-derived portamento performance of chant. The diastematic neumes, developed in the quest to fix the notation of individual pitches, contradict in principle the *in campo aperto* nature of earlier notation. Looked at from the angle of future Western development, they certainly represent an important breakthrough. But the ability to notate well-defined pitches was gained at the expense of the ability to notate the very melodic qualities cherished in the East. Guido d'Arrezzo teaches us that the new notational developments reflected changing aesthetic preferences. He writes at the end of chapter 15 of his *Micrologus*: "At many points notes 'liquesce,' like the liquid letters, so that the interval from one note to another is begun with a smooth glide and does not appear to have a stopping place en route.... If you wish to perform the note more fully and not make it liquesce, no harm is done; indeed, it is often more pleasing."⁶¹

In the interim period when liquescence and other ornaments were still practiced but had to be notated diastematically, scribes faced a "notational crisis" typical of periods of stylistic change, but in reverse. The new

⁵⁹ "Irregularis autem dicitur cantus rusticanus sive laycalis...eo quod neque modis neque regulis constat" (*Tractatus de cantu mensurali seu figuratio musicae artis*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, no. 16 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 12. Quoted in Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 257 n. 22).

⁶⁰ Van der Werf, *Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 57.

⁶¹ Palisca, *Hucbald, Guido, and John*, 72-73.

notational system was inappropriate for certain melodic turns previously covered by neumes such as the *salicus*, *oriscus*, *trigon*, and *quilisma*. The notational decisions scribes were forced to make compromised musical reality, whether they wrote down *E* or *F*, for what they lacked was a means to notate the indeterminate pitches they heard in between. Numerous variants among concordant chant sources can be shown to stem from such notational constraints.⁶² The eleventh-century tonary of Mass chants from Dijon (MS Montpellier H 159) is particularly revealing. A comparison between its nondiastematic neumes and the letter notation inserted directly under them show how special signs had to be used in the latter to indicate microtonal situations in the former.⁶³

The eight estampies and the saltarello from *Lo* (London, British Library, Additional 29987) differ markedly in their melodic style and phrase structure from all other known fourteenth-century music, and at the same time show a strong affinity to certain Middle Eastern genres. McGee finds a close resemblance between the tonal structure of *Ghaetta* and *Chominciamento di Gioia* and that of the Turkish ritornello form *pesrev*.⁶⁴ The manner and order in which these medieval pieces gradually unveil their structural pitches show their close association with the Turkish *maqāmāt rast* and *uzzal*, respectively.⁶⁵ Other elements in the two pieces bear striking resemblance to Middle Eastern idioms, including the unusually long (for Western music) and asymmetrical phrase structure, and a particular kind of pervading sequential patterning typical of Middle Eastern *taqsīm* improvisations on the *ūd* (example 1).⁶⁶

⁶² David G. Hughes, "Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1988): 394.

⁶³ See, among others, Joseph Gmelch, *Die Vierteltonstufen im Messtonale von Montpellier* (Eichstätt: Seitz, 1911); Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913–19; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963) 1:44–46; Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 110–23; Hughes, "Transmission of Gregorian Chant," 395–98.

⁶⁴ Timothy McGee, "Eastern Influences in Medieval European Dances," in Falck and Rice, eds., *Cross Cultural Perspectives on Music*, 79–100. The area comprising modern Turkey participated in regional political developments long before the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Likewise, Turkey partook in Middle Eastern culture from the time of its conversion to Islam in the tenth century and throughout the rule of Seljuk and Ottoman dynasties. During these centuries, linguistic, poetic, and literary influences of Arabic and Persian origin found their way into Turkish culture, as have the musical components of what was referred to above as the Great Tradition. The still dominant instrumental form *pesrev* is considered to be "especially old" and is ascribed to Sultan Veled (1226–1312). See Kurt Reinhard, "Turkey," *New Grove Dictionary of Music* (1980) 19:268.

⁶⁵ The equivalent Arabic *maqāmāt* are *mutlaq fi majra al-wusta* and *khinsir fi majra al-binsir*.

⁶⁶ For the music see McGee, "Eastern Influences," 81–88. The *taqsīm* from which the musical examples are taken was performed in Tel-Aviv on 17 July 1988 by Mr. Taysir Elias. I would like to take this opportunity to thank him for his kind assistance. For additional

Example 1. A comparison of melodic sequences from the medieval European *Ghaetta* and *Chominciamento di gioia* with sequences from a contemporary Eastern *Taqsim*.

1a. *Ghaetta*, mm. 18–20.



1b. *Ghaetta*, mm. 95–99.



1c. *Ghaetta*, mm. 82–85.



1d. *Chominciamento di gioia*, mm. 163–66.



These nine instrumental pieces of *Lo* can in no way be explained as indigenous European music. Their distinctly Eastern character is easily discernible.⁶⁷ If these estampies are indeed of Eastern origin, it is likely that their Italian scribe—in his attempt to write them down—introduced

examples of similar sequences in *taqāsīm* see Bruno Nettl and Ronald Riddle, “*Taqāsīm Nahawand: A Study of Sixteen Performances by Jihad Racy*,” *Yearbook of the International Music Council* 5 (1973): 31–33, 37–89. For similar sequences in a *peşrev*, see Karl L. Signell, *Makam: Modal Practice in Turkish Music* (Seattle: Asian Music Publications, 1977), 93–94 *et passim*.

⁶⁷ Criticizing the “modern Arab manner” of some recorded performances of these estampies, Frederick Crane rates the probability of their fourteenth-century performance in that style “near zero” (“On Performing the *Lo* estampies,” *Early Music* 7 [1979]: 31).

some formal modification better to mold them to the formal requirements of the estampie. In addition, he probably changed some notes for the closest substitutes he could find in the notational system at his disposal.⁶⁸ Alternately, these instrumental pieces could be original Western imitations of Eastern models, but this seems less likely on stylistic grounds. We may note that the estampie is among the secular forms Grocheo specifically cites as not following the modal system. In either case, we are afforded a rare glimpse of a case of fourteenth-century musical acculturation involving the transfer of entire pieces, or of salient stylistic traits.

The foregoing discussion of indeterminate intervals in both sacred and secular repertoires of medieval monophony suggests that intervals smaller than a minor second, and intervals lying between a minor and major second, were part of the European soundscape throughout the Middle Ages. It is difficult to assess how widespread the microtonal phenomenon was, partly because it could not have been recorded in conventional notation, and was probably confined to popular genres which were almost never written down.⁶⁹ The partial coverage by the modal system of extant medieval monophony, the strong tendency to formulaic construction, and the evidence of microtonal intervals add up to a stylistic stance that has important compatibility with Eastern music, especially as revealed in the *maqām* phenomenon. I shall restrict the following discussion to points amplifying the *maqām*'s compatibility with genres of medieval monophony.

Microtonality has been one of the most striking and constant characteristics of *maqāmāt* throughout the centuries. Medieval Arabic theorists may present the scalar formations of various *maqāmāt* in different, even conflicting ways, but they all agree about their microtonality.⁷⁰ For example, Safī-al-Dīn (d. 1292), the founder of the so-called Systematist school of music theory, divides the 9:8 whole tone of 204 cents into two equal

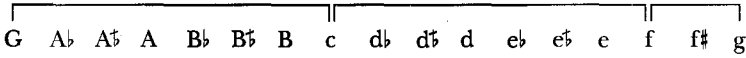
⁶⁸ Interestingly, this very solution can be observed even today in Rumanian music, where surviving Turkish influences calling for microtonal performance are compromised when performed on European instruments tuned to the tempered scale. See Robert Grafias, "Survivals of Turkish Characteristics in Romanian Musica Lautareasca," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 105.

⁶⁹ Although it occurs in the context of discussing polyphonic music, Marchettus de Padua's curious argument in his *Lucidarium* for dividing the whole tone into five parts gives some indication that the idea was conceivable to him in the realm of musical practice. See Jan W. Herlinger, ed., *The Lucidarium of Marchetto of Padua* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 131-37; F. Alberto Gallo, "Marchetto da Padova," *New Grove Dictionary of Music* (1980) 11:662.

⁷⁰ For the theoretical systems developed by Arabic medieval theorists, see Liberty Manik, *Das arabische Tonsystem im Mittelalter* (Leiden: Brill, 1969).

limmas of ninety cents and a comma of twenty-four cents. His normal division of the octave is into two conjunct tetrachords and a whole tone, or into one tetrachord and a conjunct pentachord. The two-tetrachord method, with its resultant seventeen-tone division, is schematized in figure 1.⁷¹

Figure 1.



Since musical practice and not abstract theory concerns us here, we must note that the degree to which Safī-al-Dīn's three theoretical treatises reflect musical practice is uncertain, "since they result from passing the raw material of practice through a filter of theoretical presuppositions about the nature of consonance."⁷² The exact relationship between theory and practice has been scantily explored in contemporary Arabic music as well, but comparisons of medieval Arabic theory and current practices indicate that "most of the tones used by the contemporary musicians are identical or accord very closely with those of the classical theorists."⁷³

Contemporary Arabic theory divides the octave into twenty-four equal parts, out of which the actual intervals in the various *maqām* scales are formed. We will focus on the combinations of two quarter tones (minor second), and four quarter tones (major second). The tetrachord (*jins*) has been the basic scalar formation of Arabic theory from its earliest stages to the present.⁷⁴ Figure 2 shows the identity of the tetrachords of medieval modes and the tetrachords of *maqāmāt* that use only major and minor seconds. To these affinities of theoretical thinking should be added other mode-defining concepts such as ambitus, finalis, and confinalis.

Figure 2.

<i>Ajam</i>	=	1 - 1 - ½	=	Mixolydian
<i>Nahawand</i>	=	1 - ½ - 1	=	Dorian
<i>Kurd</i>	=	½ - 1 - 1	=	Phrygian

⁷¹ See O. Wright, *The Modal System of Arab and Persian Music, A.D. 1250-1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 34.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷³ al-Faruqi, "Musical Art of Islamic Culture," 77.

⁷⁴ For al-Fārābī's account of tetrachordal division in his *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī al-Kabīr*, see Rodolphe d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, 6 vols. (Paris: Geuthner, 1930-59), 1:55-61.

While the intervallic demonstration of basic diatonic alliance between elements of medieval modes and *maqāmāt* is revealing, the compatibility of the two systems can be shown to be more profound yet. Earlier, we discussed the functioning of the modal system in the context of oral musical culture, and the roles played by composition-performance patterns, formulaic systems, and melodic formulas. We now need to apply this approach to the *maqām* system.

The term *maqām* variously refers to a particular scale, to that scale plus its central tones, or according to some, to the latter and characteristic melodic formulas. The precise relationship between a *maqām* and the *taqsīm* based on it is more troublesome yet. The perennial argument over the alleged presence of melodic motives or formulas, either typifying specific *maqāmāt* or changeable among them, tends to confound the subject even more and to steer it away from what I take to be its central issues.

In addition to its ambitus and tetrachordal arrangement, the *maqām* is further defined by a tonic (*qarār*), a "dominant" (*ghammāz*, often, but not always, a fifth above the tonic), a starting tone (*mabdá*), a "leading tone" (*zahīr*), and tones of secondary importance (*marākiz*). The strong functional nature of these tonal degrees attenuates the scalar notion of the *maqām* and underlines its essence as a structural model to be realized. Linking the various tonal stations of the *maqām* during its musical realization, the performer follows the *ustūb* ("method"), a procedure for melodic progression through its structure.⁷⁵ The term *sayr al amal* ("progress of the work"), and indeed the very term *tarīqah* (way, road), synonymous with *maqām*, clearly indicate the prescriptive nature intended: in order to create a *taqsīm* (an instrumental improvisation-composition), the performer follows a musical plan for actualizing the structural tonal ingredients latent in the *maqām*. (There are no equivalent durational requirements; the rhythmic-temporal aspect of the *taqsīm* is entirely free and may be shaped according to the wishes of the performer.)

The elements to be realized in a *taqsīm* can be summarized as follows: (1) A *taqsīm* is made up of several segments clearly marked off by silences (*Waqfāt*). (2) A segment is a melodic passage controlled by one of the tones central to the *maqām* on which the *taqsīm* is based. (3) A central tone has "satellite" tones of secondary importance to which the performer may temporarily digress.⁷⁶ (4) The *taqsīm* player usually presents the segments

⁷⁵ al-Faruqi, "Musical Art of Islamic Culture," 100.

⁷⁶ For an interesting attempt to shed light on the enigmatic "borrowed notes" in ancient Greek theory (i.e., notes that digress from their assigned *tonos*) by correlating them with the living practices of Turkish and Persian music, see Nancy Sultan, "New Light on the Function of 'Borrowed Notes' in Ancient Greek Music: A Look at Islamic Parallels," *Journal of Musicology* 7 (1988): 387–98.

in a gradually ascending order, reaches a peak, and descends to the main tonal center. (5) This gradual exposition of central *maqām* tones is worked out within the framework of the *ajnās* in a way designed to bring out their typical tetrachordal structure.⁷⁷

This scheme suffices to demonstrate a major point: under the constraints of oral performance-composition, the Arabic musician playing a *taqsim* certainly does not "freely improvise"; nor does he improvise on the basis of some vague procedures. On the contrary, he is following a tightly structured pattern, binding in its general plan. The instrumentalist enjoys considerable flexibility within the overall indispensable framework. For example, he may decide the number, length, and complexity of segments, whether to modulate temporarily to another *maqām*, and if so, to which one and for how long.

Nettl and Riddle studied sixteen *taqāsīm* on *maqām Nahawand* and posited "the existence of certain principles that are characteristic in the macrocosm and the microcosm of performances, and at points between these extremes. In certain parameters or elements of music, the performer carries out the same kind of musical thinking in bits of melody hardly more than a second in length, in longer segments of melody, in sections, and in entire *taqāsīm*. The structural integrity of these improvisations is thus considerable, and we again learn that in those cultures in which improvisation plays a major role, it provides freedom for the musician to invent only within a rigorous and tightly-knit system of structural principles."⁷⁸

In order to be able to play a *taqsim*, a young performer must acquire the skill of breathing musical life into the overall formal pattern. He applies to that pattern his familiarity with the structural tones of the *maqāmāt* and their tetrachordal arrangements, initially creating short, relatively simple *taqāsīm* that satisfy the minimum requirements of the general pattern. Gradually he tries more daring performances, weaving a complex net of subsidiary tonal relations, venturing farther from the main route but never losing sight of its structural signposts. His musical predilections will eventually stabilize into an individual style. It is likely

⁷⁷ Touma minutely analyzed *taqāsīm* on *maqām Bayati* and graphed them second by second. According to him, the various phases are organized in larger sections he called *anfās*. A *nafas* may contain one or more phases. His analysis stresses the central tones of the *maqām* scale and disregards tetrachordal structures. Habib Hassan Touma, *Maqam Bayati in the Arabian Taqsim: A Study in the Phenomenology of the Maqam* (International Monograph Publishers, 1975).

⁷⁸ Nettl and Riddle, "Taqsim Nahawand," 29.

The instrumental improvisation-performance of the *taqsim* has an exact vocal counterpart in the popular *layālī*. The *qasīdah* is another related vocal type based on classical Arabic poetry. The centrality of pattern in these essentially improvisational genres, and the operational procedures followed in their realization, must have been of great interest to European oral performers who were working with similar techniques. Moreover, Western musicians found a broad aesthetic common denominator with Eastern music; after all, meandering, unpredictable melodies often made up of loosely defined motivic cells are eminently present in both plainchant and secular monophony. This melismatic, essentially nondirectional, nondevelopmental style has been often traced back to Eastern origins. Like so much Eastern music, ornamentation in this medieval style is the very essence of melody and not an optional feature. Alongside these prominent Eastern tendencies, European musicians gradually evolved a different melodic style marked by clear tonal teleology. Goal-directed melodies exhibiting this trend evince symmetrical, often antecedent-consequent phrase construction, and utilize the tetrachord-pentachord division of the modal octave to their structural advantage.⁸¹ Ernest Sanders clearly demonstrated the carefully planned and well balanced phrase structure of cantilenas and early motets. Moreover, it was his particular achievement to have defined and set in historical perspective the special concern for tonal unity which marks thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English polyphony.⁸²

When combined in a centonate fashion, predetermined melodic aggregates yield brief transitory directionality, but this procedure limits the options for tonal combinations that would enhance overall organization. Thus, the development of long-range tonal articulation required breaking precompositional units into discrete components.⁸³ Syllabic melodic passages, especially when further delineated by measured rhythm, better define individual tones and enhance tonal directionality more effectively than melismatic unmeasured passages. Viewed from this angle, texting the upper voices of discant clausulae contributed to a better tonal defini-

⁸¹ Leo Treitler, "Musical Syntax in the Middle Ages: Background to an Aesthetic Problem," *Perspectives of New Music* 4 (1965): 75-85.

⁸² Ernest H. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen. Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973), 497-573; idem, "Tonal Aspects," 19-34; idem, "Die Rolle der englischen Mehrstimmigkeit des Mittelalters in der Entwicklung von Cantus-firmus-Satz und Tonalitätsstruktur," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1967): 24-53.

⁸³ Dalia Cohen, "'Separation' and 'Directivity' as Guiding Principles in the Comparison between Eastern and Western Music," *Proceedings of the World Congress on Jewish Music* (Tel-Aviv, 1982), 147.

tion of the incipient motet. Likewise, Garlandia's description of copula as falling "between discant and organum"⁸⁴ underlines the gradual shift from the unmeasured, essentially nondirectional organum, through the symmetrical, antecedent-consequent structure of the copula, with its modally rhythmic upper voice and unmeasured lower voice, to the discant where both voices are modally rhythmicized. Compositions mixing organal, copula, and discant styles are therefore transitional pieces, combining old and new tendencies within the same work.⁸⁵ A good deal of thirteenth-century theoretical activity can be seen as efforts to define and regulate the implications inherent in the new tendencies. Franco of Cologne, for example, in his *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, attempted to wrest individual durations from their context-bound rhythmic modes by assigning them individual notational symbols.

At this juncture in the evolution of Western musical styles, melodic and rhythmic formulas, melismatic delivery, and improvisational approaches must have become stylistic liabilities rather than assets. The further European music proceeded along the path of long-range tonal planning, the less it needed those Eastern stylistic traits that had served it for centuries. The stylistic transition was neither quick nor straightforward. Old and new tendencies lived side by side for centuries. They are found in the same genres, mixed in the same manuscripts, even within the same pieces. Goal-directed motion is present in Alleluia melismas,⁸⁶ in the *ouvert-clos* structure of many a troubadour and trouvère chanson, and very clearly in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. On the other hand, strong residues of Eastern practices are not hard to detect even in fourteenth-century polyphony. The main reason why thirteenth-century theorists were apparently not interested in translating al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī al Kabīr* was that they no longer found its practical stylistic discussion expedient for their

⁸⁴ Erich Reimer, *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, 2 vols., Beihefte zur Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, nos. 10–11 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972), 1:88.

⁸⁵ Ernest Sanders noted that "even the three sources of the *Magnus liber* available to us all still contain passages whose notation is so unpatterned, so truly organal, as to make it inadvisable—indeed, virtually impossible—to transcribe them with unequivocal indication of durational values or of any definite time frame for the constituent phrases. To a limited extent variant transcriptions could be equally legitimate" ("Consonance and Rhythm in the Organum of the 12th and 13th Centuries," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 [1980]: 274). For the process of syllabication of melismatic organum, see Sanders, "Sine Littera and Cum Littera in Medieval Polyphony," *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. Edmond Strainchamps and Maria R. Maniates (New York: Norton, 1984), 215–31.

⁸⁶ Leo Treitler, "On the Structure of the Alleluia Melisma: A Western Tendency in Western Chant," *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold S. Powers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 59–72.

purposes. Farmer calls this treatise "the greatest contribution to the theory of music up to his time."⁸⁷ But, in actual fact, theorists limited their borrowing from al-Fārābī to the methodological remarks in his *De scientiis* (*Ihsā' al-ulūm [Classification of the Sciences]*). This is not, however, as Randel suggests, because "much of what al-Fārābī had written about music did not bear on their personal experience."⁸⁸ For it is clear that a great deal of thirteenth-century European music exhibits strong stylistic affinities with Eastern techniques and contents. Rather, they might have sensed that the theoretical interests of the emerging tonal teleology were taking a different direction.

In the previous pages I have revisited the "Arabian Influence" thesis mainly from the viewpoint of music acculturation and confined the discussion of compatible traits to Western monophony. Other topics that could not be covered here certainly deserve study, including the extent to which stylistic findings in the monophonic literature are relevant to contemporary polyphony,⁸⁹ the function drone techniques played in organum and later polyphony, the position of Spain as the hub of medieval Eastern influences, and the actual process of transmitting and disseminating Eastern musical characteristics in the medieval West. That the future development of Western music lay away from Eastern traits does not belittle the latter's centrality in Europe's early music history. Rather, it hones the perspective for future study.

⁸⁷ Henry C. Farmer, *The Sources of Arabian Music* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 28.

⁸⁸ Randel, "Al-Fārābī and the Role of Arabic Music Theory," 188.

⁸⁹ Ernest Sanders reminded us that "certainly in the first several centuries of Western *Mehrstimmigkeit* an 'organized' melody, whether it was a chant or a paraliturgical versus, was not thought of as a musical opus of distinct stylistic specificity, but as an elaborated version of that melody" ("Consonance and Rhythm," 264).

Rhythm in Early Polyphony

By Richard L. Crocker

It has been apparent for some time that the rhythm of polyphony before Leonin is not going to be revealed by documents of musical notation or by explanations by contemporaneous theorists. There had perhaps been a belief that there must be some system of rhythm comparable to the modal system, which had unlocked so spectacularly the secrets of Notre Dame polyphony, and that evidence for it would turn up. There now seems little indication that it will: what we see is what we have. I believe, however, that we have everything we need of a documentary nature or at least, given the conditions of early polyphony, everything we could reasonably expect.

During recent years there has been a number of discussions of polyphony before Leonin. Recent studies have concentrated, quite properly, on matters of pitch and have been duly cautious about rhythm. Very few envisage an application of modal rhythm, and the current tendency is to restrict the modal system specifically to Notre Dame polyphony sometime after 1200. Ernest Sanders has reviewed the modal hypothesis at length and has questioned its application to aspects of the conductus.¹ Outside of polyphony, modal transcriptions of monophony have come under increasing attack, especially by Van der Werf² and more recently by Stevens.³ More important than this restriction of modal rhythm is the realization that not all rhythms or systems of rhythm involve precise measurement of individual note durations. It once seemed that musical meter was necessary for polyphony, and that it had come into being for that purpose. Indeed, the transcription of polyphony notated in separate voice parts does require an understanding of durations in a metrical frame of reference. But this does not apply to monophony, and it does not apply to early polyphony notated in score.

¹ Ernest H. Sanders, "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985): 439-69.

² Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972). I had rejected it in 1966 (*A History of Musical Style* [New York: McGraw Hill, 1966; repr., New York: Dover, 1986], 54-55) and had expressed reservations earlier in a review (*Music Library Association: Notes*, 2nd ser., 11 [1954]: 269) of Friedrich Gennrich, ed., *Troubadours, Trouvères, Minne- and Meistersang*, Das Musikwerk, no. 2 (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1951).

³ John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

While tending to set aside the question of rhythm, some discussions have included transcriptions that indicate that writer's preference, and others have proposed specific solutions. These range between two logical alternatives as identified, for instance, by Parrish or Hoppin:⁴ on the one hand, we can understand as equal the notes of the more slowly moving part; on the other hand, the notes of the faster moving part. These are abstract alternatives, and neither seems applicable strictly; practical applications exercise varying degrees of flexibility, extending all the way to "free" rhythm.

The approach presented here results in a mean between these extremes, while attempting to be more specific than "free." It stays close to the notation of the sources, not because the notation is necessarily prescriptive, but simply because it is the closest we have to "hard" evidence. Should we think of the notation as presenting merely suggestive materials, to be recreated by the performer? That is largely a matter of opinion. In all the repertories to be considered here—including Aquitanian polyphony and the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*⁵—I sense from the music as notated enough stylistic flair to make me have faith in some intention on the part of a composer. I can only regret the lack of a face-to-face encounter with the composer that would have communicated that intention to me, and I am left to consider the possibilities. There will be some situations (which we can attempt to specify) that allow alternative and optional realizations. Is this not the usual state of affairs?

While exploring possibilities presented by the notation and other aspects of the music, the present approach also explores the application of the isosyllabic hypothesis. It has long been observed that the basis of medieval verse is its syllabic structure, that is, the number of syllables in the line and the number of lines in the stanza (or other unit). Rhyme becomes a frequent and important adjunct to syllable count. Word accent, too, is an adjunct, in the sense that it is not basic to the structure of the verse; word accent is arranged in very regular patterns in certain repertories, such as

⁴ Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1957; 2nd ed. 1959, repr., New York: Pendragon Press, 1978), 60–72. Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1978), 201–3.

⁵ The following sources will be cited below: London, British Library, Additional 36,881 (*D*); Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1 (*F*); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1139 (*A*); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 3549 (*B*); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 3719 (*C*); Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca de la Catedral [no shelf mark], "Codex Calixtinus" (the relevant portion is referred to in this article as *Liber Sancti Jacobi*); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 628 (Heinemann catalog 677) (*W*₁).

the Parisian sequence,⁶ but generally is much less regular and seems superimposed on an underlying syllabic structure. In his book *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*,⁷ Stevens affirms that syllable count is the basis for musical structure in the setting of medieval verse; he explores the use of this structure across a wide spectrum of medieval song, finding it especially and essentially characteristic of *le grand chant*, the high art of the troubadours and trouvères. Stevens then resubmits the isosyllabic hypothesis, to the effect that the most appropriate way of rendering the syllabic structure is by giving each syllable more or less the same musical duration. In the *grand chant* most syllables have one, two, or three notes; Stevens allows for a stretching of the syllabic unit for syllables with four or more notes. In other genres of song, vernacular and Latin, he explores modifications of isosyllabism. Approximate, not exact, equality is what is involved here; the approximate equality has the function of showing more clearly the relative length of successive verses, not of adding up in a rigid metric framework. The fact of syllabic structure in medieval monophony, together with the hypothesis of isosyllabic rendition, seems a likely point of departure for understanding rhythm in early polyphony. After considering the applicability of isosyllabic rendition to the Aquitanian repertory and the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, I will assess its continuing applicability to the incipient stages of Leonin's polyphony in the *Magnus liber*.

The proper precondition for a study of early polyphony would be a comprehensive, detailed history of "medieval chant," Latin sacred monophony that came into existence during the ninth to thirteenth centuries in the north, including the new forms and styles developed in that period.⁸ We are far from having such a history; in some respects we have barely begun. Still, there is enough of an outline to encourage us to start filling in some features of early polyphony against the background of the chant from which it sprang; we can work our way forward in time from chant through early polyphony up to the school of Notre Dame of Paris and the work of Leonin. We can think of polyphony within the context of chant; in doing so, it is important to keep in mind the different kinds of chant, even more important the diachronic development of these different kinds. For present purposes it will be sufficient to distinguish between

⁶ Margot E. Fassler, "Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises 'De rithmis,'" *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987): 164-90.

⁷ See note 3.

⁸ Ewald Jammers, *Der mittelalterliche Choral: Art und Herkunft*, Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 2 (Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, 1954), first proposed the term and the concept. In my book, *A History of Musical Style*, 25-54, I attempted to sketch some of the outline.

Frankish-Roman ("Gregorian") chant of the "archetype,"⁹ new Frankish chant of the ninth and tenth centuries, and medieval chant of the period after 1000, in which syllable-counted verse is especially prominent.

In his work of the last thirty years, Dom Eugène Cardine has opened up fruitful ways of thinking about rhythm in the chant of the archetype.¹⁰ To make an extremely rough summary of Dom Cardine's extensive, detailed discussion, the single rhythmic value of Dom André Mocquereau's earlier system has been replaced by a more varied, and variable, set of values. To be sure, Dom Mocquereau always provided for three distinct values—besides the basic one, a slightly longer, variable value represented in the Solesmes publications by the episema, and a precisely measured value twice as long as the basic one, represented by a dotted note.¹¹ Nonetheless, the unit pulse flowed easily through these, and can be grouped in the persuasive twos and threes that were Dom Mocquereau's distinctive contribution to our ideas about chant rhythm. Dom Cardine also identifies three rhythmic values, but his are nominal, and there is no measured relationship between any two of them. He identifies a median syllabic value, a shorter, lighter one used especially in groups of notes over a syllable, and a lengthened value used variously in different contexts. These three nominal values seem to permit in practice a wide variety of durations, and that in turn seems suggested by the notation in the earliest sources, taking into account especially the letter indications. Dom Cardine's rhythmic values are grouped not by an inner momentum of the succession of twos and threes (as in Dom Mocquereau's system) but by a careful account of the disposition over the syllables and by close attention to certain features of the earliest notation.

The point that concerns us here is that the syllable emerges as a more prominent unit. Indeed, in some passages of Introits and Communions, where syllables with one note have their median value and some groups of two or three notes are lighter and faster, the result is not unlike the isosyllabic flow imagined by Stevens for the *grand chant* of troubadours and trouvères. (The obvious difference is that the syllables of Introit and Communion are in prose, those of *grand chant* in verse, and so it might seem that there was no point in keeping track of the syllable count—the

⁹ For a recent discussion of the "archetype," see Kenneth Levy, "Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 1-30.

¹⁰ Dom Eugène Cardine, "Sémiologie grégorienne," *Études grégoriennes* 11 (1970): 1-158; trans. R. Fowels, *Gregorian Semiology* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1982).

¹¹ André Mocquereau, *Le nombre musical grégorien, ou rythmique grégorienne, théorie et pratique*, 2 vols. (Rome, Paris, and Tournai: Société de Saint Jean l'Évangéliste, Desclée, 1908-27).

phrase length—of the prose chant. I believe that there is a point in so doing, but that is another matter.)

The Latin sacred monophony after 1000, while often using syllable count in verse, occasionally uses more notes per syllable than the *grand chant*; as a result, an isosyllabic rendition is less practicable. If four notes over a syllable require a little stretching of the syllabic beat, five to ten notes require much stretching, and more than ten notes suspends the rhythmic effect of the syllabic structure—at least temporarily. While not usual for medieval chant, such groups appear occasionally in certain repertories; but they do not duplicate the peculiar quality of the melismata of the Gregorian Graduals, nor the seemingly irrational disposition of those melismata in the whole chant with its prose text. Somehow in medieval chant the syllable remains the unit of a rational plan even when overlaid with the relatively heavy decoration of more than four notes per syllable.

The repertory of Aquitanian polyphony, from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is far better known than it was twenty years ago, and certain aspects are now well understood, at least by specialists.¹² First, the repertory does not duplicate or continue the Gregorian repertory of the archetype, or even “grow out of it” in any specific way. The texts are syllable-counted verse. Their only connection to the liturgy of the Mass is through the sequence, itself an addition to the Mass made by the Carolingians; the only functional connection with the Office is through the

¹² A basic study is Sarah Fuller, “Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969), 3 vols., with complete transcriptions in vol. 3. For another wide-ranging discussion, see Jens Bonderup, *The Saint Martial Polyphony: Texture and Tonality, A Contribution to Research in the Development of Polyphonic Style in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1982). See also Leo Treitler, “The Polyphony of St. Martial,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964): 29–42; James N. Grier, “Transmission in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1985); Marianne Danckwardt, “Zur Notierung, klangliche Anlage und Rhythmisierung der Mehrstimmigkeit in den Saint-Martial-Handschriften,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 68 (1984): 31–84. Facsimiles in Parrish, *Notation*, plates 21–23; Bruno Stäblein, “Saint Martial,” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 11 (1963): 1265–70; Bryan Gillingham, ed., *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1139*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, no. 14 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987); *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 3719*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, no. 15 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987); *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 3549 and London, B.L., Add. 36,881*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, no. 16 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1987). Examples in Richard H. Hoppin, ed., *Anthology of Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1978), 42–49.

"Benedicamus versus." In cases where the lower voice¹³ resembles the style of preexisting chant, it resembles medieval chant—specifically the Aquitanian monophonic versus¹⁴—not the Gregorian. No Gregorian chant is used as a cantus firmus in Aquitanian polyphony (in the Compostelan Office of St. James the situation is different and will be discussed later).

Second, while the upper voices of Aquitanian polyphony often have five to ten notes per syllable, and occasionally more, the style of the repertory as a whole is not similar to that of the later Notre Dame school (the organum purum of Leonin's *Magnus liber*), either in the extent or the melodic inflection of the melismata. Furthermore, the repertory as a whole cannot meaningfully be divided into pieces that are melismatic and those that are not; and especially it cannot be divided into the Notre Dame categories of "melismatic organum" and "discant." Instead the seventy or so pieces fall along a continuum in a way that makes classification by such means impractical. If there is a dominant relationship between the voices, it can best be termed "florid discant,"¹⁵ a relationship that can, however, include single notes on syllables at any point.

When speaking of early polyphony, the terms "melisma" and "melismatic" need to be restricted to their original chant meaning of "many notes for one syllable." When the two voices move at different speeds the different kinds of movement are best described separately and by other terminology. The basic difference seems to be whether, at any given moment, only one voice moves to a new pitch (the other voice holding its same pitch), or both voices move to new pitches. An uninterrupted succession of the first kind of event will produce what is best (and usually) described as "held-note style," most familiar in Notre Dame organum purum. An uninterrupted succession of the second kind of event will produce "discant" in its strictest sense. These styles are characteristic of the Notre Dame repertory, but not of the Aquitanian repertory, in which the two kinds of events can succeed each other in a wide variety of configurations and of relationships with the underlying succession of syllables.

¹³ For early polyphony before that of the school of Notre Dame, I will refer to the two voices as "upper" and "lower," meaning thereby their position on the page in score arrangement: "lower voice" is immediately above the text, "upper voice" is notated above the lower.

¹⁴ For the Aquitanian monophony, see Leo Treitler, *The Aquitanian Repertories of Sacred Monody in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1967); Stäblein, "Saint Martial"; and Sarah Fuller, "St. Martial," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 16:398–99.

¹⁵ Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:7. See also idem, "The Myth of 'Saint Martial' Polyphony: A Study of the Sources," *Musica disciplina* 33 (1979): 5–26.

The starting point, then, for understanding the rhythmic structure of Aquitanian polyphony is its syllabic structure: Aquitanian polyphony is a "syllabic artefact" (Stevens's term) like the medieval chant from which it sprang. As Treitler put it, "its fundamental pulse is the pulse of declaimed syllables of text, graphically represented by the sequence of ligatures, whether these are given identical duration or the proportional durations of the modal rhythms."¹⁶ But while most agree that the verse structure generates the large-scale form of these polyphonic pieces, there is less agreement about how far down to detail this is true. Do the pervasive accentual patterns (often on every other or every third syllable) generate form? I think not, and find the syllable in itself to be the unit of the verse.

Most Aquitanian polyphony is notated in a score arrangement (as is also the polyphony in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*), and as Willi Apel emphasized long ago, this is an important feature. But the score notation is only a symptom of a more basic condition of early polyphony, namely that the two voices sing the same syllables at the same time. It is this condition that makes possible the notation in parts, as in the Winchester Tropers. And in the Aquitanian "successive notation,"¹⁷ in which two parts to be sung together are notated one after the other over two consecutive verses of text, the combining of the parts is made possible not by the syllables themselves but by the *number* of syllables—the basic element in the construction of the verse. It seems to me that the alignment by syllables is the least uncertain factor in early polyphony, and the one upon which we should most rely.

In general, chant notation presents relatively few difficulties in aligning notes with syllables, difficulties that students of later polyphony treat under the heading "text underlay." We have to remember that the process in chant is better thought of as "melody overlay." Polyphonic score notation, however, presents abundant problems in aligning the notes—especially those in the upper voice—with the syllables. This is because, while the scribe was skilled at notating chant over syllables precisely, he had no experience in notating a second melody at a considerable distance above the words, often with a number of notes per syllable different from the first melody. The result is imprecise alignment.

The most obvious symptom of this imprecision is the addition of marks of alignment to the notation. In the earlier sources, and sometimes in the later ones, these marks seem to have been entered after the original

¹⁶ Leo Treitler, "A Reply to Theodore Karp," *Acta musicologica* 40 (1968): 227–29.

¹⁷ Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:111–48; Sarah Fuller, "Hidden Polyphony—A Re-appraisal," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (1971): 169–92.

notation; they represent, in other words, an attempt (and often a messy one) to show the alignment of the parts more exactly than it was indicated by the scribe. It seems probable that we should not take these marks of alignment for anything more than that: they have no rhythmic significance.¹⁸ Sometimes they occur in such a way as to suggest a rhythmic unit, or a phrase, but that seems to be merely because such places are convenient; marks of alignment can occur in other places, too.

Because they show how someone close to the scene thought the parts should be aligned, these marks are invaluable, and we must observe them. They should not, however, blind us to a more basic, more indigenous technique of notating the alignment. All except strictly syllabic passages are notated using ligatures,¹⁹ which by their nature are associated with syllables in certain ways. The singer of early polyphony was a chant singer by training and, presumably, would have observed the ligatures without even thinking about it. When singing the upper voice, the singer would have begun a syllable only at the beginning of a ligature, even if not notated exactly above the syllable.²⁰

Ignoring for a moment the use of ligatures in notation, we need to consider abstractly the possible relationships between the two parts in terms of the number of notes.²¹ In the Aquitanian repertory the possible relationships are spread out over a broad continuum. Since the organum-discant dichotomy will not do, a more specific and detailed set of descriptions seems required. The following classification, based upon a single syllable, will facilitate the application of the isosyllabic hypothesis of rendition:

I. One note in the lower voice against

- (a) one note in the upper voice (hence strictly note-against-note).
- (b) two or three notes in the upper voice.
- (c) four notes in the upper voice.
- (d) five to ten notes in the upper voice.
- (e) more than ten notes in the upper voice.

¹⁸ Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:331 n. 33.

¹⁹ Given the difficulties that emerge from Dom Cardine's discussion of *neume* (Cardine, *Gregorian Semiology*, trans. Fowels, 16, 78), I am referring throughout to note-groups as "ligatures," meaning thereby a group of pitches whose written presentation indicates they are to be sung to one syllable rather than divided among two.

²⁰ This has been generally, but not universally, acknowledged; see, for instance, Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, The Medieval Academy of America, Publication no. 38 (Cambridge, 1942; 5th ed., 1961), 214. It is reaffirmed definitively by Danckwardt, "Zur Notierung," 32.

²¹ There is a comparable but more elaborate scheme in Bonderup, *Saint Martial Polyphony*, 43-50.

2. Two notes in the lower voice against
 - (a) one note in the upper voice.
 - (b) two or three notes in the upper voice.
 - (c) four notes in the upper voice.
 - (d) five to ten notes in the upper voice.
 - (e) more than ten notes in the upper voice.
3. Three notes in the lower voice (the categories can be similarly continued).

With more than four notes per syllable in either voice, a situation develops in which the syllabic structure becomes less effective—much the same as in monophony. This happens in several different ways, which will require comment later. Yet, though particularly frequent in certain pieces, the melismata are usually mixed with syllabic passages; conversely, few pieces are strictly note-against-note. Nearly all pieces show more than one kind of relationship between the voices.

In case 1a the two voices sing the same words at the same time, one note per syllable; the rhythmic problem is no more nor less than it is in monophony—that is, in monophonic Aquitanian syllable-counted verse. Under the isosyllabic hypothesis the syllables would flow by easily in an equal median beat. Phrase rhythms would be guided by syllable count and melodic inflection.

Case 1b brings two or three notes against each note and syllable in the lower voice. The groups of two or three notes will be written in ligatures, whose use exemplifies the close relationship that can exist between ligatures and syllables. The two or three notes can be rendered, under the syllabic hypothesis, as subdivisions of the basic syllabic unit. If the syllable has a median rhythmic value, the two or three notes in the upper voice slip by with no particular problem about their relative durations. This subdivisibility is one of the most important aspects of the kind of rhythmic motion to be assumed for monophony as well as for polyphony of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²²

Case 1c, with four notes in the upper voice, presents a problem and leads to another important aspect. As Stevens imagines for song, so I imagine a slight stretching of the syllabic beat to accommodate the four notes. The singer—or singers—of monophony may scarcely notice the stretching of the syllabic value, nor will the singer of the upper voice in polyphony; but the singer of the lower voice will notice it, and must

²² This as well as other ideas (that I find congenial) on the subject were expressed briefly and speculatively by Jacques Handschin, "Die mittelalterlichen Aufführungen in Zürich, Bern und Basel," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1927): 8–22.

accommodate it. The problem of how the lower voice is to know when to move on to the next syllable has perhaps been an obstacle to this rhythmic interpretation; modern observers have felt that the problem can be solved only by exactly measured values in both voices. But I think the problem may be solved in a way that is familiar to modern performers. In recitative, the accompanist regularly accommodates the rhythmic flow of sustained chords to the singer's diction, performing a "stretch-and-wait" until the singer comes to a syntactic close. (And, of course, such accommodation is standard practice in all kinds of ensemble performance.)

In the polyphonic case we are considering, the stretch-and-wait takes place within one syllable. We can apply the same procedure, in progressively extreme form, to cases 1d and 1e (see example 1, *Sub carnis tegmine*). Once the lower voice has learned to expect the stretching, he can sustain it for shorter or longer as required. We should remember that there has been prior experience, in more basic form, in chant singing: in a syllable-counted chant that has terminal melismata, the singers go through a similar suspension of the syllabic beat, using a similar ensemble accommodation to reach the close together. The syllable itself, of course, is an easily perceptible framework for the accommodation, providing a number of subtle phonetic clues with which the singers can communicate to each other their timing.

Example 1. From *Per partum virginis* (F-Pn lat. 3549, fols. 150v-151r).

Sub carnis tegmine

homo pro homine solvens la-

tu- it (etc.)

* Emend to read *D B C A / B A G?*

Cases 1c, 1d, and 1e, with four or more notes over a syllable, bring up an important feature of the notation. The basic ligatures represent two notes or three notes but may be combined with each other, and with single notes, to make complex forms of four, five, or six notes. Aquitanian scribes sometimes write seven or eight or more, typically in descending scales leading to cadences. But in general a melisma will be notated in a string of ligatures each two, three, or four notes long; we can usually see the separation with ease (assuming familiarity with the style of chant notation the scribe is using), and we can assume that the singer perceived it automatically.

Case 1 altogether, with only one note in the lower voice for a syllable, really presents no great problem of notation, rendition, or rhythmic understanding: the syllables can go along more or less equally until the upper voice has four or more notes; then the lower voice holds while the upper voice sings its melodic decoration. Case 2, with two notes in the lower voice over a syllable, raises another kind of problem. While cases 2a and 2b are for practical purposes equivalent to case 1b, from case 2c on the problem becomes severe.²³ When the lower voice has two notes per syllable, and when these two are written in ligature, there is no clear way of knowing from the notation how to align the second note with the several notes in the upper voice. We know that this was a problem for twelfth-century singers, too, since by the time of Notre Dame notation a drastic step had been taken to solve it. But as long as ligatures persisted in the lower voice, there was no single solution. All we can do is identify the logical possibilities, and assume that these were options for singers then.

First possibility: the second note in the lower voice is sung *ad libitum*, whenever the singer wishes.

Second possibility: the second note in the lower voice goes immediately with the second note in the upper voice.

Third possibility: the second note in the lower voice goes with the start of the next (or some subsequent) ligature.

Fourth possibility: the second note in the lower voice goes with the last note in the upper voice; or, by analogy with the third possibility, with the last note of some ligature preceding the last one in the upper voice.

²³ Expressed by Apel, *Notation*, 214 (and others since). Apel emphatically designated as the preferred solution the third of the possibilities that I identify below.

With the first possibility, I am suggesting not just a lack of knowledge on our part, but rather that the composer did not intend one specific alignment. I think we have to acknowledge that in at least some instances the position of the second note could have been indeterminate. Furthermore, we should think of this as a free choice not merely to align with this or that note in the upper part, but instead, to sing the note anywhere between this point and that point. (Returning to our modern analogy, the result would be like two continuo players arpeggiating a chord freely within the same time span.) But this indeterminacy extends only within the syllable: the lower voice would start its first note with the upper voice, begin the second note at an indeterminate time, and end the syllable with the upper voice. Example 2 shows passages on “(cor-)ru(it)” and “(femi-)ne(-a)” which seem apt for this possibility.

Example 2. From *Primus homo corrui* (F-Pn lat. 3549, fol. 152).

The image shows three systems of musical notation for a vocal piece. Each system consists of a treble clef staff (upper voice) and a bass clef staff (lower voice). The lyrics are written below the staves. The first system has the lyrics "O pri - mus ho -". The second system has "mo cor - ru - it in frau -". The third system has "de fe - mi - ne - - - a /". The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs, illustrating the indeterminate alignment of notes between the two voices.

The first possibility—indeterminacy within the syllable—can be imagined as the starting point for a series of choices made by singers over a period of decades, resulting in more specific location of the notes in the lower voice relative to the upper. Such a process might result in the increased “verticality” envisaged by Treitler.²⁴ No direct progression, however, can lead to the Notre Dame style, with its bifurcation of organum

²⁴ Treitler, “Polyphony of St. Martial,” 39–41.

and discant. Still, one might argue that even within the extended melismata of Leonin's organum there is more specific location of tenor notes than in Aquitanian florid discant.

In any case, my second, third, and fourth possibilities offer the specific locations immediately available. They would have been selected by the singer primarily according to the degree to which he wanted clear arrivals on consonances; yet the possibilities seem limited by the ligature arrangement.

The second possibility, if it involves cases 2d or 2e, seems at first glance unlikely: it seems irrational that the two notes in the lower voice are not to be spaced out more or less evenly under the upper voice. Nonetheless, there are a few cases where it seems called for, in particular where the two (or three or four) notes in the lower voice seem intended to move in descending parallel fourths or fifths with the first notes in the upper voice (as in the beginning of example 2). When the singer of the lower voice reached its last note, he would hold it until the end of the syllable.

The third possibility is the most obvious of the four—and the one most favored in modern transcriptions.²⁵ Here the two voices move as they would for a change in syllable. With several ligatures in the upper voice, as in cases 2d and 2e, there may be more than one option in a given instance.

The fourth possibility, on the other hand, is not so obvious; in fact, it may seem unlikely. Yet it is a possibility and, what is more, seems to be an increasingly preferred option.²⁶ Besides the first note of a ligature, the last note is the only other identifiable point of coincidence, middle notes of a ligature not being practicable. Matching the last note in the lower voice with the end of a ligature in the upper is analogous with closing on the end of a syllable. We saw how the lower voice could stretch and wait for the end of the syllable, then move to the next together with the upper voice. In the case of two notes, the lower voice can again stretch and wait (on its first note), then match its second note to the end of the syllable *before* moving on to the new syllable with a new note. Example 3 shows the application of this possibility on the syllables "(Sene-)scen-te," "(fili-)o," "quem," and "(fove-)bat." Matching the second note to the end of an upper-voice ligature *within* the syllable is more delicate, requiring greater

²⁵ See note 23.

²⁶ Apel, discussing the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* in *Notation* (p. 214), pointed out, as others have since, that the consonances are often better using this possibility. But Apel rejected it on the same grounds mentioned for the second possibility, i.e., that the notes should be more evenly distributed under the melisma.

prearrangement and sensitivity on the part of the singers, but it could be assumed to have become more frequent as polyphonic technique developed.²⁷

Example 3. From *Senescente mundano filio* (F-Pn lat. 3549, fol. 153).

The image shows a musical score for a four-part vocal setting. It consists of four systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The lyrics are written below the bass staff of each system. The first system has the lyrics 'Se - ne scen - te mun - da - no'. The second system has 'fi - li - o / quem fo - ve - bat'. The third system has 'men - tis ob - li - vi -'. The fourth system has 'o /' followed by '(etc.)' in the right margin.

These four possibilities constitute solutions to what I call “the two-note problem,” in which there are two notes in the lower voice per syllable

²⁷ The fourth possibility would be greatly facilitated by a tendency for “neume-groups” in chant to close on a slightly prolonged note. Guido writes of a *mora ultimae vocis* in chapter 15 of *Micrologus* (J. Smits van Waesberghe, ed., *Guido Aretinus: Micrologus, Corpus scriptorum de musica*, no. 4 [n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1955], 163; *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, trans. Warren Babb and ed., with introductions, by Claude V. Palisca, Music Theory Translation Series, no. 3 [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978], 70). Dom Cardine’s implementation of the “neumatic break” suggests this operating as a principle (Cardine, *Gregorian Semiology*, trans. Fowels, 79–91). If this were the case at least sometimes, it would make the matching of last notes easier; if it were not the case, the fourth possibility would soon make it a habit in polyphony, as a little experimentation will show.

and a greater number of notes in the upper voice. (By extension, generalizations about the two-note problem are germane to similar problems involving three or more notes in the lower voice.) The two-note problem presents itself only occasionally in the Aquitanian repertory—not at all in some pieces, only once or twice in many. But, taken together with frequent instances of five or more notes in the upper against one in the lower (cases 1d and 1e), it suggests a shift in the roles of the two voices: the upper voice seems to be given the lead. As the number of notes per syllable increases in the upper voice, it is stretched to the point where the lower voice cannot be imagined to control the rhythm. This effect is especially noticeable in applying the four possibilities, where the lower voice accommodates itself to the upper. At this point one may ask how the upper voice is guided rhythmically through its melismata, where the syllabic structure is no longer operative.

A possible answer to this question is offered by a particular melismatic structure that has been frequently noticed and discussed.²⁸ These melismata often proceed in a uniform succession of two-note or three-note ligatures in the upper voice against matching ligatures in the lower; less regular arrangements, in which the ligatures have unequal numbers of notes, also occur. This structure suggests another hypothesis, to complement the isosyllabic one: in such note-against-note melismata each pair of matching ligatures in the upper and lower voices can be taken as the rhythmic equivalent of a syllabic unit.²⁹ If the matching pair contains two-note or three-note ligatures, the unit can be considered as similar to case 1b; if four notes, to case 1c. Since the actual ligatures do not often exceed four notes, matching ligatures in the five-to-ten class are exceptional; but they do occur³⁰ and would require a stretch in both voices simultaneously.

²⁸ For instance, see Treitler, "Polyphony of St. Martial," 37–38. Such melismata are, from a syllabic point of view, a remarkable phenomenon within this style; in order to include them in the scheme of classification suggested earlier, the scheme would have to be expanded to unusable proportions. It is striking that this kind of melisma was developed before the very different extensions in Leonin's *Magnus liber*; but cf. the clausula *Tamquam* (the end is in example 5), which seems to be the only survival in the *Magnus liber* of this kind of melisma. Bruno Stäblein used these melismata as basic material ("Modale Rhythmen in Saint-Martial-Repertoire?" *Festschrift Friedrich Blume zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Anna Amalie Abert and Wilhelm Pfannkuch [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963], 340–62); but see the thorough critique in Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:315–20.

²⁹ Expressed briefly by Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 203.

³⁰ See "Zacheus" in *Veri solis radius* from *F-Pn lat. 3549*, fol. 150. Facsimile edition: Bryan Gillingham, ed., *Paris Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 3549 and London, B.L., Add. 36,881*, p. 5.

According to this second hypothesis, the range of rhythms and rhythmic values in the melismata would be continuous with those in the more syllabic passages. As a passage of case 1a or 1b is followed by a note-against-note melisma in two-note or three-note ligatures, the pace of the fastest notes would remain more or less the same. The notes in the melisma would move lightly and quickly, like the two or three notes over a single syllable, and the notes in the melisma could be grouped with a flexible pulse that would approximate the syllable in the syllabic passage. This interpretation seems supported by the way matching ligatures in a melisma often involve a kind of contrary motion that closes strongly on a unison at the end of each ligature, as in example 1. It seems appropriate for these strong closures to mark off units commensurate with the syllables.

This hypothesis, under which ligatures within a melisma are to be treated rhythmically like syllables, can be applied to less regular arrangements and also to melismata of cases 1d and 1e, which involve melismata in the upper voice against single notes in the lower. In such cases the proposed treatment of ligatures in the upper voice would provide the same kind of rhythmic continuity with the surrounding syllabic structure (see example 1, *Sub carnis tegmine*). This interpretation would not by itself, however, help with the cadential descending scales that are usually notated in a single ligature; under the hypothesis, these would involve a suspension of the syllabic beat (entirely appropriate, however, for a *cadenza*). There would be other cases, too, in which it would be difficult to read melismata in ligature groups.

The Aquitanian repertory of polyphony allows no consistent system of rhythm, and we should not expect to find one, let alone impose one arbitrarily. The repertory can be imagined to have been developed from, say, 1050 to 1200 and to represent the dynamic exploration of a whole series of new ways of combining two voices. We should imagine successive compositions trying out different, perhaps progressively more extended and elaborate, combinations of upper voice with lower voice and, with each new attempt, perhaps a different rhythmic manner of synchronizing the two voices in performance. The advantage of the isosyllabic hypothesis is, I believe, that it presents a larger rhythmic context in which the synchronization can take place, without any assumption of meter and without any need to specify the rhythmic detail inside groups of two, three, or four notes; these notes can be equal or unequal *ad libitum*. I imagine that the detailed rhythmic flow within the syllable in both voices could have been different in each rendition; what was composed was a melodic configuration of syllables against a background discant framework. And I imagine the syllabic "beat" itself (whether derived from actual syllables or from ligatures within melismata) to be as flexible as the large beat or

count that dancers, for instance, sometimes use to keep track of approximately equal durations.

In the absence of a documented system of synchronizing the two voices, scholars have often proposed consonance as the most reliable and desirable factor to use. Apel relied on it heavily and proposed its use also for the organum purum of the *Magnus liber*.³¹ There has been much discussion about the relative "verticality" as opposed to "horizontal" of early polyphony in general, and of Aquitanian polyphony in particular, with reference to the role of consonance.³² Karp,³³ and more recently Sanders,³⁴ felt that preservation of consonance between the two voices was justification for ignoring the ligatures or the syllabification. But, while consonance is certainly essential rather than accidental to the structure of "discant,"³⁵ in the case of florid discant the consonance structure is in the background; florid, almost by definition, involves covering up the background, often by the placement of dissonance. The notational data of Aquitanian polyphony would have to be radically interpreted to get around all the dissonance. In any case, do we really want to make it sound like, say, Viadana, when it might sound more like Monteverdi?³⁶

The dissonances that are objected to in Aquitanian polyphony are sometimes identified as being located "on the beat."³⁷ But, since there seems to be no possibility of applying a metrical system—let alone a modal one³⁸—there is no beat in a metrical sense, and the dissonances cannot be considered to be "on the beat." We can only say that over a new note in the lower voice there may be a dissonance instead of a consonance. The kind of beat I imply by "syllabic beat" is more in the nature of an arrival at the end of a syllable, and, without making a rule,

³¹ Willi Apel, "From St. Martial to Notre Dame," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 2 (1949): 145–58.

³² Wulf Arlt, "Peripherie und Zentrum: Vier Studien zur ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des hohen Mittelalters, Erste Folge," *Basler Studien zur Musikgeschichte I*, ed. Wulf Arlt and Hans Oesch, *Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte*, Forum Musicologicum, 1 (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1975), 169–222.

³³ Theodore Karp, "St. Martial and Santiago de Compostela: An Analytical Speculation," *Acta musicologica* 39 (1967): 144–60.

³⁴ Ernest Sanders, "Sine Littera and Cum Littera in Medieval Polyphony," *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates (New York: Norton, 1984), 215–31.

³⁵ Richard L. Crocker, "Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962): 1–21.

³⁶ Well expressed by Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 204–5.

³⁷ Karp, "St. Martial and Santiago de Compostela," 146–47.

³⁸ Ernest Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962): 249–91, offered the case for dating the modal system from the substitute clausulae—after the *Magnus liber*.

this frequently seems to be consonant. Rather than arguing *a priori* (from general principles or from what the organum treatises may say) for a particular practice of consonance in florid discant, I prefer to assume the ligatures and syllabification mean what they appear to mean and to see what kind of consonance practice results.³⁹

The other major collection of twelfth-century polyphony before (or alongside) Leonin is the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, which contains the Office of St. James presumably made for Compostela; it contains about twenty polyphonic works.⁴⁰ This repertory is different in certain important respects from the Aquitanian one and is similar to Leonin's *Magnus liber* in those same respects. It has been tempting to transcribe it in modal rhythm, using the procedures later applied to the Notre Dame school, but the results have not been generally accepted. Here I want to treat the notation according to the considerations developed for Aquitanian polyphony, with a view towards discovering how much and in what ways the *Magnus liber* can be similarly understood.

The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* contains two types of polyphony. There are eight polyphonic versus in rhyming, syllable-counted verse. The lower voices have usually one or two notes per syllable, the upper voices usually one, two, or three notes, occasionally four or five. As exceptions there are terminal note-against-note melismata of up to twenty notes, as in Aquitanian polyphony. Examples are on "ista" in *Congaudeant* (fol. 185r) and on "domino" in *Gratulantes* (fol. 185v). In *Ad superni* there is one at the end of each stanza (fol. 185v). There are other occasional melismata in the upper voice only, of up to twelve notes; usually there is only one of these to a work. In all these works the syllabic structure is very prominent; the rhythms are easily rendered in the moderate, flexible syllabic beat

³⁹ Treitler, "Polyphony of St. Martial," 39 n. 23, expressed a similar caution.

⁴⁰ Peter Wagner, ed., *Die Gesänge der Jakobusliturgie zu Santiago de Compostela aus dem sog. Codex Calixtinus* (Freiburg im Schweiz: Universitäts-Buchhandlung [Gebr. Hess & Co.], 1931); Dom German Prado, O.B.S., *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, vol. 2, *Musica (Reproduccion en Fototipia seguida de la Transcripcion)* (Santiago de Compostela, 1944); José López Calo, S.J., *La musica medieval en Galicia* (La Corona: Fundacion "Pedro Barrie de la Maza, Conde de Fenosa," 1982), 46–51 (color facsimiles). See also Higinio Anglés, "Die Mehrstimmigkeit des Calixtinus von Compostela und seine Rhythmik," *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961), 91–100; Wolfgang Osthoff, "Die Conductus des Codex Calixtinus," *Festschrift Bruno Stäublein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1967), 178–86; Treitler, "Polyphony of St. Martial"; Karp, "St. Martial and Santiago de Compostela"; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 207–14. The favorite topic of discussion and transcription is *Kyrie cunctipotens genitor*; see Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Frieder Zamminer, *Ad organum faciendum: Lehrschriften der Mehrstimmigkeit in nachguidonischer Zeit*, *Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1970), 104, especially n. 21.

previously described—even in *Regi perhenni* (fol. 187r) and *Vox nostra* (fol. 187v), which have the most elaborate upper voices. And the melismata can be treated under the second hypothesis, with matching ligatures in the two voices treated as syllabic units.

The second type of polyphony contains the novelties that resemble features of the *Magnus liber*. There are four Matins responsories, one Gradual responsory, an Alleluia for Mass, three settings of the words "Benedicamus domino," and the *Cunctipotens genitor*, a Kyrie versus that is grouped here because of its style (the other Kyrie versus, *Rex immense*, was counted in the first type). The novelties, relative to the Aquitanian repertory, concern chiefly the responsories, which are in traditional responsory format and, compared to medieval versus, resemble chant of the Gregorian archetype. While the words are in prose, however, they are newly assembled for the purpose of this Office, and the melodies are apparently Frankish of the tenth century or later (if not of the twelfth). The verse melodies are not those of the traditional set of eight used for responsory verses. Since, in the respond, only the cantor's intonation is set in polyphony, the polyphonic verse constitutes most of the work. These qualifications notwithstanding, the four Matins responsories as well as the Gradual responsory and the Alleluia present a new format for twelfth-century polyphony. (One responsory, *O adjutor*, has a prosa, *Portum in ultimo*, which is in versus-style and is strongly contrasted against the polyphony of the rest of the verse.)

The responsory format includes occasional long melismata in the lower voice. Examples are *Huic Jaco—bo* (fol. 188r); *O—adjutor* (fol. 188r); *Misit herodes* ♯. *Occidit autem—* (fol. 189r); *Alleluia* ♯. *Vocavit* (fols. 189v–190r). The final example contains several, but the last is note-against-note, as in versus. Two of the three settings of "Benedicamus domino" also contain long melismata (fol. 190r–v). These melismata, along with more frequent shorter ones, are set with usually three or four notes in the upper voice to each note of the lower, producing long non-syllabic passages, and these present the main rhythmic problem of the repertory.

Throughout the responsories there is a great increase in the frequency of the two-note problem, as the verse-tones of the responsories often have two-note ligatures over a syllable. Remarkably, these lower-voice melismata are sometimes notated using single notes in a long series instead of ligatures, contradicting the whole tradition of notating chant melismata. Examples can be found in *Huic Jaco—bo*; *Jacobe* ♯. *Tu con—* (*o—ra* has ligatures); *O adjutor* (a mixture of single notes with ligatures) ♯. *Qui sub—*; *Misit* ♯. *Occidit autem—* (mixture), *Johan—* (mixture); *Alleluia* ♯. *Vocavit: Johanem, nomina, Boa—nerges, Benedicamus domino* (a light mixture in two of the three). A possible explanation would be that the single notes

permit clear alignment on the page, avoiding the two-note (or three-note) problem completely. But this fails to explain why one finds ligatures mixed with single notes in the lower voice, and it relies too greatly on the vertical alignment of notes, which—even in this source—is not always clear. On the other hand, the four possibilities are easy to apply, and the fourth possibility seems to result in an arrival on a consonance even more frequently than in the Aquitanian repertory. Examples can be seen in example 4, from *Dum esset* (fol. 187v). The transcription uses slurs in the lower voice to show possible alignment. The slur after the first note of a unit shows its maximum length, which will depend on when the second note starts. I have placed the second and following notes as late as they could come, with slurs preceding them to show how early they could come; the overlap between the slur following a note and the slur preceding the next note shows the zone in which the change from the first note to the second could occur. The use of ligatures or single notes in the manuscript is shown over the lower voice.

Solutions such as these have been several times suggested, from Handschin to Hoppin, always as purely practical ones, in the absence of documentation. That they are practical is, of course, their strength. And, though they still lack documentary support, I think they can now be placed in the larger context outlined here, involving on one hand the syllabic structure of monophony and the isosyllabic hypothesis, and on the other the use of ligatures.

One reason it is hard to approach Notre Dame rhythm and notation from premises such as those presented here is that the nexus of modal rhythm is so strongly integrated; it is not readily separated into its components. Nonetheless, I feel its components need to be understood separately and, perhaps, seen as separate historical phases. I see three components.

The first component is modal rhythm in a pure, theoretical state (as described by Waite in connection with Augustine's theory of rhythm⁴¹). In this state long and short values follow each other in strict alternation—or better, it is as if time itself consisted of alternating long and short slots. Each note in turn becomes long or short depending on the slot into which it falls, so the length of the note is known by its position in the series and need not be shown by its notation. This pure state is not so often apparent in the *Magnus liber*, but, although few have agreed with Waite that all the organum purum should be read as modal,⁴² several ob-

⁴¹ William Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice*, Yale Studies in the History of Music, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 14, 38, 54.

⁴² Manfred Bukofzer's review of Waite, *Rhythm*, in *Music Library Association: Notes*, 2nd ser., 12 (1955): 232–36, in spite of stringent criticism of Waite, seemed to agree "in

Example 4. From *R. Dum esset* (*Liber Sancti Jacobi*, fol. 187v).

Magister ato eps trecensius

R Dum es - set

V Si - cut

e - nim vox
e - nim vox

7 to - ni - tru - i (etc.)

principle." For a summary of treatments of organum purum, see Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Organum purum," in *Musikalische Edition im Wandel des historischen Bewußtseins*, ed. Thrasybulos G. Georgiades, *Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten*, no. 23 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971), 93-112; and more recently, Jeremy Yudkin, "The Rhythm of Organum Purum," *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983): 355-76, an impressive philological-philosophical demonstration that the thirteenth-century theorists tell us only that organum purum was not modal. I, too, agree that Waite's thesis is untenable (and would not now transcribe *Viderunt* as I did in *A History of Music Style*, 74-75). Nonetheless, while "freer" methods continue to be discussed at length, no other complete transcription has been published, and Waite's—in spite of the need for minor improvements and alternatives in readings—remains the only ready place (besides the facsimile) in which to study the music of the *Magnus liber* in the W_1 version.

servers have pointed to separate passages that use a pure succession of binary ligatures and imagine such passages to move in modal rhythm in contrast to the freer rhythm in surrounding passages.⁴³ We will need to remember that this pure modal rhythm comes in the duplum over a held tenor note, without the problem of rhythmic coincidence between the two voices. As a corollary, modal rhythm in this pure state can include the idea that a phrase (*ordo*) ends with the value with which it began—a long and a long.

The second component is the measurement of long and short values, with one long equal to two breves. This is not strictly a “modal” factor, but rather a “mensural” one—and this has not been pointed out, I think. It is immaterial to the pure modal alternation of long and short what their relative values are, as long as they are constant. But mensuration, measurement, is present in the modal system as soon as a long equals exactly two breves. We are accustomed to say that the notation does not become mensural until Franco’s time (and then only to a limited extent)—but such a distinction of modal from mensural pertains specifically to the notation, not to the rhythm as performed.

The third component concerns a rhythmic value that is hard to name in a premodal state—so much does it seem to us a product of modal rhythms. Yet I am convinced that this value is separate from and prior to pure modal rhythm or mensuration. We call it a “ternary long,” but we should remember that Johannes de Garlandia called it a *longa ultra mensuram*, “outside of measure,” meaning by “measure” the breve and the long. Later, Franco regarded it as the source of the modes.⁴⁴ But, while it was logical for Johannes de Garlandia (and his twentieth-century followers) to equate the ternary long with the sum of a measured long and a breve, it is possible that this “ultra-long” value had its origin in the syllabic beat of the versus and, hence, was available for use before either modal or mensural elements were applied.

⁴³ For instance, Fritz Reckow, “Das Organum,” *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973) 434–96; cf. Ernest Sanders, “Consonance and Rhythm in the Organum of the 12th and 13th Centuries,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1980): 264–86. See also Janet Knapp, in a forthcoming study on Notre Dame polyphony.

⁴⁴ For Garlandia, see Erich Reimer, ed., *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica: Kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 10–11 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972), 1:38. For Franco, see Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History*, vol. 1, *Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1950; 2nd ed. 1965), 141. Both passages have been much discussed.

The *Magnus liber* has only one of the several types of polyphonic works found in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* and none of the types that dominate the Aquitanian repertory. The *Magnus liber* is, as its title (as given by Anonymous IV) says, “de gradali et antiphonario”: it contains only certain liturgical categories for a series of occasions. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, on the other hand, contains the whole spectrum of categories for one occasion, and the Aquitanian repertory contains a variety of styles for mostly unspecified functions and occasions. Polyphonic versus are not to be found within the *Magnus liber*; in the Notre Dame manuscripts they were placed in separate fascicles and called, generically, *conductus*. Also excluded from the *Magnus liber* are the *prosaes* for *responsories*, such as *Portum ultimum* of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*. But the Latin-texted *discant* (commonly called “*motets*”) of the eighth and ninth fascicles of the Florence manuscript exactly answers the description. Only the settings of “*Benedicamus domino*” have no fascicle of their own. New and distinctive in the Notre Dame manuscripts are the “*substitute*” *discant clausulas*—hundreds of them, in their own fascicles.

Within the *Magnus liber*, then, there is almost exclusive concentration on polyphonic settings of *responsories* for the Office and for Mass—that is, settings of melodies that either are or resemble chants of the archetype. Speaking only of the *W₁* version (here and in the following discussion), some of the Office *responsories*, such as *Ex ejus tumba*, are recent chants for individual saints; some of the *Alleluias* are Frankish chants; while most of the Gradual *responsories* are from the ninth-century archetype. This is novel, and the novelty has not, I think, been sufficiently emphasized. There has been a tendency to say that Leonin’s polyphony continued the traditional chant, but it was not at all traditional in the twelfth century to make polyphonic settings of Graduals from the archetype. The words of Graduals are in prose not verse, and their melodies have *melismata* that evade the concept of syllable count. These drastic differences would have been obvious to Leonin; he must have been well prepared to deal with them and perhaps even sought them out as opportunities to write a new and different kind of music.

In the *Magnus liber*, the upper voice (now “*duplum*”) is written in its usual position over the lower voice (“*tenor*”) with its syllables. This notation suggests that the syllabic structure is to be understood in traditional terms in spite of the differences just mentioned. There is a tendency to neglect the succession of syllables in Leonin’s work and to view syllable changes and the marks that indicate them as incidental distractions to the flow of the *melisma*. But the two voices do sing the same syllables at the same time, and that provides a basic large-scale form, however extended and obscured by other features.

Compared with the Aquitanian and Compostelan repertoires, the *Magnus liber* contains a great number of little vertical marks,⁴⁵ which divide certain notes from others in a confusing variety of ways.⁴⁶ The marks of alignment that were added to the earlier sources could scarcely be regarded as consistent; yet their primary function is clear—to compensate for misalignment on the page by showing how the upper-voice ligatures go with the syllables. In the Codex Calixtinus, where the alignment on the page is good, the vertical lines were added after various units of verse in the versus, or after syllables, words, or groups of words in the elaborate settings of prose; in the melismata the marks sometimes divide the melisma into comparable subphrases. If there is a tradition, it is one of expediency, not system, and we should not be surprised if at Notre Dame, too, practice is not completely systematic.

The marks in the *Magnus liber* do not go through both staves, as they do in the Codex Calixtinus; they are so small (in W_1) as to be sometimes hard to see. Yet something of the older long mark will be found to persist. The marks in the duplum show either a change of syllable or a division into subphrases in a melisma. Of these two uses the syllable mark is the more traditional. The division marks are the more numerous and prominent, simply because of Leonin's extreme extension of the duplum in the organum purum, with frequent division into subphrases.

The numerous marks in the tenor are less easy to understand, due to another development—of epochal significance—in Leonin's polyphonic style. Leonin began to make heavy use of elision (did he invent it?), in which the end of a unit in one voice coincides with the start in the other. In example 5 (from *Descendit* Ψ . *Tamquam*, W_1 fol. 17v [13v]), at the passage marked (a), the tenor note is sounding, and the duplum is ap-

⁴⁵ For a facsimile edition of the W_1 version, see J. H. Baxter, ed., *An Old St. Andrews Music Book* (Cod. Helmst. 628), St. Andrews University Publications, no. 30 (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1973), fols. 17r–48v (13r–42v). And see also Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson, and David Hiley, "Further Observations on W_1 ," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 4 (1983): 53–80.

⁴⁶ Discussion of these has usually begun with, and seems to assume, a modal or mensural state; the function of rest—measured silence—has been seen as primary, the other functions as vestigial and peripheral. For a better approach, see Rudolf von Ficker, "Probleme der modalen Notation," *Acta musicologica* 18–19 (1946): 12; but Ficker's remarks on the pages following seem to lead to the problems mentioned in note 55 below. Frieder Zamminer presents a very elaborate, and to me confusing, discussion of the marks, in connection with the Vatican Organum Treatise, and independent of modal rhythm (*Der vatikanische Organum-Traktat* (Ottob. lat. 3025): *Organum-Praxis der frühen Notre Dame-Schule und ihrer Vorstufen*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 2 [Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1959], 37–41).

proaching a close, which is to coincide with a new tenor note. It is as if we were approaching the end of a syllabic unit in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, in which the two-note problem was to be solved by the fourth possibility: the second tenor note would be sung with the end of the duplum ligature, whereupon the syllabic unit would end with a mark of alignment in both voices, and both would start new notes together. But in Leonin's practice, there is often no new tenor note *after* the mark of alignment; the tenor note that should have been the close of the unit simply continues to sound, past the mark of alignment, and in fact becomes the tenor for the new unit begun in the duplum. This constitutes the elision. Hence the

Example 5. From *R. Descendit* ♯. *Tamquam* (*W*₁, fol. 17v [13v]).

The musical score consists of five systems, each with a vocal staff (treble clef) and a tenor staff (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the tenor staff. Annotations (a), (b), (c), (d), and (etc.) are placed above the tenor staff to indicate specific points of elision.

- System 1:** Lyrics: (Tam-) quam. Annotation (a) is above the final note of the tenor staff.
- System 2:** Annotation (b) is above the first note of the tenor staff.
- System 3:** Lyrics: spon-. Annotations (a) and (c) are above the first and second notes of the tenor staff, respectively.
- System 4:** Lyrics: sus do - mi -. Annotation (d) is above the first note of the tenor staff.
- System 5:** Lyrics: nus. Annotations (a) and (c) are above the first and second notes of the tenor staff, respectively. The word "etc." is written at the end of the system.

mark *after* the tenor note (found throughout the *Magnus liber*) is a vestige of the mark of alignment that used to go through both staves: it shows the end of the unit in the two voices. If there was a syllable change just preceding this close, it will be shown by a syllable mark in the duplum—not, however, in the tenor, which being right above the syllable does not need a mark.⁴⁷ The Notre Dame idiosyncrasy of this notation is that the tenor continues to sound: the mark might be described as “close and hold” rather than “stretch and wait.”

Leonin also uses the more traditional arrangement, seen in example 5 at (b). Here the second tenor note coincides with the end of the duplum, both voices with marks of alignment. Then both voices start a new unit, and the new tenor note is also followed by a mark of alignment. As still another alternative, the second tenor note might be aligned with the start of the next unit in the duplum, *after* its mark. This happens at a syllable mark at example 5 (c), “-nus”; but it could happen in the middle of a melisma, and sometimes seems suggested in connection with a sequential figure in the duplum, as in *Non conturbetur* ♯. *Ego rogabo*, “vobis” (*W_I* fol. 19r [15r]). Allowing for what seems Leonin’s intoxication with elision, we can conclude that the mark of alignment is being pressed into service to help clarify some intense stylistic development; the mark may have several meanings, and only the context specifies which is applicable. In any case, the novel component of the meaning seems to be, “hold for the next point of coincidence.”⁴⁸

The options discussed, along with the usual ways of handling syllable change, seem to account for most vertical lines found in the organum purum of the *Magnus liber*. None of the marks implies a measured silence or, indeed, any element of modal rhythm. The needs of Leonin’s polyphonic style are met with traditional notational elements of twelfth-century polyphony. The second hypothesis presented—that ligatures can be taken

⁴⁷ In ten cases in *W_I*, and often in *F*, a mark does show up before tenor notes; it presumably indicates, at least in some cases, a syllable change.

⁴⁸ Another traditional notation pressed into new service is the plica. Whether or not liquescence itself is involved—see the statistical discussion by David Hiley, “The Plica and Liquescence,” *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies and Documents, 39 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984), 2:379–91—the plica carried over from its use in chant the idea of continuing on: a plica does not stand before a pause. As used in *W_I*, the plica often ensures continuity over some kind of mark, usually a syllable mark, as in the very frequent succession *simplex plicata*—mark—binary ligature (see example 5d); here the plica makes it explicit that the mark should not be treated as a pause. I take the frequent use of plica within a long melismatic duplum extension (where liquescence is irrelevant), as at example 5e, to have a meaning derived from that just described, and to call for continuity over a subdivision.

as roughly equivalent to syllabic units of case 1a or 1b—could be applied directly to Leonin's organum; or the hypothesis could be modified to reflect the novelties of Leonin's style. Nothing, however, need be assumed concerning meter, mode, mensuration, or duration of individual notes (or pauses), any more than in previous polyphony.

The concern—of Leonin or of the notators—to make alignment clear in spite of increasingly complex relationships of the two voices is shown by another striking novelty in notation. Tenor notes in the organum purum of the *Magnus liber* (in W_1) are written as single notes, without ligatures. What was seen in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* as a tendency is in W_1 the rule. All the chants involved are classed as melismatic, and though the melismata are not involved here, most of the chant notes not in melismata would also be written in ligature in chant notation. A reason for this departure from traditional procedures has already been suggested: the alignment is immensely clarified; the two-note (or three-note) problem is simply edited out of existence. This unambiguous practice of the pragmatic Notre Dame notators, incidentally, shows us that the fourth possibility had become habitual.

The disuse of ligatures is the more remarkable in the case of discant clausulas in the *Magnus liber*.⁴⁹ The type of clausula that is putatively earliest—and putatively in “Leonin style”—has its tenor written in groups of single notes (Ludwig's “simplices-Gruppen”); the groups are separated by marks of alignment that match marks in the duplum. The tenor of this kind of clausula is a melisma in the chant, where ligatures were used most consistently in the chant notation. Furthermore, the tenor notes of these clausulas are the only ones in the *Magnus liber* (in W_1) not to have marks after each one. The marks that are used after each group of tenor notes are simple marks of alignment. They are generally assumed also to mark phrases, but they are not signs for “close and hold.” The absence of marks after each tenor note readily distinguishes these clausulas from the surrounding organum purum of W_1 .

It is worthwhile trying to imagine these clausulas at the stage, or stages, in which the modal system was coming together. Though the two-note problem has been eliminated by the use of single notes in the tenor, these clausulas might still be thought of as successions of two-note problems, that is, two notes in the tenor against more than two in the duplum. In example 6, from *Viderunt* Ψ . *Notum fecit*, “dominus” (W_1 fol. 25r [21r]),

⁴⁹ For general discussions of the clausula, see Norman Smith, “The Clausulae of the Notre-Dame School: A Repertorial Study” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1964); and Rebecca Baltzer, “Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre-Dame Clausula” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1974).

each successive tenor note can be understood as a "second note," aligned (according to the fourth possibility) to the end of a duplum ligature. These second notes are chained—just as the units in organum purum are chained through elision.⁵⁰ We can understand the notation of these clausulas without reference to any of the three factors identified for modal rhythm, that is, alternating long and breve, long equal to two breves, ternary long equal to a long and a breve. All we have to imagine is a succession of moderate, more or less equal units, resembling syllabic units but without syllables. Each unit would have one tenor note and one, two, or three (less often, four or five) notes in the duplum. Under the conditions assumed for earlier polyphony, the units with four or five notes (those eventually to involve duplex longs) would be stretched slightly.

Example 6. From *R. Viderunt V. Notum fecit* (*W*_p, fol. 25r [21r]).

The image displays two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff (top) and a bass clef staff (bottom). The first system begins with a 'do -' label under the bass staff. The second system ends with '(etc.)' and '-minus' labels. The notation features various note values, including minims and crotchets, and is characterized by frequent ligatures and slurs, particularly in the tenor part.

With the help of the context sketched out here for early polyphony, we can understand the alignment of voices in these clausulas, as well as their large-scale rhythmic movement, without using any of the three modal factors. Then we are in a position to appreciate more precisely the effect of the modal factors at the moment they were applied. When that moment was, and how the factors were applied, are questions that, for the present at least, are for conjecture. The development of a new kind of rhythmic movement in music must have involved heavy input of artistic intuition and imagination, things not easily analyzed or documented. The three

⁵⁰ The dichotomy *cum littera*–*sine littera*, which has been applied to early polyphony (Sanders, "*Sine Littera* and *Cum Littera*"), should, I feel, be restricted to Notre Dame polyphony. It seems to me that the dichotomy can be understood in a very specific and straightforward way: in *sine littera* notation the next tenor note has no new syllable and can go with the last note of a duplum ligature; in *cum littera* notation the next tenor note has a new syllable and cannot go with the end of a duplum ligature.

modal factors could have been applied singly, their relationships worked out over a period of years; or they could have come together all at once in a single master stroke. Other factors may have played a role, such as the accentual patterns in the Parisian sequence emphasized by Fassler.⁵¹

Distinguishing Leonin's handling of the new rhythms from Perotin's, and with Leonin's rhythms in mind, I believe the most definitive factor to have been not the purely modal alternation of two values,⁵² or the measurement of a long by two breves, but rather the exactly equal "ternary" longs. Once established, this long value would provide the framework within which the other two factors could become stabilized. And it is precisely this long value that seems to stand closest to the isosyllabic context I have been sketching. All that would have been required was to replace the flexible, variable "beat" derived from the isosyllabic context with a compellingly regular one. This beat, represented exactly by the single notes in the tenor, would regulate the notes of the duplum according to the now usual way of aligning the end of each ligature with the next tenor note.⁵³ A small change, but what a decisive one! Imagine the

⁵¹ Fassler, *Accent, Meter, and Rhythm*, 188–90. Leo Treitler, "Regarding Meter and Rhythm in the *Ars Antiqua*," *The Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979): 524–58, suggested another way in which modal rhythm could have formed within the discant style. I agree with a basic and important principle that he enunciated (p. 554): "the periodic organization of musical time...proceeded from the larger articulation to the smaller." In this case I would identify the larger articulation as the syllable, the smaller the individual duration in modal rhythm. I disagree, however, that "in the time of the *ars antiqua*...consistent accentual meters were a normal aspect of syllable-counting verse," and I do not think that accent—by itself or in conjunction with consonance, as he described—was the formative factor for modal rhythm.

⁵² This pure modal state is not well represented in these clausulas in "Leonin-style"; they often require an inordinate amount of *fractio modi*; or, in those with three or more notes in the duplum for a tenor note, of *extensio modi*. These clausulas suggest that the pure modal alternation of long and breve was a posterior development—or a parallel one in organum purum; at any rate, not the primary, formative one.

⁵³ My position here seems to be diametrically opposed to that of Friedrich Ludwig and my logic of interpretation to proceed exactly retrograde to his, which represents the modal interpretation. He writes, "Da sich hier der T. an der Ausprägung eines strengeren Rhythmus, wie ihn die Oberstimme hier stets haben, beteiligt und sich diesem strengeren Oberstimmen-Rhythmus hier unterordnet, erklingen seine Töne hier zu einer regelmässigen rhythmischen Folge geordnet, die in 3facher Weise rhythmisch gegliedert sein kann: 1) Der T. geht in wesentlich gleichartigen langen Noten. Dann ist er in lauter Notae simplices geschrieben" (*Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1, *Catalogue Raisonné der Quellen*, Part 1, *Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation*, [Halle: Max Niemayer, 1910; repr. as *Musicological Studies*, vol. 7, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964], p. 43, italics mine). I argue, "the tenor is written in *notae simplices*; we can imagine it to go in equal values; these create a strong rhythm which controls the movement of the duplum, which—at the discretion of the singer—can go in alternating long and short values."

effect of launching into a clausula with this new marching rhythm and without the accommodation, the stretching and holding at the end of each unit. This, it seems to me, would have been the change most apt to initiate the momentum that led ultimately to the great works of Perotin.⁵⁴

Equal longs such as these have often been used, subject to discussion, for syllabic portions of Notre Dame conductus.⁵⁵ If the argument presented here is realistic, should it not have taken account of the conductus? There are reasons for and against. On the one hand, the polyphonic conductus is the Notre Dame genre that most clearly and directly continues the habits of the Aquitanian versus; the similarities are substantial and have often been discussed. On the other hand, the Notre Dame conductus repertory developed over a number of decades, simultaneous with the developments in organum and discant by Leonin as well as Perotin; the fully developed conductus is in certain respects very different from the Aquitanian versus, and the differences involve, among other things, aspects of truly modal rhythm—the kind used by Perotin. It is true that certain conductus can be dated, but as yet that has not taken us

⁵⁴ The problem of appoggiaturas, raised by Bukofzer in his review of Waite, *Rhythm*, and more recently by Sanders, "*Sine Littera* and *Cum Littera*," needs to be placed within the context sketched here—specifically within the development of the discant clausula. Arguments have typically begun with cases in discant involving clear contrapuntal situations and unambiguous modal notation, then have applied the conclusions to adjoining passages of organum and eventually to all organum—as if what was true of discant was true also of organum; but the thrust of recent research leads in another direction. Even more specific methodological problems are involved in these too general assumptions. Variant readings, of course, show only that there are variants, not that one of them is correct; arguments from variants have tended to ignore the possibilities that (1) both readings are acceptable as options, or (2) they represent successive stages of stylistic development. It seems to me that the disputed appoggiaturas in discant (of any type) need to be treated under (2), reflecting the progressive impact of the new rhythmic regularity. The principal case at issue—cadential binaria in organum purum—seems to me to belong to the earlier stage of rhythm, in which I find that the appoggiatura is in no way an "optical illusion" (Bukofzer, p. 236) or a "jarring anachronism of style" (Sanders, p. 220). On the contrary, I see these appoggiaturas to be the most concise statement of the general principle of interval movement in early polyphony, from dissonance to consonance within the unit. As for the initial appoggiatura, I take Roesner's option, "to regard Anonymous IV's recommendations as idiosyncratic or of only local, non-Parisian origin" (Edward Roesner, "The Performance of Parisian Organum," *Early Music* 7 [1979]: 180). Recorded performances that avoid the dissonance by delaying the entrance of the tenor (as recommended by Anonymous IV and Roesner) seem to me singularly ineffective and unmusical.

⁵⁵ General discussion in Sanders, "Conductus," esp. pp. 442–69; cf. Janet Knapp, "Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 383–407.

far towards a diachronic layout of the whole repertory.⁵⁶ In contrast to the conductus repertory, the *Magnus liber* in its earliest extant state in *W₁* gives us a consistent, stabilized set of pieces, located at a well-defined point in the chronology.⁵⁷ The developments leading to the *Magnus liber* surely have their parallels in the development of the conductus. We need not, however, assume that the influence was all on the *Magnus liber*: there are other instances of a new development taking place in a relatively new genre, and only subsequently being applied to update an older, more established one.

⁵⁶ Ernest Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," *Gordon Athol Anderson: In Memoriam*, 2:505–30.

⁵⁷ But see Edward H. Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum," *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 365–99.

Text Underlay in Landini's Ballate for Three Voices

By Kurt von Fischer

It is well known that the original sources treat text underlay in the Italian three-part ballate in various ways: all three voices with text (3^3), superius and tenor with text (3^2), superius and contratenor (i.e., second superius) with text (3^{2c}), and superius only with text (3^1). Among these different types of text underlay, the 3^2 type is the most striking; it is specific to Italian pieces while not appearing in the French repertory, and it is to be found, with very few exceptions, in ballate only.¹ Whether a given text underlay depends on the scribe or the performer, or something else determines it—having to do, perhaps, with the structure or the declamation of a piece (that is, with the composer's original concept)—is an important question not only for our knowledge of style but also for performance practice. The present study, while focusing on the specifically Italian method of text underlay (3^2), is an effort to discover possible reasons for the different kinds of underlay.

More than sixty of the approximately 140 known three-part ballate show an untexted contratenor combined with fully texted superius and tenor in at least one of the known versions (i.e., 3^2). The 3^2 ballata makes its first appearance with Landini, 40 percent of whose three-part ballate exist in such a format. With Paolo da Firenze the figure is 50 percent.² For other composers of the second half of the fourteenth century and the early fifteenth there are single 3^2 pieces only. For a study of text underlay, Landini's ballate are revealing, as they are transmitted by several

¹ Such exceptions are Bartolino's madrigals *Alba colomba* and *Imperiale sedendo*. The latter has a 3^2 text underlay in the Lucca codex only while the other sources show a 2^2 version. This suggests that the textless contratenor may be a later addition, a situation like that in Ciconia's ballata *Ligiadra donna* in the Parma version, in which a textless contratenor has been added explicitly by Matteo da Perugia. For Bartolino, see W. Thomas Marrocco, ed., *Italian Secular Music*, 6 vols., Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 6–11 (hereafter cited as PMFC VI–XI) (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1967–78), IX: 1–7, 25–27, 195, 196; for Ciconia, see Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, eds., *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 24 (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985), 138–43, 211–12.

² This tabulation includes those pieces attributed to Paolo by Ursula Günther; see Günther, "Die 'anonymen' Kompositionen des Manuskripts Paris, B.N., fonds it. 568 (Pit)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 23 (1966): 73–92. New attributions have been made by Frank D'Accone for *SL* (see note 9), and by B. Brumana and G. Ciliberti for a newly discovered fragment in Perugia in "Nuove fonti per lo studio dell'opera di Paolo da Firenze," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 12 (1987): 3–33.

sources, some with consistent and others with inconsistent text underlay.³

Seven of Landini's nineteen 3² pieces are known exclusively in such versions. Three of these 3² ballate are unica, while four show such textings in all concordant sources that convey all three parts. The most striking example of the latter is *Gram piant' agli ochi*, known from six sources. This suggests that for certain works the 3² setting may be considered the original version or, to put it more cautiously, may be the best way to interpret (or to edit) the piece according to trecento performance practice. Further support for this hypothesis comes from the position of *Gram piant'* within the structural layout of the codex Panciatichi (*FP*), described with great care by John Nádas.⁴ He shows that the 3² type makes its appearance consistently on fols. 35–40 of the manuscript in scribal hands C and D,⁵ several of these pieces existing in other sources with three texted voices (3³). On the other hand, scribes A and B generally prefer 3¹ or 3³. The interesting exceptions are the two ballate from the third gathering written in hand A in a 3² format: *Amor, in te spera'* (unicum) and *Gram piant'*.⁶ These two pieces, exceptional in view of the scribe's usual behavior (i.e., 3² instead of 3¹ or 3³), and the three ballate *Gia non biasim'amor*, *Né 'n ciascun mie pensiero*, and *Posto che dall'aspetto*, which are, like *Gram piant'*, transmitted in all the known sources in a 3² version, are a good starting point for discussion.

Four Ballate with 3² Text Underlay in All Sources That Convey All Three Parts

All the before-mentioned five ballate belong to Dorothea Baumann's type 2, in which the Contratenor is, generally speaking, a middle voice.⁷

³ For the present examples see Leo Schrade, ed., *The Works of Francesco Landini*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 4 (hereafter PMFC IV) (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1958), and the second volume of the paperback reprint (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1982). The page numbers given in parentheses refer to these editions. In some cases the spelling of the text has been changed according to the manuscripts; see also G. Corsi, *Poesie musicali del trecento* (Bologna, 1970).

⁴ John Nádas, "The Structure of MS Panciatichi 26 and the Transmission of Trecento Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 393–427; and idem, "The Transmission of Trecento Secular Polyphony: Manuscript Production and Scribal Practices in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1985), 56ff.

⁵ Nádas, "The Structure of Panciatichi 26," 426.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 424. In chapter 3 (p. 118ff.) of his dissertation (see note 4 above), Nádas discusses scribal attitudes in the Reina codex (*PR*) also, especially in view of Bartolino's and Landini's works.

⁷ Dorothea Baumann, *Die dreistimmige italienische Lied-Satztechnik im Trecento* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1979), 92ff. Baumann shows that her type 1 (contratenor as second superius) generally inclines to 3³, type 2 (contratenor as middle voice) to 3¹ or 3², type 3 (contratenor as integrated complementary voice) to 3¹ (see also 67ff.).

Therefore, from the point of view of texture, a two-voice version would not be impossible, even if undesirable and even if no such version survives in any known source.⁸

Gram piant' agli ochi (pp. 128–29): *FP, Lo, Pit, Sq, PR, PadA* 3². Despite a few conjunct melodic passages, the contratenor differs from the two other voices by several hocket-like syncopations and rests. These differences may be the reason for not providing it with a text, which would disturb the simultaneous declamation of the two other voices. This becomes especially clear in mm. 19–20 of the *piede* section, where the voice leading of the contratenor (leaps of fifths) differs from that of the two other voices. A text underlay would create an unintended discrepancy with the declamation of superius and tenor (see example 1). Despite the different rhythm of the contratenor, this piece demonstrates a perfect equilibrium among all the voices. The untexted contratenor may, in fact, reflect Landini's preference for an understandable declamation of the text.

Example 1. *Gram piant' agli ochi*, mm. 19–20.

The image shows a musical score for three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains the notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, with lyrics 'a- spra di- par- ti-'. The middle staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat, containing the notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, with lyrics 'a- spra di- par- ti-'. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat, containing the notes G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, with lyrics 'a- spra di- par- ti-'. The music is characterized by hocket-like syncopations and rests.

Già non biasim'Amor (pp. 170–71): *FP, Pit, Sq* 3². Already in m. 3 a text underlay in the contratenor would disturb the declamation of the other voices (example 2), and the same holds true in several other passages. One may object to such an argument when looking at mm. 10–12, where superius and tenor show conflicting declamations (example 3). Yet it would appear that this passage shows the composer's intention to illustrate musically the word "feri" (hurt). In this piece the contratenor is less linear than in *Gram piant'*; it shows a series of leaps of fifths and octaves (mm. 17–19), which may also speak in favor of a textless and not primarily vocal contratenor.

⁸ See also Baumann's important statement that in none of the Italian secular three-part pieces does the contratenor take over the function of an indispensable tenor, the texture and compositional structure being based on superius and tenor only (*ibid.*, 36). The Italian contratenor functions in a different way from the contemporaneous French pieces.

Example 2. *Già non biasim'Amor*, mm. 1-4.

Già non biasim'Amor,

Già non biasim'Amor,

Example 3. *Già non biasim'Amor*, mm. 9-13.

-to Fe- ri per don- na, ch'i' ò

-to Fe- ri*per don-na,* ch'i' ò

* Schrade: no accent on *Feri*; no comma after *donna*.

Né 'n ciascun mie pensiero (pp. 168-69): *FP*, *Pit*, *Sq* 3²; *SL* 2² (superius and tenor only, both texted).⁹ While a text underlay in the contratenor would easily be possible in the ripresa section (because of the rhythmic parallel motion with the tenor), it would create problems in the piede because of the rests in the contratenor (mm. 23, 32) and the fifth and octave leaps.

Posto che dall'aspetto (pp. 156-57): *FP*, *Pit*, *Sq* 3². There is simultaneous declamation in superius and tenor. It would hardly be possible to adjust the declamation of the contratenor, a part containing many rests (breves, semibreves, hocket-like minims). It is even possible that the contratenor was added at a later time.

⁹ For the newly discovered palimpsest Florence, Archivio di San Lorenzo, MS 2211 (*SL*), see Frank A. D'Accone, "Una nuova fonte dell'ars nova italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo 2211," *Studi musicali* 13 (1984): 3-31, and especially Nadas, "Transmission," 459ff. I thank my colleague and friend John Nadas for reading this article critically and for adding several concordances from *SL*.

Three Unica with 3² Text Underlay

Amor, in te spera' (p. 141): *FP* 3². There is simultaneous declamation in superius and tenor. It is difficult to adjust the contratenor because of the syncopations in mm. 3 and 15. Like *Gram piant'*, the ballata *Amor, in te spera'* was copied into *FP* as a 3² piece by hand A, who generally preferred 3¹ or 3³.

Divennon gli ochi (pp. 172–73): *FP* 3². The same situation as in *Amor, in te spera'* applies here. See especially mm. 9–10, where there is a dotted breve in the contratenor and small values in the superius and tenor, as well as m. 27. This piece was copied into *FP* by hand D, who usually preferred 3².

Debba l'anim' altero (pp. 186–87): *Sq* 3². The contratenor shows rhythmic independence but also vocal voice leading (example 4). As in *Posto che*, the contratenor may be considered a later addition, perhaps by Landini.

Example 4. *Debba l'anim' altero*, mm. 1–3.

Landini's Three Ballate with 3² Underlay in Manuscript *FP* Only

Cosa nulla più fe' (pp. 158–59): *FP* 3²; *Sq*, *Pit*, *Fñ F.5.5*¹⁰ 3³. The *FP* version is written in hand C, the scribe preferring 3² versions. But there seems to be absolutely no reason for not placing the text under the contratenor, too; it can be adjusted, more or less syllable by syllable, to the other two voices. The piece belongs to Baumann's type 1 since the "contratenor" is a "contracantus" or second superius, and pieces of type 1 need a texted contra for structural reasons. Schrade, in his Commentary to PMFC IV (p. 128), says that he hesitated over whether to publish the ballata in the 3³ or 3² version but eventually chose 3² because he believed in the priority of *FP* for all Landini pieces.

¹⁰ For this manuscript, see Mario Fabbri and John Nádas, "A Newly Discovered Trecento Fragment: Scribal Concordances in Late-Medieval Florentine Manuscripts," *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 67–81.

Che cosa è quest'amor (pp. 164–65): *FP* 3²; *Sq* 3³. Schrade again follows the *FP* version. Examples 5a and 5b show the beginnings of the ripresa and piede sections with text underlay according to *Sq*. With the shifted entrance of the contratenor (contracantus), the texture is different from that in *Cosa nulla*. But both pieces belong to the same type, with two superius parts. Here the contra rhythmically imitates the superius. Therefore, it is logical to give the same text to both voices. The only other solution would be to perform this ballata as a 3^{2c} piece (textless tenor). Here again the *Sq* version is the better one.¹¹

Example 5a. *Che cosa è quest'amor* (*Sq*), mm. 1–3.

Che co- s'è que- st'a- mor che'l ciel pro- du-
 Che co- s'è que- st'a- mor che'l ciel pro- du-
 Che co- s'è que- st'a- mor che'l ciel pro- du-

Example 5b. *Che cosa è quest'amor* (*Sq*), mm. 15–18.

El- l'è tan- to ve- ço- s'o- ne- st'e va-
 El- l'è tan- to ve- ço-
 El- l'è tan- to ve- ço- s'o- ne- st'e va-

Schrade: *veççosa onesta e*

¹¹ It goes without saying that the *Sq* version of the contratenor resolves many ligatures of *FP*. The same is true for all the other pieces within the respective passages.

Che pena è quest'al cor (pp. 162–63): *FP* 3²; *Pit*, *Sq* 3³; *Pz* 2²; *Fñ F.5.5* (fragment, contratenor with text); *SL* (superius only). As in *Cosa nulla*, this ballata appears in the gathering of *FP* written by scribes C and D, who preferred 3². But different from the two previously discussed pieces, *Che pena* belongs to Baumann's type 3 (contratenor as an integrated voice, supplementary to superius and tenor). At most places the contratenor goes together with the tenor. The only passage where the 3³ version of *Sq* (and *Pit*, which is very close to the *Sq* version) shows minor shifts of text between superius and tenor on the one hand, and the contratenor on the other, is mm. 10–17, but even here the texted contratenor of *Sq* and *Pit* does not disturb the declamation very much.

Another reason for supposing (in contradiction to Schrade¹²) that the 3³ version should be considered something like an original version is demonstrated by mm. 8–11 of the contratenor in *FP*. The correct *FP* version, which differs from the Schrade edition, is shown in example 6a. In *Sq* the same passage reads as in example 6b. Why did the scribe of *FP* not replace the repeated *A* of mm. 9–10 with a single longa? Possibly he was copying from a version with texted contratenor and forgot to change this passage. There is another passage, in mm. 19–20, where he should have changed the repeated *D* to a longa. For all these reasons I suggest this piece should be performed with three texted voices.

Example 6a. *Che pena è quest'al cor* (*FP*), mm. 8–11 (contratenor).



Example 6b. *Che pena è quest'al cor* (*Sq*), mm. 8–11 (contratenor).

Landini's Two Ballate with 3² Text Underlay in Manuscript *Lo* Only

These two pieces are written as 3³ in *FP*, *Pit*, and *Sq*; *Lo*, where both ballate follow each other at the beginning of a new gathering (fols. 75v–77), has 3².

Nessun ponga speranza (pp. 174–75): *FP*, *Pit*, *Sq* 3³; *Lo* 3²; *SL* 2² (superius

¹² Schrade, Commentary to PMFC IV:130.

and tenor only). Adding the text to the contratenor does not present a problem here because all voices are moving simultaneously.

L'alma mie piange (pp. 148–49): *FP*, *Pit*, *Sq* 3³; *Lo* 3²; *SL* (texted contratenor only). In verses 1 and 3 of the ripresa and verse 1 of the piede there is simultaneous declamation in all three voices (example 7). In verse 2 of the ripresa and of the piede the contratenor is displaced by a measure with elements of imitation (example 8). Simultaneity and imitation speak in favor of 3³.

Example 7. *L'alma mie piange*, mm. 20–21.

Don-na, l' va-go mi-rar

Don-na, l' va-go mi-rar

Don-na, l' va-go mi-rar

Example 8. *L'alma mie piange*, mm. 42–47.

Ch'in-na-mo-raj nel

Ch'in-na-mo-

Ch'in-na-mo-raj* nel

tuo pri-mo guar-de-

raj nel tuo pri-mo guar-da-

tuo pri-mo guar-da-

* Schrade: ra'

Landini's Four Ballate with 3² and 3¹ Versions

As it seems the 3¹ text underlay is more or less independent from structure and voice leading, it is possible to perform most of the three-voice ballate in a 3¹ version. On the other hand, the 3² and 3³ texting is bound to certain conditions of declamation. The only remaining question for these four pieces, therefore, is whether a 3² or a 3³ underlay might be preferable.

Donna, i' prego amor (p. 152): *Pit* 3²; *FP, Lo, Sq* 3¹. Even if the 3² texting of *Pit*, with its elimination of ligatures and division of large values in the tenor, is a possible version, the 3¹ texting of the other three manuscripts is better. This becomes evident in mm. 8–10, where the *Pit* version dismisses the simultaneous pronouncing of syllables (example 9). No manuscript shows a 3³ version, though such a performance cannot be excluded because of the rhythmic and melodic voice leading.

Example 9. *Donna, i' prego amor (Pit)*, mm. 8–10 (superius and tenor).

The image shows a musical score for two voices: Superius (top staff, treble clef) and Tenor (bottom staff, bass clef). The music is in a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are: Co- si di te 'n- fiam- ma-. The Superius part has a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes, while the Tenor part has a more rhythmic line with quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are aligned under the notes.

Gentil aspetto (pp. 134–35): *Pit* 3²; *FP, Sq, PR* 3¹; *Pist* (texted superius and untexted tenor only, both with gaps). Tenor and contratenor are complementary in view of their voice leading (Baumann's type 3.2, same range, leaps of fifths and octaves). Therefore, the 3² version of *Pit* is rather unsatisfactory. Even if this source adjusts the declamation of the tenor by splitting off the larger note values and ligatures, the simultaneity of the declamation is not always maintained.

Non avrà ma' pietà (pp. 144–45): *Pit, Sq* 3²; *FP, Lo, PR* 3¹. While superius and contratenor cross at a few places (Baumann's type 2.1), the rhythmic parallelism of contratenor and tenor is dominant, thus forming a counterpart to the superius. Such a structure speaks in favor of 3¹. But also a 3² or even a 3³ performance would not be impossible. As *Pit* and *Sq* show, the texting of the tenor demands rhythmic changes at several places, for example in mm. 4–7 (example 10a and 10b).

Questa fanciull'amor (pp. 116–17): *Pit, Sq* 3²; *FP* 3¹. There is no doubt that Schrade's transcription according to the 3² version of *Pit* (!) is correct, but the 3¹ version of *FP* is equally convincing. It is difficult (but not very important) to decide whether the text of the tenor has been added to a 3¹ version or taken away from a 3² version.

Example 10a. *Non avrà ma' pietà* (*Sq*), mm. 4–7 (tenor).

Musical notation for Example 10a, showing a tenor line with lyrics: a- [v]rà ma' pie- tà que- sta mie don-

Example 10b. *Non avrà ma' pietà* (*FP*), mm. 4–7 (tenor).

Musical notation for Example 10b, showing a tenor line with lyrics: a- [v]rà ma' pie- tà que- sta mie don-

Landini's Three Ballate with 3¹, 3², 3^{2c}, and 3³ Versions

Quanto più caro fay (pp. 130–31): *FP*, *Lo*, *Sq* 3³; *Pit* 3²; *PR* 3¹; *SL* (texted contratenor only). This is the only known example with 3¹, 3², and 3³ versions in the various sources. The 3³ version is the most convincing because of both the simultaneous declamation of all three voices and the melodic-linear texture of the contratenor, which functions as a second superius (Baumann's type 1.2). One wonders, then, why *Pit* has the 3² arrangement. Despite the presence of a text incipit ("Quanto più caro"), the ligatures in the contratenor are exactly the same as in the 3³ version of *FP* and *Sq*. It does not appear that the scribe of *Pit* merely forgot to write the text, because the horizontal density of the notation would not allow a text underlay. For the same reasons as in *Cosa nulla* and *Che cosa*, however, the contra as a contracantus needs a text.

The scribe of *PR* intended the 3¹ version as such because of the many more ligatures in the contra and tenor than in the other sources. The text underlay in the superius only, not exactly corresponding to the typical Italian structure of the piece but not an impossible arrangement, is probably due to the French influence in *PR*, a manuscript from the northeastern parts of Italy. This example shows that 3³ and 3¹ can be considered alternatives, at least to a certain extent. This is not true for 3², which depends on special conditions.

The other two examples in this group of ballate show an exceptional text underlay: superius and contra with text and tenor without text (3^{2c}). In these cases the texted contras seem to be second superius voices forming together with the superius a duo over an untexted tenor. Such a structure is typical for Baumann's type 1. But both pieces belong to type 2.1 (contratenor as a middle voice), in which a few elements of the superius-duo type 1 remain, the ambitus of both voices being nearly the same. The question is whether a performance with two texted upper voices would be an acceptable solution or not.

O fanciulla giulia (pp. 154–55): *FP*, *Pit* 3¹; *Sq* 3^{2c}; *SL* (texted contratenor only, suggesting a 3² text underlay). Schrade's comment that the 3^{2c} version of *Sq* does not represent the original is by no means to be taken for granted.¹³ As one looks at mm. 18–21 of the *Sq* version, the duo character of the two upper voices becomes obvious (example 11). Yet the 3¹ version of *FP* and *Pit* is another possibility, and even a performance with text underlay in all three voices (3³ but certainly not 3²) should not be ruled out. In this case, the long notes of the tenor would have to be split up in a way that is not transmitted in any existing manuscript.

Example 11. *O fanciulla giulia* (*Sq*), mm. 18–21.

The musical score for Example 11 is presented in two systems, each with three staves (Soprano, Alto, and Bass). The time signature is 3/8. The first system shows the vocal parts with lyrics 'Et o-' in the soprano and 'Et' in the alto. The second system shows the vocal parts with lyrics 'gn'al- tro pen-' in the soprano and 'o- gn'al- tro pen- sier' in the alto. The bass line provides harmonic support throughout.

Caro signor, palesa (pp. 126–27): *FP* 3¹; *Pit* 3²; *Sq* 3^{2c}. The versions in *FP* and *Pit* are equivalent.¹⁴ If one splits several notes of the tenor, the declamation in *Pit* is simultaneous in both voices. But the 3^{2c} version in *Sq* is another matter. Though imitation of a few little formal motifs is not avoided, there is no duet passage as in *O fanciulla* (example 11). On the

¹³ *Ibid.*, 126. For the problem of an “original” version, see remarks at the end of this paper.

¹⁴ Schrade, as usual, prefers the *FP* version 3¹.

other hand, the declamation of the contratenor in *Sq* is rather disturbing to the other voices (example 12). The same is true for the beginning of the piede, where not only the displacement of the syllables of the contratenor but also the voice leading in m. 21 speaks against such a text underlay (example 13). For all these reasons I suppose that in this instance the scribe of *Sq* committed an error in texting the contratenor instead of the tenor, even if the long notes and the many ligatures of the tenor do not speak in favor of texting this voice.

Example 12. *Caro signor, palesa (Sq)*, mm. 9–12.

- gnio Di far for- ça e of- fe-
 (sde-) gnio Di far for- ç'e of- fe-

Example 13. *Caro signor, palesa (Sq)*, mm. 21–24.

Non vòl, A-
 Non vòl,
 mor, c'a- man- te A- mor,

Landini's Four Ballate in Versions for Two and Three Voices

La dolce vista (pp. 108–9): *Pit* 2²; *Sq* 2¹; *Lo* 2⁰; *PR* 3² (no text in the piede of the tenor). The textless contratenor of *PR* could be an addition even by another composer perhaps of north Italian origin.¹⁵ Schrade's edition gives a wrong impression by suggesting a nonexistent (but possible) 3¹ version.

Donna 'l tuo partimento (pp. 106–7): *FP* 2²; *Sq*, *Pit* 3¹. As in the previous piece, the contratenor may be an additional voice by Landini or by another Florentine composer.¹⁶

I' priego amor (pp. 190–91): *Lo* 2², *Sq* 3³. This piece differs from the two preceding ones by belonging to Baumann's type 1.2 rather than type 2. The contratenor is a rather sophisticated superius with a few imitative passages. The 3³ version is most probably the one intended by Landini.

A le' s'andrà lo spirto (pp. 166–67): *Sq* 2²; *FP* 3³. This ballata differs from the three preceding ones in the possibility that the contratenor is not an additional voice but one that was taken away by the compiler of *Sq*. To be sure, we do not know if the scribe of *Sq* knew the three-voice version of *FP*, but it is interesting to ascertain that the declamation of the contratenor at many places contradicts the two other voices. The very beginning of the piece is such a place (example 14).¹⁷ Perhaps such problems of declamation were the reason for omitting the contratenor in *Sq*. Another possibility would have been to take away the text only and to present a 3² version (the ballata belongs to Baumann's type 3).

Example 14. *A le' s'andrà lo spirto*, mm. 1–2.

The musical score for Example 14 consists of three staves: Soprano (top), Alto (middle), and Bass (bottom). The lyrics are written below each staff. The Soprano staff has the lyrics "A le' s'an- drà lo spirt' e l'al-". The Alto staff has the lyrics "A le' s'an- drà". The Bass staff has the lyrics "A le' s'an- drà lo spirt'". The music is in 8/8 time and features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests and slurs.

¹⁵ See Leonard Ellinwood, *The Works of Francesco Landini* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1939; 2nd ed., 1945), 231 n. 6.

¹⁶ Schrade, Commentary, 93.

¹⁷ Schrade's brevis–longa reading in the first measure of the contratenor must be corrected to longa–brevis.

Landini's Five Ballate with Text in Three Voices in All the Sources

The first three of these pieces belong to Baumann's type 1.2 and are similar to *Che cosa, Cosa nulla*, and *Quanto più*, discussed above as existing in different versions. But the contratenor in these pieces is a more independent voice, a second superius that is not fit for the 3² arrangement.

Guard' una volta (pp. 110–11): *FP, Lo, Sq* 3³. In *FP* this ballata is written in hand B, which prefers 3³ versions. It is a rather complex piece. The first verses of the ripresa and of the piede show simultaneous declamation in all three voices, and the piece even starts with a unison in the upper two voices. In the other verses the contratenor begins a full perfection before the two other voices, thus simulating, but not really constituting, imitation.

Lasso! per mie fortuna (pp. 180–81): *Lo, Sq* 3³. This ballata is of special interest because of the formal structure, which seems to use text underlay as a special parameter: the first and last syllables of each verse (with a little exception in verse 2 of the ripresa) are simultaneously pronounced in all three voices. Within the verses the text underlay of the contratenor differs from that of the superius and tenor, but in the last verse of the piede the contratenor joins the other voices in simultaneous declamation throughout. One may ask if such a condensing effect at the end of this section may have to do with the content of the text of the first piede, which may be considered a conclusive explanation beginning with the word "perché":

I' servo lei con tutto 'l mio ingegno
perché m'induce 'l suo specto piacente.

Even if such an interpretation may be too far-fetched, the poetico-musical structure of the ballata, using the contratenor with its text as a formal device, proves that the text underlay in all three voices is the only possible version.

Muort' oramai (pp. 178–79): *Pit, Sq* 3³. While the superius shows a more or less independent declamation, contratenor (i.e., second superius) and tenor usually go together. On the other hand, the two upper voices have common rhythmical trends. Thus the contra is linked with both other voices in a very sophisticated manner. Again 3³ is the only possible text underlay.

Cara mie donna (pp. 188–89): *Sq* 3³ (unicum). This ballata and the next belong to Baumann's type 2. Except for the two first verses, the declamation of *Cara mie donna* is simultaneous in all three voices. In verses 1 and 2 the first and last syllables are, as usual, pronounced together, while from the second syllable on, the contratenor precedes superius and tenor.

Landini's intention probably was to emphasize the words "Cara mie donna."

Per seguir la speranza (pp. 112–13): *FP*, *Pit*, *Sq*, *PR*¹⁸ 3³. As in the previous piece the last verse of the ripresa and the whole piede show simultaneous declamation in all the voices. The shifted entrances of the words "seguir" (follow) and "che m'ancide" (what torments me) possibly emphasize the meaning of these words (example 15). At the beginning of verse 2 the invocation "donna" is stressed by the anticipation of the syllable "don-" in the contratenor.

Example 15. *Per seguir la speranza*, mm. 1–6.

The musical score for Example 15 consists of two systems of three staves each. The top staff is Soprano, the middle is Alto, and the bottom is Contratenor. The lyrics are: "Per seguir la speranza che m'ancide". The lyrics are distributed across the staves as follows:

- System 1:
 - Soprano: Per se- guir la spe-
 - Alto: Per se- guir la spe-
 - Contratenor: Per se- guir la spe-
- System 2:
 - Soprano: ran- ça che m'an- ci-
 - Alto: ran- ça che m'an- ci-
 - Contratenor: ran- ça che m'an- ci-

In all the preceding pieces the special declamation, especially of the contratenor, shows the importance of this voice in view of emphasizing certain words and following specific structural principles. Thus, the texting of all three voices is an important factor within the compositional process in Landini's works.

¹⁸ In *PR* the many ligatures in the tenor suggest that the piece was copied from an exemplar with textless tenor (see also the bibliography mentioned in note 4 above).

Landini's ballate for three voices show several different types with regard not only to the contrapuntal structure but also to the text underlay. Even if it is not always easy to explain why a piece is written as 3¹, 3², 3^{2c}, or 3³, certain conditions seem to indicate one or the other type. One condition for 3³ is the possibility of simultaneous declamation in all voices. Another is the function of the contratenor as a second cantus, producing a piece with two upper voices of equal importance. In this case the tenor may be texted or not, the resulting text underlay being 3³ or 3^{2c}. The condition of 3² is a contratenor that is neither a second superius nor purely a middle voice moving simultaneously with superius and tenor, but is a complementary voice which, if with underlaid text, would disturb the declamation and therefore the understandability of the text of the two other voices. Exceptions to this principle are pieces in which the contratenor has a special expressive function and is therefore provided with text, thus representing the 3³ type.

Different existing versions of text underlay in the sources for a single piece show that differing arrangements of text must remain a possibility, even if we recognize that one or another arrangement is better suited to the structure of the piece. Still, evaluation of the different versions must start with a musical analysis, which should enable one to establish criteria for choosing a 3¹, 3², 3^{2c}, or 3³ text underlay. In certain cases it may even be necessary to give preference to a presumed manuscript version that is no longer preserved. From this point of view I would, together with John Nádas, strongly "question adherence to one manuscript as *the* prime source."¹⁹ There still remain the questions whether an existing source reflects a performance or the meaning of a scribe or even of the composer, and to what extent a contemporaneous performance could depend on the composer's intent. From this it follows that the term "original version" must be used with the greatest caution.

Another problem, not discussed here, regards the use of instruments for untexted voices. We certainly may not exclude the participation of instruments, even admitting that almost every voice without text may be vocalized. A piece like *Gram piant'* could well be performed with a vocalizing contratenor without disturbing the declamation of the two other voices. But the aim of this study is not to resolve the problem of vocal versus instrumental but, rather, the problem of texted versus untexted voices.

It was Paolo da Firenze who followed Landini's example, especially with his many 3² pieces. Paolo not only belonged to the same social envi-

¹⁹ Nádas, "The Structure of Panciatichi 26," 426.

ronment as Landini,²⁰ but he also consciously followed the Landini tradition.²¹ Of Paolo's twenty-six known ballate for three voices²² (out of at least forty-one compositions in this genre), fourteen show a textless contratenor with texted superius and tenor. There are no 3³ ballate by Paolo.²³ A younger composer than Landini, Paolo never used the ballata type with the contratenor as a second superius (Baumann's type 1) and only in a few pieces resorted to type 2.1. This helps explain why there are no ballate with text underlay in all the voices and no 3^{2c} pieces, as both these types are related to the older madrigal tradition. In several of his 3² ballate Paolo differs from Landini insofar as he develops a more refined and sophisticated technique with tendencies to *ars subtilior* style. This can be seen in the shape of a few of his textless contratenors.²⁴ Landini and Paolo represent the most important contributors to the Italian 3² ballata. It is evident that Landini, probably the creator of the three-part ballata, was an extremely creative mind in this genre. His contratenors show great variety and must have had a stimulating effect on his contemporaries and successors.

²⁰ See Kurt von Fischer, "Paolo da Firenze," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 14:165.

²¹ See papers read by Nádás at the national conference of the American Musicological Society in Cleveland 1986 and at the fourteenth conference of the International Musicological Society in Bologna 1987.

²² Including the attributed anonymous pieces (see note 2 above). For an edition of Paolo's pieces, see Marrocco, PMFC IX, pp. 102ff. and PMFC XI (anonymous pieces), nos. 6, 7, 21, 22, 24, 28, 33, 37, 42, 47, 60, 66, 67, 70, 72, 77. A new edition by Ursula Günther is in preparation within the series *Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy*, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, no. 8 (American Institute of Musicology). See also Nino Pirrotta, *Paolo Tenorista in a New Fragment of the Italian Ars Nova* (Palm Springs: E. E. Gottlieb, 1961).

²³ Paolo's only known secular piece with a 3³ text underlay is the madrigal *Godi Firenze*.

²⁴ See, for example, *Amor, da po' che tu* or *Lena virtù*. Nádás (in chap. 9 of his dissertation, pp. 216ff.) mentions that Paolo's works are particularly interesting because they were copied by a very small number of scribes in few sources, and in some cases the same scribe copied Paolo's compositions in more than one manuscript.

Manuscript sources are cited in this article according to the following sigla (RISM-type sigla are given in parentheses):

- FP*: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Cod. Panciatichiano 26 (*IFn* 26)
- Fn F.5.5.*: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Incunab. F.5.5. (*IFn* F.5.; not in RISM, see note 10)
- Lo*: London, British Library, Add. 29987 (*GB-Lbl* 29987)
- PadA*: Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 684 (*IPu* 684)
- Pist*: Pistoia, Archivium Capituli Pistoriensis, B 3 n. 5 (*IPSac* 5)
- Pit*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds ital. 568 (*F-Pn* 568)
- PR*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds nouv. acq. frç. 6771 (Codex Reina) (*F-Pn* 6771)
- Pz*: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. 4917 (*F-Pn* 4917; not in RISM)
- SL*: Florence, Archivio di San Lorenzo, 2211 (*IFsl* 2211; not in RISM, see note 9)
- Sq*: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Med. Pal. 87 (Squarcialupi Codex) (*IFl* 87)

Modal Tenors and Tonal Orientation in Motets of Guillaume de Machaut

By Sarah Fuller

It is a special contribution of Ernest Sanders to have sensitized us to the numerical aspects of the medieval motet, to the intricate design of calculated temporal units—sections, phrases, note groups—through which the motet embodied the principles of an ordered, harmonious universe.¹ The strophic regularities and complex tenor patterns of the *ars nova* motet testify to an advanced phase of this phenomenon. It is sometimes expressed in terms of a “modular number” that governs phrase lengths.² Corroboration that numerical procedures figured in motet composition comes from two fourteenth-century treatises addressed to beginners that describe the layout of a motet tenor in terms of a systematic, even mechanical, division of a given number of pitches into equal segments. Johannes Boen, writing on *color* about midcentury, states:

First consider how many distinct notes you have that you wish to “color.” If, for instance, there are thirty, you can divide this number in many ways. Divide it then, for example, in five equal parts and then each part will keep six notes, for five times six makes thirty. Arrange the first part so that it has six. Then you will dispose the six notes of the second part similarly to the six notes in the first part so that the first note corresponds with the first and the second with the second. And so in turn the cantus will be joined to this *color*. The *color* in the tenor [of the motet] *Virtutibus* was made in this very way.³

¹ Ernest Sanders, “The Medieval Motet,” in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1973), 497–573, especially 525–28.

² *Ibid.*, 558–59. Detailed information on numerical relationships among *ars nova* motets is to be found in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, “Related Motets from Fourteenth-Century France,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 109 (1982–83): 1–22.

³ “Primo quidem inspicias quot corpora notarum habeas que colorare volueris. Sint verbi gratia triginta, hunc numerum multis modis dividere potes. Divide ipsum ergo, gratia exempli, in quinque partes equales, et tunc quelibet pars retinebit notas sex, nam sexies quinque triginta constituunt. Ordina ergo primam partem ut habeat sex. Sic ergo disposueris sex notas secunde partis ad similitudinem sex notarum in prima parte, ut prima nota correspondeat prime et secunda secunde. Et sic consequenter erit cantus ille colore iunctus. Isto modo fuit color factus in tenore *Virtutibus*” (Johannes Boen, *Ars [Musicae]*, ed. F. Alberto Gallo, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, no. 19 [n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1972], 29). Modern convention understands Boen’s “color” to be “talea.” That the terminology was

A significant assertion of the final sentence is that the composer of *Virtutibus*, the honored Philippe de Vitry, actually followed the procedure described by Boen.

In a short "how-to" manual that must be approximately coeval with Boen's *Ars*, Egidius de Murino states that a first step in constructing a motet is to "order" and "color" the chosen tenor in either perfect or imperfect mode. Neither process is further described, but "ordering" probably corresponds with Boen's division into quotient parts, "coloring" with the assignment of specific values to each note or, in current terminology, invention of the *talea*.⁴ A later paragraph on texting mentions subdivision of the whole into four parts in a manner that implies arbitrary division. In both accounts, the word *ordinare* (in various inflections) resonates with instilled perceptions of the universal order of things.

Neither of these learned musicians mentions melodic qualities of the *cantus prius factus* or considers the implications a particular segmentation or rhythmic arrangement might hold for pitch relationships in the polyphonic structure raised above it.⁵ Yet the elongated tenor rhythms of the *ars nova* motet forced attention toward the quality of extended sonorities and toward relationships among sustained pitches, just as periodic phrase patterns directed the ear toward phrase endings and cadences. It is no mere coincidence that fourteenth-century contrapuntal manuals, in contrast to those of the thirteenth century, define standard progressions from less to more stable intervals and claim a consonant *contrapunctus* as background to florid discant. These notions respond to the prominence conferred upon sonorities by the enlargement of temporal spans, a phenomenon especially evident in the motet where the tenor is likely to adhere to

not settled in the fourteenth century is evident from a passage in the *Libellus cantus mensurabilis*. The author (Johannes de Muris?) reports that some designate rhythmic repetition as *color*, while others distinguish between pitch and durational iteration, identifying melodic recurrences as *color*, repetition of rhythmic figures as *talea*. See Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera* (henceforward CS), 4 vols. (Paris: Durand, 1864-76; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 3:58.

⁴ "Et tunc recipe tenorem, et ordinabis et colorabis secundum quod inferius patebit de modo perfecto vel imperfecto" ("De modo componendi tenores motetorum," CS, 3:124). The best edition is in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositional Procedure in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Works of Philippe de Vitry and His Contemporaries," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1983), 1:18-20. Dr. Leech-Wilkinson points out that many of Egidius's subsequent statements about the motet are not confirmed by the evidence of contemporary compositions. There is a gulf between mature composition and exercises for youths (*parvuli*), the audience to whom Egidius addresses himself.

⁵ For the image of the tenor as foundation of a building, see Jacques of Liège, *Speculum musicae*, 7 vols., ed. Roger Bragard, Corpus scriptorum de musica, no. 3 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), vol. 7, p. 9 (book 7, cap. III, sent. 8).

one *gradus*, triplum and motetus to another.⁶

The experience of performing or hearing a motet involves several musical strands, chief among them rhythms and rhythmic periodicities, intervals and voice-leading, arrivals and tonal orientations.⁷ These subjects were typically dissociated in instruction manuals of the fourteenth century. Guides to notation, mensuration, and rhythm normally did not deal with intervals and voice-leading, the elements of *contrapunctus*. And in turn, *contrapunctus* manuals did not probe the intricacies of notation. Still, both mensural notation and *contrapunctus* belonged within the domain of *musica mensurabilis*—polyphony in our vernacular—whereas matters of pitch relationships, pitch functions, and overall tonal orientation stood within a different domain, that of *musica plana*. There they were subsumed under the topic “mode.” The modal system, invented to classify melodies, could not be extended routinely to polyphony, to complexes of lines and successions of two- and three-note sonorities. Although there are indications that some fourteenth-century musicians applied the designation “modal” to polyphony, they left no developed arguments for this position.

Fourteenth-century writings, then, offer no overt guidance on how various strands of rhythm, voice-leading, and pitch might interact within a motet, and no explicit indications whether or not skilled composers arbitrarily segmented their tenors and imposed a rhythmic pattern without regard for pitch features. Yet given the elite audience for whom motets were composed—those with the learning and sensitivity to appreciate musical subtleties⁸—and given the prominence of sustained sonorities and differentiated cadences in the *ars nova* motet, it would seem plausible that composers were aware of and attentive to interactions among pitch and rhythm. In the absence of evidence in surviving instruction manuals from the period, we must turn to the music itself for clues to their concerns.⁹

⁶ On the concept of *gradus*, see Johannes de Muris, *Notitia artis musicae*, ed. Ulrich Michels, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, no. 17 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 78–79.

⁷ For the technical sense of “arrival,” see Sarah Fuller, “On Sonority in Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: Some Preliminary Reflections,” *Journal of Music Theory* 30 (1986): 55–56, 60.

⁸ This according to the testimony of both Johannes de Grocheo (Ernst Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo* [Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972], p. 144, line 183) and Jacques of Liège (*Speculum musicae*, book 7, p. 95).

⁹ It is useful to remember that the designation “isorhythmic motet”—a label that puts so much weight on rhythmic aspects of the fourteenth-century motet—is of modern, not medieval, origin. The term seems to have gained currency with the publication of Friedrich Ludwig’s chapter “Die geistliche nichtliturgische, weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in Guido Adler, ed., *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin: Keller, 1930; repr., Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1961), 1:157–295. For Ludwig’s prior introduction and use of the term, see Ernest Sanders, “Isorhythm,” *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 9:351.

Philippe de Vitry may have followed a simple arithmetic procedure in dividing the twenty-eight-note cantus of his *Garison selon nature* into four groups of seven notes each, but in three of the four groups the terminal note is *F*, the pitch on which the tenor and the motet begin and end (example 1).¹⁰ The first two groups, indeed, describe a closed arch that rises from *F* to its fifth, *c*, in the first *talea* and descends from *c* to *F* in the second. In the polyphony, the *c* beginning the second *talea* is treated as the fifth above *F*, and is imbedded in the move from a *C* to an *F* sonority at the junction between *taleae* (example 2). This disposition places *C* in a subsidiary relationship to *F* aurally. The emphasis on *C* and *F* sonorities within this motet, which is encouraged by the chosen division of the melody, aptly captures the modal quality announced in the tenor incipit, *Neuma quinti toni*. Without claiming that *Garison* itself is a modal work, we can observe informally that the tonal orientation projected in the polyphony mirrors the chief pitch relations—*F* as final, *C* as fifth—of the borrowed cantus.

A similar situation obtains in Guillaume de Machaut's earliest datable motet, *Bone pastor*, written for the installation of Guillaume of Trier as Archbishop of Rheims in 1325.¹¹ The tenor, whose source has not been traced, is a sixteen-note melody that gravitates toward and ends on *F* (example 3a).¹² Machaut's eight-note *talea* not only divides the melody exactly in half but places a double-long *F* (the longest duration in the tenor) at the end of each *talea* statement (example 3b). Cadence progressions before each of these *F*'s (four in the *integer valor* section and four in the diminution) secure a single-minded orientation toward *F* throughout the motet.¹³ The perceived periodicity involves systematic recurrence of *F* sonorities as well as numerically fixed phrase modules in both *integer valor* and diminution sections.

¹⁰ The motet is edited by Leo Schrade in *Roman de Fauvel: The Works of Philippe de Vitry* [etc.], Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. 1 (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956), 72–75. In the following, pitch names will be italicized, and register will be notated by the *Dialogus* system in the following octaves: *A–G*, *a–g*, *a'–g'*.

¹¹ Guillaume of Trier's predecessor in the archiepiscopal seat, Robert de Courtenay, died in 1324, but Guillaume's reception at Rheims was delayed until 6 January 1325 (Pierre Desportes, *Reims et les Rémois aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* [Paris: Picard, 1979], 301). The optimistic predictions of a wise "shepherding" of the cathedral expressed in the motet texts were not borne out by subsequent events as reported by Desportes.

¹² The cantus may have been newly composed for the occasion, but the melody is stylistically so close to traditional chant that appropriation from the repertory is likely.

¹³ For a complete outline of cadence progressions in this motet and discussion of its tonal framework, see Fuller, "On Sonority," 51–55.

Example 1. *Garison selon nature*. Tenor melody.

Example 2. *Garison selon nature*. Junction of *taleae* 1 and 2.

◆ = ♩.

Triplum
ces re- gars par son sou- til a trait en- gar-

Motetus
-ree de sa dou-

Tenor

Talea 2

dant par mi soy mes mes- traits sans soy nav-(rer)

lor

Example 3a. Motet no. 18. Tenor melody.

Example 3b. Motet no. 18. Tenor *talea*.

♩ = ♩.

L₄ L₇

The strongest claim that harmonic factors were crucial to the conception of a Machaut motet is advanced in H. H. Eggebrecht's classic study of *O livoris feritas*, motet no. 9.¹⁴ Although he errs in claiming that the motet is isoharmonic,¹⁵ Eggebrecht correctly notes the systematic alternation of pitches within the cantus. All odd-numbered tones in the twelve-note melody are either *A* or *F* (the ninth only) and all even-numbered ones are either *G* or *B♭* (second and sixth) (example 4a). The *talea* comprises but eight notes. When the cantus is recycled midway through the second *talea* in each group of three, it turns out that *A* is invariant at the third and seventh notes of the *talea*, *G* at the fourth and eighth (example 4b). Machaut capitalizes on this feature with a clever interplay between rhythm and sonority that relies on crosscurrents of stability and instability between the two.

Example 4a. Motet no. 9. Tenor melody.



Example 4b. Motet no. 9. Tenor *talea*.

The unusual *talea* is syncopated in the fourteenth-century sense of that term.¹⁶ The initial isolated semibreve must be grouped with the very last notational figure (a semibreve rest) to complete the mensural unit, a perfect long. The *talea* is also syncopated in the modern sense. The attack

¹⁴ Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, "Machauts Motette Nr. 9," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 19–20 (1962–63): 281–93 (part 1) and 25 (1968): 173–95 (part 2). The discussion of harmonic aspects is concentrated in part 2, pp. 174–80.

¹⁵ See Fuller, "On Sonority," 36.

¹⁶ Leo Schrade (*The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, vol. 2 [Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956], 137–40) obscures this quality in his markings of the *talea*.

on long 5 (L_5) always falls after the start of the mensural unit, while agogic stress always accrues to the second breve of longs 1 and 3. A recurrent hocket between triplum and motetus institutes rhythmic instability at *talea* ends (example 5). The hocket begins on the last breve of L_4 , pulls the tenor G into its orbit, and does not settle down until the second breve of L_1 where the triplum always has a firm attack, and the motetus sustains an imperfect long. The cessation of hocket and the return to a normal rhythmic flow enhance the sense of accent on the second breve of the mensural unit at this point. Under these conditions, the G at the end of the *talea* will always sound unstable rhythmically, while the A within L_1 will sound comparatively stable.

Example 5. Motet no. 9. Isorhythmic pattern.

× = attack completing an isorhythmic pattern □ = sustained sonority
 ♪ = upper voice phrase ending ~~~ = free rhythms

* Tr except in T_9 ; Mo in odd-numbered *taleae* only

The two other invariant pitches of the *talea*, the G of L_2 and the A of L_4 , both coincide with the beginning of a mensural unit. *Talea* 1 illustrates the usual harmonic and rhythmic treatment of these points and shows how tension is fostered between A and G sonorities (example 6).¹⁷ The $a-c\#$ major third of L_1 prepares the following G fifth, but textual and musical phrases in both upper voices press through, denying the resolution. By comparison, the A sonority on L_4 is well anchored. It is sustained long

¹⁷ For aural confirmation of the claims made here, the reader may wish to listen to one of the recordings of this motet: *Guillaume de Machaut: Chansons II* (EMI Electrola, Reflexe C 063-30 109) or *Guillaume de Machaut: La Messe de Notre Dame und Motetten* (Telefunken SAWT 9566-B).

enough to create a definite articulation and coincides with endings of phrase and strophe in the triplum and the terminal verse accent in the motetus. The fifth between tenor and motetus is prepared by the preceding *Bb-D*. Imperfect in quality, the *A* sonority hardly sounds conclusive, but it is the most stable harmony in the *talea*.¹⁸

Example 6. Motet no. 9. *Talea 1*.

Talea 1

Tr
tus E-ras in sum-mis lo-ca-tus Su-per

Mo
O

Ten

L₂ L₃

thro-nos su-bli-ma-tus Dra-co fe-rus an-ti-qua-tus Qui di-ce-
li-vo-ris

L₄ L₅ Talea 2

re Au-sus es se-dem po-ne-re A-qui-lo-ne
fe-ri-tas Que

¹⁸ For the terminology used in this paper to designate sonorities and to classify them according to qualities, see Fuller, "On Sonority," 40-45.

Throughout the motet, intricate counterplay between rhythmic and harmonic elements fosters ambiguity in tonal focus. As is apparent from the synopsis of main progressions in example 7, the *A* sonorities in the first part of each *talea* (long 1, second breve) are usually imperfect in nature and incorporate a third or a sixth that pushes outward to a perfect interval on *G*. But because upper-voice phrases consistently continue through them, propelling the music forward, the resolutions are not perceived as arrivals. The *G* sonorities on long 2 consequently gain no status as stable reference points.¹⁹ The *A* sonorities on long 4 are rhythmically secure. They always coincide with triplum phrase and text verse endings and are sustained in all voices in odd-numbered *taleae* (marked with brackets in example 7).²⁰ Seldom, however, do these *A* sonorities receive the critical voice-leading preparation that would establish them as central. The inevitable *G* sonorities on the next mensural unit, long 5, although uniformly perfect in quality, are rhythmically volatile. The hockets always carry on to the first sustained *A* sonority in the next *talea*, and the oscillation continues. Neither pitch degree, *A* or *G*, has sufficient equilibrium to gain priority over the other. Considering both the number of times the *G* occurs in the tenor and its regular position at the middle and end of every *talea*, one can only marvel at Machaut's ingenuity in withholding tonal weight from *G* until the very final moments of the piece.

The emergence of *G* as final in the polyphony (just as it is in the tenor melody) could be considered the goal toward which the piece is directed. In any event, as soon as that happens, the motet ends. The terminal arrival is carefully prepared, as an examination of the ninth and final *talea* (example 8) and its background structure (example 7, T₉) indicates. Despite the usual continuation of upper-voice phrases through the *G* sonority on long 2 of *talea* 9, this sonority is granted the strongest preparation it has had since *talea* 3. The preceding *a-c#-f#* pointedly tilts the tenor *A* toward *G*. Subsequently on long 4, the sustained *A* sonority is deflected from its regular position on the first breve of the mensural unit to the second, and for the first time in the motet that sonority is an inflected, doubly imperfect trichord. Even though the attack of the last tenor *G* is delayed, the end of the piece achieves a satisfying harmonic arrival that jells the tonal orientation of the work. The harmonic details of this final *talea*, so significantly different from those of preceding parallel *taleae*, promote an impression

¹⁹ In one instance, *talea* 5, the near midpoint of the work, the *G* sonority on long 2 is a sustained breve. Although it closes the musical phrase, the text verses continue through in both triplum and motetus.

²⁰ In the even-numbered *taleae* the motetus always continues its rhythmic impetus past the beginning of the mensural unit, thus mitigating the effect of arrival.

Example 7. Motet no. 9. Partial discant reduction.

$\tau = \text{♩}$ L₁ * L₂* L₃ L₄* L₅ *

T₁

T₂

T₃

T₄

T₅

T₆

T₇

T₈

T₉

of careful attention to both rhythm and pitch in the composition of this work. An A–G dichotomy is even presaged in the solo *introitus*, a setting of the entire first stanza of the triplum text. The *introitus* melody focuses initially on A but closes on G, thus presaging the pitch relationship that is central to the body of the motet.

Example 8. Motet no. 9. *Talea* 9.

The musical score for Example 8, Motet no. 9, *Talea* 9, is presented in three systems. Each system consists of three staves: Tenor (Tr), Motet (Mo), and Tenor (Ten). The Tenor parts feature long, sustained notes, while the Motet parts feature more active, melodic lines. The lyrics are: -lan- guis te- di- a Au- ge- at et sup- pli- ci- a Et mer- ce- des Fi- li- nos du- cat ad gau- di- a Quos cre- a- vit us De- i ti- bi de- bi- tas. The score is marked with L₁, L₂, L₃, L₄, and L₅ above the Tenor staves, indicating the beginning of different *talea* segments. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C).

O livoris feritas is unusual in its tightly constricted cantus, the intensity of its syncopations and hockets, and the invariant pitch properties of its tenor. Its tonal qualities are remarkable, but the degree of control exercised over tonal relationships is not to be regarded as exceptional. Signs of tonal control are sufficiently apparent in other Machaut motets to suggest that, in at least some instances, cantus segmentation and *talea* disposition were not determined solely by number but were prompted also by aspects of pitch and potential pitch relationships. Before considering these signs, it seems appropriate to ground the inquiry by reviewing what is known about fourteenth-century views on mode in polyphony and by noting general characteristics of the chant phrases Machaut selected to serve as tenors.

However individuals may have come to terms with tonal orientation in polyphony, determination of mode was hardly a burning public issue in Machaut's century. The meager surviving comments on the subject stand at opposite ends of the century and express divergent opinions. We may

start with the passionate declarations of the Parisian theorist Johannes de Grocheo, whose *De musica* is usually placed ca. 1300. He categorically denies the relevance of *tonus* (mode) to polyphony, which, in Johannes de Garlandia's manner, he calls *cantus mensuratus* (measured song).

Some people describe mode as a rule that judges all song at its end. But they appear to err in manifold ways. When they say "all song," they seem to include secular song and polyphony. But such music perhaps neither proceeds by the rules of mode nor is governed by them. And besides, if it is governed by these rules, they do not say how they operate, or even mention it.... Let us therefore try to describe it in another way and say that mode is a rule by which anyone can know and judge any ecclesiastical song by examining its beginning, middle and end.... I say "ecclesiastical song" in order to exclude secular song and polyphony, which are not subject to mode.²¹

The passage is only incidentally about mode in polyphony. Johannes de Grocheo's central purpose is to give a precise and accurate definition of *tonus*. By way of setting up his own, he criticizes diverse other formulations—statements such as "*tonus* is a rule which judges all song at its end," "*tonus* is a rule by which we understand the middle and end of any melody," "*tonus* is a species of some octave"—because they are too inclusive and admit all kinds of music to the jurisdiction of mode.²² He himself limits its sphere strictly to liturgical chant. The position is dogmatic, asserted rather than explicitly argued. Johannes de Grocheo's main complaint is that no one has satisfactorily explained how *tonus* governs secular song and polyphony: *si per eas mensuratur, non dicunt modum per quem*. Still, a tinge of doubt moderates his rejection. These other kinds of music "perhaps" do not proceed according to the rules of mode. Both the qualifying "perhaps" and the challenge to others to demonstrate the workings of *tonus* in "all song" strongly suggest that some of Johannes de Grocheo's contemporar-

²¹ "Describunt autem tonum quidam dicentes eum esse regulam, quae de omni cantu in fine iudicat. Sed isti videntur multipliciter peccare. Cum enim dicunt 'de omni cantu,' videntur cantum civilem et mensuratum includere. Cantus autem iste per toni regulas forte non vadit nec per eas mensuratur. Et adhuc, si per eas mensuratur, non dicunt modum per quem nec de eo faciunt mentionem.... Temptemus igitur aliter describere et dicamus, quod tonus est regula, per quam quis potest omnem cantum ecclesiasticum cognoscere et de eo iudicare inspiciendo ad initium, medium vel ad finem.... Dico etiam 'cantum ecclesiasticum,' ut excludantur cantus publicus et praecise mensuratus, qui tonis non subiciuntur" (Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo*, 152).

²² The other deficiencies he criticizes need not concern us here.

ies did indeed take mode to be relevant to polyphony as well as to nonliturgical monophony.

Much of the teaching on such matters must have been oral, hence transitory, but Johannes de Grocheo's polemic would apply well to the views expressed by the English priest Amerus in his *Practica artis musicae* of 1271. Amerus explicitly extends mode (*tonus*) to conductus and cantilena and observes that nearly all organal songs (*cantilena organica*) are in mixed modes because of their extended ranges.²³ His unrestricted definition of mode as a rule "that judges all song according to beginning, middle, and end" resembles others with which Johannes de Grocheo takes issue.²⁴

In the absence of any counterpolemic, we cannot judge how normal or eccentric these opposite positions may have appeared in their own day. Decades separate these statements from the next surviving opinion on this matter. The anonymous writer, whose treatise is dated 1375 in one manuscript, shares Parisian ties with Johannes de Grocheo but states an opposite view on the domain of mode.²⁵

Something must yet be said about by what tones or modes other kinds of music, such as motets, ballades and such pieces, are to be judged. Let the final therefore be the index of any tones or modes for such music, including motets, ballades, rondeaux, virelais and such.²⁶

The end point, the final, is the crucial factor in determining modal classification, whether in secular song or in motets, most of which retain a link with chant through their tenors. Polyphony is not, however, bound by

²³ *Ameri Practica artis musicae*, ed. Cesarino Ruini, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, no. 25 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1977), 63–64. Conductus and cantilena can, but need not necessarily, indicate polyphony, but *cantilena organica* certainly does. It is unclear whether this latter term is meant to specify a genre or whether it is the equivalent of *musica mensurabilis*.

²⁴ "Tonus quidem regula que de omni cantu in principio, medio, [et] in fine diiudicat" (*ibid.*, 77).

²⁵ In one source, the author of this treatise is identified as Gostaltus (Goscalcus) of France, but the attribution is not verified in other copies. A thorough discussion of the question is provided with the edition and translation published by Oliver B. Ellsworth, *The Berkeley Manuscript, Greek and Latin Music Theory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 13–15.

²⁶ "Restat et nunc quidem de cantibus aliis, puta motetis, baladis, et huiusmodi, de quibus tonis sive modis iudicandi fuerint aliqua declarare. Sit igitur finale iudicium omnium tonorum seu modorum cuiuslibet cantus, videlicet motetorum, baladarum, rondellorum, vireletorum, et huiusmodi istud" (*ibid.*, 84). Richard L. Crocker observed the significance of this passage in "A New Source for Medieval Music Theory," *Acta musicologica* 39 (1967): 165–66.

plagal or authentic boundaries of ambitus, as the author states in a section on the appropriate ranges of authentic and of plagal melodies.

As for other songs, for instance motets and the like, note that one may equally well ascend and descend in the plagals through many pitches as indicated in the authentic modes. But the tenors should follow the nature of ecclesiastical song, and although they may begin differently, nevertheless they must end similarly.²⁷

An arresting notion here is that the tenor should preserve chantlike qualities. It is as though modal respectability were somehow secured if the tenor at least ends with a familiar cadential turn of chant. The comment meshes neatly with Tinctoris's declaration over a century later that the ultimate decision about the mode of a polyphonic piece, if one requires an absolute answer, depends on the tenor.²⁸

The wide chronological gaps separating these texts impart a decidedly peripheral cast to the mode-polyphony issue. The few scattered remarks from fourteenth-century observers permit no firm hypothesis about how composers of Machaut's generation conceived of tonal relations in their polyphony. In the aggregate, they do point to the final resting place of a piece (the last sonority or the terminal tenor pitch?) as the criterion to invoke if assigning a polyphonic work to a modal category.²⁹ To attribute modal quality on such a basis, however, is to construe "mode" as no more than an imposed means of classification. The assignment of a modal category on the sole criterion of the last sound entirely skirts the question of how mode might operate, of the role it might assume as a generating or

²⁷ "De cantibus vero aliis, puta motetis et huiusdem, sciendum est quod in plagalibus eque bene potest ascendi et descendi per plures voces, sicut in autenticis dicitur; eiam tenores sequi debere naturam cantuum ecclesiasticorum; tamen aliter incipi possunt, hii quam illi similiter et finiri" (ibid., 74).

²⁸ *Liber de natura et proprietate tonorum*, ed. Albert Seay, *Johannis Tinctoris opera theoretica*, 2 vols. in 3, Corpus scriptorum de musica, no. 22 ([Rome] and Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1975-78), vol. 1, cap. 24, 85-86. English translation in *Concerning the Nature and Propriety of Tones*, trans. Albert Seay, Colorado College Music Press Translations, no. 2 (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1976), 25. In his characterization of the tenor as the principal part of any composition and the foundation of all relationships, Tinctoris in this chapter evidences kindred thinking with Jacques of Liège (see note 5 above).

²⁹ But the mention of beginning and middle in Amerus (and in Johannes de Grocheo's restricted definition) implies that the earlier course of a piece is not extraneous to the judgment.

controlling force within a composition.³⁰ It also implicitly excludes other possible strategies that may have guided tonal relations. Once a piece has been classified as "in a mode," its tonal structure has apparently been accounted for. But things are not so simple. A variety of factors—cadential degrees, directed voice-leading, nodes of individual voice lines, primary pitch emphases, patterns of open and closed phrase endings—contribute to impressions of pitch relationships and overall tonal structure in a fourteenth-century motet.

If some guiding modal principle were at work, then we would expect to find standard patterns of tonal organization or fixed constellations of favored pitches in works with a common final. But this is not the case among Machaut's motets. Motets with the same final vary considerably both in degree of tonal focus and in the primary pitch relationships they project. Certain principles are sometimes operative—the recurrent references to the final in *Bone pastor* (no. 18), the oscillations between *A* and *G* sonorities in *O livoris feritas* (no. 9) have already been mentioned—but they exist independently of "mode" and would not have inhered within that concept as defined by medieval musicians. Tonal structure in Machaut's motets seems guided more by individual characteristics of a plainsong tenor and the possibilities it offers than by *a priori* conventions of pitch relationships. The corroborating evidence rests in analyses too numerous and detailed to present here. The case will be proposed on the basis of a representative few that are offered below.

If "mode" was a factor in motet composition, it most likely figured in a very early "prepolyphony" stage, that is, in the choice of tenor melody. In his motets on plainsong tenors, Machaut favors chant segments ending on *F*, choosing them for nearly half his works (nine out of twenty). The rest are evenly split between *G* and *D* finals (five of each).³¹ The one exception, the *C* final of *O series summe rata* (no. 17) fits with the overall preference for *tritus*. No *deuterus* melodies, phrases ending on *E* or *B*, are selected.³² For the most part, the chosen segments conform to their finals and even possess characteristic melodic figures associated with one or both modes implied by the final. They sound modally coherent even though they have

³⁰ The distinction is essentially that which Harold S. Powers makes between mode as an *a posteriori* means of classification and mode as an *a priori* principle of construction in "Tonal Types and Modal Categories," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 432–35.

³¹ These figures exclude the three motets on secular tenors. They are, as it happens, evenly distributed among the same three finals, *G* (no. 11), *D* (no. 16), and *F* (no. 20).

³² Philippe de Vitry has even more of a preference for *F* tenors and also shuns *E* and *B* finals.

been plucked from some larger context.³³ In many, the modal imprint is fostered by emphasis on characteristic species of fourth or fifth. Many end with a standard plainchant cadential formula (even though they may hold an internal position within the source chant), and all but two close with a descending step to the final.³⁴ The terminal melodic descent is so consistent as to seem an essential criterion in tenor selection for Machaut, as it is also for de Vitry. Not only does it secure closure for the borrowed fragment itself, but it provides also the necessary foundation for a strong cadential progression in polyphony. Machaut's motets do regularly end on a perfect sonority built upon the tenor final. Save for two four-voice works, the final of the adopted cantus determines the concluding sonority of the polyphony.³⁵ The tenor thus governs modal judgments made according to the "rule of the final."

A borrowed tenor cannot but influence the tonal structure of the motet in which it is incorporated in ways beyond determination of the final sonority. The tenor is normally the lowest part in a three-voice complex and as such controls progressions between sonorities and the main points of harmonic arrival and cadence. When motetus or triplum dips below the tenor at a primary phrase articulation, it is usually with specific harmonic purpose. Any tenor cantus thus sets certain limits to tonal emphases within the motet. It is crucial, however, to distinguish between tonal characteristics of a chant phrase in its original plainsong state, sung as a continuous melody, and the characteristics of the same phrase when segmented, subjected to distinctive rhythmic patterning, greatly slowed in tempo, and absorbed into a polyphonic texture. Characteristics of the plainsong may be reaffirmed, but can also be reinterpreted or rejected in the polyphony. Because it is not a fixed artifact but raw material, the tenor provides an apt point of departure from which to investigate tonal structure in Machaut motets.

³³ The tenor of motet no. 8, *Et non est / Ha Fortune / Qui es promesses*, constitutes a conspicuous exception. The "larger context" is not necessarily in the mode of the chosen phrase (see below, motet no. 7).

³⁴ The exceptions are the two four-voice motets mentioned in note 35. The secular tenors do not hold to this rule. All three (nos. 11, 16, and 20) conclude with an ascending step or half step to the final.

³⁵ In motet no. 23 (*Inviolata genetrix*), the tenor ends on *a*, although the chant melisma has plainly been in the *D* mode. At the final cadence of both *integer valor* and diminution sections, the contratenor sounds a *D* below the tenor *a*, thus affirming the modal quality of the tenor melody and imposing it on the close of the motet. In motet no. 22 (*Plange regni*), the third and last statement of the *D*-mode melody is curtailed, with the result that the tenor and the motet end on *F*. The reason for the foreshortening is not obvious, but the *F* ending is at least compatible with the melodic profile of the tenor, which centers on *F* before descending to *D*. This is the only case where Machaut does not adopt the final of the chant fragment as the basis for the final sonority of the motet.

The three motets discussed below illustrate three different approaches to molding a tonal structure in the polyphony from the tonal material present in the selected tenor. The first motet offers a fairly faithful reflection of pitch relationships defined in the borrowed plainsong; the second achieves tonal coherence in a polyphonic sense despite a tenor that rarely touches its final; while the third imposes cycles of departure and return upon the given material. In all three, tonal features are closely coordinated with rhythmic periodicities in a way that causes difficulty in deciding, after the fact, whether either had priority in conception.

The motet *Super omnes speciosa / O series summa rata / Quant vraie amours*, no. 17 in the Ludwig-Schrade ordering, takes as its tenor the sixth phrase of the Marian antiphon *Ave regina caelorum* (example 9a).³⁶ The eighteen-note melody focuses steadily on its final. It not only starts and ends on *c* but also pivots upon it, first descending a fourth below, then rising a fourth above before the cadential return. Machaut's *talea* divides the phrase into three six-note segments (example 9b). The first starts on *c* and descends a fourth to the *G* below. The second rises from *G* and returns to *c* from the tone above. The third mirrors the motion of the previous two

Example 9a. Motet no. 17. Tenor melody.



Example 9b. Motet no. 17. Tenor *talea*.

♩ = ♪.

³⁶ I present all the plainsong segments used as tenors without text underlay and without indication of neume groupings, as it is impossible to tell how these features stood as Machaut knew them. The same uncertainty leads me to quote all melodies as they appear in the motet rather than from a plainsong source. Machaut perhaps manipulated his borrowed phrases in order to obtain a number of notes convenient to his purposes, but the evidence bearing upon this (service books from Rheims, for example) has disappeared. A random check of *Ave regina caelorum* melodies shows that the phrase *Super omnes speciosa* often has but fifteen or sixteen notes while Machaut's tenor has eighteen. (The presumptive insertion comes in the middle segment.) Ernest Sanders has suggested the possibility of tenor adaptation in motets nos. 5 and 7 ("The Medieval Motet," 563 n. 287).

segments, rising to *f* and completing the arch with a descent to the final. This segmentation clearly corresponds with distinct phases in the melody and can be considered an appropriate musical parsing of the borrowed phrase.

The *talea* itself divides into balanced halves both of which consist of three notes distributed within three perfect longs, followed by a pause of an imperfect long. Two of the three *taleae* end on *c* (T_2, T_3) as do two of the internal caesurae within *taleae* (T_1, T_2). With the opening *c* also taken into account, it may be remarked that the rhythm assigned to the tenor situates five of the six *c*'s in the melody at significant initial or terminal positions. In this respect, as with the basic segmentation, the tenor as fashioned by Machaut reflects the structure of the borrowed plainsong. The further reflection at the level of the polyphony partly conforms with the tenor, partly bends in other directions.

Tonal emphases in the motet are created by sustained sonorities whose placement is determined by rhythmic periodicities. Both the first and the last notes of every *talea* are nodes of harmonic stability. *Taleae* 1 and 2 establish the pattern for the remaining four (example 10 on pages 217–220). In T_1 , the opening *C* sonority stands out simply because it is first, but extension over a perfect long helps fix it in the ear. The *G* trichord that ends the *talea* (L_7) resolves the preceding combination of major third and sixth (the unstable member of the conventional fourteenth-century cadence) and is articulated as an arrival both by the cessation of rhythmic activity and by the end of text lines in both upper voices. The *G* sonority beginning T_2 receives emphasis through several factors: duration, the tenor attack after a rest, the gradual accumulation of three voices, the inception of text lines in both upper voices. The *e-g* fifth at the end of this *talea* is a cadential goal (prepared on L_5) and, like other points of harmonic stability in this work, is supported by rhythm and text. In addition, conspicuous punctuations on L_3 emphasize *C* sonorities on the medial tenor *c* of both these *taleae*. No comparable rhythmic articulation occurs at this point in the third *talea* where the tenor pitch is not *c* but *f*. Clearly the polyphony in this opening section maintains the *C-G* relationship that unfolds melodically in the chant segment and is preserved in the tenor division.

Inspection of the remainder of motet no. 17 shows that the focus on *C* and *G* sonorities continues by virtue of periodic durational emphasis, harmonic preparation, and terminal position within *taleae*. A skeletal *contrapunctus* reduction of the piece confirms this and reveals some special aspects of Machaut's conception (example 11 on page 221). *C* sonorities take priority in frequency and from position at the beginning of both *color* statements and at the end of two *taleae* in each set of three. This emphasis derives from the plainsong phrase, both in its natural state and as seg-

Example 10. Motet no. 17. *Taleae* 1 and 2.

♩ = \dot{d} .

T1

Tr L_1 L_2

Quant vraie a-mour en-fla-me-e D'ar-dant de-

Mo

8 O se-ri-es sum-me-ra-

Ten

Super omnes speciosa

T2

L_1 L_2

Par foy de fait es-prou-ve-e Tant que loy-

8 nens li-ga-tu-ram Ar-gu-

Example 10. Continued.

T₁

Musical score for Tenor 1 (T₁). The score consists of three staves: a vocal line in the treble clef, a piano accompaniment in the alto clef (marked with an '8'), and a bass line in the bass clef. The vocal line is divided into two systems. The first system is marked with a fermata 'L₃' and contains the lyrics 'sir' and 'en-'. The second system is marked with a fermata 'L₄' and contains the lyrics 'gen- dre- e'. The piano accompaniment features a long, sustained chord in the left hand that spans across both systems. The bass line is mostly silent, with a few notes in the second system.

L₃ L₄

sir en- gen- dre- e

ta Re- gen- do na- tu- ram

T₂

Musical score for Tenor 2 (T₂). The score consists of three staves: a vocal line in the treble clef, a piano accompaniment in the alto clef (marked with an '8'), and a bass line in the bass clef. The vocal line is divided into two systems. The first system is marked with a fermata 'L₃' and contains the lyrics 'au- tes'. The second system is marked with a fermata 'L₄' and contains the lyrics 'ju- re- e Fait quelle a'. The piano accompaniment features a long, sustained chord in the left hand that spans across both systems. The bass line is mostly silent, with a few notes in the second system.

L₃ L₄

au- tes ju- re- e Fait quelle a

men- tis de- mon- stra-

Example 10. Continued.

T₁

L₅ L₆

Pu-cel-let-te mai- stri-e Ou temps que doit es-tre a-me-
u-ni-for-mam per-cau-sa-

T₂

L₅ L₆

li-s'ot-tri-e Par-si par-fai-te as-semble-
ta Non pa-ti frac-tu-

Example 10. Continued.

T₁

L₇ L₈

e Se vrais a- mants l'en pri- e

ta Te-

T₂

L₇ L₈

e qu'en doy n'ont c'u- ne vi- e

ram Cum

Example 11. Motet no. 17. Discant reduction.

The image displays a musical score for a discant reduction, organized into six systems (T₁ to T₆). Each system consists of a treble and a bass staff. Above the first system, labels L₁ through L₈ are positioned above the treble staff, with a downward arrow under L₇. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, beams, and arrows indicating specific features or reductions.

mented, but the secondary emphasis on *G* is to some extent manufactured in the polyphony. By placing the motetus below the tenor on L_1 of T_3 to form a *G* sonority, Machaut makes T_3 parallel T_2 in its terminal harmonies—a relationship that would not have been anticipated from the tenor line. A similar action at L_5 of T_5 also locates a tenor *D* within a *G* trichord and adds to a succession of sustained *G* sonorities ($T_4, L_7; T_5, L_1$ and L_5). Whereas in the first *color* statement the *C* sonority at the end of the corresponding *talea* (T_2) had strong harmonic preparation, in this second *color* statement it is the *G* that is emphasized through voice-leading. The terminal *C* sonority appears in juxtaposition (in what may be characterized as a “neutral” progression) and is an inconclusive imperfect sonority. Instead of a strong arrival as in T_2 , the terminal *C* of T_5 is an attenuated “hold.”³⁷

These modifications in the harmonic context of the tenor bring *G* into relief in a way that magnifies the *C*–*G* relationship in the borrowed plainsong. They also alter the basic tonal structure of the two *color* statements, a change that could be predicted neither from the original plainsong nor from the tenor layout. Each set of three *taleae* coheres in a closed tonal unit, but the affiliations and relationships within each are different. In the first set, *taleae* 1 and 2 complete a tonal circuit. The structural move from a *C* to a *G* sonority in T_1 is answered by *G* to *C* in T_2 . *Talea* 3 confirms the return in retracing the path of T_2 . As already remarked, *taleae* 1 and 2 project the tonal outline of the original plainsong, while *talea* 3, in taking a parallel path to T_2 , deviates from the course of the plainsong. The second set of *taleae* starts out as though to reiterate the tonal structure of the first. The fourth *talea* adopts the tonal outline of *talea* 1, even duplicating the spacing of its main sonorities. But the following *talea*, unlike T_2 , does not respond with a satisfactory return to *C*. Its emphasis is on *G* sonorities, and a really conclusive return to *C* is deferred to the very end of T_6 . Only then does a *C* sonority receive decisive harmonic preparation.

Two factors combine to enhance this final cadence, which marks the end of the tonal circuit. One is the constitution of the sonority: it is the first *C* octave-fifth to end a *talea* and the only time that the opening sonority of the piece is duplicated at a *talea* ending. Unlike the several other *C* cadences, this one reinstates the point of departure. Another factor is the special harmonic preparation this cadence receives. The arrival is preceded by *D* sonorities on L_1, L_3, L_4 , and L_6 of T_6 , the only significant string of *D* sounds in the composition. This new harmonic emphasis sets up the tendency sonority on *D* ($D-F\sharp-B$) that is a critical force in the cadence, the

³⁷ This is why that sonority appears in black rather than in the void notes used otherwise in the example for the marked terminal sonorities. For the terminology “neutral progression” and “hold,” see Fuller, “On Sonority,” 51, 56.

sound whose goal is resolution to a *C* octave-fifth.³⁸ As a result of these events, the completion of the tonal circuit is extended over a larger temporal span the second time around. It embraces two *taleae* and involves an additional harmonic element. The first time, the return is directly from *G* to *C* within one *talea* (*T*₂). The second time, it extends across two *taleae*, going from *G*, through *C* and *G*, to a lengthy *D*, which leads finally to *C* (*T*₅–*T*₆). To someone attuned to the periodicity of the *taleae* and aware of the differentiated quality (open or closed) of the *talea* endings, the delay in a definitive return to *C* will register as an increase in tension in the second half of the motet. The underlying sense of cycles and attention to achievement of closure is not unlike that observed in motet no. 9, although the means and the overall design are very different.

In motet no. 17, the chosen tenor, *Super omnes speciosa*, ensures the primacy of the final within the tonal scheme. This is not true of *Ego moriar / Lasse je sui / Jay tant mon cuer*, motet no. 7, for the final appears but twice in its twenty-one-note tenor (example 12a). This tenor corresponds textually with the final phrase of the antiphon *Rex autem David* but is musically an adaptation, to judge from extant plainsong sources. Some notion of the character of the presumed adaptation may be gleaned from comparison with a notation in a twelfth-century Parisian breviary (example 12b). The particular version Machaut knew is, of course, irretrievable.³⁹

Example 12a. Motet no. 7. Tenor melody.



Example 12b. Antiphon *Rex autem David*. Final phrase.



³⁸ The preparatory chord has before been in a relatively weaker (certainly less standard) position, *b-d-f*, which in the composite voice-leading results in a half-step approach from below to the tenor *c* (see example 11).

³⁹ The plainsong version cited here is from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 748, fol. 240. In this manuscript the antiphon is eighth at Lauds on the octave of Pentecost. The relationship between tenor and antiphon was pointed out by Ernest Sanders in "The Medieval Motet," 563 n. 287. The segment selected by Machaut ends on *D*, but the antiphon phrase continues on to its final, *G*.

The profile of the tenor stands forth clearly: a decoration of an *F-c* fifth within the matrix of its upper third, followed by two stepwise descents to *D*. The second of these boldly outlines the fifth from *a* to *D*. The phrase as presented by Machaut has a first-mode quality achieved not by reiteration of its final but by melodic trajectory, the minor third above *a*, and the first-species fifth proper to the mode. Machaut's segmentation of the chant is slightly skew of the primary melodic units, for it separates the terminal *a* of the first *talea* from the descent to *D* with which it belongs melodically (example 13). In addition, the twenty-one-note chant overflows the four-teen-note *talea* unit. Because the first *color* statement extends halfway into the second *talea*, its concluding *D* has a medial, rather than a terminal, rhythmic position. In the second statement (T_3), the final *D* is weakly placed within rather than at the beginning of the mensural unit (a perfect maxima in the *integer valor* section). Indeed, the basic segmentation might seem to favor tonal orientation toward *a*, for both T_1 and T_2 begin and end on *a*, and sustained *a*'s hold a medial position in *taleae* 1 and 3 (M_4). Within the polyphony, however, Machaut manages rhythmic and harmonic periodicities and cadential progressions so as to establish *D* as the main locus of tonal orientation in the piece.

Example 13. Motet no. 7. Tenor *talea*.

The musical notation for Example 13 consists of three staves, T₁, T₂, and T₃, in bass clef. Above the staves are markings for maxima: M₂, M₄, M₆, and +L. The notation includes various rhythmic values and rests.

The rhythmic scheme in motet no. 7 involves the upper voices as well as the tenor. The recurrent pattern in the *integer valor* section produces two distinct points of repose in the *talea*, both sustained sonorities (example 14). One stands at maxima 4 (M_4), the other at M_6 . The latter is welcomed as the resolution of an unsettled hoquet-syncoption passage.⁴⁰ These points of

⁴⁰ The same periodicities are maintained in the diminution section relative to the long, i.e., held sonorities occur on the fourth and the sixth longs of the *talea*. The rhythmic tension on M_5 arises not only from the exchange between texted voices of normal and syncopated rhythms but also from the switch in the tenor from groups of three imperfect longs within the maxima to groups of two perfect longs. This shift is somewhat subliminal in the *integer valor* section but emerges on the surface under diminution.

Example 14. Motet no. 7. Isorhythmic pattern.

The musical score is divided into six measures labeled M₁ through M₆ + L. The parts are Tr (Trumpet), Mo (Mouthpiece), and Ten (Tenor).
- **M₁**: Tr and Mo play a wavy line; Ten has three quarter notes.
- **M₂**: Tr and Mo play a wavy line; Ten has a half note with a slur.
- **M₃**: Tr and Mo play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes; Ten has a quarter note.
- **M₄**: Tr and Mo play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes; Ten has a half note with a slur.
- **M₅**: Tr and Mo play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes; Ten has a quarter note.
- **M₆ + L**: Tr and Mo play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes; Ten has a quarter note. A dashed vertical line is present at the end of the score.

repose partition the tenor into seven-note segments, each of which corresponds approximately with one of the three melodic phrases of the chant. The hold on M_4 always coincides with the last pitch of a seven-note segment, but that on M_6 always falls on the penultimate. Hence, at the end of *talea* 1, the main harmonic arrival occurs not on the terminal *a*, but on the penultimate, *D* (example 15). The *a* is allied with the beginning of the next musical unit. Not only do the upper voices initiate new phrases and text lines above the tenor *a*, but their $c\sharp-e$ converges immediately on *d* (third long of M_6), confirming *D*'s local centrality and stability. The next moment of harmonic repose, M_4 of T_2 , also occurs on *D*. As a result of the periodic upper-voice phrasing superimposed upon the tenor segmentation, the chief cadential arrivals in the first *color* statement ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *taleae*) are situated on *a*, *D*, and *D* (example 16). Because the *A* sonority (T_1 , M_4) is simply sustained and receives no harmonic preparation, it is perceived as subsidiary to the *D* sonorities, which are endowed with both harmonic and rhythmic weight. The total pattern of rhythmic periodicity brings the final to the fore and effects a close accord between the tonal emphases of the motet and the modal character of the borrowed chant fragment.

Example 15. Motet no. 7. End of *talea* 1.

♩ = ○

M_5

Tr
par pi-te meint cuer des-pour-ve-

Mo
Com li biaux Nar-ci-eus mo-

Ten

M_6+L M_1

u Et de la tres grant joi-e re-pe-u dont je lan-gui

ri Qui son cuer tant en-or-guil-li

Example 16. Motet no. 7. Partial discant reduction, *taleae* 1–3.

As the motet continues, *D* and *a* do not invariably occur on the positions of rhythmic and metrical emphasis predetermined by the upper-voice isorhythm (see examples 13 and 14). Rather than abandon his rhythmic scheme, Machaut conserves a *D–a* tonal focus through harmony and voice-leading. The concern for preserving a *D* orientation is particularly evident in *talea* 3, where the first *D* of the *color* falls *before* the sustained sonority on *M*₄ and the second falls *after* the other on *M*₆ (example 17 on following two pages; cf. example 16, *T*₃). The first *D* (within *M*₃) is brought into relief as the resolution of a tendency sonority and is marked also by the unusual coincidence of both upper voices on the same syllable. The subsequent voice-leading in motetus and triplum promotes the impression that the imperfect sonority on the held *a* (*M*₄) arises out of the preceding *D* sonority. The second *D* (*M*₆) is no goal of motion but initiates a bridge passage into the diminution. Machaut weakens the start of the mensural unit by placing an imperfect interval (a tenth) above the *E* of *M*₆. The established arrival point, then, bears a relatively inconclusive sonority that moves to a perfect *D* as the next phrase begins, an elegant means of creating a smooth bridge from *integer valor* to diminution section.⁴¹

⁴¹ The difference in effect may be judged by comparing the end of *talea* 1 (example 15) with the end of *talea* 3 (example 17). The linking phrases are similar melodically but differ in their harmonic contexts. The attenuation of the end of an *integer valor* section to maintain rhythmic momentum into the diminution is characteristic of Machaut.

Example 17. Motet no. 7. Talea 3.

L = ♩ M₁

Tr

Si le m'es- tuet chie- re- ment com- pa- rer

T₃ Mo

Re- cut mort

Ten

M₂

Car je l'aim tant c'on ne puet plus a- mer Mais c'est trop tart je

a- me- re et ob- scu- re

M₃

ne puis re- cou- vrer La soie a- mour Et s'ay pa- our se je li weil rou-

Mais bon- ne A- mour d'a mour se-

M₄ M₅

ver Qu'il ne me deinge o- ir ne es- cou-

u- re Fist qu'il a- ma et en- che-

Example 17. Continued.

M₆ + L t₁: L₁

ter Pour mon or-gueil qui trop m'a fait fi-er En ma fo-lour Et
ri Son om-bre et li pri-a mer-ci Tant

The diminution section restates the three previous *taleae* in halved values (t_1 , t_2 , t_3). The tenor rhythm poses an awkward problem for the last of these, t_3 , for, as already noted, it puts the terminal *D* *within* a mensural unit, after the point of repose established in the isorhythm. This works well in the *integer valor* section where a “bridge” into the diminution section is musically effective, but it is decidedly inappropriate to the end of the piece where a conclusive cadence is desirable. Machaut handles this final cadence in an imaginative way, both achieving a strong close on *D* and playing upon the enlivening metrical shift that is built into his *talea*.

Whereas in the third *talea* of the *integer valor* section just examined the penultimate tenor note, *E*, bears a mild imperfect sonority (octave and minor tenth), in the corresponding *talea* of the diminution that *E* bears a doubly imperfect sonority, the most forward-directed sound in Machaut’s standard harmonic vocabulary (examples 18a and b). This sonority (in an unusual position, major sixth–major tenth, as though to contrast the G^\sharp here with the G^\natural at T_3 , M_6) is the initial element of a directed progression that thrusts forward to resolution on a perfect *D* sonority. Its resolution is heard as a strong arrival, a convincing termination both tonally and metrically. The patently unstable sound on the penultimate not only effects closure on *D* but also produces a metrical shift so that the perceived “beginning” of L_6 is late by one breve (example 19). As heard, long 5, the seat of the recurrent hemiola, is extended by one breve.⁴² The delay in the anticipated end of the hemiola, an event that has regularly clicked into place on the beginning of L_6 (or M_6) as counted, intensifies the rhythmic instability just as the motet reaches its end. The coincident metrical shift and harmonic tension together dramatize the arrival at the final and im-

⁴² In the normal *talea*, the sixth mensural unit is extended by one unit (see example 13). This extension of L_5 is, then, not introduced at a whim but has been prepared. The extension is simply shifted back one mensural unit, with striking effect.

part to it a conclusive ring that is by no means apparent in the tenor by itself. The coincidence of rhythmic and harmonic factors does not appear to be accidental. Rather, rhythms, sonorities, and pitch emphases must have been worked out together to produce the carefully regulated tonal design of this motet and to set up the culminating final cadence. The bare *talea-color* arrangement rather veils the tenor *D* and does little in itself to project *D* as final. Only through compositional choices subsequent to (or imagined concurrently with) the initial stage of tenor organization is the motet's tonal structure brought into line with the foundation chant and made to reflect its *a-D* orientation. But whereas in the chant the orientation is accomplished through linear means and through the position held by the infrequent *D*'s, in the motet it is accomplished through rhythmic and harmonic means.

Example 18a. Motet no. 7. Final cadence.

7 = 8

Tr L₄ de-sirs d'a-che-ver Font

t₃ Mo -mi! Tel-le

Ten

L₅ L₆

tre-spas me-sure et oul-trer

est des fem-mes la na-tu-re

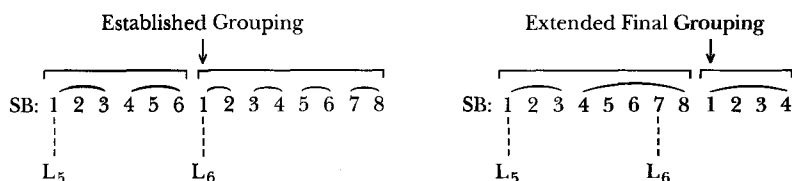
Example 18b. Motet no. 7. Discant reduction of final cadence.

L₄ L₅ L₆ ↓

t₃

Mo

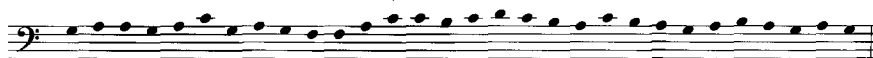
Example 19. Motet no. 7. Terminal metric extension.



The last motet to be examined here, *A Christo honoratus / Diligenter inquiramus / Martyrum gemma*, motet no. 19, offers another perspective on Machaut's virtuoso handling of tonal relations. In this motet, the *taleae* cut across the *colores* in an odd and unsystematic way, effecting a radical shift in tonal structure between first and second *color* statements. The first *color* presentation is anchored on the final, *G*, but the second brings an array of pitch emphases that at first might seem the arbitrary result of rigid isorhythms. Just because it appears to be so irregular in coordination of rhythmic periodicities with *color* repetition, this motet furnishes a particularly good context in which to investigate interactions between rhythm and tonal structure.

In *A Christo honoratus*, Machaut acquired a tenor of thirty notes (one of his longest) and three melodic phases (example 20a).⁴³ The melody first defines the immediate context of *G*, its final. Then it rises abruptly through a chain of thirds, *F-a-c*, and circles around *c*. Finally, it descends linearly from *c* and cadences on *G* from above. The opposition between a *G* axis and an *F-c* axis, quite audible in the first two phases of the melody, dissolves at the end when *c* becomes allied with *G*, not *F*. The realliance is effected through stepwise descent from *c* over longer and shorter spans to *G* (example 20b). The final *G* both grounds this descent and picks up the *F* that was left hanging after its first striking appearance.

Example 20a. Motet no. 19. Tenor melody.



Example 20b. Motet no. 19. Melodic structure of tenor melody.



⁴³ The tenor source is *Sanctus namque Quintinus*, the first respond at Matins on the saint's feast. Armand Machabey connects the motet with the prebend Machaut held at St. Quentin in the early 1330s (*Guillaume de Machault*, 2 vols. [Paris: Richard-Masse, 1955], 2:103; see also 1:30).

This thirty-note melody would divide most obviously into tenor six-note segments (see the remarks by Johannes Boen quoted above). Machaut instead chooses a twelve-note *talea*. This sets the length of the motet: two *colores* (2×30) demand five *taleae* (5×12) if *color* and *talea* are to end simultaneously (example 21).⁴⁴ Within the twelve, one might expect the *talea* rhythm to define two groups of six notes each so that the repeat of the *color* midway through *talea* 3 could be articulated. But this does not happen. Rests subdivide the *talea* into three groups of four notes each. This not only veils the beginning of the second *color* (which happens within a four-note group) but creates very different melodic groupings (and hence potential tonal emphases) in the second half of the piece. All the four-note groups in *talea* 1, for example, take *G* and *a* as beginning and end points (example 21, T₁). The *F*, so distinctive in the chant fragment, is very weak, for it is syncopated rhythmically and embedded within a four-note group. The recycling in the *color* repetition places *F* in a strong position (example 21, T₄).⁴⁵ The first four-note segment of *talea* 4 isolates the fall of *G* to *F*, while the second outlines the *F-a-c* chain that so strikingly counters *G* in the borrowed melody.

Example 21. Motet no. 19. Tenor *talea*.

The musical score for Example 21, Motet no. 19, Tenor *talea*, is presented in five staves (T₁ to T₅). Above the staves, seven groups of notes are labeled L₁ through L₇. A rhythmic symbol at the top left indicates a quarter note followed by a dotted quarter note. The notation is in bass clef with various note values and rests.

⁴⁴ The choice of five *taleae* seems an obvious homage to the Saint, Quintus. But in skirting the obvious $5 \times 6 = 30$ and devising instead $5 \times 12 = 60$, Machaut makes a particular point of the quintuple subdivision. The homage is not sustained in other domains where it might easily have been accomplished. For example, the motetus text has four (not five) stanzas of four lines each. The triplum's thirty-six lines, uniform in rhyme, do not group readily in fives even after the four lines of the *introitus* are subtracted.

⁴⁵ Such a drastic recycling is unusual for Machaut, but does occur also in motet no. 14.

Rhythmic invariances in the upper voices ensure that this shift in *talea-color* intersection will register. The partial upper-voice isorhythms fix two regular points of arrival: one on L₅, where triplum and motetus complete phrases and text lines consecutively, and another at L₇, the terminus of a hocket where all three voices simultaneously attack a new mensural unit and sustain a sonority (example 22, next page). In addition, L₂, where the tenor has its first perfect long, is always treated either as a cadence point or as a sustained consonance. These three nodes of harmonic articulation all occur at the end of four-note tenor groups and are consistent across all five *taleae* of the motet. In three of the five, a cadential progression also comes midway through the central four-note group on L₄. This is a function of the tenor melody and happens only when the tenor note on L₃ is a step above that on L₄. One of these cadences very lightly marks the end of the first *color*.

Over the first two *taleae*, the fixed points of arrival create a privileged set of relationships among *G*, *A*, and *C* sonorities. A straightforward list of the weighted chords—*G A A C (C) A G*—drawn from the tonal synopsis in example 23 (page 235) shows an ordered pattern, a background palindrome. *G* stands at beginning and end, framing the section. It is flanked by *A*, while *C* is situated in the middle. As in motet no. 17, the first two *taleae* move through a closed tonal cycle that begins and ends on what will be the final of the polyphony. The cycle begins not with the *introitus* (it centers on *a*) but with the entrance of tenor and motetus.

The unfolding of these relationships and the perceived hierarchy among the three elements are best grasped from the musical surface (example 24, pages 236–38). The stability of the *G* octave-fifth is deftly established through the cadence that transpires over the first two longs of *talea* 1. Perfect *A* sonorities stand at the next two marking points, L₅ and L₇, but neither is approached by directed voice-leading. The series of events brings *G* and *A* forward aurally, with *G* the stronger by virtue of initial position and harmonic preparation. The next weighted sonorities occur on tenor *C*'s (T₂, L₂ and L₄). Neither really challenges *G* or *A* in prominence: a delay in the triplum descent from *a* to *G* attenuates the first and transfers the ictus in that voice to the second breve, while medial phrase position weakens the second, despite its emphatic harmonic preparation.⁴⁶ From this plateau on *C*, *talea* 2 pushes forward rhythmically to a stable octave *a* (L₅). From this octave, via an energetic hocket phrase and standard cadential progression,

⁴⁶ Here, as at other points (e.g., T₁, L₄ and L₇), melodic emphasis on *a'-g* in the triplum resonates with the significant relationship between *A* and *G* sonorities on the broad tonal level.

Example 22. Motet no. 19. Isorhythmic pattern.

The image displays a musical score for Motet no. 19, illustrating an isorhythmic pattern. The score is organized into seven staves, labeled L₁ through L₇ at the bottom. Each staff contains a sequence of rhythmic figures and notes. Above the first three staves (L₁, L₂, L₃), there are rhythmic patterns with numerical labels: '1, 5:' above L₁, '1, 4:' above L₂, and '2, 4:' above L₃. A dashed line labeled '3-5:' connects the first two staves. The notes are primarily quarter and eighth notes, with some rests and accidentals. The pattern repeats across the staves, demonstrating the isorhythmic structure.

Example 23. Motet no. 19. Discant reduction.

Introitus

L₁ L₂ L₃ L₄ L₅ L₆ L₇

hocket

T₁

T₂

T₃

T₄

T₅

Example 24. Motet no. 19. Introitus and *taleae* 1 and 2.

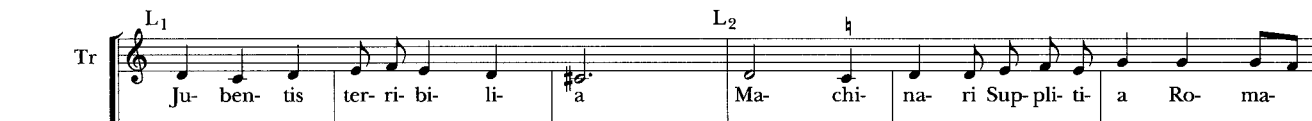
Introitus

♩ = $\frac{1}{2}$ L₁ L₂ L₃ L₄


Tr


Mar-ty-rum gem-ma-la-tri-a Ty-ran-ni tru-cis im-pi-a Quin-ti-ne sa-pi-en-ti-a Ver-ba sper-nens ma-vor-ti-a


L₁ L₂

Tr


Ju-ben-tis ter-ri-bi-li-a Ma-chi-na-ri Sup-pli-ti-a Ro-ma-

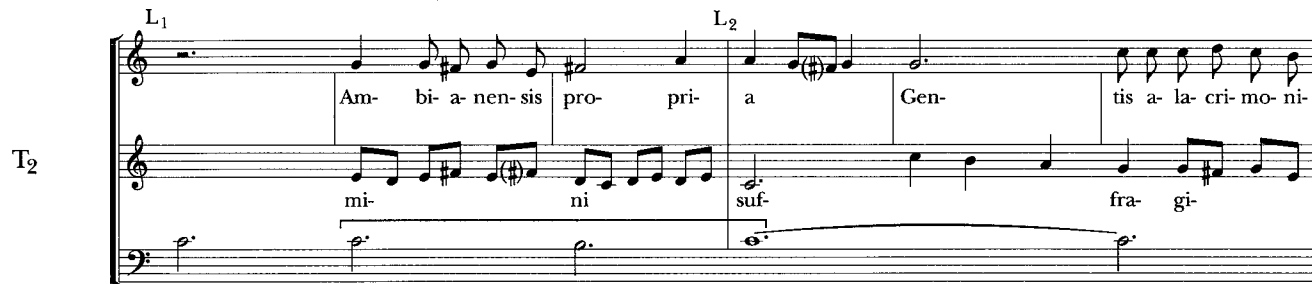
T₁ Mo


Di-li-gen-ter in-qui-ra-mus

Ten


A Christo honoratus

L₁ L₂

T₂


Am-bi-a-nen-sis pro-pri-a Gen-tis a-la-cri-mo-ni-mi-ni suf-fra-gi-

Example 24. Continued.

T₁

no-rum pro-sa-pi-a Ce-na-to-rum ce-les-ti-a Ric-ti-o-va-ri-so-li-
Quin-ti-ni pre-co-ni-a

T₂

a Hu-mi-li-ta-te so-ci-a Vic-tis vo-lens mar-ty-ri-
a Fu-it vi-te mi-ra-bi-lis

Example 24. Continued.

T₁

L₅ L₆ L₇

a af-fec-tans et pi-ta-ni-a Ad-mo-vens su-per-ci-li-a

Con-gau-den-ter im-pen-da-mus Nu-

T₂

L₅ L₆ L₇

a O-le-i-que le-den-ti-a Mar-ty-ri-i re-do-len-ti-a

Des-pu-it ob-no-xi-a Fu-

a stable *G* sonority is regained, completing a tonal cycle.⁴⁷ As in other motets considered in this paper, rhythmic periodicities, position within phrase and *talea* units, and harmonic context seem to cooperate in producing orderly and coherent tonal relations. This initial set of relations might be characterized as selectively drawn from the adopted plainsong. Its first three distinct pitches (excluding repetitions) are *G*, *a*, and *c*, and all three figure importantly in the fundamental structure of the melody (see example 20). On the other hand, as already noted, the strong melodic *F* is excluded, and the *c* is more muted in the polyphony than in the original plainsong.

A new tonal cycle is initiated in *talea* 3. The opening of this *talea* reproduces, on a reduced time scale, the tonal relationship between the *introitus* and the beginning of *talea* 1, for its first four-note segment starts on an octave *A* and cadences on a *G* octave-twelfth (example 25). At first, it sounds as though the first cycle is to be repeated; arrivals on *L*₂ and *L*₄ reaffirm *G*; sustained chords on *L*₅ and *L*₇ present *A* and *C* successively, neither supported by strong cadential voice-leading (example 23, *T*₃). But the parallel does not last, for it is just in *talea* 3 that the intersection of *color* and *talea* changes. *Talea* 4 brings a firm cadence on *F* that sounds fresh and unusual.

Example 25. Motet no. 19. *Talea* 3, *L*₁-*L*₂.

⁴⁷ As soon as the tenor rests, both upper voices sound *a'*, tilting toward the other pole of orientation. Similarly, cessation of the tenor *a* at the end of *talea* 1 prompts a unison *g* in the upper parts.

Next come two stressed *C* sonorities, the second of which (L_7) takes on special significance as cadential goal and closing punctuation of the hocket. These pitch emphases pull far afield from the initial *G-a* axis and produce an audible shift in tonal orientation. It is as though the recycling of the *color* frees Machaut to explore another aspect of the plainsong melody, the element that veers away from the final. But the departure creates a far more serious issue of the return to the final than occurred in the plain-song.

It is left to the fifth *talea* to reinstate *G*, which it accomplishes within a short span and rather precipitously (example 26a). In this *talea* L_2 bears for

Example 26a. Motet no. 19. *Talea* 5.

$\square = \text{d.}$ L_1

Tr
Ma-la-que cun-cta no-xi-

Mo
(Co)-len-tes

Ten

L_2

a Quo-vi-get pa-ci-en-ti-a Fi-

hunc ka-ris-si

L_3

des-pes et pru-den-ti-a Quo-si-mus ad pa-

me Ex-ul-ta

Example 26a. Continued.

L₄

la- ti- a Ce- lo- rum re- ful- gen- ti-
bunt su- a- vi- ter

L₅

a U- bi pax
Ca- nen- tes no- bi- lis- si-

L₆ L₇

est et glo- ri- a
me Da- bunt lau- des dul- ci- ter

the first time a tendency sonority ($b-d-f\sharp$). Its normal resolution to a perfect fifth on c would reinforce the c orientation of the preceding *talea*—but that resolution never occurs. Instead $f\sharp$ is prolonged (passing from triplum to motetus), the tenor b moves down to a (not up to c), and the resulting $a-f\sharp$ sixth expands outward (L₄) to a G sonority (example 26b).⁴⁸ This move, situated midway in a phrase, hardly sounds like a strong arrival, but it does register aurally as a striking climax.⁴⁹ The phrase continues on to

⁴⁸ One might aptly label this a deflected progression.

⁴⁹ The harmonic resolution is reinforced by the triplum's inexorable ascent from e to d' over L₁–L₄. The line's arrival on d' registers forcefully as the local melodic high point, the goal of the inflected $c'\sharp$, and the site of the accented syllable in *palátia*.

an octave *b*, the tenor resuming its *b* from L₂. This octave becomes the starting point of a strong directed progression to the terminal *G* sonority, a progression in which triplum and tenor expand outward from octave to tenth to twelfth, while the motetus rises from *d* to *g*. The final *talea*, then, restores the *G* focus, first introducing a *G* octave-twelfth in a weak medial cadence (but conspicuous as the unexpected sequel to a tendency sonority) and finally building to it as definitive end of a phrase and goal of a pointed voice-leading progression. The exigencies of a five-*talea* length force the harmonic wrench if a satisfactory return to the final is to be accomplished.

Example 26b. Motet no. 19. Discant reduction of *talea* 5.

A capsule summary of the main tonal emphases in motet no. 19 shows a tonal structure that unfolds in two cycles (example 27). These cycles cut across the *color* statements and ally the *taleae* in two asymmetrical groups: *taleae* 1-2 and *taleae* 3-4-5. The first cycle begins on *G*, proceeds on to *A* and *C*, and returns to *G* via *A*. The second begins parallel to the first with arrivals on *G*, *A*, and *C* but then ranges further with arrivals on *F* and *C*. It returns to *G* by a special harmonic maneuver.

Example 27. Motet no. 19. Tonal cycles.

This interpretation may seem too far removed from the surface of the piece to enjoy much credence, and it is, in any event, an analytic construct of an inferred deep structure. Yet there are some supporting surface features. One associative factor is the near identity of the final cadences of each cycle. The cadence at the very end parallels the cadence that ends *talea* 2 and closes the first cycle. Both tenor *G*'s bear the same octave-twelfth sonority, and the voice-leading is identical (compare examples 24 and 26a, L7). Both cadences are associated through the preceding hocket, and they

provide the most emphatic metrical arrivals in each *talea*. The beginnings of the cycles also parallel each other in the approach to *G* from a prominent *A*. Moreover, the first significant progression in the second cycle is spaced exactly as in the first, with a *G* sonority on L_2 and an *A* sonority on L_5 (example 23, T_1 and T_3). The beginning of the second thus duplicates the pacing of the first cycle.

* * *

No comprehensive conclusions about Machaut's motets, much less about the *ars nova* motet as a genre, can be made on the basis of the few works considered here. Nevertheless, the present findings do prompt some reflections of a general nature. The primary challenge directs itself to the unqualified supposition that Machaut's motets are primarily rhythmic edifices in which all other musical elements are subordinate to determinant isorhythmic schemes. But in the motets just examined rhythmic patterns are closely bound up with orderly tonal structures. The interaction between the two domains—pitch and rhythm—suggests that, in at least some instances, tonal plan was devised concurrently with rhythmic plan and that decisions about specific rhythmic patterns and periodicities in tenor and upper voices could have been sparked by tonal criteria. This is not to assert a new domination of pitch considerations over rhythm, but rather to argue that pitch and rhythm may have been integrated and mutually interactive in the conception of these works.

The modal integrity of the phrases Machaut chooses for tenors and the ingenuity with which he treats specific characteristics of individual phrases also invite reconsideration of the basis on which motet tenors were chosen. The traditional view stems from Egidius de Murino who, in advising the motet composer to find a chant fragment whose words will concord with the texts destined for the upper voices, takes a verbal approach:

First choose a tenor from an antiphon or responsory or some other song in the antiphoner, and the words should agree with the matter from which you wish to make the motet.⁵⁰

If Machaut indeed followed this formula and chose tenors primarily on textual grounds, it is extraordinary that his tenors so often exhibit interesting and cohesive tonal properties. Not just any chant segment possesses

⁵⁰ "Primo accipe tenorem alicuius antiphone vel responsorii vel alterius cantus de antiphonario et debent verba concordare cum materia de qua vis facere motetum" (Critical edition in Leech-Wilkinson, "Compositional Procedure," 18; also in CS, 3:124).

balanced phrases that turn on the final (like those selected for motets nos. 17 and 18), or invariant cycles of pitches (motet no. 9, also no. 4). Not all antiphon or responsory phrases conclude with a descending step to the implied final. The consistent attributes of Machaut's tenors give reason to believe that his choice was guided in some significant measure by tonal traits.⁵¹

Increased attention to tonal structure in motets and to control over harmony and pitch relationships also impinges upon issues of chronology and period style. The classic chronological study of the *ars nova* motet concentrates on isorhythm, taking as principal criteria length of tenor *taleae* and complexity and regularity of upper-voice rhythmic patterns.⁵² But Machaut's motets can also be sorted into groups according to the nature and clarity of their tonal structure. Groupings by tonal and by isorhythmic criteria overlap in some instances and diverge in others. The divergencies call into question an approach based on isorhythmic traits alone. Indeed, the interrelated matters of style and of development need to be reconsidered in the context of multiple attributes: isorhythm, tonal structure, harmonic language, linear movement, poetic form, and artistic idea. Analysis by congeries of compositional traits could clarify aspects of Machaut's technique and provide a better foundation for placing his motets within the Continental repertory of fourteenth-century motets.

Finally, there remains the issue of mode in polyphony and Johannes de Grocheo's pointed query: if mode functions in polyphony, how does it operate? In the few motets discussed here, the final is treated as a referential locus. It is not just the pitch on which the music happens to end but is periodically defined during the piece as a place of harmonic stability, of conclusive arrival. Finals are bestowed by the plainsong tenor. But the tonal design of a motet (its particular arrangement of emphasized pitches and sonorities) may differ markedly from that of its borrowed plainsong. Neither the tonal cycles observed in motet no. 19, nor the tilting between two focal pitches in motet no. 9, nor the emphasis on the final in motet no. 7 are features of their foundation plainsongs. The plainsongs afford the raw material, but in polyphonic contexts they are shaped in new ways that are independent of "mode." Insofar as Machaut may establish the final as a stable reference point in a motet, he might be said to be adopting a modal path. But modal theory current in the fourteenth century entails

⁵¹ It should be noted also that Egidius is addressing novices and that the procedure recommended to them is not necessarily the *modus operandi* of a seasoned composer. Moreover, Machaut, as a skilled poet, could well have chosen a tenor and then written texts for motetus and triplum that would accord in some degree with the tenor's few words.

⁵² Ursula Günther, "The 14th-Century Motet and Its Development," *Musica disciplina* 12 (1958): 27-58.

much more than a final. It involves aspects of range, species of consonance, other critical pitches (reciting tones, terminal points of fourth and fifth species), and familiar melodic patterns. These factors do not seem to be operative in Machaut's writing. The upper voices are best understood in terms of the conventions of *contrapunctus* and the flux of perfect and imperfect intervals above (occasionally below) the tenor. Tonal foci other than the final are not necessarily those expected from plainsong modal theory. They seem conditioned by specific tenor traits and by possibilities of cadential progressions. For the polyphony, it would be difficult to argue the operation of any supposedly modal principle besides the primacy of the final, and even this principle does not hold over the entire corpus of Machaut's motets (nor is it unique to—or inviolable in—the realm of mode). Analysis so far vindicates Johannes de Grocheo. What we observe in Machaut's motets is not adherence to modal parameters but inventive responses to the potential glimpsed within the chosen foundation for composition.

Cantilena and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England

By Peter M. Lefferts

One of the most important contributions to studies of medieval music in recent years was made by Ernest Sanders as editor of volume two of *English Music for Mass and Offices* (volume XVII in the series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*).¹ Sanders was particularly responsible for the editions of a large proportion of the surviving repertoire of polyphonic cantilenas, a major genre in terms of numbers of pieces and inherent musical value that heretofore has received little attention in the musicological literature, aside from Sanders's own contributions.²

The cantilena holds a place in the fourteenth-century English polyphonic repertoire roughly equivalent to that of the votive antiphon in the fifteenth century, though it is a much less familiar and less widely traveled genre. Stylistically, cantilenas form a complex category of works, but one that has nonetheless a clearly defined core. The archetypal cantilena is a three-voice piece freely composed in three or four large sections, setting regularly versified, double-versicle texts of uniform stanzaic structure in a

¹ Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre has published four volumes of English music in its series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (hereinafter "PMFC"). They are as follows: *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Ernest H. Sanders, PMFC XIV (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1979); *Motets of English Provenance*, ed. Frank Ll. Harrison, PMFC XV (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980); *English Music for Mass and Offices*, 2 vols., ed. Frank Ll. Harrison, Ernest H. Sanders, and Peter M. Lefferts, PMFC XVI–XVII (Paris and Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1983–86). Harrison was overall volume editor for PMFC XVI, as Sanders was for PMFC XVII.

² No substantial part of the cantilena repertoire had been edited before publication of PMFC XVII. Even here, its cantilenas represent just over half the number extant up to the time of the Old Hall manuscript, though nearly all the complete pieces and major fragments have been included. For a current accounting of this repertoire of around eighty-five items, see Appendix I.A. The first fifty-one items of PMFC XVII consist of seven antiphons, two troped-chant settings (nos. 13–14) and forty-two cantilenas. These totals result from a generous attitude toward labeling items as cantilenas, for reasons to be developed below, and thus count only nos. 3 and 7–12 as antiphons. One additional fourteenth-century cantilena copied among the Worcester fragments, *Grata iuvenula*, has also been edited in the PMFC series by Sanders (PMFC XIV, app. 13). The major study of the repertoire is Sanders, "Cantilena and Discant in 14th-Century England," *Musica disciplina* 19 (1965): 7–52. See also Sanders, "Die Rolle der englischen Mehrstimmigkeit des Mittelalters in der Entwicklung von Cantus-Firmus-Satz und Tonalitätsstruktur," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1967): 24–53; and Sanders, "Cantilena," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 3:729–31.

syllabic, homorhythmic manner. The cantilena, furthermore, is notated in score in a system of three staves of five lines each. The text served all parts but was written out only once, under the bottom staff, and each section was intended to be sung twice to accommodate its two textual strophes. Hence such a piece has the appearance of a short polyphonic sequence. The cantilena repertoire is tuneful and symmetrical in phrase construction, treble-dominated, and saturated with a counterpoint of parallel imperfect consonances. In the words of Ernest Sanders, "As regards sense of tonal direction, structural clarity, chordal richness and musical lyricism, these songs are unmatched by any other medieval repertoire."³ This paper will enquire into the possible functions of this category—in particular, as sequence, offertory, or antiphon—and, as a consequence, will have something to say about the utility of retaining the name cantilena as a generic label.

The overwhelming majority of cantilena texts are devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁴ Though no direct source evidence tells us precisely how they were used, a compelling circumstantial case can be made that their primary function was as votive Marian sequences or sequence-substitutes, as "cantus in loco sequencie." This case has never been fully reviewed, though its major elements have long been understood, and valuable contributions to the issue have been provided recently by Frank Ll. Harrison and Ernest Sanders in their introductions to PMFC XVI and XVII, respectively.⁵ In his classic *Music in Medieval Britain*, Harrison had addressed the question of the function of the cantilena only briefly. Writing from his perspective as editor of the antiphon repertoire from the late fifteenth-century Eton Choirbook, and essentially looking backward to the earlier

³ Ernest H. Sanders, "England: From the Beginnings to c.1540," in *Music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Frederick W. Sternfeld (New York: Praeger, 1973), 283; see also Sanders, "Cantilena," 730.

⁴ The few exceptions (five or six non-Marian works in the repertoire of Appendix I.A) include pieces for St. Margaret (*Virgo vernans velud rosa*); for Jesus (*Hic quomodo seduxerat, Frangens evanuit*, and *Jhesu Christe rex celorum*); for Christmas—therefore possibly appropriate for either Jesus or Mary (*Christi messis*); and for either Edward III or Edward the Confessor (*Regem regum collaudemus*). Another addresses Mary, asking her intercession on behalf of King Edward III (*Singularis laudis digna*).

⁵ The introduction to PMFC XVI was first drafted when the contents of the present XVI and XVII were still conceived as a single book; hence, one finds Harrison's focus in his introduction on a category that does not appear in his volume. I have been further propelled to this topic by a pair of recent articles of direct relevance: David Hiley, "The Rhymed Sequence in England—A Preliminary Survey," in *Musicologie Médiévale: Notations et Séquences. Actes de la Table Ronde du C.N.R.S à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 6-7 septembre 1982*, ed. Michel Huglo (Paris: Éditions Champion, 1987), 227-46; and Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "What's in a Name? Reflections on Some Works of Guillaume Du Fay," *Early Music* 16 (1988): 165-75.

pieces, he posited, "Liturgically, these [cantilenas] may still be conductus, or more likely *cantici* to be sung at the Lady-Mass in place of the sequence, rather than votive antiphons in the later sense."⁶ In PMFC XVI he marshalled important evidence from liturgical sources to document the permissibility of substitutions for the sequence, especially in the Use of Salisbury.⁷ Sanders, in discussing cantilena function in PMFC XVII (and elsewhere), also grants it a primary role as sequence-substitute, though he takes pains to clarify the circumstantial nature of the evidence by stressing that "no fourteenth-century writer is known specifically to corroborate this assumption" and that "no specific or general references to such items in liturgical books have been reported."⁸

If cantilenas were used in the mass as sequence-substitutes, why were their texts so Marian-dominated? Why don't we find similar compositions for any number of other important saints? In response, I would say that from the widest perspective, the cultivation of the polyphonic cantilena after ca.1300 and its role as sequence-substitute must be seen within the context of the dramatically increased veneration of Mary in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a new devotional fervor that has left us interrelated evidence from architecture, liturgy, and music. The musical evidence, testimony to the increasing ostentation and frequency with which services for Mary were performed, includes a wide range of new compositions: monophonic chants—especially mass ordinary tropes and rhymed sequences—and polyphonic settings of a large number of ritual and paraliturgical texts—especially sequences, motets, Alléluias, conductus and conductus-rondellus, settings of troped and untroped mass ordinaries, cantilenas, and antiphons. Viewed chronologically, the fourteenth-century cantilena appears to be the functional and stylistic successor to the distinctive English repertoire of three-voice conductus and conductus-rondellus of the thirteenth century⁹, which in turn is the functional successor to a repertoire of two-voice discant settings of sequences of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.¹⁰ It is already evident by

⁶ Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963; repr., Buren: Fritz Knuf, 1980), 296. Harrison is using *cantici* here in a very neutral sense, terminologically equivalent simply to "Latin songs."

⁷ Harrison, PMFC XVI:x.

⁸ Sanders, PMFC XVII:ix-x.

⁹ This repertoire was edited in large part by Sanders for PMFC XIV, nos. 21-43 and app. 2-12; see also "Three-Part Conductus in Related Sources," part 9 of *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson (Henryville, Penn.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986).

¹⁰ There is an integral collection of fourteen such polyphonic Marian sequences in *W₁* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis), and there are fragments

the second quarter of the thirteenth century that the demand for Marian pieces was outstripping the supply of sequences in the most modern style of versification, prompting a spate of new composition.¹¹

Where within the liturgy was this new demand for sequences generated? To find an answer, we must look to the four primary facets of the liturgy for Mary: the observance of her major feasts and their octaves; the celebration of her weekly Commemoration on Saturday; the celebration of a daily Lady mass in her chapel; and the nightly observance of a memorial to the BVM after Compline, the *Salve* service.¹² Full justice could not be done to these services in less than a (much needed) book-length study sensitive to the diversity, chronology and geographical diffusion of liturgical practice across England's two provinces and twenty-one dioceses, five or six major "uses," and great monastic houses.¹³ But for our purposes a very general synopsis, with primary recourse to the Use of Salisbury, can make the necessary points.

Taking up the first facet of the Marian liturgy, it is reasonable to ask if the demand for sequences could have been stimulated simply by the growing number of Marian feasts. I think not, because each of her four major feasts—Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity, and the octaves of the latter two—had its own sequence by long custom. The few additional Marian feasts either lately elevated in rank (e.g., her Conception, which came to have a liturgy independent of that for her Nativity) or newly adopted in the later Middle Ages (e.g., her Visitation on July 2, Compassion or Lamentation around Easter, and Presentation or Oblatio on November 21) were likewise supplied with their own newly written

of other collections in such English sources as Dorchester, County Record Office, Netherby fragment and Worcester, Cathedral Library, Additional 68, frag. xxx. The W_1 sequences are edited in Bryan Gillingham, *The Polyphonic Sequences in Codex Wolfenbüttel 677* (Henryville, Penn.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1982). Some of the scattered examples are collected and edited by Gillingham in *Medieval Polyphonic Sequences: An Anthology* (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1985); and by Sanders in PMFC XIV, nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, and app. 1. See also Ian Bent, "A New Polyphonic 'Verbum bonum et soave,'" *Music and Letters* 51 (1970): 227–41; and David Hiley, "Further Observations on W_1 : The Ordinary of Mass Chants and the Sequences," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 4 (1981): 67–80.

¹¹ See Hiley, " W_1 : The Ordinary of Mass Chants and the Sequences," 79 n. 20.

¹² Many of these official, communal services may have been established or underwritten by private endowments, especially to pay for the presence of polyphonists. In a separate category from these four major types of Marian observance were those privately endowed Marian services, in particular the chantry mass, which at their inception were rituals celebrated for the welfare of an individual, and which may have been attended only by the celebrants.

¹³ See the caveats in Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 1–12, esp. p. 7.

sequences, so that they similarly created no demand for ad libitum items.¹⁴

With respect to Marian feasts, a more pertinent practice may have been the provision of a series of sequences for daily mass in choir during the octaves of her Assumption and Nativity, paralleling a practice first found in the liturgy for the weekdays following Easter and Pentecost. In the Use of Salisbury, the sequences employed after both Marian feasts, as recorded in service books at the Assumption, were standardized as a series of six: *Post partum* (feria ii), *Ave Maria* (feria iii), *Letabundus* (feria iv), *Hac clara die* (feria v), *Ave mundi spes Maria* (feria vi), and *Hodierna lux diei* (Sabbato). On a Sunday during the octave the sequence for the feast was repeated.

There is much variety to be found in this practice. The Use of Hereford, for instance, employed a different set of sequences during the octave of the Assumption: *Ave mundi spes Maria* (feria ii), *Ave Maria gratia plena* (feria iii), *Mittit ad virginem* (feria iv), *Hodierna lux diei* (feria v), *Summe regis in honore* (feria vi), and *Benedicta es celorum regina* (Sabbato). And during the octave of the Nativity, Hereford employed still another: *Jesse virgam humidavit* (feria ii), *Alma dei genitrix* (feria iii), *Missus Gabriel de celis* (feria iv), *Gaude dei genitrix* (feria v), *Summe regis in honore* (feria vi), and *Benedicta es celorum regina* (Sabbato). The extension of this practice to other Marian feasts is testified to in the Use of Salisbury, for instance, by its later specification for the Visitation.¹⁵ It is easy to imagine how these standard series could have been subject to local variation, both in the introduction of different sequences and in the introduction of polyphony. The general picture, however, is one of specificity, with limited scope for innovation.

¹⁴ There is, in any event, only scattered evidence for the observance of the latter three new feasts in English religious houses before their general adoption in the later fifteenth century, too late to account for the growth of the votive sequence and cantilena repertoires; see Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 40–61 and 97–115. Therefore, at least from the perspective of England, I would have to disagree with the festal emphasis in Alejandro Enrique Planchart's opinion that "the Marian sequences that often appear in the sources grouped in large appendices of ad libitum sequences devoid of liturgical or calendric designation...[were], no doubt, a consequence of the great increase in the institution of special Marian feasts during the 14th and 15th centuries" ("What's in a Name?" 171 and 175 n. 55).

¹⁵ For the Use of Hereford, see *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis*, ed. William G. Henderson ([Leeds], 1874; repr., Farnborough: Gregg, 1969), 304–10 and 320–22. In respect to the Sarum Visitation: "Per totas octavas dicantur Sequentiae sicut infra octavas Assumptionis" (Francis H. Dickinson, ed., *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclare ecclesiae Sarum* [Miss. Sar.] [Oxford and London: J. Parker, 1861–83], col. 796). Other non-Marian feasts also might be so honored. Barking Abbey, for example, provided for a weekly series of sequences for Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, and the Dedication of the Church. For both the Assumption and Nativity of the BVM, the Barking

Regarding the second facet of the Marian liturgy, we may ask if demand for sequences could have been generated by the weekly Commemoration on Saturday. Within the western church, Saturday was Mary's special day: "dies sabbati magis quam alia dies beate Marie appropriatur."¹⁶ This was a custom established by Alcuin in his early ninth-century cycle of votive masses, where Mary was allotted the Saturday position.¹⁷ In the later Middle Ages in England, the Commemoration was celebrated in choir with a *servicium plenum* that included not only a mass but also full hours of the Virgin, replacing the ferial Saturday *magna missa*; it was transposed to another weekday if in conflict with a significant feast.

The high mass of Commemoration was always sung with a sequence. In the Use of Salisbury, a series of three were sung *per ordinem* through Advent (*Missus Gabriel de celis, Mittit ad virginem, Verbum bonum et suave*), and a series of six—identical to the set sung daily during the octave of her greatest feasts as given above—was sung *per ordinem* throughout the remainder of the year. Different uses employed different commemorative series, as for example in a gradual reflecting fifteenth-century secular York use, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. b.5, which calls for a slightly more ample set of commemorative sequences similar but not identical to that of Sarum: *Mittit ad virginem, Missus Gabriel, and Verbum bonum* in Advent; *Post partum* and *Alma dei genitrix* from Christmas to Purification; *Stabat iuxta christi crucem, Virgini Marie laudes, and Laudes Christo decantemus* in Paschal time; and six sequences—*Ave Maria, Ave mundi spes, Hac clara die, Hodierne lux diei, Benedicta es celorum, and Gaude dei genitrix*—for the long season round to Advent.

The weekly Commemoration also held the potential for direct local expansion beyond Sarum norms for the sake of variety. In a noted Sarum missal of the second quarter of the thirteenth century that eventually reached Exeter, Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin 24 [*Rylands*], the rubric heading up a major series of votive Marian sequences reads, "In commemoratione beate marie," and Hiley suggests that the Marian po-

ordinal indicates that sequences are to be sung but leaves the choice to the cantrix (presentrix), potentially providing an opening for newer pieces. See John B. L. Tolhurst, ed., *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey (University College, Oxford, MS. 169)*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 65, 66 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1927–28), esp. 2:281.

¹⁶ *Miss. Sar.*, col. 760*–61*, where the topic of the special importance of Saturday to Mary is developed at length.

¹⁷ See Jean Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire grégorien*, 3 vols. (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1979–82), 1:63–70 and 3:75–78; the author there announced a study in preparation "sur le samedi marial" (3:76).

lyphony of the eleventh fascicle of W_1 , including fourteen sequences, may have been designed for weekly Saturday mass.¹⁸

Though the Commemoration surely played a role, it was in all probability for Lady mass, the third facet of the Marian liturgy, that most of the largest collections of votive Marian sequences were assembled. Beginning in the mid-twelfth century, an ever-increasing number of ecclesiastical institutions, both secular and monastic, and whether dedicated to Mary or not, celebrated a daily votive mass to the Virgin (Lady mass), most often as a morning mass around the time of Prime. This observance was bound up with the parallel history of a most distinctive formal feature of English Gothic church architecture, the Lady Chapel itself. This chapel was usually located in a rectangular hall annexed to the east end of the choir or retrochoir in churches laid out like Salisbury, or in the place of honor immediately beneath the east window in churches with an aisled-rectangle plan. Provision of a Lady Chapel was a central objective of the campaigns of choir remodeling and eastern extension that altered the floorplans of most English cathedrals and abbey churches during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the words of E. S. Prior, "The importance given to the chapel of Our Lady is the ritual development that stamps [English] thirteenth century cathedrals,"¹⁹ and Francis Bond has commented on the constant tendency to enlarge the Lady Chapel, where "the services of the Blessed Virgin continually increased in splendour, especially after polyphonic music supplanted plainsong; and as they were attended by the whole body of monks or canons, as much room was wanted in the Lady Chapel as in the choir."²⁰

Lady mass, the most important liturgical event held in the Lady chapel, was a daily observance throughout the year. On Saturday there was therefore both a Lady mass in chapel and a Marian Commemoration with mass in choir. The liturgy of the Lady mass is most accessible in three

¹⁸ Hiley, "W₁: The Ordinary of the Mass and the Sequences," 69.

¹⁹ Edward S. Prior, *The Cathedral Builders in England* (London: Seeley & Co., 1905), 52; quoted in George H. Cook, *The English Cathedral through the Centuries* (London: Phoenix House, 1957), 87.

²⁰ Francis Bond, *An Introduction to English Church Architecture*, 2 vols. (London: H. Milford, 1913), 1:72. I do not want to suggest by this choice of quotation that I believe the shift from plainsong to polyphony was itself a driving force in the building of Lady Chapels, although this is clearly one of Bond's implications; rather, in quoting such early modern architectural historians as Prior and Bond, I wish to draw attention to the long-standing appreciation in their field of the phenomenon of the Lady Chapel, and the question of function that immediately follows. For a recent summary of the types of eastern extension and a tabulation of the major works, see John H. Harvey, *Cathedrals of England and Wales*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hastings House, 1974), 74 and 248.

highly developed and especially well-documented traditions: those of the secular cathedrals at Salisbury (dedicated to Mary)²¹ and Exeter (dedicated to Peter),²² and the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary's, York.²³ The most fully elaborated is that of the Use of Salisbury, whose series for mass ordinaries, Alleluias, and sequences is given in table 1.²⁴

In the Use of Salisbury an Alleluia and sequence were always said at daily Lady mass, even throughout the whole of Lent. The standard Sarum rota of Alleluias and sequences corresponds to the series for weekly Commemoration. It adds to those familiar six cited above a seventh for Sunday, *Ave preclara maris stella*, taken from the octave of the Assumption. But the license to substitute, not granted the hebdomadal Commemoration, is allowed the quotidian Lady mass: "Sequentia dicitur per ordinem una de

²¹ Detailed instructions regarding the daily Lady mass and weekly Commemoration in the Use of Salisbury are found in *Miss. Sar.*, cols. 759*–81*; for Lady mass, see also Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum* [*Brev. Sar.*], 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879–86), 2: cols. 514–21.

²² John N. Dalton, ed., *Ordinale Exon*, 4 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 37, 38, 63, 79 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1909–40), editing Bishop John Grandisson's ordinal of 1337. For Lady mass rubrics, see 2:465 and 2:472–75. On the Marian Commemoration, see 1:338–43, 1:367–68, and 2:464–65.

²³ Laurentia McLachlan and John B. L. Tolhurst, eds., *The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary York*, 3 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 73, 75, 84 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1936, 1937, 1951), editing Cambridge, St. John's College, MS D.27 (*Csjc D.27*), which was probably written during the rule of Abbot Thomas Pygot (1398–1405), according to the editors (1:vii). On the "missa familiaris sive de Domina," see 1:56–58. On the Marian Commemoration, see 1:162–63.

²⁴ Rubrics specifying the series of ordinaries for Lady mass in table 1 are found in the Kyriales of London, British Library, Additional 17001 (an early fifteenth-century Sarum gradual for Gloucester) and the *Gradual ad consuetudinem Sarum* (London, 1507) printed by William Bretton. This information is not found in more familiar and readily accessible sources, such as *Miss. Sar.*; John Wickam Legg, ed., *The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916); Walter H. Frere, ed., *Graduale Sarisburiense* (London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1891–94); or Nicholas Sandon, *The Use of Salisbury: The Ordinary of the Mass* (Newton Abbot: Antico Edition, 1984). The order of Alleluias and sequences in table 1 is taken from *Miss. Sar.* (see note 25 below). Other evidence of weekly cycles for Lady mass includes the series of seven each of troped Kyries, troped Sanctus, and troped Agnus for Mary in the Kyriale of Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 135 [*ArsA*]; the seven Marian troped Kyries in the eleventh fascicle of *W₁*; the eight Marian Alleluias in the *LoHa* index (London, British Library, Harley 978, fols. 161v–162, nos. 2.30–2.37); the Kyrie squares of London, British Library, Lansdowne 462, fols. 151v–152r, with their designations running from "dominica" to "sabbato" (though not in calendrical order in the manuscript); a series of seven Alleluias in the Pepys manuscript (Cambridge, Magdalen College, Pepys 1236, nos. 28–34) nearly identical in content, though not in order, to the Sarum rota of table 1; and, of course, the later cycle of seven polyphonic Lady Masses by Nicholas Ludford (d. 1540), which follows exactly the weekly Sarum rota for Alleluias and sequences.

Table 1
Lady Mass in the Use of Salisbury
 Daily Cursus of the Ordinary of Mass, Alleluia, and Sequence
 throughout the Year

Weekday	Kyrie (sine versibus)	Gloria	Sanctus	Agnus
Dominica	Rex splendens (Sar 5) Fons bonitatis (Sar 3) Rex genitor (Sar 2)	Sar 5	Sar 1	Sar 1
feria ii	O rex clemens (Sar 10)	Sar 1	Sar 2	Sar 3
feria iii	Conditor kyrie (Sar 8)	Sar 2	Sar 5	Sar 6
feria iv	Cunctipotens (Sar 7)	Sar 6	Sar 4	Sar 4
feria v	Orbis factor (Sar 9)	Sar 3	Sar 9	Sar 5
feria vi	Lux et origo (Sar 6)	Sar 4	Sar 7	Sar 7
Sabbato	Kyrie omnipotens (Sar 4)	Sar 9 w/tr.	Sar 3 w/tr.	Sar 2

Weekday	Alleluia	Sequence
Dominica	All. Obtine sacris precibus	Ave preclara maris stella
feria ii	All. Per te dei <i>or</i> Post partum	Post partum
feria iii	All. Ora pro nobis	Ave Maria
feria iv	All. Virtutes celi	Letabundus exultet
feria v	All. Veni electa mea	Hac clara die
feria vi	All. Salve virgo mater dei	Ave mundi spes
Sabbato	All. Virga iesse floruit	Hodierna lux diei

Lady Mass in the Use of Exeter
 Alleluias Specified in the Communis Cursus

Weekday	Alleluia	Sequence
Dominica	de Nativitate beate virginis	All. Virga iesse
feria ii	de Annunciatione	All. Ave Maria
feria iii	de Natali domini	All. Post partum
feria iv	de Adoracione regum	All. Intrans domum
feria v	de Purificatione	All. Offer O virgo
feria vi	de Compassione	All. Dulcis virgo
Sabbato	de Assumpcione	All. Assumpta est

septem Sequentiis supra-notatis vel quaevis alia per totum annum ad placitum."²⁵ Local expansion based on this license can be seen in an early fourteenth-century Sarum missal possibly from the diocese of Lincoln, London, British Library, Additional 11414 [*Lbl 11414*], which has the following explicit rubric at the head of another major series of votive Marian sequences: "Notandum quod ad missam cotidianam de sancta Maria per Adventum et etiam per totum annum dicatur sequentia ad placitum."

At Exeter, the propers for Lady mass were assigned according to a "communis cursus" associating each day of the week with the forms of a particular feast—Christmas, Epiphany, or one of five Marian feasts including the Compassion. Alleluias, but not sequences, were among the texts specified (see table 1), and here, too, as in Sarum, Alleluias (and presumably sequences) were sung daily even during penitential seasons. The Exeter ordinal offers detailed instructions for occasions when this cursus had to be varied. For instance, the Lady mass "de Compassione" for Fridays was also sung instead of the regular series each day from Passion Sunday to Good Friday. Noteworthy also is the specific provision of propers for Lady mass on the feast of the Oblation. (These are the only mentions of either the Compassion or the Oblation in the ordinal.) Nothing so elaborate as the Sarum and Exeter cycles is in evidence at St. Mary's, where, for instance, just a few Alleluias were alternated during each major liturgical season. As if by compensation, the sequences and offertories at St. Mary's—to be discussed further below—were extraordinarily numerous and diverse (see table 2). And sequences did not entirely rule; the tract *Gaude maria virgo* was sung from Septuagesima to Easter. It is service books of the Salisbury and Benedictine York traditions, therefore, that best document the association of Lady mass with the Marian sequence tradition.

²⁵ *Miss. Sar.*, 781*. Harrison's useful and detailed tabulation of propers for votive Marian masses (PMFC XVI:xii–xiii) is not drawn exclusively from *Brev. Sar.*, as he declares, but also incorporates extensive information from *Miss. Sar.* and other sources, while not distinguishing clearly between the weekly service in choir and the daily service in chapel. An interesting discrepancy between the published breviary and missal concerns the sequences. *Brev. Sar.* says the familiar series of six is to run daily, excepting Saturday: "Ad missam cotidianam de sancta Maria usque ad Sabbatum, et non in ipso sabbato, sequentia dicitur per totum annum ad placitum: [the list of six]," while in *Miss. Sar.*, as in the earlier manuscript missals and graduals I have consulted, they run from feria i to Sabbato. Harrison's sequence list follows *Brev. Sar.*, while adding one for Saturday from a source unknown to me.

Table 2
Sequences and Offertories in
the Ordinal of St Mary's York

Sequences	Offertories
<i>Advent</i>	
Missus Gabriel	Ave Maria
Angelus ad virginem	Generosi germinis
Verbum bonum et suave	Speciali gloria
Salve mater salutata	Gaude dei genitrix
Verbi boni baculus	Virgo immaculata
Paranimphus salutatur virginem	
Celi solem paritura	
Verbum patri eructavit	
Virgo gaude speciosa	
<i>Christmas to Purification</i>	
Letabundus	Felix namque
Salvatoris mater pia	Maria intacta virgo
Ave Maria gracia plena	Inviolata integra
Gaude parens Jesu Christi	O virgo pulcherrima
<i>From Septuagesima to Easter</i>	
Gaude Maria virgo (tract)	
<i>Purification to Easter; Trinity to Advent</i>	
Ave mundi spes	Felix namque
Ave mundi domina	Gaude virgo salutata
Ave Maria gracia plena	Regina celi flos carmeli
Ave Maria virgo pia	Speciali gloria
Ad laudem matris Dei	Virgo dei mater
Ave plena et per plena	Salve celi ianua
Sancte Dei genitrix	O virgo virginum regina
Ecce pulchra	Eterne virginis in laude
Benedicta es celorum regina	Spes miserorum
et cetera	
<i>Feria sexta sequencia</i>	
Stabat iuxta Christi crucem	
<i>Easter to Trinity</i>	
Virgini Marie laudes	Felix namque
Gaude Dei genitrix	Regina celi letare alleluia
Ad rose titulum	

To give a flavor of the scope of new production and assemblage of monophonic Marian sequences in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Appendix II presents the Marian sequences from the five surviving English sources possessing the most sizeable collections, conflating the various sources of information within each into one alphabetical series.²⁶ Introducing each of these sources in turn, let us start with the largest, the sequentiary of the Dublin Troper (Cambridge, University Library, Additional 710 [*Cu 710*]), an early fourteenth-century Sarum book from St. Patrick's Cathedral that contains fifty-seven Marian items, of which eleven are entered at her feasts. A further forty-six are found at the end of the book in three contiguous, unrubricated series of twenty-four, nine, and thirteen pieces, respectively. The first two of these series are alphabetically organized.²⁷ The Sarum missal *Lbl 11414* has forty-three Marian sequences in all, including a votive series of thirty identified for Lady mass by the rubric quoted above. A late thirteenth-century Sarum noted missal with a non-Sarum sequentiary, Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal [*ArsA*] (possibly from London), has forty-one Marian items in its collection, providing five for her feasts, a later unrubricated series of twenty-eight (the first eight of which are familiar ones), and then a final eight more. The Sarum noted missal *Rylands* has twenty-eight, including ten for feasts and a votive series of eighteen identified for Commemoration by a rubric also quoted above. Finally, the ordinal of St. Mary's, York (Cambridge, St. John's College, D.27 [*Csjc D.27*]) names twenty-five pieces as sequences for Lady mass; at least five standard festal sequences are not included. We may therefore estimate the total in use at St. Mary's at over thirty, for purposes of comparison with our other sources.

Appendix II contains 121 distinct pieces, a very large proportion of which are found mainly or exclusively in British sources. Thirteen of the most widely distributed sequences (i.e., for feasts and the Commemoration) are found in four or five of the tabulated sources; these are also familiar from continental manuscripts. Five are found in three manuscripts; eighteen in two; and eighty-five are found in only one of these major sources (though not necessarily unique to that source); it is among the latter that we will find the most insular pieces. To conclude what percentage of the total of such Marian compositions is represented by these 121

²⁶ These are collections to which attention has been drawn by Harrison, PMFC XVI; Sanders, PMFC XVII; and Hiley, "Rhymed Sequence."

²⁷ See Dom René-Jean Hesbert's informative discussions of the Marian sequences of the Dublin Troper in *Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin: Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 710*, *Monumenta Musicae Sacrae*, 4 (Rouen: Imprimerie Rouennaise, 1970), 30-35, 61-66, 86-96.

is nearly impossible; the overlap among our five major sources, and between them and a number of smaller ones, allows us to hazard the guess that we have over half.²⁸

The points of intersection of this monophonic repertoire with the corpus of polyphonic cantilena are few. However, the two bodies of music are clearly of the same order of magnitude. Viewed from the perspective of sequence-style text production, the fourteenth-century polyphonic repertoire must not be neglected; rather, it can be seen as having absorbed (or else inspired) an important fraction of the new rhymed, double-versicle Marian texts known to be in circulation in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that polyphony replaced monophony as the primary (but not exclusive) musical medium for new texts of this kind in the early fourteenth century.

If the only purpose of the cantilena was as a sequence, then there would be no need to retain the more general, functionally unspecific name. However, there is a scholarly consensus that the cantilena had other uses, though there is disagreement about what these might be.²⁹ Harrison and Sanders have suggested the possibility of alternative functions based on its historical origins (stylistically, at any rate) in the conductus genre: like the conductus, the polyphonic cantilena may have served "processional or similar ceremonial purposes" (e.g., after Vespers or before mass),³⁰ or have had nonliturgical uses in recreational "ludi," even becoming a kind of clerical chamber music.³¹ Harrison has further proposed that in the latter half of the fourteenth century the votive sequence

²⁸ From eighteen major sources Hiley isolated a total of 236 different rhymed sequences, many of which are, of course, Marian ("Rhymed Sequence," 235); the twenty-three most common sequences in his sample include eight Marian works that naturally are among the most frequent in Appendix II: *Ave Maria gratia plena*, *Ave mundi spes Maria*, *Gaude dei genitrix*, *Hodierna lux diei*, *Missus Gabriel de celis*, *Mittit ad virginem*, *Verbum bonum et suave*, and *Virginis Marie laudes* (239 n. 14). Important smaller English collections with some items concordant to the five collections surveyed in Appendix II include *W₁*: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 240; London, British Library, Harley 978; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. lit. d.3; and London, British Library, Additional 37519.

²⁹ Some recent scholarship gives little or no consideration to alternative functions for the English cantilena. See, for instance, Margaret Bent, ed., *Five Sequences for the Virgin Mary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973); William J. Summers, ed., *English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: Facsimile Edition of Sources Notated in Score* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1983); and Gillingham, *Medieval Polyphonic Sequences: An Anthology*.

³⁰ "In processionibus cantent et discantent prout qualitas festi requirit et natura cantus permittit" (*Ordinale Exon.*, 1:20).

³¹ Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 296; Sanders, PMFC XVII:ix; Sanders, "Cantilena and Discant," 14 n. 33. The twelfth- and thirteenth-century papal *schola cantorum* sang a polyphonic sequence after the feasting at papal banquets following mass on Christmas and Easter. This is certainly pertinent to the non-liturgical use of sequences, though

may have begun to be used as a votive antiphon for the evening devotion after Compline, a thesis we will return to below.³²

A few other scholars have also recently turned their attention to the purposes for which cantilenas were composed. In an article on English rhymed sequences, David Hiley has observed that "since construction in double versicles is a device obviously not restricted to the liturgical sequence, we shall probably never know the liturgical function of all the [ninety-five] or so pieces of English polyphony of the 13th and 14th centuries which are constructed in this way. Some were certainly intended as sequences to follow the alleluia at mass, but for most we can only guess at a function."³³ And in a discussion of the thirteenth-century sequence settings of the eleventh fascicle of *W₁*, he has made the point that "such pieces are known also as tract, offertory or hymn substitutes, among other things."³⁴ In an article on the cantilenas of Dufay, whose texts are of similar style and character to those of the English repertoire, Alejandro Enrique Planchart further suggests that such pieces may have been inter-

found in a very different environment. See Andrew Tomasello, "Ritual, Tradition, and Polyphony at the Court of Rome," *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985–86): 447–71, esp. 468ff. Within England at Barking abbey, for example, the Marian sequence *Benedicta es celorum regina* was sung at a special meal for the entire convent after Vespers during the Christmas eve vigil. See Tolhurst, *The Barking Ordinal*, 1:22.

³² Harrison, PMFC XVI:xi, representing a modification of the view expressed in *Music in Medieval Britain*.

³³ Hiley, "Rhymed Sequence," 235. The number that I have put in brackets was "40" in Hiley's original text.

³⁴ Hiley, "*W₁*: The Ordinary of Mass Chants and the Sequences," 78. As regards the tract, the issue is primarily what, if any, other items were sung as a tract-substitute for the usual *Gaude Maria virgo* in the daily Lady mass or weekly commemorative Marian mass during Lent, in uses that did not permit an Alleluia and sequence during all or part of this season. On the variable status of the votive Marian tract in the Use of Salisbury, see PMFC XVI:276 in the note to no. 81.

The use of a sequence as a hymn substitute was widespread but probably never created a significant demand for new chants or polyphony. Later Sarum books are conservative, though an example can be cited that involves the replacement of the hymn at second Vespers on the Assumption of the Virgin by *Letabundus*: "pro ymno dicatur iste sequentia: Letabundus exultet" (Sarum breviary London, British Library, Additional 32427, fol. 250; see also Walter H. Frere, ed., *Antiphonale Sariburiense* [AS] [London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901–15], pl. 527). In addition, see Frere's observations in his analysis of the Hereford breviary (Walter H. Frere and Langton E. G. Brown, eds., *The Hereford Breviary*, 3 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 20, 40, 46 [London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903–15], 3:xxvi), including a table of sequences and proses found in the office (3:194–98) and the practice of Exeter (for which see the general index in *Ordinale Exon*, 4:243). Hiley notes similar occurrences at Barking Abbey ("Rhymed Sequence," 235), whose ordinal indicates a sequence at Vespers on over twenty occasions. This practice is also familiar on the continent. See, for example, Rebecca Baltzer's article in this volume above; and see also Michel Huglo's remarks on the replacement of the hymn at Vespers

polated into mass during the communion of the faithful.³⁵ Sequences are certainly known as offertory sequels.³⁶ And to these possibilities we may add that texts so constructed are also set as Sanctus tropes.³⁷ They also might have been sung, by extension, as Sanctus sequels.³⁸ At least one text, beginning *Salve mater salvatoris*, occurs in the English repertoires of Sanctus trope, polyphonic sequence, and Marian antiphon (see Appendix III).

Considerably more deserves to be said about two possibilities briefly mentioned above: the use of the monophonic sequence and polyphonic cantilena as rhymed offertories or offertory substitutes and as antiphons for the evening devotion. The chief evidence for their role as offertories are the Marian offertories of *W₁*, from no later than the 1240s, and the offertories for Lady mass specified in the ordinal of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary's, York, copied around 1400. These two manuscripts, over a century and a half apart, offer specific documentation for the use of double-versicle texts and liturgical antiphons as offertory substitutes, and permit the extrapolation of this practice across the years intervening. In addition, sanction for such substitutions can be found in a permissive rubric in the liturgy for Lady mass in the printed Sarum missal: "Offertorum Ave Maria sine versu quel quodvis aliud ad placitum per totum annum ad missam quotidie de eadem."³⁹

In the eleventh fascicle of *W₁* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, codex 628 Helmstadiensis, fols. 192r-195r), there lie between the sequences and troped Sanctus settings eight diverse pieces evidently intended to serve as Marian offertories and arranged in broadly calendrical order.⁴⁰ For the long season from Purification to Advent we find the strophic

by a *rhythmus*, in "Les Debuts de la polyphonie à Paris: les premiers *organa* parisiens," *Aktuelle Fragen der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung. Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975*, Forum Musicologicum, no. 3 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1982), 129.

³⁵ Planchart, "What's in a Name?" 173.

³⁶ For rare instances of the sequence as offertory sequel, see Tolhurst, *The Barking Ordinal*, 1:42, 43, and 124 (8ve of the Innocents, Vigil for Epiphany at the Missa Capitalis, 4th Sunday of Easter at the Missa Capitalis).

³⁷ The fifteen Sanctus tropes from *ArsA* are conveniently printed in Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 540-43. A majority have the textual and musical form of a sequence with three, four, or five double versicles and a final single versicle.

³⁸ Concerning Sanctus sequels, the Exeter ordinal is particularly liberal about the introduction of polyphony: "Ex licencia, si placet senioribus...ad Missam post Sanctus poterunt organizare cum vocibus vel organis" (*Ordinale Exon.*, 1:20).

³⁹ *Miss. Sar.*, 767*.

⁴⁰ On the *W₁* offertories see Edward H. Roesner, "The Origins of *W₁*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976): 372-73; for further commentary and an edition, see Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974), 1:138-41, 1:350-52, 2:110-29, and 172-77.

offertory *Ave Maria gratia plena viris* in five lengthy rhymed stanzas; the familiar Marian offertory *Recordare virgo mater* with prose *Ab hac familia* (in three double versicles) and an Alleluia termination;⁴¹ the offertory *O vere beata sublimis* with an Alleluia termination that has a prosula; the familiar Marian offertory *Felix namque* with an Alleluia termination;⁴² and the rhymed Marian antiphon *Ave regina celorum mater*.⁴³ The shorter seasons merited fewer pieces. For Advent there is the familiar Marian offertory *Ave Maria gratia plena*, with the text of a prosula added in the margin; for Christmas there is the prose *Preter rerum seriem* in three double versicles; and for Septuagesima there is the Matins responsory prose *Inviolata integra et casta* in four double versicles and a final single-texted section.

An even richer source of supplementary material for Marian masses is the list of text incipits for sequences and offertories specified for daily Lady mass (the *Missa familiaris*) in the ordinal of St. Mary's, York—one of those rare liturgical books, like Bishop Grandisson's ordinal for Exeter (1337), that seems to record up-to-date local practices. The sequences and offertories are listed in table 2 from *Csjc D.27*, fols. 50r–51v. Chants are specified for each of the major seasons of the year; each season begins with one or more standard items (e.g. *Missus Gabriel*, *Letabundus*, or *Ave mundi spes* among the sequences, and *Felix namque* and *Ave Maria* among the offertories) and continues with less common ones. Included among the sequences are the strophic devotional song *Angelus ad virginem* and the cantilena *Ad rose titulum*, for both of which texts there are polyphonic settings. Among the offertories are a number of pieces found elsewhere as sequences, some of which are relatively common (e.g., *Gaude dei genitrix*) and others quite rare (e.g., *Regina celi flos carmeli*, otherwise known only from the first series of Marian proses in the Dublin troper). In addition, there are pieces of mixed heritage, including *Gaude virgo salutata* (which

⁴¹ *Recordare virgo mater*, a Marian offertory in both Sarum and monastic rites, attracted numerous proses (see *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 55 vols., ed. Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister [Leipzig: O. R. Reiland, et al., 1886–1922], 49:321–29). A chant setting found in the Worcester fragments, *Singularis et insignis* (Worcester, Cathedral Library, Additional 68, frag. xxix, 1 [WF, 97] = PMFC XIV, app. 14) turns out also to be a *Recordare* prose. *Singularis*, like *Ab hac familia*, consists of three double versicles plus a final section, following the musical form of the melisma; in this polyphonic setting the melodic repetitions are fully written out.

⁴² *Felix namque* has a troped chant setting in the Worcester fragments (London, British Library, Additional 25031, fols. 3 and 6v [WF, 4]) and a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century discant setting in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 381 (PMFC XVII, no. 62).

⁴³ In a search for precedents for this use of an antiphon, both text and music of *Ave regina celorum mater* have been found by Roesner as a communion in the Dominican rite and several Swiss liturgical manuscripts; with a different melody it served as a Dominican offertory ("The Origins of W₁," 354–55).

has a polyphonic setting), two texts specifically identified in another northern source as rhymed offertories (*Generosi germinis*, which has a polyphonic setting, and *O virgo pulcherrima*), the Marian antiphon *Regina celi letare alleluia*, and the Matins prose *Inviolata integra*. In both the sequence and offertory categories, some of the untraceable incipits also sound as if they derive from rhymed texts.

Another source may also bear on the question of the cantilena as offertory. Sanders and Hiley have stressed the significance of a number of items in the Dublin troper's sequentiary, especially in the third series of Marian pieces, that differ markedly in character from the norm. Most of these are unique or uncommon short sequences consisting of only two, three, or four double versicles (like the cantilena), compared with the older sequences of five, six, seven, or more sections.⁴⁴ Sanders suggests that "the occurrence of such rather unusually short proses among the unique items in the Marian collection of sequences in the Dublin Troper might well be seen as indicating the derivation of some of them from cantilena no longer extant," and he cites three specific examples of the interaction between the cantilena and sequence repertoires, suggesting the possible priority of the polyphony over the chant in each of these instances: *Salve mater misericordie*, *Celum Deus inclinavit*, and *Ad rose titulum*.⁴⁵ Further, Hiley has drawn attention to "the number of simple, short, songlike sequences in F tonality" in the third Marian series, pointing out that "the same melodic idiom may be discerned in [English] polyphonic compositions" and suggesting that "they may reflect a special decision to broaden the sequence tradition so as to comprehend the idiom of strophic secular song."⁴⁶ Finally, there are four items in the third series that are not in sequence style at all, lacking regular melodic repetition and parallelisms in verse structure. While Hesbert classified these as antiphons, Harrison has proposed them as sequence substitutes, and Hiley has suggested that they, along with some of the other unusual items in the third series, may have functioned as offertories.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ By comparison, the Marian sequences set in W_1 average six to nine double versicles, while the sequences attributed to Adam of St. Victor typically have from nine to thirteen. Among sequences specifically for Marian feasts, *Hac clara die* (Purification) has eight double versicles and a final section, *Ave mundi spes* (Annunciation) has nine double versicles, *Area virga* (Assumption) has nine double versicles and a final section, and *Alle celeste necnon* (BVM Nativity) has fifteen double versicles and two final single sections.

⁴⁵ Sanders, PMFC XVII:ix.

⁴⁶ Hiley, "Rhymed Sequence," 234. Sanders speaks of "melodies...likely to belong to an almost totally submerged tradition of vernacular song, since they have a flavour reminiscent of the few extant English songs" ("Cantilena," 730).

⁴⁷ Hesbert, *Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin*, 33-34; Harrison, PMFC XVI:xi n. 12; Hiley, "Rhymed Sequence," 235.

Evident, therefore, in the *W₁* and York offertories, and in the third series of Marian chants in the Dublin troper, is the significant presence of pieces in which the distinction between sequence, offertory, and antiphon is blurred, a phenomenon that Hiley calls the hybridization or cross-fertilization of genres. It particularly involves pieces on the fringes of the sequence repertoire—unique or rare items sometimes transmitted within the major collections, or in special groups attached to them, or circulating wholly outside of them in small gatherings, on fly-leaves, or in miscellanies, sometimes with a marked instability in their number of stanzas (see *Mater ora filium* and *Salve porta paradisi* in Appendix III). These are pieces which, again in Hiley's expression, often "seem to straddle two liturgical categories."⁴⁸ There is a noteworthy association of these "peripheral" texts and chants with forms of polyphony—motet, conductus-rondellus, cantilena. Appendix III lists twenty-four such texts with some relationship to the polyphonic cantilena or motet repertoire and to sequence, offertory, and antiphon. No claim can be made for completeness here, as there is a great deal of potentially relevant scattered material that has never been pulled together.

Let us turn now to the Marian antiphon and to the fourth facet of the Marian liturgy, the evening devotion after Compline. Large-scale multipartite polyphonic settings of Marian antiphons written in substantial numbers by English composers of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries form a significant complement to the repertoire of English mass movements and cycles of this later era.⁴⁹ Though predominantly a fifteenth-century English genre, such polyphonic antiphons appear for the first time in appreciable numbers in England in the latter half of the fourteenth century in English discant settings.⁵⁰ The six relatively simple

⁴⁸ Hiley was speaking specifically in reference to four texts included in a kind of appendix to the sequentiary of a fourteenth-century Sarum missal for Oxford, London, British Library, Additional 37519: *Preter rerum seriem*, *Generosi germinis*, *Jesu fili virginis*, and *Salve mater salvatoris* ("Rhymed Sequence," 235). See the entries on all four in Appendix III.

⁴⁹ Counting pieces up to but not including the Eton Choirbook, this is a repertoire of approximately 150 works setting over fifty different Marian texts; approximately 20 percent of these texts are rhymed, strophic, accentual Latin poetry. This repertoire can be augmented with a small number of non-Marian works, including Dunstable settings for the Holy Cross and St. Katherine, a Plummer setting for St. Anne, and the anonymous *Miles Christi* for St. Thomas of Lancaster in the Selden manuscript. See Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 295–307; and Hugh Benham, *Latin Church Music in England c. 1460–1575* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1977), 19–20.

⁵⁰ There is one surviving Jesus antiphon in the fourteenth-century repertoire, *O benigne redemptor* (PMFC XVII, no. 3), with a setting in English discant whose text and apparent middle-voice cantus firmus have so far not been found in any service book.

discant settings of antiphons in the first layer of the Old Hall manuscript are in an only slightly more rhythmically developed discant style. For a listing of all these older antiphon settings, see Appendix I.B.

There is no obvious consistency to the liturgical contexts from which the fourteenth-century Marian antiphon texts were drawn, but by taking into account the entire later corpus, a clearer picture emerges.⁵¹ The most frequently set texts can be identified—in reference to the Sarum rite, at any rate, and with respect to their origins in the liturgy, if not to their ultimate function as polyphonic settings—with three major groups of liturgical antiphons: those for Vespers of the feasts of the Assumption and Nativity of the Virgin, the memorial antiphons of the Virgin (a group identical to the major processional antiphons of the Virgin), and seven additional antiphons that were published as a group in the final pages of the printed Salisbury processional (see table 3, next page).⁵² The first two of these plainchant antiphon series are quite stable in the Use of Salisbury and can be traced back to the earliest books of the Sarum rite, while the third includes some items that are more common in polyphonic sources than in surviving chant books (e.g., *Mater ora filium* and *Sancta Maria non est*). Among the texts of table 3, the most frequently set are those of the second and third series, i.e., those for processions. The five antiphons with the most numerous settings are (alphabetically) *Ave regina celorum ave*, *Nesciens mater*, *Regina celi letare*, *Sancta Maria virgo*, and *Salve regina*; and in the next rank is a group of five including *Alma redemptoris*, *Ave regina celorum mater*, *Descendi in ortum*, *Quam pulcra es*, and *Tota pulcra es*. With the exception of *Stella celi extirpavit* and *Gaude flore virginali*, strophic or sequence-style rhymed texts are not often favored with multiple settings before the emergence of the Eton Choirbook repertoire.

⁵¹ Five of the seven Marian texts received multiple fifteenth-century settings. The two not known to have been set as polyphonic antiphons by Power or Dunstable or following generations are *Paradisi porta*, an antiphon sung at memorials of the Virgin throughout the Easter season, and *Venit dilectus meus*, a Matins antiphon for the Assumption with words from the Song of Songs. These two chants, nonetheless, can be shown to have had special significance for English composers: *Paradisi porta* was used as the tenor of the fourteenth-century English motet *Parata paradisi porta* (London, Public Record Office, LR 2/261, 1; see Peter M. Lefferts and Margaret Bent, "New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," *Early Music History* 2 [1982]: 273–362, esp. 334–37); and *Venit dilectus meus* was used as the tenor cantus firmus for a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century English cyclic mass by Cuk (Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 261; Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 113).

⁵² See *Processionale ad Usum Sarum* (Richard Pynson, 1502; facsimile ed., Clarabricken: Boethius Press, 1980), fols. 167r–169v.

Table 3
Use of Salisbury: Selected Groups
of Marian Antiphons

Vespers of Assumption: AS 490 and Nativity: AS 518	Memorials: AS 528 and Processions: GS 141	Additional Antiphons in Processional: Proc.Sar. (1502), f.167
Anima mea liquefacta Ascendit Christus	= Alma redemptoris mater = Anima mea liquefacta = Ascendit Christus Ave regina celorum ave	Ave regina celorum mater
Beata Dei genitrix Beata progenies Dei genitrix virgo Descendi in ortum	= Beata dei genitrix = Descendi in ortum Ibo michi ad montem	Mater ora filium
Nativitas tua Dei		Nesciens mater
Qualis est dilectus	O gloriosa genitrix Quam pulcra es	Regina celi letare Salve regina Sancta Maria non est = Sancta Maria virgo
Sancta Maria virgo	= Sancta Maria virgo Speciosa facta es	
Sub tuam protectionem Talis est dilectus Tota pulcra es	= Tota pulcra es	

More than any other scholar, Frank Ll. Harrison concerned himself with the liturgical function of these polyphonic English antiphons.⁵³ He argued that they were not substituted back into the liturgy at their point of origin, but rather were intended to serve as evening votive antiphons after Compline, sung immediately after that office as part of a memorial to the BVM consisting of an antiphon, versicle, and collect. This short service (often referred to as the Salve) was either performed in choir, as in most monastic uses, or observed as a separate devotion in the Lady

⁵³ In this paragraph, where not otherwise credited, I have drawn on Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 81–88.

Chapel or at another location in the church, as in most secular uses. As a form of worship it was new in the mid-thirteenth century; a remark about *Salve regina* in the customary of St. Peter's, Westminster, from around 1260 ("que ex moderno et non ex veteri usu cum oracione de Dei Genetrice post completorium cantatur") makes this quite clear.⁵⁴ Indeed, only in 1343 were English Benedictines as a whole ordered by their General Chapter to say a daily antiphon and collect for Mary after Compline. In the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this brief devotion was specified in the customs for many new English secular choral foundations. Marian antiphon texts named in their legislation include *Ave regina celorum ave*, *Ave regina celorum mater*, *Mater ora filium*, *Nesciens mater*, *Regina celi letare*, *Salve regina*, and *Sancta Maria virgo intercede*. Rhymed, strophic poems similarly designated include *Stella celi* and the sequences *Gaude virgo salutata* and *Benedicta es celorum*. In the early fifteenth-century Bridgettine liturgy that was designed for the new foundation at Syon abbey, the Marian antiphons sung daily after Compline with a versicle and prayer were "the greatest ornament of the rite."⁵⁵

Given the number of rhymed antiphons and longer strophic poems specified in this liturgical legislation (as well as, for instance, the frequent appearance of regularly versified texts among the "antiphons" of John Dunstable), one might argue that the cantilena did not disappear in the fifteenth century. Indeed, if categorized by style or origin of text rather than by presumed function, many if not most of the pieces in the Eton Choirbook might reasonably be called cantilenas. In the same terms, however, there was certainly a shift in favor of the antiphon over the cantilena throughout the greater part of the fifteenth century. This shift is seen first of all in the choice of text—in the shift of preference from poetry to prose, from longer sequence-like verse to the short rhymed or prose antiphon. There may also have been a change in primary liturgical

⁵⁴ Edward Thompson, ed., *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 23, 24 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903–4), 2:201.

⁵⁵ A. Jefferies Collins, ed., *The Bridgettine Breviary of Syon Abbey*, Henry Bradshaw Society 96 (Worcester: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1969), 113 n. 1, quoting Örtagård. In the Bridgettine rite, *De te virgo nasciturum* is the antiphon after Compline throughout Advent up to Christmas eve; the antiphon *Gaudendum nobis est* serves from Christmas day to the octave of the Purification; and *Regina celi letare* is sung on Easter and daily thereafter up to the Friday in Whitsunweek. Throughout the rest of the year seven daily Marian antiphons after Compline are specified: *Alma redemptoris mater* (Sunday), *Ave regina celorum ave* (Monday), *Ave regina celorum mater* (Tuesday), *O florens rosa* (Wednesday), *Ave stella matutina* (Thursday), *Mundi domina celi regina* (Friday), and *Salve regina misericordie* (Saturday). See *Bridgettine Breviary*, 111–16.

function over time, away from the mass toward the evening devotion.⁵⁶ And there were changes in musical style and technique—away from a syllabic toward a more melismatic style in the cantilena, away from English discant to melodically oriented cantus firmus treatment and free settings in the antiphon, and away from homogeneity of texture toward rhythmic independence and contrast of voices in both free and cantus-firmus-based settings. In effect we see, stylistically at any rate, the convergence of cantilena and antiphon in the florid, lightly treble-dominated manner of composition that Andrew Hughes has called the mixed style.⁵⁷

There was clearly an intersection of cantilena and antiphon in the Old Hall manuscript—physically, in terms of their intermixture in a gathering between the Glorias and Credos, and stylistically, in terms of the attributes just discussed. Functionally, the issue is not so clear. Harrison has put forward the hypothesis that already in the fourteenth century the cantilena could have served the same purpose as the votive antiphon, suggesting that “there are some signs that by the second half of the century interchange...was taking place...between the repertory of the votive sequence and that of the increasingly cultivated evening devotion to the Virgin Mary” but without going into detail; he also argued for the adoption of the antiphons and cantilenas in Old Hall to serve the same votive function, without attempting to reconcile their location in the codex with his thesis.⁵⁸ Manfred Bukofzer, referring to these Old Hall pieces collectively as “the conductus settings of...Marian antiphons, hymns, and sequences,” thought they were “inserted more or less arbitrarily between the main groups.”⁵⁹ And referring to them collectively simply as “antiphons,” Andrew Hughes has suggested without elaboration that they were probably substitutes for items of the usual liturgy of the mass.⁶⁰

Surely there is a specific and justifiable interpretation of the location of these pieces in Old Hall, namely that they were all intended in the first place as sequence substitutes and, perhaps secondarily, as offertory substitutes. Extrapolating backward in time from this assertion, one might

⁵⁶ It may be that there was in the fifteenth century a stricter adherence to the letter of the law with respect to the Use of Salisbury, putting a stop to the proliferation of monophonic and polyphonic sequences (Harrison, PMFC XVI:x).

⁵⁷ Andrew Hughes, “The Old Hall Manuscript—A Reappraisal,” *Musica disciplina* 21 (1967): 101–2.

⁵⁸ Harrison, PMFC XVI:xi.

⁵⁹ Manfred Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1950): 35 and 53.

⁶⁰ Andrew Hughes, “The Old Hall Manuscript—A Reappraisal,” 102 and 104. Margaret Bent identifies them as sequences and antiphons in “Old Hall,” *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) 13: 526.

even hypothesize that the earlier, fourteenth-century discant settings of antiphons were intended initially for use as sequence or offertory substitutes at mass. This is supported in part, as we have seen, by the fact that such Marian antiphons were employed as offertories in *W*₁ (*Ave regina celorum mater*) and the ordinal of St. Mary's, York (*Regina celi letare alleluia*). Indeed from a fourteenth-century vantage point, looking forward in time, we can posit that it was to a hybrid, diversely cross-fertilized repertoire of multi-voiced sequence and offertory substitutes—cantilenas—that choir-masters turned for polyphony to be sung after Compline, borrowing from an established repertoire of mass music upon the rapid rise of this new devotion to a prominent position in the public life of colleges and other institutions.

In closing, a few words need to be said in favor of the utility of retaining the name cantilena in musicological discourse. The chief virtue, as I see it, lies precisely in the neutrality of the term. Being of modern application to a complex category of works, it operates under no precise definition or description, and points to no particular origin or destination within the liturgy; nor does it designate any single style or compositional procedure. Thus it accommodates a flexibility or mobility of use which is the hallmark of much of the music for Marian services in late medieval England, especially with respect to compositions with strophic or double-versicle texts and melodies. The sequence is only the most conspicuous and familiar instance of the ornamentation of the mass and offices with such pieces, which may also be used as offertories and offertory sequels, Sanctus tropes and Sanctus sequels, tract and hymn substitutes, office proses, and more, as we have seen above and in Appendix III. Such diversity should not be troubling; we are accustomed to it, after all, in the familiar and equally flexible designation antiphon (psalmodic and non-psalmodic, in the offices, processions, memorials, the "Salve service," and so on). Cantilena and antiphon are useful terms, and they overlap precisely in the area of our present interest in such a way that one would not wish to draw too neat a line between them. Together they encompass English repertoires fashioned over three centuries of liturgical dynamism and musical creativity devoted to the worship of Our Lady.

Appendix I

A. The English Cantilena Repertoire of the Fourteenth Century

This alphabetical list takes a broad view of its chronological limits, encompassing everything between *GB-Ob 3* (late thirteenth century) and *GB-Lbl 57950 (OH)* (early fifteenth century). Further, it encompasses both English discant-style and free settings of relevant items, including settings of *Victime paschali* and the tract *Gaude Maria virgo*. For a more stylistically differentiated tabulation, see Lefferts, *The Motet in England*, 99–103 and table 16. Citations of polyphonic sources conform to the style of sigla used in RISM and the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. For those not reported in RISM or Lefferts and Bent, "New Sources," see especially the forthcoming supplement to RISM by Andrew B. Wathey that covers additional sources in British libraries.

Incipit	Source(s)	Edition
A magnifica misericordia	GB-Ob D.R.3*, 10/11	—
Ab ora summa nuncius	GB-Cjc 84, 1 =GB-Lbl 1210, 14	XVII, 25
Ad rose titulum	GB-Cgc 512, 13a	XVII, 19
Angelus ad virginem	GB-Cu 710, 1/2	XVII, 18
Arbor ade veteris	GB-Lbl 1210, 4	XVII, 35
Astrorum altitudinem	GB-Lbl 38651, 3	—
Ave caro Christi	GB-Cgc 512, 13	XVII, 21
Ave celi regina virginum	GB-Cgc 512, 11 =GB-Cpc 228, 7	XVII, 38
Ave mater summi regis	GB-Lbl 62132A, 7	XVII, 22
Ave mundi rosa	GB-Lbl 62132A, 5	XVII, 44
Beata es Maria	B-Br 266, 6	XVII, 39
Benedicta es celorum regina	GB-BERc 55, 2	—
Christi messis nunc madescit	GB-Lbl 62132A, 11	XVII, 43
De spineto nata rosa	GB-BERc 55, 3 =GB-Cgc 230, 1	—
Decora facie	GB-Cpc 228, 6	XVII, 27
Flos vernalis stirps regalis	GB-Lbl 28550, 6	XVII, 61
Fulgens stella maris	GB-Occ 144, 3	—
Gaude Maria virgo	GB-Ccc 65, 4	XVI, 81
Gaude Maria virgo	GB-WOcro 5117, 1	—
Gaude virgo immaculata	US-NYpm 978, 2	XVII, 50
Gaude virgo mater Christi (final versicle of Celum Deus inclinavit)	GB-Lbl 3132, 1	XVII, 16
Gemma nitens sole splendidior	GB-Cgc 512, 14	XVII, 20

Incipit	Source(s)	Edition
Generosa iesse plantula	US-NYpm 978, 4	XVII, 47
Generosi germinis	GB-Ob D.R.3*, 12	—
Grata iuvencula	GB-WOc 68, frag. xxxii	XIV, App.13
Hic quomodo seduxerat	GB-Lbl 62132A, 9	XVII, 41
In rosa primula	GB-Csjs 84, 5 =GB-Lbl 1210, 12	XVII, 28
Includimur nube caliginosa	GB-Cgc 334, 6 =GB-Lbl 62132A, 4	XVII, 34
Jhesu Christe rex celorum	GB-GLcro 678, 2	XVII, 45
Letetur celi curia	GB-GLcro 678, 1	XVII, 46
Lucerna syderis	GB-Csjs 84, 4	XVII, 26
Maria virgo	GB-Ob D.R.3*, 13	—
Mater christi nobilis (a final versicle)	GB-Cgc 334, 4 =GB-Ob 548, 1	XVII, 24
Mater ora filium	GB-Ob 3, 1	XVII, 4
Missus gabriel de celis	GB-Ob D.6, 1	XVII, 23
Mutato modo geniture	B-Br 266, 5 =GB-Cgc 334, 5 =GB-Cgc 512, 8 =GB-Lbl 38651, 9	XVII, 36
Noster lumen	GB-Lbl 38651, 5a	(text only)
O ceteris preamabilis	GB-Cgc 334, 8	XVII, 32
O Maria laude genitrix	GB-Lbl 57950 (OH), 41	OH, 41
Pia mater salvatoris	GB-Lbl 57950 (OH), 46	OH, 46
Psallens flecte	GB-Csjs 84, 2	—
Que est ista que processit	GB-Occ 144, 2	—
Regem regum collaudemus	US-NYpm 978, 3	XVII, 49
Robur castis	GB-Occ 144, 6	—
Salamonis inclita	GB-Cgc 512, 10 =US-NYpm 978, 5	XVII, 37
Salve mirifica virgo	GB-Lbl 57950 (OH), 47 =GB-Ob D.R.3*, 7	OH, 47
Salve porta paradisi	GB-Lbl 57950 (OH), 54	OH, 54
Salve virgo singularis	B-Br 266, 4 =GB-Lbl 38651, 1	XVII, 40
Salve virgo tonantis	GB-Ob 3, 3	XVII, 6
Sicut sidus radium	GB-Lbl 14, f.37	(text only)

Incipit	Source(s)	Edition
Singularis laudis digna	GB-Occ 144, 1 =US-NYpm 978, 1	XVII, 48
Stella celi extirpavit	GB-Lbl 57950 (OH), 55	OH, 45
Stella maris illustrans	GB-Cgc 334, 7	XVII, 33
Ut arbuteum folium	US-NYpm 978, 11	XVII, 51
Veni mi dilecte	GB-Lbl 1210, 3	XVII, 31
Victime paschali	GB-Lbl 62132A, 10	XVI, 80
(textless: Victime paschali)	US-NYpm 978, 15	XVII, 1
Virginis marie laudes	GB-Cu 16, 1	XVII, 2
Virgo decora statum meliora	GB-Ob 14, 8	XVII, 15b
Virgo pudicicie	GB-Ob 3, 2	XVII, 5
Virgo salvavit hominem	GB-Lbl 1210, 7	XVII, 30
Virgo valde virtuosa	GB-Cgc 334, 9	XVII, 29
Virgo vernans velud rosa	GB-Cgc 230, 2	—
<i>Acephalic Fragments</i>		
...serata filio dei	GB-Ob D.R.3*, 9	—
...frangens evanuit. Jhesus	GB-Lbl 62132A, 1/2	XVII, 42
...lium	GB-Csje 84, 3	—
...merenti modo	GB-WOc 68, frag. xix	WF, 82
...numinis et rivos	GB-Lbl 38651, 2	—
...pneu...pula co...	GB-Lbl 38651, 10	—
...et propicia	GB-Lbl 57950 (OH), 45	OH, 45
...quod	GB-Occ 144, 4	—
...quod na rogaveris	GB-Occ 144, 5	—
...sordidum	GB-Csje 84, 6	—
...venie	GB-Lbl 57950 (OH), 42	OH, 42
...virgo qu...solvisti	GB-Ob D.R.3*, 8	—
...nis vitia mundes	GB-Yi, 1	—
<i>Text Lost</i>		
...	GB-Cfm 47-1980, 4	—
...	GB-Lli 146, 1	—
...	GB-Lli 146, 3	—
...	GB-Lli 146, 4	—
...	GB-Lli 146, 5	—
...	GB-Lrcp 777/65, 1	—
...	GB-Lrcp 777/65, 2	—
...	GB-Lrcp 777/65, 3	—
...	GB-Lrcp 777/65, 4	—
...	US-PRu 119, f.35r	—
...	US-PRu 119, f.35v	—

B. Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century Antiphon Settings

Incipit	Source(s)	Edition
<i>Fourteenth-century discant settings in score</i>		
Alma redemptoris mater	GB-Ob 27, 2	XVII, 11
Alma redemptoris mater	GB-Occ 144, 7	XVII, 12
Mater ora filium	GB-Ob 55	XVII, 4b
Paradisi porta	GB-Cu 6, 3	XVII, 7
O benigne redemptor	GB-Ob 143, 4	XVII, 3
Salve regina misericordie	US-PRu 103, 1	XVII, 10
Sancta Maria non est tibi similis	GB-Lbl 2104A, 1	—
Sancta Maria virgo intercede	GB-Cu 6, 4 =GB-Lbl 2104A, 2	XVII, 8
Sancta Maria virgo intercede	GB-Ob D.R.3, 3	—
Sancta Maria virgo intercede	GB-Ob D.R.3, 4	—
Venit dilectus meus	US-PRu 103, 2	XVII, 9
<i>Canonic</i>		
Salve regina misericordie	GB-Lbl 7.A.vi, 1 =F-Sm 222, 93	—
<i>Late fourteenth-century motet-like setting in parts</i>		
Salve regina mater misericordie	GB-Lpro E 163, 6	—
<i>Early fifteenth-century settings in score</i>		
Ave regina celorum ave domina	GB-Lbl 57950, 43	OH, 43
Regina celi letare	GB-Lbl 57950, 44	OH, 44
Nesciens mater	GB-Lbl 57950, 48	OH, 48
Beata progenies	GB-Lbl 57950, 49	OH, 49
Nesciens mater	GB-Lbl 57950, 50 =GB-Yi, 2	OH, 50
Regali ex progenie	GB-Lbl 57950, 51	OH, 51
Ave regina celorum ave domina	GB-Lbl 57950, 52	OH, 52
Beata dei genitrix	GB-Lbl 57950, 53	OH, 53
Qualis est dilectus	GB-Lbl 57950, 67	OH, 67
Ascendit Christus	GB-Lbl 57950, 68	OH, 68
Regina celi letare	GB-Yi, 3	—

Appendix II

Five Major English Medieval
Marian Sequence Collections

Incipit	Cul 710 Dublin	Lbl 11414 Lincoln	ArsA London	Rylands Exeter	Csjc York
Ab arce siderea		**	**	**	
Ad laudem matris dei					**
Ad rose titulum					**
Alle celeste necnon	**	**	**	**	
Alma dei genitrix				**	
Angelus ad virginem					**
Area virga prime matris	**	**	**	**	
Ave gloriosa virginum	**				
Ave Maria gratia plena	**	**	**	**	**
Ave Maria inclita	**				
Ave Maria preciosa				**	
Ave Maria virgo pia					**
Ave maris stella verbi		**		**	
Ave mater gracie		**			
Ave mater plena deliciis		**			
Ave mater redemptoris			**		
Ave miles sole rutilior			**		
Ave mundi domina					**
Ave mundi spes Mari	**	**	**	**	**
Ave nimpha salutaris		**			
Ave plena et per plenam		**			**
Ave preclara maris stell	**	**			
Ave regina celorum		**			
Ave spes angelico	**				
Ave stella fulgida		**			
Ave verbum incarnatum	**				
Ave virgo virga iesse			**		
Ave virgo virginum	**				
Benedicta es celorum	**	**			**
Benedicta es insignis		**			
Benedicta sit beata		**			
Benedicta sit cella	**				
Celi solem paritura					**
Celum deus inclinavit	**	**			
Clemens et benigna		**	**		
Concentu parili				**	

Incipit	Cul 710 Dublin	Lbl 11414 Lincoln	ArsA London	Rylands Exeter	Csjc York
Congaudent angelorum			**		
De spineto nata rosa		**			
Dulcis ave penitentis	**	**			
Ecce pulchra					**
Ecce sonat in aperto				**	
Eterni numinis mater	**			**	
Flos de spina procreatur	**		**		
Gabrieli celesti nuncio			**		
Gaude dei genitrix	**	**	**	**	**
Gaude gabrielis ore	**				
Gaude gloriosa mundi	**	**			
Gaude mater gracie		**			
Gaude parens Jesu Christi					**
Gaude salutata virgo	**				
Gaude virgo concipiens	**				
Gaude virgo graciosa	**				
Gaude virgo que de celis	**				
Gaude virgo que de celis	**				
Gaude virgo mater Christi	**				
Gaude virgo salutata	**	**			
Gloria sanctorum decus	**	**			
Hac clara die	**	**	**	**	
Hodierna lux diei	**	**	**	**	
Jerusalem et Syon filia			**		
Jesse proles quibus doles			**		
Jesse virga humidavit	**	**	**		
Jhesu fili virginis	**				
Jubilemus salvatori			**		
Letabundus exultet	**	**	**	**	**
Letare puerpera	**	**			
Laus iocunda sit	**			**	
Letare virginum flos	**				
Madens vellus gedeonis			**		
Maria virgo concipiens	**				
Mater ave plena	**				
Mater patris nati nata	**				
Mellis stilla maris	**				
Mire iubar pietatis			**		
Miserere miseris	**				
Missus Gabriel	**	**	**	**	**
Mittit ad virginem	**	**	**		

Incipit	Cul 710 Dublin	Lbl 11414 Lincoln	ArsA London	Rylands Exeter	Csjc York
Nato nobis salvatore			**		
Nova venit genitura	**				
O Maria mater Christi		**			
O Maria mater pia			**		
O Maria stella maris	**				
Pangat melos grex	**				
Paranimphus salutat virginem				**	
Plebs fidelis		**			
Post partum virgo	**	**	**	**	
Preciose gloriose				**	
Prophetarum presignata	**				
Quicumque vult	**				
Recolamus venerandem			**		
Regali stirpe procreata		**			
Regina celi flos carmeli	**				
Regina celi supplica	**				
Regina virginum				**	
Sacrosancta hodierno				**	
Salvatoris mater pia	**	**	**		**
Salve celorum regina			**		
Salve gemma paradysi				**	
Salve mater celi porta	**			**	
Salve mater misericordie	**				
Salve mater magne prolis			**	**	
Salve mater salutata					**
Salve mater salvatoris vas			**		
Salve porta perpetue				**	
Salve virgo maris stella			**		
Salve virgo regia			**		
Salve virgo sacra parens			**		
Salve virgo salutata	**				
Sancte dei genitrix					**
Stabat iuxta Christi	**	**	**		**
Stellam maris attendamus		**			
Tibi cordis in altari	**				
Verbi boni baculus					**
Verbum bonum et suave		**	**	**	**
Verbum patri eructavit					**
Virens ave virgula				**	
Virginis in laude grex			**	**	

Incipit	Cul 710 Dublin	Lbl 11414 Lincoln	ArsA London	Rylands Exeter	Csjc York
Virginis Marie laudes	**	**			**
Virgo gaude speciosa			**		**
Virgo mater et filia	**				
Virgo parens gaudeat		**	**		
Total: 121	57	42	41	28	25

Notes: This list includes all items grouped together in *Cul 710* and *Csjc*, whether or not they have sequence-style text and music. *Gaude clemens et benigna (Lbl 11414)* = *Clemens et benigna (ArsA, etc.)*; *Jesse virga humidavit (ArsA, etc.)* = *Jesse radix habundavit (Lbl 11414)* = *Jesse virga humanavit (Cul 710)*; *Virgo preclara maris stella (Cul 710)* = *Ave preclara maris stella*

Appendix III

Texts Associated with Sequence, Offertory, Antiphon, Cantilena and Motet

AH = Guido M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister, eds. *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. 55 vols. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, et al., 1886–1922.

Chev. = Cyr Ulisse Chevalier, ed. *Repertorium hymnologicum*. 6 vols. Louvain and Brussels: Lefever, etc., 1892–1921.

Walther = Hans Walther, ed. *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum*. 2nd ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969.

(1) *AD ROSE TITULUM* (Chev. 22426; AH 37:72 [no. 71]) is among the sequence incipits in the ordinal of St. Mary's, York (table 2 and Appendix II) and heads a list of Marian sequences in a fourteenth-century English Franciscan psalter, breviary and missal now at the Vatican (Rome, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS 4757, fol. 168). Three of its strophes are found set as a monophonic sequence in mensural notation in York, Minster Library, xvi. N.3, fol. 222v; for a facsimile, see Frank Ll. Harrison and Roger Wibberley, eds., *Manuscripts of Fourteenth-Century English Polyphony: A Selection of Facsimiles*, Early English Church Music, no. 26 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1981), pl. 214. This chant is the bottom voice of a cantilena in *GB-Cgc 512* (PMFC XVII, no. 19) whose original rhythmic setting was in isochronous longs; the chant melody may well have originated here. See Peter M. Lefferts and Margaret Bent, "New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," *Early Music History* 2 (1982): 360–61.

(2) *ANGELUS AD VIRGINEM* (Chev. 1067; Walther 989; AH 8:49 [no. 51]) survives in several textual sources and has a Middle English contrafact; it is listed as a sequence in the ordinal of St. Mary's, York and elsewhere. In addition to the

monophonic song in various versions, there are a two-voice thirteenth-century discant setting (PMFC XVII, no. 17) and a three-voice fourteenth-century discant setting (PMFC XVII, no. 18). For recent discussions of this well-known song, see John Stevens, "Angelus ad virginem: The History of a Medieval Song," in Peter L. Heyworth, ed., *Medieval Studies for J.A.W. Bennett* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 297–328, and Eric Dobson and Frank Ll. Harrison, eds., *Medieval English Songs* (London: Faber, 1979), no. 15.

(3) *ARBOR ADE VETERIS* (Walther 1397) has not been reported in any English textual or chant source but it is found, in a monophonic setting, in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5023, fols. 153–55. It is set polyphonically in a musically unrelated two-voice cantilena (PMFC XVII, no. 35).

(4) *ASTRORUM ALTITUDINEM* is a cantilena fragment closely related in text to the first two strophes of the duplum of the motet-like troped chant setting *Astra transcendit-T. Alleluia assumpta est-Astrorum celsitudinem* (GB-Llc 52, 2). See Lefferts, *The Motet in England*, 257.

(5) *BENEDICTA ES CELORUM REGINA* (Chev. 2428; AH 54:396 [no. 252]) is a short three-double-versicle sequence. Although relatively widespread as a Marian sequence, *Benedicta es* does attract special attention; for one, it is cited as an antiphon text for the Salve service (Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 85 and 88), and it was sung by the nuns of Barking on Christmas eve (see note 31). It has a monophonic setting in Worcester, Cathedral Library, Additional 68, frag. xxix, fol. b2 recto, amidst a series of monophonic and polyphonic sequences; there is a complete but unedited fourteenth-century setting in English discant with middle-voice cantus firmus in long-breve rhythms (GB-BERc 55, 2); and there is an anonymous fifteenth-century setting tentatively ascribed to Power (Charles Hamm, *Leonel Power: Complete Works*, 1, *The Motets*, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, no. 50 [(Rome): American Institute of Musicology, 1969], no. 15). There is a later setting by Josquin.

(6) *CELUM DEUS INCLINAVIT* (Chev. 3601; AH 54:406 [no. 262]) is a short English sequence of three double versicles found in GB-Cu 710 and GB-Lbl 11414 (and in two much later Scandinavian prints; see Hesbert, *Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin*, 30). It received a setting (probably in its entirety) as a cantilena with bottom-voice cantus firmus, of which all that survives is the entire last versicle, beginning *Gaude virgo mater Christi* (PMFC XVII, no. 16). Possibly the chant melody originated in this cantilena setting.

(7) *DE SPINETO NATA ROSA* (Chev. 25288; Walther 4163; AH 32:79 [no. 51]; AH 34:134 [no. 171b]) occurs in the Marian sequence series of GB-Lbl 11414. It has a two-voice discant setting in Worcester, Cathedral Library, Additional 68, frag. xxx (WF, 102) amidst similar early thirteenth-century polyphonic sequences, including *Salve virgo sacra parens* (WF, 103/4; see this Appendix, below), the fragment *...ergo virgo tam beata* (WF, 105) and *Paranimphus salutatur virginem* (WF, 106). A musically unrelated, unedited, later fourteenth-century cantilena setting survives in two sources (GB-BERc 55, 3; GB-Cgc 230, 1).

(8) *DULCIS JESU MEMORIA* (Chev. 4907; Walther 4184) or *JESU DULCIS MEMORIA* (Chev. 9542; Walther 9837), a famous "jubilus" of late twelfth-century English Cistercian origin, has a late twelfth-century monophonic insular setting in sequence style (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 668, fol. 101–101v; see Edward Nicholson, *Introduction to the Oldest Latin Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Early Bodleian Music, III (London: Novello, 1913), pl. LXVIII), and a selection of its stanzas is used as the text of a two-voice motet text in the thirteenth-century English repertoire (*WF*, 75). On this text, see Frederick Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 329 and his bibliography on p. 485.

(9) *FLOS REGALIS VIRGINALIS* is set in a thirteenth-century conductus-rondellus (PMFC XIV, no. 28). Its text turns up in conjunction with some but not all of the text of a thirteenth-century English motet, *Fons ortorum* (*WF*, 30; see Chev. 26729), in a lengthy devotional poem, *Virgo gaude digna laude* (Chev. 21790; AH 50:475) known to its editors in the *Analecta Hymnica* only from two sources in German libraries.

(10) *GAUDE VIRGO SALUTATA* (Chev. 7029; AH 54:332 [no. 212]), a simple, songlike three-strophe prose in F-tonality, is one of the shortest of the sequences in the first alphabetical Marian series in the Dublin troper (*GB-Cu 710*, fols. 109v–110). Its earliest known source is of the thirteenth century (*GB-Occ 497*, fol. 7v) where it is entered as monophony amidst polyphony, and its text (but not melody) is used in the duplum of an unusual, late thirteenth-century troped-chant setting of the Marian Gloria trope *Spiritus et alme* (PMFC XIV, 73). Hesbert discusses it (*Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin*, 31 and 90–91) without reference to these thirteenth-century English sources, which tip the balance in favor of an English origin. On its style, characteristic of a number of others in *GB-Cu 710*, see Hiley, "Rhymed Sequence," 234. It is cited as an offertory in the ordinal of St. Mary's, York, and it is one of the sequences specified for use as a Marian antiphon at the evening devotion after Compline.

(11) *GENEROSI GERMINIS* (Chev. 37647; Walther 7144; AH 49:337 [no. 674]) is one of two short proses, the other being *O virgo pulcherrima* (Chev. 31158; AH 37:82 [no. 87]), that are found as offertories in a secular gradual of the York diocese (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. lit. b.5, fol. 79v). These two are also identified as offertories in another northern source, the Benedictine ordinal of St. Mary's, York (see table 2). However, in the context of their other sources, these "hybrids" might be better regarded as sequences. *Generosi germinis*, which has two short double versicles, is found in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 240/126 in a collection of sequences (fol. 11), in London, British Library, Royal 8.A.xix on a flyleaf (fol. 1), and in London, British Library, Additional 37519 with other "hybrids" including *Preter rerum serem*, *Jesu fili virginis*, and *Salve mater misericordie* (for all of which, see this Appendix). *O virgo pulcherrima*, which has three short double versicles, is also found in London, British Library, Royal 7.A.vi, fol. 112 between *Ave gloriosa virginum* (a Marian prose by Philip the Chancellor) and a unique alliterative prose antiphon, *Maria melliflua mirifica*. (*Ave*

gloriosa virginum is also found at the end of the third series of Marian sequences in the Dublin troper and among the sequences in London, British Library, Harley 978; see Nicholas Sandon, "Mary, Meditations, Monks and Music: Poetry, Prose, Processions and Plagues in a Durham Cathedral Manuscript," *Early Music* 10 [1982]: 47.) Archdale King has observed a similarity between these two York BVM proses and another, *Flos carmeli*, found as an addition to the reconstructed later fourteenth-century Carmelite missal from London, where it is used as a Magnificat antiphon, matins and vespers responsory, and prose after Post-Communion (see his *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* [London: Longmans, Green, 1955], 274–75). *Generosi germinis* has a fragmentary setting in English discant amidst the cantilenas of *GB-Ob D.R.3* to which attention has recently been drawn by William J. Summers ("Unknown and Unidentified English Polyphonic Music from the Fourteenth Century," *Research Chronicle* 19 [1983–85]: 64–66).

(12) *GLORIA SANCTORUM DECUS* (Chev. 7284; Walther 7242; AH 54:406 [no. 261]) is a short, three double-versicle sequence of English origin, found in the third Marian sequence series of the Dublin troper, in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 240/126, and elsewhere (Hesbert, *Le tropeaire-prosaire de Dublin*, 33 and 92–95). It has a musically unrelated setting by Dunstable (Manfred Bukofzer, *John Dunstable: Complete Works*, rev. ed. by Brian Trowell, Ian Bent, and Margaret Bent, *Musica Britannica*, no. 8 [London: Stainer and Bell, 1970], no. 43).

(13) *IN TE CONCIPITUR* (Chev. 28134; Walther 9123; AH 20:140 [no. 182]; see also Chev. 38184 = AH 48:269 [no. 283])—a closely related poem by Alexander Neckam has a monophonic setting in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 2, fols. 4v–5v and a musically unrelated, thirteenth-century three-voice free setting in *GB-Ob* 257 (PMFC XIV, App. 6).

(14) *INVOLATA INTEGRATA ET CASTA* (Chev. 9093/9094; Walther 9556) received a late thirteenth-century English troped-chant setting (*WF*, 42); the most recent editor of this piece, Ernest Sanders, has observed that *Inviolata* served as prose, offertory, sequence for mass, and votive antiphon (PMFC XIV:244, in the critical commentary to no. 68). On multiple functions for the *Inviolata* prose, see also Roesner, "The Origins of W_1 ," 372–73, and Hiley, "Rhymed Sequence," 235. There is a later setting by Josquin.

(15) *JESU FILI VIRGINIS* (Chev. 28547), a sequence with two short double versicles and a final tag, is found only in *GB-Cu* 710 and London, British Library, Additional 37519, in both cases among unusual items in an appendix. In the polyphonic repertoire its first couplet ("Jesu fili virginis rex celestis agminis") labels the musically unrelated tenor of one fourteenth-century English motet (PMFC XV, no. 31 = *GB-DRc* 20, no. 3; see Lefferts, *The Motet in England*, 250–51) and is the incipit of the text of an upper voice of another (see Giuseppe Vecchi, "Celum Mercatur Hodie: mottetto in onore di Thomas Becket da un codice bolognese," *Quadrivium* 12/1 [1971]: 70).

(16) *LAUS HONOR CHRISTO VENDITO* is the texted tenor of an early fourteenth-century English motet fragment, *Laus honor vendito sit Christo* (*GB-Cpc* 228, no. 3); see Lefferts, *The Motet in England*, 245. Its tuneful melody and four-line text correspond to the music and first stanza of a four-stanza, hymnlike strophic setting, recently identified by Ernest Sanders, that has been added on the verso of the last leaf in the thirteenth-century Sarum Gradual Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. lit. d.3 (fol. 111v) in a hand similar in age to that of the main corpus of the manuscript. The first stanza is also known as the refrain (or perhaps better put, the hymn doxology) of a set of hymns for the Office hours of the Holy Cross attributed to St. Bonaventure (see AH 50:568 [no. 382]; this set of hymns, beginning *In passione Domini*, is called there an *Officium sanctae Crucis*). Two of the other three Bodleian stanzas can also be found in these Bonaventure texts; whether Bonaventure knew the tune has not been determined.

(17) *MATER ORA FILIUM* is one of seven Marian proses, four monophonic—*Amator hominis amorque superum*, *Benedicta sit cella mundicie*, *Letabundus et iocundus*, *Beate virginis fecundat viscera*—and three polyphonic—*Mater ora filium*, *Virgo pudicie*, and *Salve virgo tonantis*—entered by the same hand in that order in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. lit. d.3, fols. 68v–72v. This setting (PMFC XVII, no. 4) is in English discant and is underlaid by a single double versicle of text. Its cantus firmus and first strophe have been discovered by Ernest Sanders as the final versicle of *Maria virgo concipiens* (Chev. 11143; AH 40:85 [no. 76]), a sequence found in the Dublin troper (*GB-Cu* 710, fol. 112–112v) and as a fourteenth-century addition to the thirteenth-century antiphoner of Evroux (Hesbert, *Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin*, 31); Walther also reports it on a front flyleaf of London, British Library, Royal 8.A.xix. The sequence does not preserve the second strophe found in *GB-Ob* d.3. In the fifteenth century, the first strophe is set by Leonel Power (Power: Motets, no. 23) and there is an anonymous setting in the Selden manuscript (Andrew Hughes, *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music*, I, *Antiphons and Music for Holy Week and Easter*, Early English Church Music, no. 8 [London: Stainer and Bell, 1968], no. 1). The first strophe is said as an antiphon as part of late medieval after-dinner Latin graces (Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *Early English Meals and Manners* [London: N. Trübner, 1868; repr., Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1969], 367–68, 374 and 376); and the first strophe and plainsong appear as a processional Marian antiphon in printed Sarum processions of the sixteenth century (see Pynson, *Proc.Sar.* [1502], 172 and *Proc.Sar.* [1555], fol. cxcii verso).

(18) *ORTUM FLORIS* (Chev. 31387 and 39809; AH 20:51 [no. 20] and AH 45b:23 [no. 8]) is a text of four strophes found as a thirteenth-century monophonic, strophic devotional song (Cambridge, University Library, Hh.vi.11, fols. 69v–70), which has a musical concordance to a setting of a Provençal lyric. It was later used (at least in part) in an insular motet, *Radix Jesse* (*GB-Ccc* 65, 3); see Lefferts, *The Motet in England*, 236–37 and the references cited there.

(19) *PRETER RERUM SERIEM* (AH 20:73 [no. 53]; AH 34:12 [no. 4]; AH 49:332 [no. 659]), which is labeled in the *Analecta hymnica* as a conductus or offer-

tory in its three double-versicle form and as a sequence when it has three additional double versicles, appears monophonically with three other "hybrids" in London, British Library, Additional 37519. It is set polyphonically among the offertories in *W*₁, and there is a much later setting by Josquin.

(20) *SALVE MATER MISERICORDIE* (Chev. 18033) appears as a short sequence of two double versicles and a final single line in the third Marian sequence series of *GB-Cu 710* and in London, British Library, Additional 37519. With slightly varied text and music, it probably originated as the texted bottom voice of a thirteenth-century English conductus-rondellus (PMFC XIV, no. 33); see the remarks by Sanders in his critical report on this piece and see also his comments in the introduction to PMFC XVII: ix.

(21) *SALVE MATER SALVATORIS* (Chev. 18045; AH 10:113 [no. 151]) has a two-voice setting of eight double-versicles in *GB-Ob 343*, 1 (PMFC XIV, no. 6). Double versicles 1, 7, and half of 8 appear as double versicles 1, 3, and half of 4 in a musically unrelated, four double-versicle Sanctus trope in *F-Pa 135* (*ArsA*). Double versicles 1, 6, 8 are set as stanzas two through four of an acephalic fragment in Old Hall, ... *et propicia* (Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent, eds., *The Old Hall Manuscript*, 3 vols. in 4, *Corpus mensurabilis musica*, no. 46 [(Rome): American Institute of Musicology, 1969-73], no. 45) and serve later as the text of a setting attributed to both Dunstable and Power (*John Dunstable: Complete Works*, no. 62; *Power: Motets*, no. 17). A number of sequences with the same incipit, in particular one by Adam of St. Victor, are otherwise unrelated.

(22) *SALVE VIRGO SACRA PARENS* (Chev. 18296; AH 8:67 [no. 77]), a sequence whose plainsong is only known from *ArsA*, has a fragmentary two-voice discant setting in Worcester, Cathedral Library, Additional 68, frag. xxx, fol. a2-a2v (comprising *WF*, 103 and *WF*, 104; the assignment of two *WF* numbers is an error by Dittmer). Its second textual double versicle, beginning *Salve porta paradisi*, is set in its entirety by Damett in a musically unrelated piece from the second layer of Old Hall (*The Old Hall Manuscript*, no. 54).

(23) *SALVE VIRGO SINGULARIS* (Chev. 18304; AH 39:48 [no. 41b]) is an isolated early thirteenth-century monophonic sequence (London, British Library, Cott. Tit. A.XXI, fol. 91) whose text is later re-used in a musically unrelated cantilena (PMFC XVII, no. 40).

(24) *VIRGO VERNANS VELUD ROSA* (Chev. 21908; AH 8:173 [no. 226]) as a sequence for St. Margaret was known to the editors of the *Analecta* only from a printed Schleswig missal of 1486; however, a polyphonic cantilena setting of the Margaret text (*GB-Cgc 230*, no. 2) is discussed and edited by Bent in Lefferts and Bent, "New Sources," 300-306. A sequence with this incipit but a different continuation for St. Winifred is found in the printed Sarum missal (*Miss.Sar.*, col. 960; see Chev. 21907 = AH 40:317 [no. 371]).

The Notation of *Fractio Modi*

By Norman E. Smith

Since the Notre Dame repertory of organa, conductus, and motets was the first great body of polyphonic music to be transmitted primarily in written form, it is not surprising that Notre Dame studies have always placed strong emphasis on questions of musical notation. The surviving musical sources and theoretical writings have been thoroughly searched for the evidence that would dissolve all of the obscurities and mysteries surrounding the twelfth- and thirteenth-century notational systems that were developed in response to the particular musical and textual characteristics of organa, conductus, and motets. Of the three genres, it was for a long time the motet that occupied the center of attention of students of Notre Dame and the *Ars Antiqua*. Most of the motet repertory, including all of its later stages, was preserved in great manuscript collections written in the mensural notations that gradually replaced the earlier, less explicit, and more problematic nonmensural systems in which nearly all of the organa and conductus, as well as the earliest motets, had been transmitted. Although the notations of the later, mensural sources posed a wide range of difficult problems, they yielded to the efforts of the first generation of medievalists to the extent that large segments of the motet repertory could be presented in modern transcriptions sufficient to allow increasingly sophisticated glimpses into the musical workings of thirteenth-century motets.¹ Thus musicologists were able to match the efforts of philologists who were presenting and explicating the motet as a literary work.

In time, scholars turned their attention also to the earlier sources and took up the challenges posed by the notation in which most of the Notre Dame organa and conductus and the oldest motets were preserved.² Among the subjects in need of clarification were the rhythmic modes,

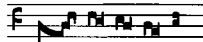
¹ In this earliest phase of study, contributions of decisive importance include those of Charles Edmond de Coussemaker, whose *L'Art harmonique aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris: Durand, 1865) made available fifty motets from the Montpellier manuscript; and Gustav Jacobsthal, "Die Texte der Liederhandschrift von Montpellier H 196," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 3 (1879): 526-56; 4 (1880): 278-317. Of the early studies of mensural notation, Jacobsthal's *Die Mensuralnotenschrift des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1870) was especially significant.

² At the center of these studies was Friedrich Ludwig's *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. 1, *Catalogue Raisonné der Quellen*, Part 1, *Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1910; repr. as *Musicological Studies*, vol. 7, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964), which not only catalogued the sources but also included a far-reaching study of modal rhythm (pp. 42-57).

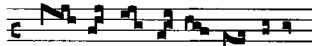
their notation in texted and untexted forms, and their applicability to the different genres and styles of organum, conductus, and motets. Questions concerning the organum purum sections of the two-voice organa, as well as all but the melismatic sections, or caudae, of conductus, proved particularly difficult and produced sometimes pronounced differences of scholarly opinion, but the notation of the discant sections of organa and the separate collections of discant clausulae was, broadly speaking, never controversial. So closely did the notation in the central sources conform with the descriptions and explanations given by the theorists that there was not a great deal of room for serious disagreement among modern interpreters. This is by no means to say, however, that agreement has been perfect or that all students of this repertory have presented identical interpretations of all details.³ The examination of one such detail is the subject of this study.

In the *sine littera* notation of the discant sections of organa and of clausulae, there are two principal methods of notating *fractio modi*, and their interchangeability is explicit in both the theoretical and the practical sources. The account given by Johannes de Garlandia⁴ is typically brief and to the point. It comes in the fourth chapter of this treatise, at the end of his description of the notation of the six rhythmic modes:

Sextus sumitur hoc modo: quatuor ligatae cum proprietate et plica et postea duae ligatae et duae cum plica etc., ut hic:



Alia regula de eodem, sed non probatur per istam artem, sed bene probatur per exemplum, quod invenitur in *Alleluia Posui adiutorium* in triplo, scilicet quatuor ligatae cum proprietate et postea tres et tres et tres cum proprietate etc., et hoc est exemplum, quod sumitur in supradicto *Alleluia*.⁵



³ A measure of the divergence of opinions on certain notational issues may be seen in Ernest H. Sanders, "Sine Littera and Cum Littera in Medieval Polyphony," *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates (New York: Norton, 1984), 215–31.

⁴ Erich Reimer, *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica: Kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 10–11 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:56. The first example is a paraphrase of a passage (*Fiat*) from the Responsory *Benedictus dominus V. Replebitur majestate eius omnia terra: Fiat, fiat* (O 50). The complete *Fiat* passage serves as the tenor of a number of motets. See Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographie der*

The sixth [mode] is brought forth in this manner: four [notes] in ligature with propriety and with a plica, and afterwards two in ligature and two with a plica, etc., as here:



Another rule of the same [mode], not approved by this art, but approved thoroughly by example, which is found in the triplum *Alleluia Posui adiutorium*, namely four in ligature with propriety, and afterwards three and three and three with propriety, etc., and here is an example which comes from the above-mentioned *Alleluia*:



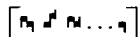
It is clear that for Garlandia the normal, "approved" method of notating sixth mode is the adding of plicas to the final note of all ligatures except the last in a first-mode ordo. The first long of the ordo is fractured into two breves by means of an opening quaternaria standing in the place of the usual ternaria; all other longs (except the last) are fractured by means of plicas. But Garlandia presents another method of notating the same rhythmic pattern because it is known to exist in practice. In this alternative notation, longs are fractured by means of ternary ligatures, each of which (except the last) is equivalent to three breves: the first note fractures the preceding long; the middle note retains the meaning of the first note of a first-mode binaria; and the final note is fractured by the first note of the following ligature.⁶

ältesten französischen und lateinischen Moletten, *Summa musicae medii aevi*, 2 (Darmstadt: published by the author, 1957), 2:77–78. The *Alleluia* example is from the duplum voice of Perotin's *Alleluia Posui adiutorium*. See note 11.

⁶ As Reimer (2:59) points out, what Garlandia obviously means when he writes "by this art" (*per istam artem*) is his own presentation of the meaning of ligatures in the preceding chapter of his treatise. Ternarias when used to produce sixth mode have a meaning of three breves, a meaning that does not conform with his own teachings, but one that is well known to him from the practical sources. Garlandia addresses the question of sixth-mode notation again in chapter five, in his separate treatment of the notation of the imperfect modes. It is there that he explains that imperfect sixth mode can be a reduction either of first mode or of second mode through the use of plicas; there is no mention this time of the alternative use of ternarias (Reimer, 1:61–62).

Writing about 1280, some four decades after Garlandia, Anonymous IV⁷ gives a description of the notation of the sixth mode that follows that of Garlandia, but in a typically expanded and elaborated form:

Principium sexti [modi] dupliciter sic: si reducatur ad primum, uno modo, si ad secundum, alio modo. Ad secundum sic: duae ligatae cum proprietate et perfectione cum uno tractu in fine ascendendo vel descendendo, et duae iterum cum tractu et duae cum tractu etc. sine pausatione, et una brevis in fine propter suam perfectionem, quoniam aliter esset principium eiusdem modi imperfecti, id est, prout est modus imperfectus.



Sed prout reducitur ad primum, sic: quatuor ligatae cum proprietate et perfectione et cum uno tractu ascendendo vel descendendo, duae ligatae cum proprietate et perfectione cum uno tractu et duae ligatae cum tractu, duae, duae, duae etc. sine pausatione etc.



Sed quia tractus ille quandoque decipit multum cantores omnes, quia nesciunt quandoque, quantum ascendit vel descendit, nisi fuissent optim[i] organistae, propter hoc quidam posuerunt quatuor ligatas in principio sine tractu et postmodum tres ligatas, tres, tres semper cum proprietate et perfectione.



Et per istam figurationem intelligebant sextum modum. Et hoc plane patet in *Alleluia Posui adiutorium* in loco post primam longam pausationem....⁸

The beginning of the sixth [mode] proceeds in two ways, as follows: if it is reduced to the first mode, it proceeds in one way; if to the second, in another. If to the second, then thus: two notes in ligature with propriety and perfection with one line... at the end ascending or descending, and two again with a line and two with a line, etc., without a rest, and one breve at

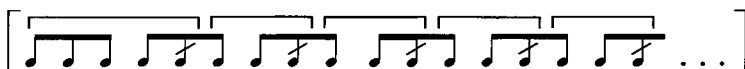
⁷ Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4–5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:55–56. The musical examples have been supplied.

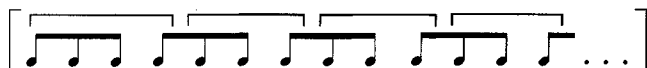
the end on account of its perfection, since otherwise it would be the beginning of the same mode imperfect, that is, just like an imperfect mode.



But when reduced to the first mode, thus: four in ligature with propriety and perfection and with one line ascending or descending, two notes in ligature with propriety and perfection with one line, and two in ligature with a line, two, two, two, etc., with a rest.



But because that line sometimes greatly deceives all singers, because they sometimes do not know how much it ascends or descends, unless they are the very best singers of organum,... for this reason some have put four notes in ligature at the beginning without a line and then three in ligature, three, three, always with propriety and perfection.



And with that notation they understood the sixth mode. And this can be clearly seen in *Alleluia Posui adiutorium* in the place after the first long rest....⁹

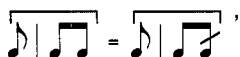
Thus for Anonymous IV the sixth mode is notated in either of two ways: (1) by fracturing all the longs of a second-mode ordo by means of plicas¹⁰ or (2) by fracturing all the longs (except the last) of a first-mode ordo by means of plicas, as Garlandia teaches. For the latter, Anonymous IV, like Garlandia, gives the alternative method, which is to use a series of ternarias, and he offers a reason why this method is in some instances to be preferred. The plica denotes a pitch higher or lower than that of the note to which it is attached, but the precise pitch cannot be indicated with complete certainty. The alternative method avoids the plica and its


⁹ The translation is by Jeremy Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, *Musicalogical Studies and Documents*, vol. 41 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1985), 49–50.


¹⁰ The “line at the end ascending or descending” is, of course, the plica. Although Anonymous IV does not use the term here, he does use it elsewhere.

ambiguity of pitch. Anonymous IV's example of this usage is the same as Garlandia's, the organum triplum *Alleluia Posui adiutorium*, which he elsewhere attributes to Perotin.¹¹

¹¹ Reckow, 1:46. Perotin's composition is preserved in *F*, fols. 36–37v, and, in mensural notation, in *Mo*, fols. 16v–20. Two early interpretations of the ternary ligature used in *fractio modi* were misleading. Ludwig (*Repertorium*, 45–46) correctly related it to the plicated binaria, since both were means of fracturing a first-mode long into two breves; but in exactly equating the meaning of the two,




he misinterpreted the former (which is properly equivalent to ).

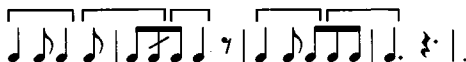
(Ludwig, of course, transcribed long and breve as half-note and quarter-note; I change them to quarter-note and eighth-note in order to facilitate comparison with the transcriptions given here. I also use square brackets in place of curved ones to indicate ligatures. The same applies below to examples from Husmann.) Heinrich Husmann (*Die dreistimmigen Organa der Notre Dame-Schule mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Handschriften Wolfenbüttel und Montpellier* [Leipzig: Frommhold & Wendler, 1935], 10–13) interpreted such ternarias as beginning with two semibreves in the place of a brevis: .

His view was influenced by evidence drawn from the mensural notation of *Mo* and also by his resistance to the alternative manner of notating sixth mode, which he saw as indistinguishable from third-mode notation and not completely authentic until executed with mensural ligatures without perfection, as in *Mo*. He in fact presented two different transcriptions of the cited passage from *Alleluia Posui adiutorium*, the first from *F* in third mode and the second from *Mo* in sixth mode. Husmann subsequently, in his complete edition of the three- and four-voice organa (*Drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa*, Publikationen älterer Musik, vol. 11 [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel; repr. Hildesheim: George Olms, 1967]), offered a single, sixth-mode version of the passage in question (p. 104) and explicitly described sixth-mode notation as being the same as third-mode notation (p. xvii):



He continued to explain the ternaria found in place of a binaria of first mode as a binaria whose initial brevis is divided into two semibreves (ibid.): .

but his transcriptions contain abundant evidence that in practice he understood such ternarias as introducing *fractio modi* in exactly the same way that plicas do. A single, representative ordo may be cited from a first-mode passage from the three-voice *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus* (M 2), mm. 51–54 of both duplum and triplum (p. 22):



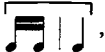
Later, Hans Tischler ("A Propos the Notation of the Parisian Organa," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 [1961]: 1–8) disputed the transcriptions of discant clausulae found in Waite's dissertation ("The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Organum in France"

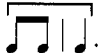
A facsimile reproduction of the beginning of Perotin's organum as preserved in the Florence manuscript (*F*) is given in figures 1 and 2 (pages 290–91), and example 1 is a transcription of the cited passage, beginning at the place marked "Al-" in the facsimile. In the three sixth-

Example 1. Perotin's *Alleluia Posui adiutorium* (*F*, fols. 36–36v). Compare figures 1 and 2.

Al-

le-

[Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1951]) by gathering evidence from related motets and using it as a means for understanding earlier clausula notation and for "correcting" Waite's transcriptions. For instance, Tischler cited the parallel clausula-motet passage given as my example 5 as evidence that a ternaria in *fractio modi* is to be read ,

and not, as in Waite's view, .

The questions that arise from such use of motet notation to interpret clausula notation will be examined below.



Figure 1. *F*, fol. 36, showing the beginning of Perotin's *Alleluia Posui adiutorium*.

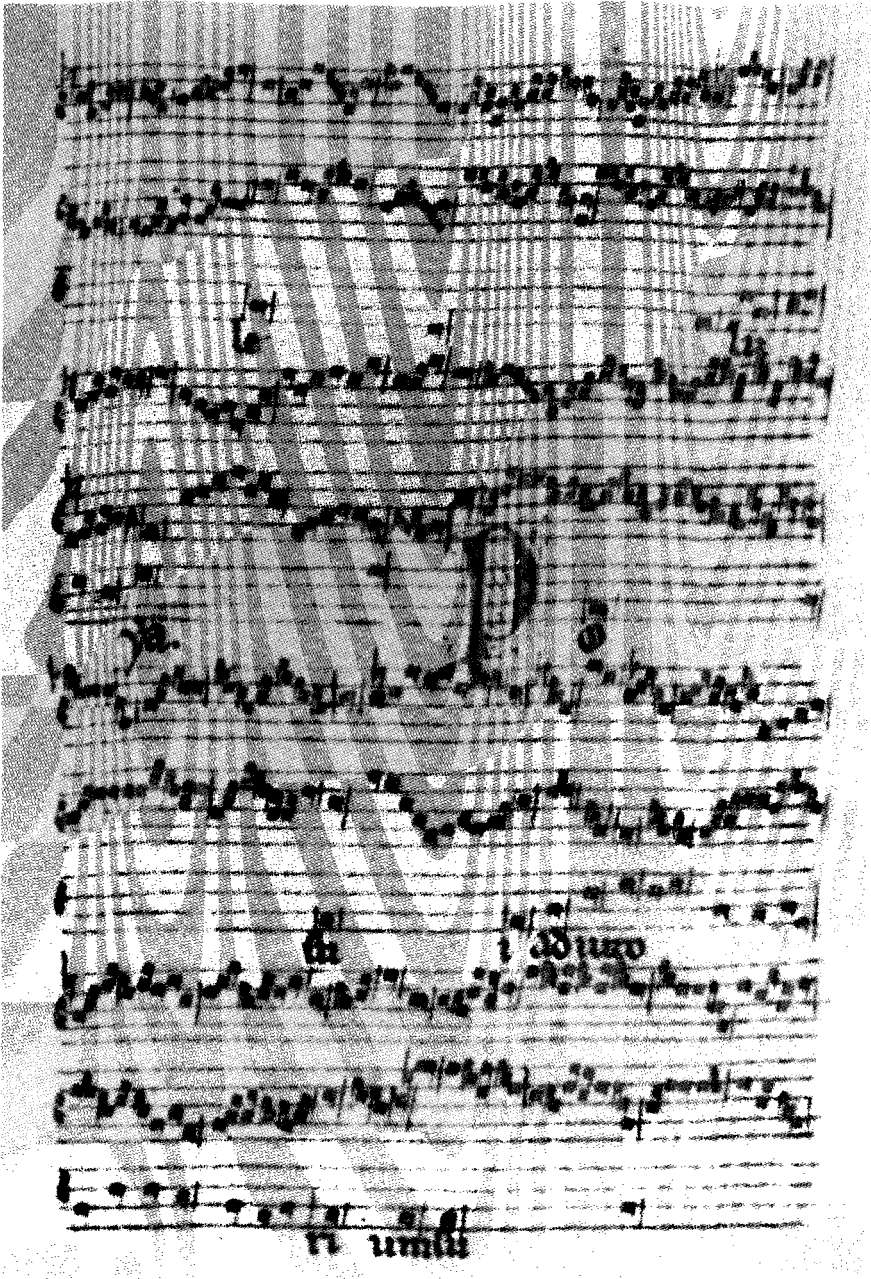


Figure 2. *F*, fol. 36v, showing the continuation of Perotin's *Alleluia Posui adiutorium*.

mode ordos that constitute this passage, there are eleven places where the fracturing note lies a third above or below the fractured note, as opposed to fifteen places where the fracturing note lies a second away. In the transcription, the places involving a third are marked with asterisks. Only Anonymous IV's "very best singers of organum" would have known when to sing a second and when to sing a third if the intervals were notated by means of the inherently ambiguous plica. Who might Anonymous IV's "very best singers" have been? Would they have possessed certain skills to enable them to overcome the plica's ambiguity and to know "how much it ascends or descends"? Certainly there are melodic and harmonic contexts in which a knowledgeable singer, one well trained in the discant style, would have reason to prefer one pitch over another. In the first place, it is safe to assume that the plica most often denotes the next higher or lower pitch, as when it forms a passing tone between two pitches a third apart. For example, if the *Alleluia* had been noted with plicas rather than ternarias, only an unskilled (or, perhaps a perversely original) singer of the duplum would have sung the second and fifth notes of m. 3 and the second note of m. 4 as anything other than passing tones in a scalar pattern. On the other hand, would sophisticated insight into the style and proper interpretation of the musical context lead the singer of the triplum voice to choose to ascend a third and sing the fifth note of m. 1 as *G* and the fifth note of m. 2 as *F#* and the singer of the duplum to descend a third in the same places and sing a *C* and *B*? Not at all. Correct choice of the intended pitches would depend upon the singer's familiarity with the actual piece, his memory of what the piece sounds like. In such a case, then, the "very best singers" would be those with the best memory of the specific compositions that comprise the repertory. But, as Anonymous IV makes clear, there is an alternative notation that avoids the problem completely, since it does not depend upon the singer's memory of an oral transmission.

The interchangeability of the two methods of notation of *fractio modi* is explicit also in the practical sources. Example 2 is the beginning of the first ordo of the *revelavit* discant section of the M 1 organum as notated in the *F* and the *W₁* versions of the *Magnus liber organi*. The *F* scribe fractures the long of the second foot by adding a plica to it, while the *W₁* scribe achieves the same result by use of a ternaria. Since the fracturing breve fills a third between *G* and *B*, the pitch denoted by the plica is obvious. Nevertheless, the *W₁* scribe chose the alternative notation.

Example 3a is from *Et gaudebit* no. 5, found in the *F* collection of clausulae. Here the longs of the second, fourth, sixth, and tenth feet are fractured with plicas, while the long of the fifth foot is fractured by means of a ternaria. Since in the second and tenth feet the plica tone

here. The main point to be made, however, is the interchangeability of the two methods of notating the rhythm. To attribute different rhythmic meanings to them, as for example Hans Tischler does in his comparative edition of the early motets,¹³ is to misrepresent their intent. Example 3b gives Tischler's rhythmic interpretation of the same passage and, in parallel, his reading of the rhythmically explicit motet (example 3c). The motet does not support Tischler's reading of the ternaria in m. 3 of the clausula, but instead that given in example 3a.¹⁴

Example 4 offers corroborating evidence as found in the clausula *Et gaudebit* no. 3 and its texted version, the French motet *En une chambre cointe et grant* [328], which is preserved in W_2 and, in mensural notation, in the sixth fascicle of *Mo*. The W_2 motet inserts an extra note in the second measure, creating a pair of semibreves, but in the following measure preserves the clausula rhythm, as does also the mensurally explicit *Mo* version. Tischler's reading of the ternaria in *fractio modi* is again contrary to the evidence.

Example 4a. *Et gaudebit* no. 3 (*F* 131, fol. 162) with Tischler's transcription superimposed (2:1082).

Example 4b. *En une chambre cointe et grant* [328]/*Et gaudebit* (W_2 , fol. 233).

Example 4c. Concordance (*Mo*, fol. 243).

¹³ Hans Tischler, *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

¹⁴ Gordon Anderson's earlier edition respects the interchangeability of the two notational methods: *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Helmstadt 1099 (1206)*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, vol. 24 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, [1971]-1976), 2:165-66.


The clausula-motet relationship does not always provide such seemingly unequivocal evidence. In some cases, in fact, the motet seems to support Tischler's interpretation of a ternaria in *fractio modi*. Example 5 gives the last two ordos of the motet *Gaude Syon filia* [632] and its parent clausula, *Et Iherusalem* no. 2.

Example 5a. *Et Iherusalem* no. 2 (F, fol. 65) with Tischler's transcription superimposed (1:473).

Example 5b. *Gaude Syon filia* [632]/*Et Iherusalem* (F, fol. 410).

As this example illustrates, there is another reason in addition to that given by Anonymous IV for notating *fractio modi* with ternarias instead of plicas. When the fracturing note has the same pitch as the fractured note, there is no choice: notation by plica is impossible. In this case the creator of the motet has dealt with the two instances of *fractio modi* by means that differ from that seen in the preceding example. In the second measure, the fracturing note *E* of the clausula has been omitted in the motet; and in the third measure, the fracturing note *C* has been joined to the following note to form a pair of semibreves.¹⁵ From this example one

¹⁵ Behind this and similar comparisons of clausula and motet lies the traditional assumption of the clausula's priority, an assumption that has been questioned from time to time, at least its tenability for all clausula-motet pairs. See, for example, William Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice*, Yale Studies in the History of Music, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 100; Ernest Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift für Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1973), 506-9; *idem*, "Sine littera and cum littera," 222; and Wolf Frobenius, "Zum genetischen Verhältnis zwischen Notre-Dame-Klauseln und ihren Motetten," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 44 (1987): 1-39. The *Et Iherusalem* no. 2 / *Gaude Syon filia* pair is one of many for which Frobenius argues the priority of the motet. Although the question is, broadly speaking, an important one, it ultimately has little, if any, bearing upon the comparison of notational details of the type I am making here.

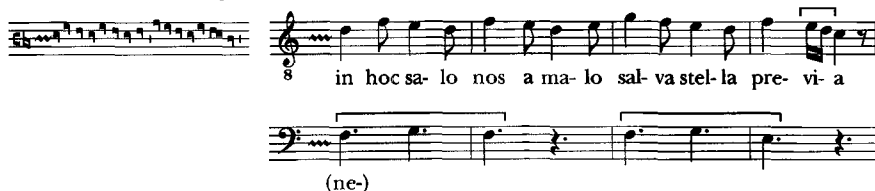
might want to conclude that the evidence of the motet indicates the accuracy of the interpretation of the ternaria that Tischler favors: .

But such a conclusion would be premature, as may be seen in example 6, which gives the tenor and duplum voices only of a passage near the end of the four-voice motet *Serena virginum* [69] and the clausula *Manere* no. 6 [L. 9]. The clausula ordo includes one instance of *fractio modi* by plica, and there can be no disagreement about its only possible rhythmic meaning. But the motet changes the two breves *E* and *D* to a pair of semibreves, a meaning that is equally explicit and undeniable. Reinterpreting the clausula to make it agree with the motet would, of course, have no basis whatever; and the same applies to example 5. Clausula and motet are simply rhythmically different.

Example 6a. *Manere* no. 6 [L. 9] (*F*, fol. 151v).



Example 6b. *Serena Virginum* [69]/*Manere* (*F*, fol. 235).

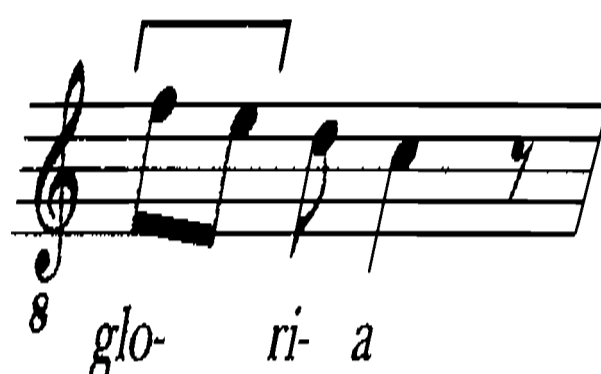


Other sources of *Serena virginum* and *Manere* no. 6 [L. 9] present interesting variants. The only other source of the clausula, *W*₁ (fol. 50v), has the same notation for this passage.¹⁶ But the *W*₁ source of the motet (fol. 15) gives a plicated simplex note to the syllable "pre-" and thereby preserves the clausula rhythm:



¹⁶ This, in fact, is not quite true. The last two notes of the ordo are written not as a binaria, but in the currentes form that is common in *W*₁.

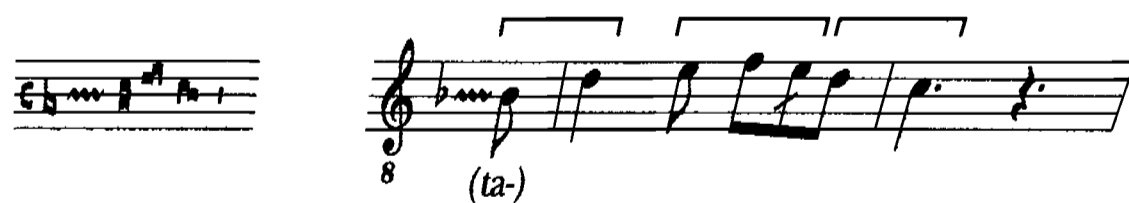
So also does *Ma* (fol. 122).¹⁷ The version preserved in two-voice contrafactum, *Manere vivere* [70], which also keeps the rhythm, in this case by means of a *binaria* for the syllable



This example, incidentally, also demonstrates the equivalence of a plicated note and a plicated simplex note when setting a syllable to two breves in notation *cum littera*.

Example 7 presents a similar case, found in a passage from the motet *Et exaltavi plebis humilem* [517] and the three-voiced clausula *Et exaltavi* no. 2 [L. 2]. Here again the clausula has *fractio modi* by *plica*; the *W*₂ version of the motet preserves the clausula rhythm; while the *F* version changes the breves to semibreves.

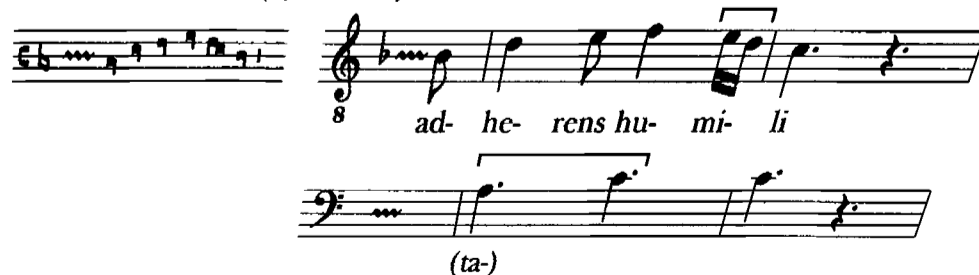
Example 7a. *Et exaltavi* a3 no. 2 (*F*, fol. 46).



Example 7b. *Et exaltavi plebis humilem* [517]/*Et exaltavi* (*W*₂, fol. 124).



Example 7c. Concordance (*F*, fol. 395).



¹⁷ *Ma* preserves only the triplum and motetus voices. Still further variants are found in the three-voice version of *Serena virginum* found twice in *LaA*, fols. 74v and 92. See Tischler, *The Earliest Motets*, 1:57.

Example 8, from the same motet and clausula, illustrates a third method of notating *fractio modi*. This notation makes use of currentes but is essentially the same as the notation using fracturing ternarias; the three currentes are like a descending ternaria. The example gives one of several places in the duplum of this motet where the W_2 version preserves the clausula's rhythm, while in the F version the breves have been changed to semibreves.

Example 8a. *Et exaltavi* a3 no. 2 (F , fol. 46).

Example 8b. *Et exaltavi plebis humilem* [517]/*Et exaltavi* (W_2 , fol. 124).

Example 8c. Concordance (F , fol. 395).

The preceding examples, and others like them, demonstrate how a pair of breves that result from *fractio modi* in a clausula are often changed into a pair of semibreves in a motet. It makes no difference whether the fracturing in the clausula is by means of a plica, a ternaria, or three currentes. In notation *sine littera*, then, there should be only one interpretation.

There is yet another, similar circumstance that might seem to invite misinterpretation. As both Garlandia and Anonymous IV make clear, a sixth-mode ordo begins with a quaternaria, the first three notes of which are breves. The ordo then continues with a succession of ternarias—that is, if it uses the second method of notation. Anonymous IV remarks upon the similarity of this notation to third mode. Both begin with four notes, “but here [in the sixth mode] the first note is joined and there [in the third mode] the first note is separate....”¹⁸ As expected, the practical

¹⁸ Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV*, 50.

sources bear out this observation, but with some noteworthy exceptions. There are cases in third-mode pieces where an ordo begins with the four notes written as a ligature; and, conversely, there are sixth-mode pieces in which an ordo begins with a simplex and ternaria—just the opposite of the usual notation.¹⁹ More common are essentially first-mode pieces with occasional ordos beginning with *fractio modi* notated in this exceptional manner, as may be seen above in example 1, where the third ordo of the duplum begins with a simplex and ternaria instead of the usual quaternaria. Another case in point is the clausula *Regnat* no. 8, with a simple and straightforward first-mode duplum containing a total of only two instances of *fractio modi*. These occur at the beginning of the third

¹⁹ Indeed there are some cases in which an arguable point is whether the scribe has separated the first note from the following three or joined it only very loosely. An interesting and challenging example of the confusion of sixth-mode and third-mode notation is found in the *In azimis sinceritatis* discant section of the M 15 organum as found in the *F* version of the *Magnus liber*, fol. 110. The second half of this two-statement piece has an unequivocal first-mode duplum and a tenor of duplex longs. In the first half, the typical duplum ordo consists of either a quaternaria followed by ternarias (thus, sixth mode) or a simplex note followed by ternarias (third mode). If this were a consistently notated sixth mode, there would be a total of eleven quaternarias standing either at the beginning of an ordo or after the syllable line that marks a change of syllable; there are no cases of a pitch repetition requiring the breaking of a quaternaria. In fact, quaternarias occur only seven times. In the other four places, a simplex plus ternaria stands in the place of the quaternaria, the normal notation for third mode. Since a third-mode reading is exactly twice as long as a sixth-mode reading, a tenor of duplex longs for the former and of ternary longs for the latter produces exactly the same harmonic structure. To complicate the picture still further, an equally acceptable interpretation is possible in what has been viewed as an early variant form of third mode (Waite, *Rhythm*, 73–75) and the alternate form of third mode (Ernest Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 [1962]: 249–91). This pattern, which resembles first mode with alternate ordos extended,



would in fact fit better with the straightforward first-mode second half of the *In azimis sinceritatis* piece. On the other hand, the two halves almost certainly existed originally as two separate pieces, not being conceived at the same time nor necessarily with an eye to what we would now regard as stylistic unity. The piece occurs only in *F*, but it has a related motet, *Exilium parat transgressio* [244], also found only in *F* (fol. 410v). The *cum littera* notation of the motet offers no evidence to settle the issue in favor of any one of the three possibilities. Tischler (*The Earliest Motets*, 1:478–79) chooses the sixth mode. Frobenius ("Zum genetischen Verhältnis," 23) accepts Tischler's reading, views the motet as in fact two motets, and argues their priority to the discant section. On the other hand, Rebecca Baltzer ("Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula," 2 vols. [Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1974], 2:502–3) transcribes the first half of the discant section in the alternate form of third mode, the interpretation which I also prefer. Of other similar cases, *Et illuminare* no. 3 [L. 4] may be cited as an especially complicated one.

Example 9a. *Regnat* no. 8 (*F* 166: fol. 166–66v) with Tischler's transcription superimposed (1:378).

8 (Reg-)

Example 9b. *Infidelem populum* [443]/*Regnat* (*F*, fol. 403).

8 sus- pen- di- tur pro- pri- um. Ap- pre- hen- de gal- di- um

(Reg-)

and fourth ordos, as shown in example 9. The related motet, *Infidelem populum* [443], alters both *fractio modi* figures, the latter by simply omitting the fracturing *B*, the former by means of the familiar reinterpretation of the breves as a pair of semibreves. Once again the motet cannot be seen as confirming a reading such as that offered by Tischler.

The preceding examples have been drawn from clausulae for which related motets are preserved. Example 10 is the clausula *Descendit* no. 2 [L. -], for M 20, which is found only in *F* and has no related motet. It is an excellent example of a sixth-mode piece created through the fracturing of nearly all of the longs of mode one. Only at the third, eighth, and tenth feet is the underlying first-mode pattern of long-breve apparent (as it is also, of course, at the end of each ordo). Otherwise, the longs are fractured by means of plicas (at 4, 9, 11), by internal ternarias (5, 12, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26), initial quaternarias (7, 15), and by initial "would-be quaternarias" (19, 23) in which the first note is written separately.

Example 10. *Descendit* no. 2 [L. -] (*F* 117: fol. 160).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Des-

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

21 22 23 24 25 26 27

dit

One remaining question is whether it is possible that the theorists' explanation of the meaning of a ternaria in *fractio modi* is applicable only to "true" sixth-mode pieces—that is, pieces in which all, or virtually all, longs are fractured. Such ternarias then would have a different meaning in predominantly first-mode pieces, where they are the exception rather than the rule. A sixth-mode ternaria would be transcribed as



whereas a corresponding first-mode ternaria would be transcribed as



To cast the question in terms of specific pieces, one may posit that the *Descendit* of example 10 qualifies as a genuine sixth-mode piece, even though three longs remain unfractured, and that the *Regnat* of example 9 is a first-mode piece, with only two longs fractured out of a total of thirty-two (never counting those at the end of ordos). Are the theorists' teachings applicable only to the former? I think not. In practical terms, any attempt to establish a clear division between first-mode and sixth-mode compositions is bound to fail since most lie somewhere between the extremes represented by this *Regnat* and *Descendit*.

Domine no. 1 [L. 2] for M 3, given as example 11, may represent the typical first-mode clausula with fairly extensive *fractio modi* and at the same time summarize the evidence that has been presented here. Of the thirty-one nonterminal longs in this piece, fifteen are fractured. One of these (16) is a *longa florata*, and another (30) is fractured by a currentes group of four semibreves. Of the remaining thirteen, two are fractured by plica (23, 24), four by quaternaria (3, 11, 15, 38, the last of these being in fact 1 + 3 because of the repeated pitch), and all the others by ternaria or currentes. A ternaria is used at 19 because of the repeating pitch and at 39 and 40 because the fracturing breve lies a third above and below the fractured long. Currentes are used when the melodic pattern involves a stepwise decent from the fractured long.

As concerns the notational detail that we have been examining here, the statements of Johannes de Garlandia and Anonymous IV are clear and explicit. In modal notation *sine littera* there were two methods of notating the sixth rhythmic mode, either by adding plicas to the ligatures of first or second mode or by writing an initial quaternaria followed by a succession of ternarias. The two methods were interchangeable and denoted the same rhythmic patterns. The sources of Notre Dame polyphony just as clearly demonstrate that both methods were employed and that

Example 11. *Domine* no. 1 [L. 2] (F47: fols. 151v-52).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

Ne-

15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41

they were understood by notators and scribes as having equivalent meanings. Moreover, no differentiation can be made between compositions (or sections of compositions) in which virtually all feet consist of the three breves of sixth mode (the result of a consistent fracturing of all of the first-mode longs) and compositions in which only some (ranging from a few to many) first-mode longs are divided into two breves. In a number of cases, the *cum littera* notation of related motets indicates that details of the rhythm of clausulae were altered in the process by which clausulae were converted to motets.²⁰ Such alterations sometimes involved the reinterpretation not only of ternarias in *fractio modi* (as in example 5) but also of plicated longs (as in example 6). In either case, the conflicting evidence of motet notation is cause neither for questioning the teachings of the theorists nor for “correcting” the *sine littera* notation of the sources.

* * *

²⁰ A study of other aspects of this process is found in Norman E. Smith, “The Earliest Motets: Words and Music,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114 (1989): 141-63.

Manuscript sources are cited in this article according to the following sigla:

Ba: Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit. 115 (olim Ed.IV.6)

F: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29,1

Hu: Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas

LoA: London, British Library, Egerton 2615

Ma: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486

Mo: Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine
(olim Faculté de Médecine), H 196

W₁: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 677 (Helmstedt 628)

W₂: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 1206 (Helmstedt 1099)

M and O numbers refer to Ludwig's numbering of the Mass and Office organa as found in the *Repertorium*. F numbers are from his numbering of the Florence manuscript's collection of 456 clausulae. Clausulae and discant sections of organa are identified also according to the catalogue found in my dissertation ("The Clausula of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial Study" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1964), e.g., "*Manere* no. 6 [L. 9]" indicates by my reckoning the sixth in a series of settings of this tenor, in Ludwig's numbering the ninth. Ludwig's number is given only when it differs from mine. Motet numbers are those assigned by Ludwig in the *Repertorium*; they were adopted also by Gennrich, *Bibliographie*.

The Marriage of Heaven and Earth: A Late Medieval Source of the *Consecratio virginum*

By Anne Bagnall Yardley

Careful study of the documents from medieval nunneries attests to a close correspondence between the musical life in nunneries and that in monasteries.¹ The very basic similarity between these institutions proceeds from the close relationship between male and female versions of the monastic rules. The same concepts of worship regulate their respective performance of the liturgy, which is itself dependent not on differences between monks and nuns but on the location and order of a particular establishment. Structurally the institutions are again quite similar: for example, the abbot and abbess, prior and prioress, and cantor and cantrix share not only titles but also functions. In each group similar provisions exist for the weekly rotation of certain musical and liturgical duties and for changes in performance to reflect the importance of specific liturgical occasions.

One striking departure from this basic similarity is the *Consecratio virginum*, the service for consecrating virgins to the service of God. Unlike other rituals for nuns (e.g., the blessing of an abbess), this service does not merely parallel the one for monks by making appropriate pronoun changes; rather, a distinct and more elaborate service with a separate development exists for consecrating nuns.

What gives the liturgy for the consecration of virgins such a unique place in the development of monastic ritual? Why does the service for nuns evolve into a more elaborate form than its male counterpart, the service for receiving monks? To answer these questions, it is necessary to look briefly at the role of virginity in early Christian culture. As have many societies and cultures, Christianity from its beginnings has honored virgins and, at times, set them apart. Gradually communities of virgins were formed for those women who needed the protection and encouragement of a community. Psalm-singing and prayer were usually a feature of life in such establishments.

¹ See the author's article "'Ful weel she soong the service dyvnye': The Cloistered Musician in the Middle Ages," in Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, eds., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 15-38. Also, the author's dissertation surveys the sources for Medieval English nunneries and includes much of the information presented here. See Anne D. Bagnall, *Musical Practices in Medieval Nunneries* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1975).

By the fourth or fifth century, a woman's decision to remain a virgin is recognized by a ceremony of veiling, generally carried out by a bishop. Walter Howard Frere, in his discussion of the consecration service, deals with this phase of its development:

This involved for the first time a definite public service; and legislation begins upon the subject restricting the veiling to the episcopal office, or at least to a priest acting under a bishop's direction: restricting also the occasion of the veiling to great festivals, regulating the age at which such a public recognition should be given to a vow of virginity, and safeguarding the vow so made with precautions and injunctions...also by making provisions that virgins who were without other protection should be received into a community for their greater security.²

Two facts emerge for our consideration: first, the organization of groups of religious women focuses primarily on their virginity and secondarily on their religious function, while communities of religious men reverse these two priorities; and second, the service for the consecration of virgins tends to focus increasingly on the role of the nun as the bride of Christ, drawing upon appropriate female images and stories, primarily from Saints Agnes and Agatha, in expanding the service. From its inception in the fourth and fifth centuries, the ceremony contains two essential elements: the collect and prayer of consecration; and the blessing of the veil and any other clothes the virgin wears to set herself apart. These two elements remain the central acts of the service despite the additions of many other components during the later Middle Ages.³

Since the consecration service is almost always performed by a bishop, most of the primary source material for tracing the development of this

² Walter Howard Frere, *Pontifical Services Illustrated from Miniatures of the XVth and XVth Centuries*, Alcuin Club Collections, vol. 3 (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1901), 57-58.

³ Frere's discussion of the corresponding service for monks indicates that the three primary actions in that ritual are (1) the promise of obedience, (2) the change of clothing, and (3) the blessing of the new monk. While the nun's change of clothing is connected with her role as the bride of Christ, the monk's change is viewed in light of St. Paul's injunction to put on the clothes of the new man in Christ. According to Frere, the service remained very simple and essentially unchanged throughout the Middle Ages (*ibid.*, 55-56).

ceremony is found in the bishops' pontificals.⁴ Many of these manuscripts, which are often large and beautifully illuminated, have remained extant to the present day. Because we are considering an English source, it is the English pontificals which form the most immediate background for our study. There are over thirty extant English medieval pontificals,⁵ many of which contain the services relevant to nunneries (i.e., blessing of an abbess, blessing of a widow, and consecration of a virgin). Table 1 lists the manuscripts which are most useful to our study. They span the period from the eleventh to the sixteenth century.

Table 1
Selected English Pontificals

Location	Library	MS Number	Diocese	Century
Cambridge	Corpus Christi	163	Winchester	11th
Cambridge	Univ. Library	Ee 2.3	Winton	12th
Cambridge	Trinity College	249	unknown	12th
Cambridge	Univ. Library	Ff 6.9	Coventry	13th
Oxford	Bodleian Library	Rawl C. 400	Salisbury	14th
London	British Library	Harl 561	Winchester	14th
London	British Library	Lansdowne 451	London	14th
Oxford	Bodleian Library	Rawl C. 425	Westminster	14th
Cambridge	Corpus Christi	79	London	15th
Exeter	Cathedral	3513	Exeter	15th
Oxford	Bodleian Library	Tanner 5	unknown	15th
Cambridge	Univ. Library	Mm 3.21	Lincoln	15th
Cambridge	Univ. Library	Ff 6.1	York	16th

⁴ René Metz has studied the development of the service in the Roman pontifical in his thorough book, *La consécration des vierges dans l'église romaine: Étude d'histoire de la liturgie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954).

⁵ The most comprehensive discussion and listing of English pontificals is found in William G. Henderson, ed., *Liber pontificalis Christopher Bainbridge archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, vol. 61 (Durham: Andrew & Co., 1875). In the preface to this work Henderson lists and briefly describes thirty-one extant English and Scottish pontificals. To his list should be added three additional sources from the British Library: Cotton Vespasian D. I, Additional 28188, and Lansdowne 388. Another, more recent, source is J. Brückmann's "Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales," *Traditio* 29 (1973): 391-458.

A primary late medieval source for understanding the consecration service is the *Ordo consecrationis sanctimonialium* (Cambridge, University Library, Mm 3.13) from the Abbey of St. Mary's in Winchester.⁶ The manuscript is attributed to St. Mary's on the basis of the inscription on a blank leaf at the beginning of the manuscript: "Hic liber attinet ad monasterium monialium sanctae mariae in civitate winton. Ex dono Reverendi in Christo patris, Domini Ricardi Fox, ejusdem civitatis Episcopi, et dicti monasterii benefactoris praecipi."⁷

Several facts about Richard Fox and the nuns of the diocese of Winchester aid our understanding of the context of this manuscript. During the latter part of the Middle Ages, the educational level of nuns decreased to such an extent that many nuns were no longer able to comprehend Latin and, indeed, could often barely read and sing it.⁸ That Bishop Fox was concerned with improving the understanding of nuns in his diocese is attested to not only by the Middle English rubrics in *Mm 3.13*, but also by the printing, in 1516, of a version of the Benedictine Rule in English for the nuns in his diocese. In the preface to the book (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Pr. Bk. Arch. A.d. 15), the publisher, Richard Pinson, states that he is printing it by permission of the Bishop of Winchester (i.e., Richard Fox) for the nuns under his charge so that they can understand the rule and read it more diligently. Pinson specifically mentions the abbeys of Romsey, Wherwell, and St. Mary's, Winchester, and the priory of Wintney as among the institutions for which it is intended.⁹

The Abbey of St. Mary, to which *Mm 3.13* belonged, was a large establishment housing about seventy nuns prior to the early fourteenth century when financial difficulties and the Black Death took their toll. In 1536, there were only twenty-six nuns, thirteen lay sisters, and five priests as

⁶ The text of this service has been published with some commentary by William Maskell in his *Monumenta ritualia ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1882; repr., Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1970), 2:307-31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁸ Evidence for this condition is found in the episcopal visitation records for nunneries in which several bishops commented that due to the nuns' poor comprehension of Latin they would have to make their injunctions in "Englyshe" (Middle English).

⁹ The rule was read daily in monastic establishments so a translation would have been well used. The importance of the houses under Bishop Fox's charge may have had something to do with his concern for them. Based on figures at the time of the dissolution of monastic houses (1536-39), Romsey has the fifth largest annual income of English nunneries (£393) and Wherwell the seventh (£339). St. Mary's had a respectable income of £179, and only Wintney with an income of £43 was in poor financial shape. These statistics are from David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1971), 251-89.

well as twenty-six children who were boarded and educated and twenty-nine officials and servants. When the nunnery was surrendered to Henry VIII in 1539, pensions were awarded to the abbess and twenty-two nuns.¹⁰ So while the abbey was smaller in the later Middle Ages than it had been, it nevertheless remained an active center of religious life and education. Our manuscript presumably dates from between 1500 and 1528, the period of Bishop Fox's jurisdiction over the house.¹¹

The importance of *Mm 3.13* is twofold: first, it provides us with a version of the consecration service intended for the nuns themselves and therefore containing more detailed rubrics than most of the pontificals; and second, it presents the service as it was performed in the diocese of Winchester in the early sixteenth century, allowing us to compare this version with the eleventh- and fourteenth-century pontificals from the same diocese. A comparison of these sources makes evident the considerable expansion which the ritual undergoes during the eleventh to sixteenth century. The Middle English rubrics in *Mm 3.13*, in addition to their charm, are complete enough that not only the musical-liturgical content but also the visual elements of the ritual are clear; therefore, we are able to conceptualize fully this ceremony which played such an important role in the life of a nun.

In understanding the consecration service prior to the eleventh century, certain features stand out as basic to the ritual: namely that it should be celebrated by a bishop on a Sunday or solemn feast day, that it is incorporated within a solemn mass, and that it should include the blessing of the habit, veil, ring, and the nun herself. These elements of the ceremony remain central in *Mm 3.13* but are surrounded by numerous activities, chants, and prayers.¹² The main events of the service in *Mm 3.13* are the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 268.

¹¹ Another version of the manuscript exists: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 11. It is not possible to ascertain the exact provenance of this manuscript, but the reference in the profession to an establishment built in honor of the Holy Cross and St. Peter the Apostle makes Wherwell Abbey of the same diocese a likely possibility. Other than the form of profession, *Barlow 11* is identical to *Mm 3.13* in all but the smallest details. In this article references to the contents of *Mm 3.13* can be taken to apply to *Barlow 11* unless otherwise noted.

¹² There were two major expansions and codifications of the service as represented in the Roman Pontifical. The first occurred in the tenth century in the *Pontifical Romano-Germanique*. This source was the first to draw heavily on the service for St. Agnes in expanding the ceremony. By the time of the earliest English pontificals (eleventh century), these changes had, for the most part, been incorporated. A second major group of changes appeared in the pontifical of Guillaume Durand, 1292–95. Although these changes did not appear in the official Roman pontifical until 1485, they had widespread acceptance prior to that time and several changes were incorporated into the English versions of the

blessing of the habit, the entrance of the virgins wearing the habit, the signing of the vow of obedience, the blessing and presentation of the veil, the blessing and presentation of the ring, the presentation by the virgins of bread and wine to be blessed for communion, the fastening of the veil, and the departure of the virgin. Most of these actions are accompanied by chants from a variety of sources, sometimes sung by all the virgins together and sometimes by each individually. All of these items are interspersed with the celebration of the Eucharist.¹³ Table 2 lists all of the chants sung in the version of the service we are discussing and describes the action with which the music is associated, the source of the chant, and the time at which it was introduced into the service in England and in the Roman Pontifical.

Four features of the service deserve additional discussion: the expansion of the opening portion of the service; the dramatic orchestration of the nuns' entrance in their habits; the blessing and delivery of the rings twice in succession; and the instructions to the nuns for the period following their consecration. In all of these matters, the extensive rubrics aid us greatly in understanding the exact rendition of the service.

The blessing of the virgin's habit is an essential portion of the consecration service from the earliest stages. Generally the habit was blessed after the reading of the epistle, and the nuns then retired to an anteroom to put on their habits during the gospel and the creed. In some late medieval sources, this early portion of the service has been expanded. In *Mm 3.13*, it includes the summoning of the virgins by the singing of an antiphon, *Prudentes virgines*; the entrance of the nuns each carrying her habit and an unlighted candle, singing the responsory *Audivi vocem* (no. 1); an interrogation of the nuns by the bishop to ascertain their worthiness and willingness to enter into the religious life; and the blessing of the habits by the bishop. The singing of *Prudentes virgines* and the interroga-

service. Metz (*Consécration*) has studied these changes thoroughly. Table 2 indicates the relative time of adoption of individual chants in England and in the Roman pontifical.

¹³ The consecration portions of the service are interspersed throughout the entire Mass. The first two chants (*Prudentes virgines* and *Audivi vocem* [no. 1]) occur after the Gloria and Collect. The nuns reenter after the Credo singing *Amo Christum* (no. 2) and the service continues through *Ipsi sum desponsata* (no. 8). The offertory is next and each nun sings *Posuit signum* (no. 9) as the bishop draws her veil down over her face when she makes her offering. The Mass then continues with the consecration of bread and wine and the Agnus Dei. After the newly consecrated nuns receive the wine, they sing *Ecce quo concupivi* (no. 10). After the Mass is over, the virgins leave singing *Regnum mundi* (no. 11). The chant numbers in parentheses, here and in the text, refer to the edition of the *Consecratio Virginum* that follows this article.

Table 2
Musical Portions of the Consecration Service in Mm 3.13

Chant Incipit	Source	Accompanying Action	Appears in England	Appears in Roman Pont.
Prudentes Virgines (no musical notation)	Service for Virgins	Summons to virgins by priest	Mm 3.13	Durand Pontifical (1292-95)
Audivi vocem de caelo	Service for Virgins	Procession with unlighted candles for blessing of habits	14th century	Not used
Amo Christum	St. Agnes	Re-entrance of virgins; standing inside west door of choir	12th century	Not used
Venite: Filiae audite me	Reconciliation of Penitents	Procession to high altar	12th century	Durand Pontifical
Suscipe me, Domine (recitation tone)	Service for Monks	After signing of profession	11th century	10th century
Ancilla Christi sum	St. Agatha	Presentation of unblest veils to bishop by virgins	14th century	13th century
Summa ingenuitas	St. Agatha	Bishop's blessing over veil	14th century	Not used
Induit me Dominus	St. Agnes	Nun's acceptance of veil	11th century	10th century
Anulo suo	St. Agnes	Sung by each virgin after ring is placed on her finger	11th century	10th century
Ipsi sum desponsata	St. Agnes	Sung by each virgin after second delivery of ring	11th century	10th century
Posuit signum	St. Agnes	Sung by virgins as bishop draws veil over their face	11th century	10th century
Ecce quod concupivi	St. Agnes	Sung by virgins after receiving communion	14th century (Winchester only)	Durand Pontifical
Regnum mundi	Female saints-not virgins	Departure of nuns at end of service	14th century	Durand Pontifical

tion are not found in other English sources¹⁴ although they appeared in the late thirteenth-century pontifical of Guillaume Durand.¹⁵ This expansion of the early portion of the service emphasizes the importance and solemnity of the occasion by stressing the need for public recognition of the nun's readiness to make such a momentous decision.

After this opening portion of the service, the nuns retire to put on their newly blessed habits. Their second entrance, after the Creed, is much more dramatically orchestrated than their initial entrance. They appear at the west door of the choir with candles lighted now, and sing an ornate responsory chant from the liturgy of St. Agnes, *Amo Christum* (no. 2).¹⁶ At the conclusion of this chant, the nuns kneel and await the summons from the bishop. The ensuing dialogue between bishop, choir, and virgins begins as follows (no. 3):

To whom soo knelyng, shall the bisshop syttyng at the hygh aulter make a sygne wyth his hande, and syng: *Venite: Venite: Venite.* And the quoyre shall prosequite the rest: that is to say, *Filiae audite me: timorem Domini docebo vos.* In tempore Paschali. *Alleluya.*

And when the quoyre hath song that, the virgyns shall demeurely arryse and make a reverence to the bisshop: and then somewhat passe forth softly towardys the bisshop, syngeng as they goo: *Et nunc sequimur ex toto corde, et timemus te.*

And when they be soo come to the myddys of the quoyre, then there knele downe: and then shall the bisshop syng the secounde tyme: *Venite: venite: venite.*¹⁷

¹⁴ London, British Library, Lansdowne 388, a fifteenth-century fragmentary pontifical from the diocese of Lincoln, includes a version of the consecration service in which the rubrics are in Latin and the service itself in Middle English. In this service the archdeacon begins by saying to the nuns: "Ye wise and prudent maydens, pure and clene virgyns yn our Lord God, prepare and make ready your lyghts. Loo, your spouse Jesu Cryste, the sone of God, ys at hand. Come ye forthe and mete hym." (Henderson, *Liber pontificalis*, 237). This is clearly a translation (with additions) of the text of the antiphon in *Mm 3.13*: "Prudentes virgines aptate vestras lampades, ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei." (Maskell, *Monumenta*, 309).

¹⁵ Metz, *Consécration*, 337–40.

¹⁶ The notation of this chant in several of the consecration services, including *Mm 3.13*, is rather unusual. Instead of beginning on the D a seventh below the C clef, as it does in sources for the service of St. Agnes, it begins on the D a second above the C clef. While chant notation does not indicate absolute pitch, the use of the higher notation must indicate that *Amo Christum* was to be sung at a relatively high pitch level.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 313–14. The italics are mine and indicate those parts for which music is given in the manuscript.

The rubrics in the manuscript direct that this entire exchange be repeated three times with the nuns proceeding to a new place on each occasion, finally reaching the high altar at the end of the exchange. The repetition of the chant impressively dramatizes the entrance of the virgins, who are seen for the first time in their habits and with lighted candles.

A comparison with the pontificals shows that there are three variable elements in the performance of this sequence of events: first, the division of the *Venite* chant into two sections to be performed respectively by the bishop and choir; second, the element of the repetition of the exchange; and third, the nuns' movement to a new position upon the repetition of the chant. In the twelfth-century version of the chants, the bishop sings the entire *Venite* and the virgins respond; neither chant is repeated. From the fourteenth century on, there is a tendency to divide the *Venite* between the bishop and the choir, although not all manuscripts indicate this practice. Finally, in the fourteenth-century Winchester pontifical and in other pontificals from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the direction to repeat the chant three times appears. It is only in these sources that attention is paid to the movement of the nuns to various places. The directions in our manuscript are the most elaborate of any of the versions and demonstrate the strong interest in dramatic effects that is evident throughout *Mm 3.13*.

This interest in dramatic effects is shown clearly in the blessing and delivery of the rings which symbolize the wedding between Christ and the nun. Not surprisingly, the delivery of the rings in *Mm 3.13* is more elaborate than that in other manuscripts. The actual delivery is performed dramatically as the bishop blesses the rings, sprinkles them with holy water, and then places a ring on the fourth finger of each novice, who responds by singing an antiphon from the service for St. Agnes, *Anulo suo* (no. 7). ("By his ring my Lord Jesus Christ has wed me, and like a wife he has adorned me with a crown.") During the singing of this antiphon each virgin is told to hold "hir hande soo hygh that the people may see it."¹⁸ In *Mm 3.13* the rubrics indicate that the entire procedure is to occur a second time with the virgins now responding *Ipsi sum desponsata* (no. 8), also from the liturgy of St. Agnes. This manuscript appears to be the only source in which two deliveries are made of the rings although the virgins often sing both antiphons. The obvious marriage imagery in this section is a clear extension of the analogy of the virgin as the bride of Christ. This double delivery of rings is presumably the only way to have a double ring ceremony with an invisible spouse!

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 320.

One final feature of *Mm 3.13* which deserves attention here is the instructions to the nuns for the period following their consecration. Unlike most pontificals, this manuscript is concerned with the actions of the newly professed nuns after the bishop's departure. A period of three days after the service is set aside for strict meditation by the nuns. The rubrics are very specific about the permissible activities:

And frome thensforth they must contynue. iij. dayes in extreme silence: noo worde to any person spekyng. And every oone of those thre dayes every of thyes newe professed virgyns, must at the hye masse offre brede and wyne and also after masse be communed and howseld. And noo parte of theyr vestures, garmentyes, or clothes, change or put of, day nother nyght: theyr choes, sokkys, and guyrdles oonly excepte: but contynually both day and nyght, except oonly the howres of refection, intende to the servyce of oure Lorde Christe Jesu, theyr spouse and avowrye: and that in lawdes and songs spirituall: and yet more in devotion of mynde and herte, then in the exquisite modulacion of theyr toyne and voyce. And all howres in the quoyre they must thes. iij. dayes stande in the lowghest place. And the thryd day shall be song masse of the resurrection, and before that they receave the blessyd sacrament, whyles that the, *Agnus Dei*, is a syngyng, they shalbe broght unto the abbasse. And she shall kysse them oone after an other. And then shall they retorne agayne unto the aulter and be howselde. When that is doon, then shall the abbasse lyfte up theyr veyles fromme theyr faces. And fromme that tyme forthe, they shall were and goo and cumme as other of the convent doth.¹⁹

It is clear that the nuns are to meditate on the meaning of their act of profession the rest of their lives, likening it even to the resurrection; the elaborate nature of the ceremony and its musical components undoubtedly help to make that meaning clearer.

The consecration service undergoes tremendous expansion during the Middle Ages. There are apparently two primary factors influencing the content of the service: the date of the source and the diocesan practices.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid., 330.

²⁰ Another factor that often plays a role in determining liturgical content—the monastic order of the house—apparently plays no major role in this particular service. Evidence for this observation is found in the format of the vow, which often reads: “secundam regulam sancti N.” or “secundam regulam sancti Benedicti vel sancti Augustine.” An

We are fortunate to have access both to many pontificals from diverse time periods and to two pontificals from the diocese of Winchester in addition to *Mm 3.13*. These sources make it possible at least to surmise the approximate date of the inclusion of a chant in the service and also to determine whether the chant gained widespread acceptance or was confined to a particular locality. For example, the chants *Ancilla Christi sum* (no. 4) and *Summa ingenuitas* (no. 5) both appear in virtually all English sources from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries but do not appear in English sources prior to this time.²¹ *Ecce quod concupivi* (no. 10), on the other hand, appears only in the fourteenth-century pontifical from Winchester and in *Mm 3.13* and is presumably a feature of diocesan practice.²² Unfortunately, Winchester appears to be the only English diocese from which enough material is extant to make these conclusions.

It is relatively easy to document the expansion of the liturgy; it is more difficult to assess accurately the reasons for these developments. The most striking feature of the changes that occur is their importance in dramatizing the role of the nun as the bride of Christ. Both the additions to the liturgy and the changes in liturgical action support this concept. The role of woman as wife was the role that most women expected to fulfill in the Middle Ages. The increased emphasis on this role in the consecration service may have helped the nuns visualize their vocation in easily understandable concepts.²³

Many of the additions to the service were drawn from the liturgies for Saints Agnes and Agatha, whose great devotion to Christ as spouse would serve as an example for the newly consecrated nuns. The material drawn from these sources tends to emphasize that portion of the liturgy which deals with the visible, tangible signs of being the bride of Christ: the veil and the ring. The association of the consecration service with the lives of two female saints adds strength to the ritual, bridging the gap between mortal and immortal.

important exception to this statement is the service for the Bridgettine nuns at Syon Abbey, which follows a different format.

²¹ One twelfth-century source, Cambridge, University Library, Ee 2.3, includes these two chants; they are, however, added in the margin and are therefore not reliable as an indication of date.

²² It is, however, included in Roman pontificals beginning with Durand's work. Perhaps Winchester had closer ties to continental practice than did other areas in England.

²³ The role of the nun as the bride of Christ had, of course, always been emphasized to some extent, in contrast to the monks' "putting on the new man" in Christ.

Another significant method of expansion occurs in the liturgical actions which accompany the major events of the service. As we have seen, *Mm 3.13* gives highly detailed rubrical instructions to the participants in the service, thereby making very explicit the actions required. In such instances as the reentry of the nuns with their habits and the delivery of the rings, the symbolic importance of the liturgical action is expressed visually in terms which were readily understood by even the uneducated. O. B. Hardison has successfully demonstrated the importance of the dramatic significance of the Mass in the ninth and tenth centuries, particularly emphasizing the need of the illiterate for dramatic enactment and integration.²⁴ As the overall literacy of the nuns declined in the late Middle Ages, the need to dramatize the importance of the occasion both to the novice and to her family may have increased, leading to more detailed instructions for the performance of the liturgy.²⁵

The significance of *Mm 3.13* lies partially in its evidence of liturgical practices in Winchester in the early sixteenth century, but even more importantly in the insights which the detailed rubrics offer into the reasons for the elaborate, lengthy, and dramatic ceremony. For the nuns this occasion is one to be pondered over and meditated on for the rest of their lives, and the increasing richness of visual effect and liturgical content can only have added to their sense of the beauty of their calling.

²⁴ Osborne B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965). Metz has also pointed out the close connection between the consecration service and the expansion of drama in the tenth century (*Consécration*, 221–22).

²⁵ The service in English in *Lansdowne 388* reflects a different solution to the problem.

Consecratio virginum

The edition below includes the eleven primary musical portions of the *Ordo consecrationis sanctimonialium* as found in Cambridge, University Library, Mm 3.13 (see also table 2). I gratefully acknowledge permission to publish this edition from the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. A litany and a recitation tone version of *Suscipe domine* have been omitted. Although the manuscript has staff lines above the text for *Prudentes virgines*, they are unfortunately empty. Hence, this edition begins with *Audivi vocem*.

The music has been transcribed into a modern clef with round note heads. Slurs indicate the original ligature groupings; smaller note heads indicate plicated notes. In accordance with the source, bar lines have been placed only at major division points, and no attempt has been made to indicate smaller phrases through editorial changes. All *Alleluia*'s in the manuscript are preceded by the notation *In tempore paschali*, which has been omitted in the edition. Nos. 1, 2, and 11 are responsorial chants with a somewhat abbreviated repeat of the respond as indicated by the single-word incipit at the end of the verse. No. 2, although transcribed in the same range as the other chants, is written in the original beginning on the D above the C clef and makes use of a G clef in the middle of the chant.

Prudentes virgines. (Lacks musical notation.)**1. Audivi vocem de caelo.**

Au- di- vi vo- cem
 de ce- lo di-
 cen- tem Ve- ni- te
 om- nes vir- gi- nes sa- pi-
 en- tis- si- me.
 O- le- um re- con- di- te in va-
 sis ves- tris dum spon-
 sus ad ve- ne- rit.
 ¶. Me- di- a noc- te cla- mor fac- tus est ec- ce
 spon- sus ve- nit. O- le- um.

2. Amo Christum.

A musical score for the Latin hymn '2. Amo Christum.' The score consists of ten staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The text is: 'A- mo Chris- tum in cui- us tha- la- mum in- tro- i- vi cui- us ma- ter vir- go est cui- us Pa- ter fe- mi- nam nes- cit cui- us mi- hi or- ga- na mod- u- la- tis vo- ci- bus can- tant. Quem cum a- ma- ve- ro cas- ta sum cum te- ti- ge- ro mun- da sum cum ac- cep- e- ro vir-'

A- mo Chris- tum in cui-
 us tha- la- mum in- tro- i-
 vi cui- us ma- ter vir-
 go est cui- us Pa- ter
 fe- mi- nam nes- cit cui- us
 mi- hi or- ga-
 na mod- u- la- tis vo- ci- bus
 can- tant. Quem cum a- ma- ve- ro
 cas- ta sum cum te- ti- ge- ro
 mun- da sum cum ac- cep- e-
 ro vir-

2. Amo Christum. Continued.

go sum.

V. Mel et lac ex ei- us

o- re sus- ce- pi

et san- guis ei- us or- na-

vit ge- nas

me- as. Quem cum

The musical score consists of six staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The text is: "go sum." on the first staff; "V. Mel et lac ex ei- us" on the second; "o- re sus- ce- pi" on the third; "et san- guis ei- us or- na-" on the fourth; "vit ge- nas" on the fifth; and "me- as. Quem cum" on the sixth. The music is written in a simple, melodic style with many slurs and ties.

Suscipe me, Domine. (Recitation tone.)

4. Ancilla Christi sum.

Virgins

An- cil- la Chris- ti sum i- de- o me os-
ten- do ser- vi- lem per- so- nam. Al- le- lu- ya.

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for the recitation tone 'Ancilla Christi sum'. It consists of two staves of music in a single system. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The melody is written in a simple, recitative style with a few slurs. The lyrics are printed below the notes. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics, ending with a double bar line.

5. Summa ingenuitas.

Bishop

Sum- ma in- ge- nui- tas is- ta est in qua ser- vi- tus
Chris- ti com- pro- ba- tur. Al- le- lu- ya.

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for the recitation tone 'Summa ingenuitas'. It consists of two staves of music in a single system. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The melody is written in a simple, recitative style with a few slurs. The lyrics are printed below the notes. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics, ending with a double bar line.

6. Induit me Dominus.

Virgins

In- du- it me Do- mi- nus cy- cla- de au- ro tex- ta
et im- men- sis mo- ni- li- bus or- na- vit me. Al- le- lu- ya.

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for the recitation tone 'Induit me Dominus'. It consists of two staves of music in a single system. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The melody is written in a simple, recitative style with a few slurs. The lyrics are printed below the notes. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics, ending with a double bar line.

7. Anulo suo.

Virgins (each alone)

An- nu- lo su- o su- bar- ra vit me Do- mi- nus
me- us Ie- sus Chris- tus et tan- quam spon- sam
de- co- ra- vit me co- ro- na. Al- le- lu- ya.

Detailed description: This block contains the musical notation for the recitation tone 'Anulo suo'. It consists of three staves of music in a single system. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The melody is written in a simple, recitative style with a few slurs. The lyrics are printed below the notes. The first staff covers the first line of lyrics, the second staff covers the second line, and the third staff covers the third line, ending with a double bar line.

8. Ipsi sum deponsata.

Virgins (each alone)

Ip- si sum de- spon- sa- ta cu- i an- ge- li ser- vi- unt
 cui- us pul- chri- tu- di- nem sol- et lu- na mi- ran- tur. Al- le- lu- ya.

9. Posuit signum.

Po- su- it sig- num in fa- ci- em me- am ut nul- lum
 pre- ter e- um a- ma- tor- em ad- mit- tam.

10. Ecce quod concupivi.

Ec- ce quod con- cu- pi- vi iam vi- de- o
 quod spe- ra- vi iam te- ne- o il- li sum
 iun- cta in ce- lis quem in ter- ris po- si-
 ta to- ta de- vo- ci- o- ne di- lex- i.

11. Regnum mundi.

Reg- num mun- di et om- nem
or- na- tum se- cu- li
con- temp- si prop - ter a- mo- rem Do-
mi- ni me- i Je- su Chris- ti.
Quem vi- di quem a-
ma- vi in quem cre- di- di quem di- lex- i.
V. E- ruc- ta- vit cor me- um
ver- bum bo- num di- co e- go
o- per- a me- a re- gi. Quem.