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Editor's Preface

Welcome to *Current Musicology* #64! This is a special issue, to be devoted primarily to music of the Middle Ages. The term "early music" has perhaps always meant different things to different people, but over the course of the past several decades performance interpretations of early European music notation have had a progressively greater role in the often lively discussions about various aspects of early-music research. Regardless of academic debates over interpretation, however, there can be absolutely no doubt of the extraordinary increase in popularity this music has enjoyed among both mainstream and academic listeners over the course of the past few years. Thus, our special issue.

Our articles—by Kevin Moll, Susan Kidwell, and Tom Payne—address issues related to composition in the Middle Ages; reviews by Leeman Perkins and Eric Rice examine books about people and issues related to the medieval and early Renaissance periods; and an editorial essay revisits the authenticity debates from one ethnomusicologist's perspective.

For all of the work done on this special issue of *Current Musicology,* I thank first the authors who have contributed; additionally, I am grateful to Dieter Christensen, Leeman Perkins, and the rest of the Advisory Board for their continuing support; senior editors Eric Rice, Annalisa Swig Poirel, and William Atkinson for their expertise in many of the musicological areas this issue addresses; the anonymous referees on whom this journal depends for accomplished evaluation of submissions; Maryam Moshaver, Mark Burford, Marlon Feld, Rebecca Y. Kim, Jonathan T. King, and Jinho Weng for their editorial skills; and Joyce Tsai for computer support. *¡Salud!*

—DNT

editorial

Aesthetics, Authenticities, and Appeals to Authority: The Auditor as Author

By Daniel N. Thompson

> *The sound may be the object, but man is the subject; and the key to understanding music is in the relationships existing between subject and object, the activating principle of organization.*
>
> *—John Blacking*

Because authenticity is an issue that has periodically arisen within ethnomusicology, I have with some interest followed the early-European-music community's authenticity debates for the past several years. Whether "authenticity" is discussed by ethnomusicologists or early-music scholars, however, it seems to me that a reasonable response to these debates might be: As an object of study, our understanding of music and its practitioners can only benefit from empirical research into historical (or other contextual) performance practices. As a vehicle for aesthetic satisfaction, on the other hand, it seems only natural that there should be a plurality of performance practices.

Although some ethnomusicologsts seem to believe as vehemently in "asthetic correctness" as do the most reactionary conservatory teachers, most ethnomusicologists have for the past several years accepted aesthetic diversity. This aesthetic tolerance, in fact, is what first drew me to ethnomusicology. What I have therefore found to be most striking about the early-music authenticity debates that have taken place is the falsely dichotomous "historical authenticity vs. aesthetic correctness" stance often maintained by some of the more vocal members of the (formerly?) mainstream camp, as well as the corresponding mistake made by some scholars and performers from the other side: the conflation of aesthetic superiority with historical accuracy.[1] Taruskin was surely right when he wrote, "Authenticity is knowing what you are, and acting in accordance with that knowledge" (1995: 67). For many people, however, "aesthetically authentic" musical activity includes performing and consuming "historically authentic" early European music.

In ethnomusicology, we generally start from the presupposition that aesthetic sense is not a quantity to be graded on a universal scale (still less

to be thought of as a quality that some people have and some people don't), but is, rather, a valuable indicator that can often teach us a great deal about the people with whom we share music. Consequently, aesthetics- and authenticity-related questions often lead ethnomusicologists to questions concerning identity: Authentic for whom? Beautiful for whom?

Even when scholars acknowledge that there are *authenticities* rather than *authenticity,* the listener is still too often ignored. For instance, in his book entitled *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance,* Peter Kivy recognizes "historical authenticity" as a category which he further divides into three subcategories, each of which is a kind of "faithfulness": "These are the notions of (1) faithfulness to the composer's performance intentions; (2) faithfulness to the performance practice of the composer's lifetime; [and] (3) faithfulness to the sound of a performance during the composer's lifetime" (Kivy 1995: 6–7). He then adds another category, which he calls, among other things, "personal authenticity" (108 ff.), and which he defines as "faithfulness to the *performer's* own self, original, not derivative or an aping of someone else's way of playing" (7, italics added).[2]

Although most ethnomusicologists would undoubtedly welcome Kivy's considerations of the composer's intentions and of performance as "practiced" during the composer's lifetime (in addition to the more usual attention to the "sound of a performance"), it seems to me that an ethnomusicologist would (or should) point out that this script calls for more characters than just performers and composers. There are also the listeners, who may or may not be "performers" or "composers"—at least in the conventional senses of these terms.

Let me add, therefore, what I think should be an important component to Kivy's performer-centric idea of personal authenticity. There is also *faithfulness to the [listener's] own self, original, not derivative or an aping of someone else's way of [listening]* (which includes aping someone else's "listening tastes").

The consideration of early music's aesthetic appeal for today's audiences, then, requires a shift of musicological attention from composition to audition/cognition, from composer to listener, and is reflected in my subtitle. Any listener may be asked: Do you like this performance (whether live or recorded)? Does it *work* for you? If a listener is aping the listening tastes of another, it seems impossible that the listener can respond honestly, which is to say, respond "faithfully" to him- or herself. Postmodernist writers are not the first to locate musical meaning within the listener rather than in the musical object. In a statement that prefigures the epigraph by Blacking (1973: 26) at the beginning of this essay,

the American liberal pragmatist philosopher John Dewey gave during the 1930s another description of art-as-process:

> Art is a quality of doing and of what is done. Only outwardly, then, can it be designated by a noun substantive. . . . The *product* of art . . . is not the *work* of art. The work takes place when a human being cooperates with the product so that the outcome is an experience that is enjoyed because of its liberating and ordered properties. (1934: 214)

Presumably, then, the work of art changes when the human being changes (i.e., is transformed, or replaced with another person).

"Listening practice" received some attention in the early-European-music community with the publication of the twenty-fifth-anniversary issue of *Early Music* in November 1997 (its usual section entitled "Performance matters" was temporarily retitled "Listening matters"); however, even in that commendable issue, the presupposition of "aesthetic correctness" was unfortunately evident:

> As the neglected member of the holy trinity of those involved in the conception, realization and reception of music, the listener should rightly now receive more attention. . . . You can take, and most people naturally do, a totally relativistic view of listening; just as you can of performing—anything goes if it works; everyone's reaction is equally valid. . . . But the very effort we all make to try and agree on a reaction to a concert shows how wrong is a totally nihilistic view: some performances are *good* and some are *bad,* and we struggle to articulate why. (Kenyon 1997: 555, italics added)

What does Kenyon mean by "good" here? Historically accurate? Or aesthetically pleasing? And who are these people ("we all") who "try and agree on a reaction"? And if by "good performances" he means aesthetically pleasing ones, why is it so important that "we all" agree on personal constructions such as (what might be called) the "aesthetically good"? (It seems to me that when most people try to decide which performances are *aesthetically* good, they are employing essentially the same sort of taste discrimination as when trying to decide which compositions and composers *are good.*) And because some scholars, apparently, try to "agree on a reaction to a concert," how does it follow, therefore, that this shows "how wrong is a totally nihilistic view"? Finally, is it *nihilism* if people have honest aesthetic disagreements and then decide *not* to "try and agree on a reaction to a concert"?

The trouble lies in the presupposition that "some performances are good and some are bad." As long as the statement is formulated in this way, it seems likely that scholars and others will continue, as Kenyon says, to "struggle to articulate why." This is a euphemism for saying that scholars will continue to argue about the music. It would, of course, be so much more accurate to say, "I liked some performances and I didn't like others," but this would require us to shift our attention from the sounds to ourselves and, under the auspices of the conventional scholarly attitude toward the investigation of music, would obviate much of the authority that accrues to those who are considered to be experts on various musical topics.[3]

The Temporal Orientation of the Auditor

Perhaps one of the first questions that should be asked when discussing *any* performance is "What does a performer intend to accomplish with this performance?" Do performers wish, for instance, to convey *what* they believe the composer wanted to communicate (i.e., the *effect* he intended the music to have on his listeners) or, rather, do they wish to convey the musical sound in a manner as historically accurate as possible? For those performers for whom it is most important to convey *what* they believe the composer wanted to communicate, it may be important—given the cultural conditioning and expectations of today's audience—to employ other means than did the composer during his own lifetime.

On the other hand, those performers for whom the medium *is* the message (regardless of other considerations) will undoubtedly attempt a best effort at the production of historically authentic sounds. If, however, they feel that the response the composer may have intended to elicit from his audience can best be accomplished by using the same *means* as did the composer (and performers of his time), then they may not have taken adequate account of the fact that *audiences* have changed.[4]

Unfortunately, the audience has too often been ignored in conventional musicology, apparently because of a presupposition on the part of some scholars that the audience is just *there,* inert, with nothing to add to the onrushing evolution of Western music. The idea that "pieces" of music and performers are variable but that audiences are not helps to lead to confusion between the ends and the means of performance. If early-music scholars presume that audiences interpret music precisely the same way that they did a few hundred years ago, then it would logically seem that the use of modern instruments would, indeed, lead to perhaps quite different interpretations. Again, however, because listeners *are* culturally conditioned very differently from how they were a few hundred years ago, it seems entirely reasonable to suppose that different means (e.g., modern instruments) might be required to communicate the "original message"

(assuming, of course, that we even *could* know what the composer intended to communicate).[5] This argument has sometimes been used by those musicians and scholars who reacted negatively to the authentic performance movement, and is an appeal to the traditionalists' authority as carriers, particularly in music conservatories, of the Western art music tradition.

The ideal of the unchanged and unchanging audience seems to be presupposed in many standard musicological works. For instance, even in the generally measured and reasonable "Performing Practice" article in the 1980 *Grove,* the authors presuppose that we can know what a composer "imagined." They also seem to assume that the listener is *tabula rasa* (or is at least part of an audience whose musical conditioning has not changed at all, even over the course of centuries).

> Reproducing as closely as one can the techniques and timbres known to be appropriate to a given period can never replace performances that are musically convincing to the audience; and yet the means and style of performance *imagined* by a composer are so indissolubly bound up with the whole musical fabric that he has set down, that the *communication* and *impact* of the composition are seriously impaired if the sounds he *imagined* are not at least kept in mind when preparing modern performances. (Mayer Brown and McKinnon 1980: 14:371, italics added)

"Communication" and "impact" are dependent upon far more than just the composer's imagination. (They are also dependent upon more than the imaginations of those who imagine what the composer imagined.) They are ultimately dependent upon "receivers" (i.e., listeners), and it seems unlikely that the ancient composer could have accurately imagined the impact that his composition would have on an audience that lives, say, a few hundred years into the composer's future. Again, the reason for this is that audiences' musical conditioning has undoubtedly changed substantially during the (perhaps many) years that have elapsed from the time of composition to the time of today's reception. Furthermore, each listener has her own individual historical context; listeners "bring their contexts with them" to each concert. In this sense, each listener is, as indicated above, her own author.

Finally, audiences are not the only ones who change. Composers' ideas of how they wanted things performed often changed during their own lifetimes. In addition to the question "Authentic for whom?" is the obvious question "Authentic when?" (a point brought out by, among others, Mayer Brown 1988: 28 and Brett 1988: 110).

However, an interesting and probably unintended consequence of the proliferation of early-music recordings and performances over the past few decades is that ordinary listeners as well as musicians have been increasingly empowered—to experience music that (at least for a large part of the musical public) more closely matches their individual aesthetics. In other words, different listeners at different times prefer different recordings and performances, and although they may not always choose to hear the more historically accurate performances, they often *do* (as shown by the vastly increased popularity over the course of the past several years of early-music performances that owe little to nineteenth-century musical aesthetics). The traditionalists' expostulations about the sterility of historically accurate performances have too often ignored the fact that many early-music listeners (including several of my own personal acquaintances, not all of whom are ethnomusicologists) don't care whether the performances are historically accurate or not; rather, they like the sound of the harpsichord, they like the sound of the Baroque violin, they like the smaller choir. They simply *like* it.

Apparently, however, many traditionalists had been so imbued with late-nineteenth-century aesthetic values that they often didn't seem aware of their own inherited prejudices. One obvious example is the concept of musical expression. A note struck repeatedly by critics of the early-music movement has been that "authentic" performances lack expression. What strikes me, however, is how unquestioningly have those in the musicological mainstream equated wider dynamic ranges, the presence of vibrato, much nineteenth-century instrument technology, etc., with greater expressivity (for one example among many, see Temperley 1984: 16–20). These writers seemed to seldom interrogate their own presuppositions regarding musical expression. (In other words, I have never read an account of a serious consideration of the alternative idea that "less is more,"—i.e., less vibrato, dynamic range, etc. might be *more* expressive.)

We are fortunate that we have choices. We can listen to *Messiah* performed with a late-nineteenth-century orchestra or we can hear it performed with Baroque instruments. Many people tend to prefer that with which they are familiar, and this is as true of musicians and musicologists as it is of the musical layperson. The greatly increased acceptance of early music that is performed in a "historically accurate" manner is undoubtedly due to the public's increased exposure to it (e.g., there are now numerous recordings of early music performed with early instruments; the public that listens to European art music is exposed to early-music programs on public radio; more craftsmen are making Baroque violins, violas da gamba, etc., than in, say, 1910; etc.). This increased activity is due to the increased public demand, which is in turn due to increased activity, and so

on. Listeners' increasing familiarity with the sonorities of an earlier time have multiplied the number of options for music consumers (including performers), which has allowed more of us to perform and hear music in ways that more closely match our individual tastes (i.e., ways that are personally authentic) at any given time. In other words, one answer to the question "How is a piece of music to be made most convincing/effective/expressive for today's audience, regardless of the wishes *or* tools of the composer?" may be (depending upon who the auditor is): "This piece of music can be made most expressive and convincing by engaging in historically accurate performance practices."

The Spatial Orientation of the Auditor

What of the performance of contemporary music? Three decades ago Willi Apel wrote—or at least apparently still believed—that "in the period after Bach the problems of performance practice largely disappear, owing to the more specific directions of composers for clearly indicating their intentions" (Apel 1969: 659).

The short answer to Apel is that he clearly never attended a rehearsal of his *own* compositions! In regard to the issue of following a composer's intentions, living composers *may* have the option of personally telling performers exactly what they want (or even demonstrating such). Some composers even have the power to dismiss recalcitrant performers; however, the disparity between what a composer wants and what the performers produce does not disappear simply because a composer may be alive (or even *present* at rehearsals).

Perhaps the more important response to Apel's statement is that the reason there aren't more performance-practice treatises on works by living composers is that the composer whose work is being interpreted might publicly dispute the statements of the scholar (and it seems doubtful that such contradiction would help any hermeneuticist's career).

The study of creative tension between performers and living composers would be an extension of the relatively recent tendency to include the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries within the matrix of performance practice. Problems of performance practice remain, moreover, even when a composer coaches a rehearsal, the performers have the requisite musical skills, and there is every intention on the part of the performers to follow the composer's wishes. (Of course, a listener might feel that the "mistakes" made in performance make the listening experience "better"—what might be called "more aesthetically authentic" for that listener.)

Hans Keller noted in the mid-1980s that the problems of performance practice only "end" with computer or electronic music that doesn't require live performers. "[T]he interpretation of anything except electronic

music, which does not need it, is the tail-end of composition" (Keller 1984: 517). I'm glad to see Keller's emphasis on interpretation, but his statement clearly refers to the fact that electronic music does not need conventional *performers*. Performers are certainly interpreters, but there are interpreters other than performers. In the case of electronic or computer music, members of the audience are the only interpreters left in the equation: problems of interpretation have morphed from issues of performance practice to those of listening practice.

One listening-practice issue for live performances is "audience placement," because depending upon where one sits in the auditorium or other performance space, one is likely to hear music that is different from what the composer intended. We could go further, and say that any two people that (hypothetically) sit in the same spot—or that in reality sit in almost the same spot—will hear two different things. In both of these cases, performance practice has been transmuted into listening practice, and would perhaps more fittingly require the assistance of music-psychological/cognitive and ethnomusicological methods and theories during investigation and explication.

Audience placement is of course important not only for computer music. Nicholas Kenyon notes in his introduction to *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* that "Berlioz was explored in a Norrington weekend in London in March 1988, which included successful performances of both the *Symphonie fantastique* and *Romeo and Juliet* using not only period instruments but adapted 'period' seating plans for orchestra and chorus" (1988: 11).

But how about a seating plan for the audience? Although the reception of Berlioz's music might not be *greatly* affected, it seems likely enough that for performances of at least some works—certain secular works by earlier composers, for example—the audience should be eating, drinking, and otherwise making merry. In his contribution to the same volume, Robert Morgan takes account of this part of the problem: "[E]arly music was not intended to be performed in concert. Indeed, if we take the notion of context at all seriously, we are left with the painful realization that any concert performance of this music constitutes a basic perversion of its original intentions" (1988: 71). (Morgan doesn't indicate why he finds this realization "painful.")

For absolutely authentic performances—to continue this line of thought—we should probably duplicate the size of the original concert hall, the design of the auditorium, the materials of which it was made, and on and on, until—in order to include the listeners' perception/cognition—we finally arrive at considerations of audience placement as well as the *individual histories of the original listeners*. Clearly, however, this ever-

expanding spiral of consideration cannot continue indefinitely. Although the audience is not a homogeneous mass, we obviously have to "draw the line" somewhere. Nevertheless, the boundary that delimits admissible evidence is the boundary beyond which lies the impossible, purist's ideal of absolute authenticity.

The perception-and-cognition/audience-placement dilemma can be easily illustrated with an example from my own research on Irish music in New York. At a *seisiún* [session]—in which the aesthetics of the concert hall play little part—players sit in a group and perform tunes (usually reels and sometimes jigs) from memory. For the past several decades, *seisiúin* have generally taken place in bars and pubs. There is usually a significant amount of ambient noise present, which is expected (and often preferred) by the musicians. Players come and go throughout the evening, and although there exists a concept called "session etiquette," informality reigns.

Which versions of the tunes played are authentic? It depends on whom you ask. It also depends on when you ask, where you ask, how you ask, and, perhaps most importantly, why you ask. It probably also depends on where the listener is sitting. What does she hear? If she moves to another seat she will hear something different. Is the performance she now hears more authentic than what she heard a moment before? Or less so?

The musicians who attend sessions perform music—usually learned without the aid of notation—in a venue where people are eating and drinking and where listening to music is not the primary objective for much of the "audience." It might therefore be objected that this situation is so entirely different from listening to music in the concert hall that it won't bear comparison. But the problems of perception/cognition still exist. It can be said that when one sits in a different spot in the concert hall, one is listening to a different "version" of the music, that the sounds are, in fact, *different music.*

For instance, during a *seisiún,* the dynamic balance of the instruments changes if the listener changes seats. There is no perfect place for a listener to sit, particularly during ensemble playing (and the larger the ensemble, the more complex become problems of dynamic balance). This problem is not obviated in the recording studio: if a recording is made and dynamic balance is attained electronically in the studio, is it then an "authentic" recording? Or not?

This issue has also been raised in the case of early European cultivated music: "The sound technician has become a main participant in the interpretation of early music" (Goldberg 1997: 571). Morgan notes the same philosophical problem with regard to the "hyperrealism" of certain visual artists: "All details are rendered with a sort of absolute distinctness,

thereby acquiring a degree of 'purity' inconceivable in the realm of actual visual experience. Everything is equally in focus. . . . Are these painters in fact presenting reality 'as it really is'?" (1988: 74–75). He says later that the world depicted "is in fact one that could never be directly experienced" (1988: 75). In fact, in shifting the emphasis of investigation from music object to human subject, Dewey, Blacking, and others have continued the line of investigation employed by thinkers at least as far back as Aristoxenus (364–304 BCE), who argued that "music appreciation can only be understood by studying the mind of the listener, not the external collection of sounds that impinge upon the ear" (this translation cited in Levitin 1999: 505).

Appeals to Authority

Looking back on the past few decades, it seems that the practitioners of "historical" performances have generally claimed that their authority is based on historical accuracy. The traditionalist performers, critics, and musicologists, on the other hand, apparently derive *their* authority from their traditional influence on Western art music performance and study, as well as from their own individual interpretive acuity. It seems, however, that each camp was really fighting for authority *itself* (i.e., fighting for control of the early-music narrative). And in order to claim authority for themselves, they appealed to what they both considered a higher authority: the composer. Crutchfield's statement below is an example of appeal to a different authority:

> Authenticity implies authority, and ultimately an author. The author of a performance—of a bow stroke, a crescendo, an impulse, a radiant act of absorption—is the performer, with whose condition we must be concerned if authenticity is what we're after. (Crutchfield 1988: 26)

I agree with this as far as it goes, but if the author of a performance is the performer, then the author of the listening experience is the auditor, because it doesn't, after all, matter what *either* the composer or performer intends to transmit if the message is perceived differently from what either of them had intended. "Transmission" cannot be separated from its perceiver.[6]

Although *absolutely* authentic performances are obviously impossible, it nonetheless seems extraordinary that the early-music movement was so vehemently attacked in the scholarly press. I suspect that at least part of the reason is that many in the "authentic performance" movement ignored

the aesthetics lectures of their critics. In doing so, they empowered the audience as well as themselves. The net effect is that Western art music's narrative is no longer explicated exclusively by traditionalist musicologists (i.e., musicologists whose aesthetic sensibilities are largely a product of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) and its performance is no longer largely controlled by musicians immersed in *fin-de-siècle* performance practices of a hundred years ago. In other words, the reason why the mainstream so vociferously attacked the proponents of early instruments and early-music performance practices is that during the last few decades of the twentieth century the scholar-critics' views had become increasingly irrelevant to many performers of early music as well as to much of the record-buying and concert-going public.

As mentioned before, what both the authenticists and the traditionalists had in common was an appeal to authority. Authenticists appealed to the authority of (what they hoped were) historical facts, and traditionalists appealed to the authority of their positions as experts who, through both conventional practice and intuition, "knew" what composers had intended (or who knew—at times—even better than the composer[7]).

Some "nonauthenticists" have argued for "more interpretation" and less dependence on "cold facts," but it seems that they have often been only interested in more of their own interpretations (which is logical, I suppose, if one indeed takes the position that, due to one's own authoritative "intuition," one's own aesthetics should be universal). Taruskin's statement that "what is only personal is irrelevant" (1988: 153) seems to express the modernist belief that in the realm of aesthetics there is a right and a wrong. (Another way of saying this is that in order for there to be winners, there must be losers.) The rules of *this* game would undoubtedly tend to make anyone combative because they virtually dictate that scholars must fear a loss of power if they are unable to force others to adopt their aesthetic preferences. Aesthetics decisions, however, are highly personal matters, and it seems likely that no individual listener's aesthetic sensibility will be exactly the same as any other listener's. Because they *are* personal, they will not validly conform to any other listener's aesthetic agenda. In fact, in a listener-centric model, *only the personal is relevant.*

Furthermore, although it may be true that "the choice of what to make into a 'text' can only proceed from a rather thorough understanding of the historical context and its implications" (Brett 1988: 107), to what degree should the *scholar's* historical context enter our considerations of the history he writes? In his contribution to *Authenticity and Early Music* Gary Tomlinson makes his own bid for authority, replacing the authority of performers as well as specialists in early-music scholarship with the authority

of the cultural historian. In his article, he writes that the more context we know, the fuller will be our historical (factual?) appreciation of a piece of music.

I agree. It is important to point out, however, that the people who attend concerts and read program notes—as well as the scholars who study monographs on the history of Western art music—would have an even greater understanding of what the historian writes if they understood the context out of which the historian works. In other words, to have an even fuller understanding of the history of a piece of music, we need to know as much as we can about the *historian's* life (i.e., his or her own historical context). Then we might have a better understanding of why the historian has chosen to highlight some aspects of the history of a piece of music, and not others; why he chose to study this music or composer, and not others.

> *The* authentic meaning of a musical work is *not* the meaning that its creators and first audience invested in it. It is instead the meaning that *we,* in the course of interpretative historical acts of various sorts, come to *believe* its creators and audience invested in it. . . . [T]he authentic meanings of a work arise from our relating it to an array of things outside itself that *we believe* gave it meaning in its original context. . . . Such interpretation is the province especially of the cultural historian, and the authentic meanings gained through it are given fullest voice through his or her methods. (Tomlinson 1988: 115, 123, italics added)

We? To whom does Tomlinson refer? Other historians, perhaps? If so, he seems to appropriate for himself and other historians *authentic* meanings, which apparently leaves *inauthentic* meanings to the rest of us. (This is problematic, for what happens when the cultural historians disagree? Who are *we,* then?) It might seem at first that a shift to "meaning" is a signal that we are for the moment no longer considering "historical truth." But a shift from "authenticity" to that of "authentic meaning" doesn't really help, nor does the shifting of his terminology from the singular "authentic meaning" to the plural "authentic meanings." Tomlinson seems to be saying that because cultural historians know more *facts* about the past than do other people, the *meanings* that they project onto a musical performance are authentic. (In an about-face, however, he denies the value of the "objective" knowledge of the one group that conceivably knew more about their environment than do today's historians: the people who actually lived during the historical periods discussed.)

I would have felt better if, in the first line of the immediately preceding extract, Tomlinson had at least written, "*Our* authentic meaning of a musi-

cal work is not the meaning that its creators . . ." or "*For us,* the authentic meaning of a musical work. . . ." He has stated the above in such a way that it seems he presupposes an Authentic Meaning (or Authentic Meanings) irrespective of the passage of time, and that he is merely substituting the new authority of cultural history for the other authorities (conventional musicology, historical authenticity, the conservatory tradition—even the authority of performers who were contemporaries of the composer).

It is doubtful that it is any easier to separate the historian from the history than it is to separate the musical work from "its" history. As mentioned above, however, this ever-widening net of consideration must be delimited. In order to use language we have to draw the line somewhere, and—because I have observed that many scholars would prefer to speak about objects and events "outside themselves" as if they were able to do so independently of their own personal histories—I suspect that it is easiest to draw this line in such a way that it separates us from the world we are supposedly objectively observing.

Taruskin has written that "old instruments and old performance practices are in themselves of no aesthetic value," which is undoubtedly true, but *nothing* is "in itself" of any aesthetic value whatsoever. He then says that "the claim of self-evidence for the virtue of adhering to a composer's 'intentions' is really nothing but a mystique" (1984: 3, 7), but it's difficult to understand how this is more of a mystique than the authority claimed by the performer or scholar who either challenges the composer's intentions, or who claims that the composer actually intended something different from what might be indicated in the score.

* * *

Looking back, it seems clear that the historical performance movement won most of the battles (if not the entire war) because it has increased the number of listening choices available to the consumer (and if a listener viscerally enjoys particular performances and recordings, it seems doubtful that any amount of hectoring in scholarly journals will—or should—affect that enjoyment). The early-music performers have not provided us with just one historically authentic version of each piece of early music; instead, they have given us a number of performances and recordings that we might enjoy (some of which—depending upon how we define the terms—are probably more historically accurate than others). The several different recorded renditions continue to be added to those we already own or have heard, and if a significant number of listeners respond enthusiastically, then these sundry performances are undoubtedly aesthetically convincing for those people, regardless of where these performances may fall on the continuum of historical authenticity.

Today we can listen to music from almost any place on the planet and from almost any historical period, and the increasing popularity of musics that for the contemporary West are both spatially and temporally distant is strong evidence that many listeners—including musicians—clearly enjoy this variety. How far can one go in interpreting a piece of music? (For many members of the musical public, the most aesthetically convincing performances of plainchant are those that employ drum machines and synthesizer washes; for many, the most convincing performances of Bach can only be accomplished on a grand piano.) Traditionalists probably have come to realize that their arguments for "intuition" can be used against them by supporting interpretations that many of them would never condone, for there are certainly as many *aesthetically* authentic ways to perform (and appreciate) music as there are listeners.

I suspect also that the debates have died down because scholars and critics have slowly come to understand that there isn't really anything to fight over. It seems doubtful that the early-instrument performers have taken away a great number of audience members from the mainstream (which is to say that the lovers of traditionalist performance practices have not suddenly stopped patronizing their favorite performers). The dissemination of early music isn't a zero-sum game.

I submit that what has happened instead is that a *new* audience has been created, and in a brief attempt at the sort of disclosure I have asked for above, I should admit that I am a part of this audience. For one example among many: I have never responded positively to heavy vocal vibrato, and once I began to listen more frequently to early music, I found refreshing the light, or even absent, vibrato. Furthermore, it is a matter of historical interest to me that early instruments, for example, are more historically accurate conveyors of early musical sound than later instruments; however, what is primarily important to me is that I generally find their sounds to be more pleasing.

For that portion of this new early-music audience that has been drawn from pop and "folk" music audiences, I suspect that the congeniality of certain early-music performance practices (e.g., reduced vocal vibrato, use of lutes and other early instruments) together with other aspects of much of this music (e.g., generally straightforward harmonies, relatively narrow dynamic ranges, etc.) is due to the fact that these attributes are often exhibited by the vernacular musics with which this audience is already familiar. (In fact, the investigation of audiences' perceptions of how "common practice" and early music compare with selected genres of popular music might constitute an interesting ethnomusicological project. The researcher would have to engage identity issues, of course, because listeners' cognition of the music cannot be separated from their own personal historical contexts.)

Empirical researchers—the results of whose investigations have increased the number of performance choices for listeners in the present—should recognize that an increased understanding of the past should be the primary motivation for their historical research. "Historical authenticity" should never be used as a stick to beat others when the issues involved are, in truth, aesthetic. Still, empirical research is an enterprise that builds on itself, its value eventually becoming evident to even its most entrenched opponents. Polemical essays on aesthetics, on the other hand, are themselves aesthetic objects, which may please because of their rhetorical force or the erudition displayed by the author, but as vehicles that convey anything *other* than the personal preferences of the writer, become increasingly irrelevant (and valued more and more for only their performative qualities). With the benefit of hindsight, Nigel Rogers's words now seem prophetic:

> It should not be necessary to remind scholars that they are also subject to change, even if perhaps less mercurially than performers are. . . . The derision and oblivion that the scholars are happy to remind us are waiting for us round the next corner may be waiting for them round the one after that. (1984: 525)

Empirical research is hard work, whether done in the field or in an archive. It often requires long, irregular hours, extended periods of travel away from home, and tedious, painstaking tasks. It is, in the parlance of economists, labor-intensive. Perhaps it is easier to publish opinion pieces that promote one's aesthetics. But why bother to argue about the aesthetics of music? I'm reminded of a statement made by Arthur C. Clarke in regard to certain political and economic issues, although in this context I would substitute "aesthetics": "The time will come when most of our present controversies on these matters will seem as trivial, or as meaningless, as the theological debates in which the keenest minds of the Middle Ages dissipated their energies" (Clarke 1962: 13).

* * *

As noted above, "Authenticity implies authority, and ultimately an author" (Crutchfield 1988: 26). In any case, authority has often followed authorship. With the advent of audio recordings, however, a new type of document made its appearance, and with it, an implied challenge to "print" authorities. In *Authenticity and Early Music* Taruskin calls audio recordings "'documents' of a special narcissistic kind" (1988: 143). How so? Are they any more inherently narcissistic than essays? In the same book, Howard Mayer Brown incisively warns that "personal commitment is a necessary virtue for performers (who ought not to play music in a

particular style unless they are in sympathy with it), but it may be a luxury to which scholars ought not to aspire" (1988: 55). Nonetheless, too many of the articles and essays on authenticity that have appeared throughout the past several years seem to me to be themselves performances in which "personal commitment" is indulged to the point that it seems to devour the other "necessary virtue[s]." (This is not to say, of course, that there should be no place for the airing of aesthetic opinion: newspaper reviews of musical performances and audio recordings are perfectly legitimate vehicles for this type of rhetoric, as well as for the emotional, "huffing and puffing" mode of discourse that is often a part of the critical performance.)

The devotees of early instruments and "historically authentic" performances have undoubtedly enriched the musical landscape, and in reviewing the reactionary responses of many of those who, throughout most of the twentieth century, could still be referred to as mainstream musicologists, it seems to me that these fights have really been as much about the authority and power of entrenched musicological interests and the legitimacy of the opinions of those who hold power as they have been about aesthetic correctness. I suspect, therefore, that although most performers will generally continue to engage in the performance practices they find most congenial, it is probably important for musicologists to continue to ask two groups of questions: What *kinds* of questions are we asking, and why? Is it necessary that others agree with our findings, and if so, why?

Aesthetics issues are, essentially, identity issues. Who are we that we listen to early music? (When I attend a concert by Columbia University's Collegium Musicum at the University Chapel, I find in attendance a very different audience from that which attends a Sunday matinee performance of Schumann at Avery Fisher Hall.) Music lovers who many years ago may have enjoyed, for instance, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir's versions of *Messiah* were eventually told that the performances they enjoyed were not authentic. This news was not always warmly welcomed.[8] It seems to me that there are a number of ways to respond to such a charge: 1) Agree that the performances may not be terribly authentic but continue to enjoy them anyway; 2) Be afraid that by preferring the historically "inauthentic" performance one is being aesthetically incorrect, and then lie about one's true preferences in order to gain acceptance to the musicologically savvy crowd; 3) Argue that historical authenticity doesn't matter, that the only thing that does matter is one's own (universally correct) aesthetic opinions, and that opposing aesthetic opinions are therefore "wrong."

Why have so many scholars and performers apparently needed to appeal to authority in order to justify their personal tastes? When the topic is aesthetics, "Does it work for you?" is the only question that ultimately mat-

ters, which implies the demise of criticism that attempts to universalize its authors' aesthetics—particularly those writings that employ argument-from-authority. Understanding a listener's aesthetic sensibility is probably one of the richest avenues to understanding more of the whole person; moreover, the ultimate value of aesthetics is precisely due to the fact that everyone's aesthetic sensibility *is* different.

Notes

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1. Rather than engage in lengthy written qualifications each time I mention these two "camps" (which I have necessarily essentialized, to some degree), I will refer to them as "authenticists" and "traditionalists."

2. In his contribution to *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium,* Philip Brett makes reference to Peter Shillingsburg's "four editorial orientations, the historical, the aesthetic, the authorial, and the sociological on the basis of where the textual critic locates authority. . . . Yet in essence they can be reduced to the historical and the critical" (1988: 111).

3. Although there is probably more potential for disagreement when considering aesthetic value, the determination of even *historical* authenticity is largely determined by those parameters that we—as a culture or as individuals—have decided to privilege. To consider just one simple example: Is it more historically accurate to play a Bach harpsichord piece on a piano, or on a synthesizer that sounds like a harpsichord? It depends, obviously, upon which aspects of the keyboard we have decided to examine. If we focus upon timbre, for example, we must choose the synthesizer; if we privilege the instrument-making technology that existed closest to Bach's own time, we must choose the piano.

4. To take a different example for a moment: A common physical gesture, used all over the world, will often have very different meanings in different cultures, whether those cultures are separated temporally or spatially, and this is true for any number of gestures, facial expressions, visual symbols, etc. The opposite is also true: the "same" message can often be transmitted only by using different means.

5. The Buddhist maxim "To change with change is the changeless state" perfectly encapsulates the argument that makes the claim that in order to perceive the *same* verities as did audiences hundreds of years ago—assuming, again, that we even *could* know such a thing—it will probably be necessary to employ *different* means of performance.

6. The inadequacy of noun-centered language to describe uninterrupted process has often been noted in works of literature. Yeats's rhetorical question "How can we know the dancer from the dance?" is one well-known example.

7. See, for instance, Hans Nathan's comment from the 1950s: "A composer cannot always be expected to give an 'authentic' rendition of his own music" (Nathan 1952: 91).

8. "Discussion . . . as to the nature and purpose of authentic performance styles has led . . . to [a] . . . reaction on the part of some musicians against the idea of authenticity, or, as they would say, against a mindless obsession with authenticity. Their [reaction] can be attributed in part to . . . hurt feelings on the part of those musicians criticized on the grounds that they are inauthentic" (Mayer Brown 1988: 53–54).

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articles

Voice Function, Sonority, and Contrapuntal Procedure in Late Medieval Polyphony

By Kevin N. Moll

During recent years, scholarship in the field of late medieval music has been heavily weighted toward archival research, paleography, and contemporary theory. Such enterprises have furthered our appreciation of the cultural contexts in which music was composed and experienced, and have led to some gratifying advances in our knowledge of manuscript compilation, performance practice, theoretical texts and their traditions, institutional history, and biography. Having rightly acknowledged such achievements, one must nevertheless concede that even the most positivistic avenues of research often yield results that are decidedly inconclusive.[1] This state of affairs only reminds us that our understanding of music as a living art in this period must inevitably be founded upon the shifting sands of presumption and educated guessing. Yet there does remain one relatively neglected resource deserving of serious attention, namely, the critical evaluation of compositional techniques as inferred from actual pieces.[2] If applied judiciously, such analytical evidence is not necessarily any more conjectural than are conclusions based on study of original source documents. On the contrary, inferences of style and technique drawn from practical composition are an integral complement to results obtained from other disciplines, with each constituting no more or less than one facet of the evidence available to the modern historian of music.

An equally compelling reason for focusing attention on the works transmitted to us is that we are finally in a reasonably good position to do so: many decades of musicological endeavor have rendered a vast amount of the surviving corpus available in increasingly reliable modern editions.[3] Accordingly, the ideas developed below derive to a large extent from surviving musical texts as established in transcription, which I view as a wholly legitimate body of primary sources.[4] The aim is to advance hypotheses based on commonalities observable in the treatment of sonority, counterpoint, and musical articulation. It should be emphasized at the outset that a focus on musical texts in no way implies a devaluation of contemporaneous music theory. Rather, I hope to demonstrate that even though the surviving monuments of polyphony attest to the cultivation of procedures far more subtle than those described by medieval theorists, the descriptive

tools of the period are more adequate to the task of analysis than has often been supposed, and that modern criticism is better served by extending them, wherever possible, than by ignoring or replacing them. In view of the avowedly didactic purpose of the medieval treatises, however, it would be unreasonable to expect to gain from them a profound insight into the refined artifices of professional composers.[5] Thus, after having gleaned the basic rules of music as prescribed by period theorists, one is thrown perforce upon empirical methods when attempting to account for polyphonic composition as *artwork.* A prime goal of any such approach must therefore be to deduce normative compositional procedures in a given set of works by identifying recurring phenomena and interpreting their significance.

This study is divided into five parts. Part I establishes the range of voice archetypes found in a substantial corpus of Franco-Flemish mass settings stemming from the period of the *Ars nova* through the very early fifteenth century,[6] and shows how these generic types implement specific functions in polyphony. Part II broaches certain terminological issues of sonority, voice leading, and musical articulation that are crucial to the analysis of late medieval music. Part III identifies two basic procedures of counterpoint observable in the liturgical repertory just introduced (see note 6). Proceeding from principles underlying these techniques, part IV propounds the concept of contrapuntal referentiality, a tool I have formulated for assessing the interdependent means by which tones are referenced to each other in vertical sonorities and in voice-leading progressions;[7] subsequently this section extends the discussion chronologically by introducing a third contrapuntal technique that was developed only in the fifteenth century. Part V illustrates how referentiality can serve as a key to evaluating stylistic trends in Franco-Flemish music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

I. Categories of Voice Function Correlated with Musical Texture

In 1914, Arnold Schering made an important observation regarding the three-voice chansons of the early fifteenth century: he claimed that each of the three voice-archetypes characteristic of that repertory—superius, tenor, and contratenor—has a specific character and fulfills a distinct role in the counterpoint.[8] Other early adherents to this view were Knud Jeppesen and Rudolf von Ficker.[9] My research into liturgical polyphony substantiates that the voice functions identified by Schering originated in the fourteenth century, but it also indicates that the combinations of voice types at that time were more varied than Schering's model allows. Finally, it has become evident that the particular voice types, when considered in conjunction with specific means of treating consonance and

dissonance, constitute a firm basis for codifying compositional procedures in music from the *Ars nova* through at least 1450.

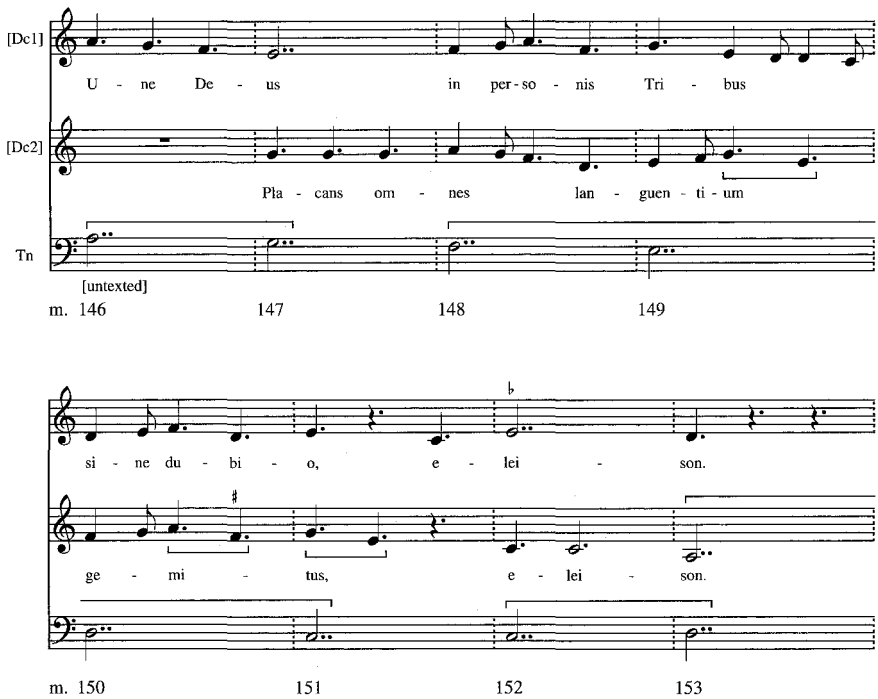
Having established the foregoing points, it must be added that voice function is not manifest solely through contrapuntal interaction. From an analytical standpoint, one can separate the process of composition into two domains, which loosely conform to "precompositional" and "compositional" phases of conception. The former, which I refer to as "musical texture," refers to a given work's regulation of ambitus, rhythmic coordination of voice parts, and text disposition. The compositional phase encompasses the actual fitting together of tones in polyphony, i.e., counterpoint. The incorporation of preexistent structural voices (cantus firmus or isorhythm) partakes in both phases of a work's realization. Because choices of musical texture tend to be anterior to the working out of the actual voice-leading, I propose to deal with this aspect of composition first, but it is important to note also that the two broad classes of texture, which I have termed "paired upper-voice" and "cantilena," respectively (both to be illustrated presently), prove to correlate significantly with certain contrapuntal techniques introduced below in part III.[10]

Perhaps the most objective contemporary indicator of how voice functions in late medieval polyphony were conceived is the presence of part designations in the manuscripts. In the sources of 78 complete three-voice mass settings from the corpus introduced above (see note 6), such labels are almost without exception limited to two—*tenor* and *contratenor*.[11] Voices underlaid with text are rarely labeled, and typically are allocated a considerable share of the upper melodic profile of a given piece. In accordance with contemporaneous theoretical usage, I refer to any such undesignated upper line as a *discantus*.[12] Thus, in works characterized by two voices of like register moving over a tenor and sharing the melodic profile ("paired upper-voice" texture, illustrated in example 1), both are almost invariably texted, although not necessarily with different words, as is the case in the excerpt shown.[13]

In the larger group of works where a single upper voice dominates as a melody ("cantilena" texture, shown in example 2), this top part is most often the only one that is fully texted in the source.[14] In both classes of texture any lower voices that are untexted tend to function, at least in places, as a sonorous foundation, although recent research has convincingly shown that one cannot infer from their untexted state that they were necessarily intended as instrumental parts, as many scholars have assumed.[15]

Voice functions in fourteenth-century music prove to be analogous to those Schering had claimed exist in fifteenth-century chansons, except that in the earlier period they apply in a looser sense, such that the issue becomes one of *categories* of function, where the respective roles of the

Example 1: Paired upper-voice texture.

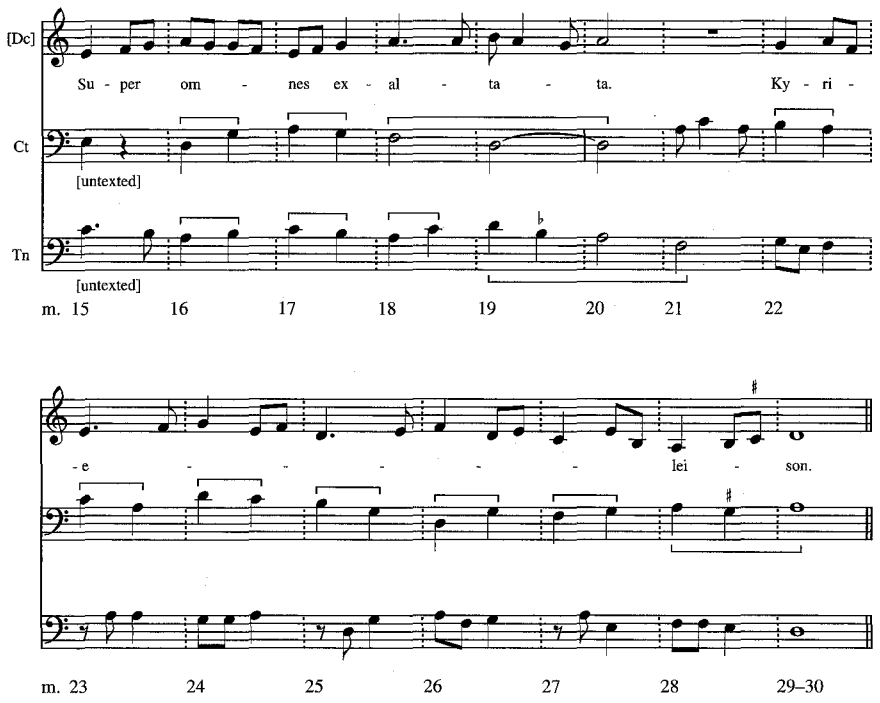


Kyrie *Rex angelorum / Clemens pater* (Apt no. 1, with trope texts in upper parts; concordance as Ivrea no. 68)

three (or four) parts are not necessarily mutually exclusive (hence the eventuality of having two different discantus parts). In all vocal polyphony through at least 1500, each voice type acts in a specific capacity, but this role can differ according to the number of parts involved, as well as according to which contrapuntal technique (explained below in parts III and IV) underlies a given piece.

Medieval theorists customarily explained counterpoint as beginning with a tenor *cantus prius factus,* but it is a long way from these instructional two-voice examples to the multi-voice free counterpoint so often encountered in the practical sources. Nevertheless, apart from its usual melodic cogency, the voice normally labelled *tenor* in the sources does hold compositional primacy in two ways: first, it typically directs cadential progressions by its descending stepwise motion;[16] second, it generally inhabits the bottom stratum of the aggregate pitch space, so that the intervallic integrity of individual sonorities is, as a rule, dependent upon it.[17] The contratenor,

Example 2: Cantilena texture.



Kyrie *O sacra virgo beata,* Apt no. 9 (mm. 15–30; end of the first of three trope strophes of the Kyrie I)

when present, tends to move more leapwise and typically takes the middle position at cadences. It does at times, however, function as the low voice, and in some pieces it acts predominantly in that role.[18] Occasionally, even a texted upper voice takes the low note in a given sonority, but this is a distinctly irregular occurrence in all of the contrapuntal techniques illustrated below.

II. Analytical Premises of Sonority, Voice-Leading, and Articulation

Before treating issues of counterpoint in depth, and in order to introduce certain terms that will be employed below, it is necessary to consider more generally the purposes served by the coordinated motion of tones in polyphony. On the broadest level, Sarah Fuller has identified three components of "syntax" that can be deduced from a reduction of the contrapuntal surface of a given work: 1) prolongation, 2) progression, and 3) cadence (or "terminal punctuation"). These terms, reminiscent of

Schenkerian theory, are advanced by the author to account for tonal motion or stability within a given passage of music.[19] Fuller defines "prolongation" as a "continuation of a sonority or integral constellation of pitches." This concept is useful in identifying areas of closed tonality, governed by one pitch as a sonorous foundation. On the other hand, "progression" according to Fuller entails movement "from one sonority to another," the manifold representatives of which can be grouped generally according to "a distinction between progressions that are neutral in character and those that are inclined toward a specific goal."[20] Regarding the former cases, she notes that the term "succession" might better describe the phenomenon, whereas the latter are cases of "directed" progression.[21]

Progression and succession of sonorities, understood according to Fuller's terminology, are an elementary resource of multi-part music. Indeed, hundreds of such instances of coordinated motion can occur in the course of a single piece. This very ubiquity means that the concept of progression by itself has little necessary implication for overall musical structure. Fuller addresses this problem by identifying a particular manifestation of the phenomenon, one that is "not accomplished by quality or structure of the progression alone"; rather, it is the product of a confluence of factors working to produce "what is grasped syntactically as 'the cadence.'"[22] In other words, when a given voice-leading progression is placed in relief by coordinating it with other conventional resources of composition, its status as a musical articulation is heightened. The archetypal instances of contrapuntal progressions being brought into prominence are those we refer to as cadences, which by definition are points of musical closure.[23] Hence, cadences should reflect the large-scale organization of a composition if adequate criteria for their recognition are at hand. As it happens, the many discant treatises discussed in depth by Klaus-Jürgen Sachs and Ernst Apfel do indeed afford us insight into contemporary conceptions of what constitutes musical closure,[24] and an examination of a large number of works shows that this sense of arrest can be effected or mitigated in a variety of ways.[25] Once one acknowledges the normative means by which cadences are established, the concept of cadential emphasis can be extended to other applications as well.[26]

In order to be of structural significance to the listener, a cadence must be recognizable as a point of arrival, but in practice there is no single means of delineating this. Rather, the various cadential types can best be conceived as a spectrum of possibilities balancing a number of contributory elements.[27] The presence of each of these elements tends to confirm —as, conversely, its absence tends to deny—the finality of any given cadence. These attributes (presented in an order approximating diminishing importance, but not intended as absolute) are shown in table 1:

Table 1
Defining Elements of Cadences in French Mass Settings of the Fourteenth Century

1)	concurrence with an integral grammatical unit of text in one or more voices
2)	coincidence with the end of a coherent melodic period in one or more parts
3)	general pause, vertical strokes, change of mensuration, or melisma following
4)	rhythmic placement consistent with the prevailing pulse
5)	extended cadential note in each voice, with no voices continuing without repose
6)	directed contrapuntal motion (as defined below) among the voice parts
7)	presence of stereotyped melodic cadential figures
8)	only perfect consonances sounding at point of resolution
9)	all voices sounding at point of resolution
10)	presence of hocket, melisma, or rhythmic diminution in preceding measures

The relative strength of any given cadence is signalled by the number of above factors that are present. The presence of a majority of them typically denotes a prominent close (final cadences typically manifest all or nearly all of them). It is perhaps surprising that contrapuntal motion should be listed as low as no. 6, but the preceding elements all correlate more highly with points of musical closure.[28] While the possible permutations are too extensive to tabulate, the elements listed above provide a suitable context within which to evaluate various cadence types, structural periodicity, and overall tonal coherence.[29]

In his 1975 study on sonority in Machaut's motets, Ramón Pelinski explains how "sonorities of repose" (*Ruheklänge*) act as tonal anchors in the compositions he analyzes.[30] In this article Pelinski does not distinguish between various states of "repose," whereas in my view it is crucial to recognize that not every cadence is a sustained sonority, and conversely, that not every sustained sonority is a cadence. As I intimated above, Fuller does make such a distinction between "prepared arrivals," resulting from a "directed" progression and producing "local closure and at least temporary tonal focus," and "holds," resulting from a "neutral" progression to a sonority which is "by no means an anticipated goal."[31] Due to space constraints, the discussion below will deal with cadences per se; not with the more general class of sustained sonorities.[32]

Of all the cadential elements listed above in table 1, the contrapuntal one (no. 6) is among the most susceptible of alteration. In general, the other factors are either present or absent, but the voice-leading is greatly variable, particularly at interior points of articulation. Fuller explains how theorists of the period fairly consistently describe "norms of interval succession," usually incorporating contrary motion, which "point toward a syntactic practice based on directional tendencies of imperfect intervals."[33] A typical example, from Johannes Boen's manual of discant (fourteenth century), reads as follows:

> When we strive toward the lower component [tone] of [the ratio of] double proportion [i.e., octave], we use that third which stands at a lesser distance from that tone, that is, the semiditonal [interval], [i.e., m3→1]; and so, when we want to close to the upper [octave] tone, we use the sixth which lies at an equal distance from the upper tone, that is, the semiditonal [interval], which comprises a whole tone above the fifth [i.e., M6→8]; on the other hand, when we strive toward the fifth, we extend from the lower third using the ditonal third [i.e., M3→5]; thus we measure exactly the same distance [minor third] when we strive toward the fifth, as between the octave and the sixth.[34]

From these and many similar remarks can be distilled the general concept of two voices proceeding in contrary motion to a perfect consonance from the nearest available imperfect consonance. I propose to refer to this phenomenon as *directed motion.* Apfel gives many examples of the precept as stated by contemporary theorists, although it is not always clear that such motion is being stipulated as cadential.[35] When directed motion occurs between any two voices at a point of musical closure identifiable from the conditions enumerated above in table 1, this will henceforth be called a *discant cadence,* so called because it adheres to the principles of discant theory.

Based upon the results of a tabulation of cadences in actual works, I propose to designate one voice-leading pattern as the definitive cadential type of the fourteenth century—a judgment that accords both with modern scholarship and, as is shown above, with the teachings of medieval music theorists.[36] This archetypal contrapuntal progression obtains when all three voices move stepwise to a cadential sonority, with the upper voices each resolving to a perfect consonance from the nearest imperfect consonance in contrary motion to a tenor descending as low voice. Most often this voice leading is expressed as a 6-3 sonority (both major intervals) progressing to an 8-5, or alternatively with the middle voice transposed up an octave: 10-6 to 12-8.[37] I suggest that this prototype be designated the

paradigmatic discant cadence of the fourteenth century, since, at the most obvious points of closure, one or the other form of this progression is used far more than any other: in the corpus of three-voice mass settings introduced above, it occurs in 69 of 79 final cadences (87 percent).[38] Both types are typically expressed as the familiar "double-leading-tone cadence," where the tenor descends by step and both upper voices ascend by half step. In the absence of signatures, this progression occurs diatonically when the tenor moves from G to F. With a tenor moving D to C, it requires the application of an F sharp in the applicable upper part at the penultimate. When the tenor moves from A to G or from E to D, however, and in very many other cases, all imperfect intervals above the tenor are diatonically minor. This brings up the alternative of placing the half-step motion in the low voice instead of the higher ones:

Example 3: Variable position of half step in paradigmatic discant cadences.

KEY: solid oval = vox 3 (discantus or discantus 1); solid diamond = vox 2 (contratenor or discantus 2); void diamond = tenor

The progression on the left (the so-called phrygian cadence) seems in the fourteenth century to have been reserved almost exclusively for internal articulations.[39] But this, of course, is only one of many types of interior cadence, and if the tenor has no signature such a progression might well be altered as in the example on the right, which has a B-natural and raises the D and the G.[40] In the absence of specified signatures or accidentals, such choices must be made time and again when preparing period works for performance.

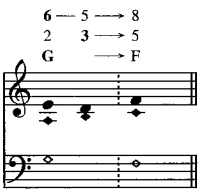
Given the frequency of its occurrence, not to mention its correspondence to progressions illustrated by contemporary theorists, it seems legitimate to regard the paradigmatic discant cadence as a touchstone—a standard from which to measure contrapuntal variation at points of articulation.

Fuller's definition of directed progression implies the proviso of stepwise contrary motion; this, indeed, is the crucial element that makes the progression "directed," as opposed to "non-directed."[41] It should be reiterated, however, that directed progressions conforming strictly to her definition are ubiquitous even within musical and textual phrases.[42] Hence it is

advisable to distinguish one particular manifestation from among the myriad instances of directed voice leading, namely, those that occur at points of definable musical articulation.[43] As in the paradigmatic discant cadence, such directed motion is normally effected by the tenor descending stepwise, with another voice moving from the major sixth to the octave above, or from major third to perfect fifth. But it is also possible for two voices to proceed from a minor tenth to an octave (in which case the tenor typically ascends and the upper voice descends) or from a minor third to a unison (in which case another voice is usually below the tenor at the penultimate). This last point shows that the tenor need not be the lowest voice; it is not, in fact, a prerequisite that the tenor participate at all. Directed motion can be set between any two parts at points of articulation.

Two further aspects of directed motion need also to be mentioned here. The first is seen when the voice leading is properly executed, but the connection between the penultimate and cadential sonority is interrupted by a rest in one voice, or possibly both. Usually this rest is of a minim's duration, but it can be as much as a semibreve or even longer. I regard the presence of a rest as not invalidating directed motion, but prefer to indicate it as an irregularity. The second aspect is that it is sometimes difficult to ascertain which pitch is structural at the penultimate position of cadences that are embellished melodically. Normally, if an imperfect consonance is present at all in the penultimate sonority, and the cadential interval is a perfect consonance with a lower part, this suffices for it to be analyzed as the structural note. Very often the pitch in question occupies either the greatest duration of the penultimate sonority, or is its last note, or both. Occasionally both upper voices have the requisite imperfect consonance above the lowest pitch (sixth, third, or their compounds), but these consonances are not coordinated with each other vertically, as for example:

Example 4: Non-coordinated embellishment of cadential sonority in upper parts.[44]

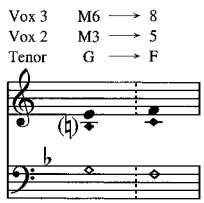


To illustrate the range of voice-leading variation at cadences, example 5 shows four progressions along a continuum of strong to weak.[45] Example 5a shows the paradigmatic discant cadence, followed by two weaker cadences (5b and 5c) with directed motion in only two voices. The fourth

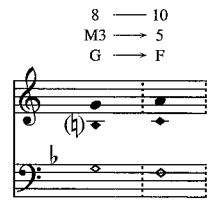
example (5d, with explanatory comments in note 46) is contrapuntally the weakest, incorporating no directed motion. Such progressions typically attain the status of a cadence only on the strength of other considerations (see above, table 1).

Example 5: Continuum of strength in contrapuntal progressions.[46]

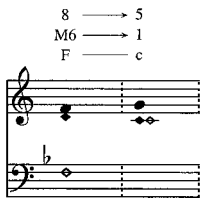
(a) DC 3



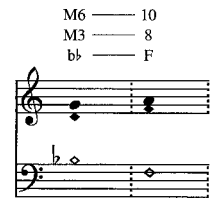
(b) DC 2



(c) DC 2i



(d) DC 0



Of the four examples shown above, progression (b)—although differing from (a) only in the top part—is much less conclusive, for two reasons: 1) there is no voice that moves to an octave with the tenor; and 2) the upper voice moves to an imperfect sonority at the cadence. Progression (c) manifests directed motion, but in an irregular fashion (hence "DC 2i"). The intervallic relationship between the upper voices is 3→5, with the middle part progressing to a unison with the tenor. The tenor, however, does not move by step, but rather by leap. In this case it is impossible to inflect vox 3 to make a major third (f♯) above vox 2 in the penultimate sonority, as that would bring about a false relation between the latter voice and the tenor; inflecting the tenor to correct this is quite out of the question as it would entail a diminished-fifth leap to the ultimate sonority. The other option, namely of flatting the d in the middle part, is plausible but arguably uncharacteristic for the period in question; therefore, the best course is probably to leave unaltered the diatonic minor interval, thus further mitigating the sense of contrapuntal closure. Nevertheless, this progression cannot be treated as anything other than a cadence, since it

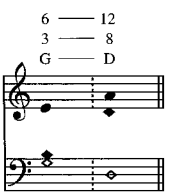
occurs at a clear phrase-ending in the text, which, furthermore, is followed in the source by vertical strokes indicating a caesura; moreover, it ends on entirely perfect intervals, so that in this respect, at least, it is more conclusive than progression (b). Example 5d has directed motion between *no* two voices (thus "DC 0"), with the upper voice again moving to an imperfect sonority. Yet the placement of this progression—it comes at the end of text phrase and its duration at the ultimate sonority is a breve—indicates that it too must be assessed as a cadence. Note also that example 5d does, in fact, set an orthodox doubly imperfect sonority at the penultimate;[47] this creates the expectation for a paradigmatic discant cadence to an 8-5 sonority over A, which is then evaded by the leapwise motion in the two lower parts—a "deceptive cadence" of the fourteenth-century variety.

Excepting example 5c, the above progressions were chosen specifically because they close on F and thus simplify matters by obviating the issue of applying *musica ficta* at the penultimate.[48] It should be emphasized, however, that whenever *ficta* choices do exist for a given interior cadence, they will be materially affected by one's evaluation of its relative strength according to the criteria of table 1.

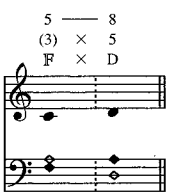
Example 5d demonstrates that directed motion is not an absolute requirement for producing a cadence, and that even a non-directed progression can yield a sense of contrapuntal closure by complying with the broader criterion of simply proceeding from an imperfect to a perfect sonority. This realization is perfectly consistent with general theoretical precepts, which often do not carry the injunction of moving from the *closest possible* imperfect consonance to a perfect consonance; nor do they always carry the stipulation of contrary motion.[49] In his study on *musica ficta,* Karol Berger refers to a dichotomy between "strict" and "relaxed" rules of interval progression.[50] While not nearly as common as the class of cadences having directed motion in at least two parts, there do exist some instances of non-directed progressions even at the conclusion of entire movements, as here:

Example 6: Non-directed progressions in final cadences.[51]

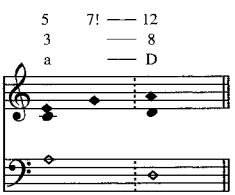
(a) Gloria, Ivrea no. 42



(b) Gloria, Apt no. 34



(c) Gloria, E-Bcen 971 no. 2



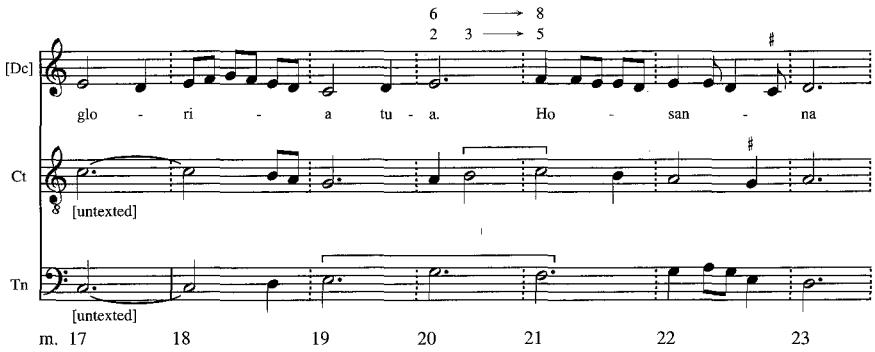
All of the above progressions adhere to the general principle of imperfect interval(s) progressing to perfect, and in all of them the final sonority consists solely of perfect intervals, yet none situates directed motion between any two voices—the only final cadences in the Ivrea–Apt corpus of which this can be said. All incorporate a leap in the tenor, which is the primary cause of contrapuntal irregularity in such progressions. Cadence (a) is singular in that all the voices move leapwise, but considered solely from the standpoint of the intervallic progression, it is the most orthodox of the three, since it moves from a doubly imperfect sonority to a doubly perfect one, whereas neither of the others employs a doubly imperfect sonority at the penultimate. Cadence (b) has the normal ascending stepwise motion in the discantus, but has leaps in both other voices. The repeated note A in the composite "middle voice" (occasioned by the crossing of the lower parts) is highly unusual for this time. Cadence (c) is exactly the same as (b) except for the contra, which moves to the twelfth above the tenor instead of the fifth. The dissonant seventh in the contra's penultimate note is also a rarity for a final cadence at this time. Another noteworthy aspect of cadence (c) is that if the tenor's penultimate were E instead of A, the result would be a paradigmatic discant cadence (providing that appropriate *ficta* inflections were applied) moving to a 12-8 sonority.[52]

In the theoretical treatises of the period, examples of interval progressions invariably involve just two parts, cadencing to a perfect interval (i.e., unison, octave, or their compounds). In actual three- and four-voice writing, however, we observe a variety of sonority types as goals, with directed motion typically occurring between two or more parts. Through about 1450, final sonorities virtually always consist entirely of perfect intervals, so that any cadential sonority having one or more imperfect consonances must by definition be assessed as a transitory point of closure. Accordingly, a cadential sonority containing one perfect and one imperfect consonance can signify only a partial goal, ordinarily reached through directed motion in two voices only. By acting simultaneously as a relatively unstable goal and as a relatively weak penultimate, this sonority type evinces a dual tendency, and it is this quality that constitutes the real functional significance of "triadic" sonorities in fourteenth-century cadences.[53]

The syntactic tendency of the doubly imperfect sonority, on the other hand, is incapable of evoking a sense of aural stability. If other factors deem that a doubly imperfect sonority really does stand in the position of a cadence, then the situation must entail some further explanation. Such a case is illustrated below in example 7.

Here, a sustained doubly imperfect sonority comes at the *end* of a text phrase, rather than on the penultimate, and the expected contrapuntal resolution comes at the beginning of the next text phrase (m. 21); thus, the contrapuntal *arrival* coincides with a textual *departure.* In practice, this

Example 7: Doubly imperfect sonority acting as penultimate of "bridge cadence."

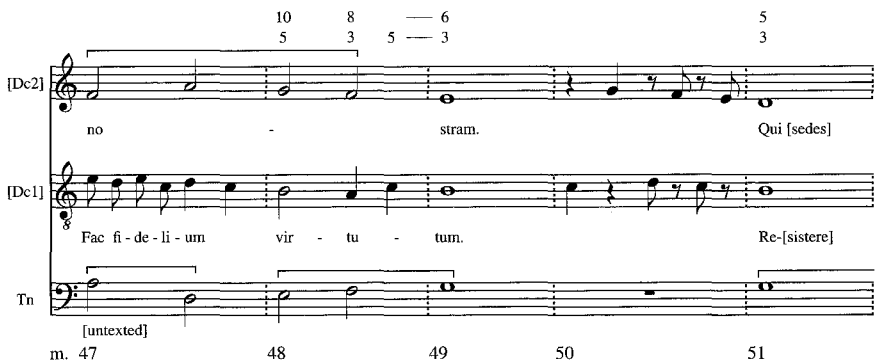


Sanctus, Apt no. 27

situation happens so frequently that it should be acknowledged as constituting a definite compositional resource; I refer to it as a *bridge cadence.*[54]

Another instance seems actually to reverse the normative expectations of cadential voice leading:

Example 8: Unresolved doubly imperfect sonority at end of textual phrase.[55]



Gloria *Clemens Deus artifex,* Ivrea no. 42

The above passage is unique in that the doubly imperfect sonority at m. 49 is never resolved contrapuntally: the discantus 2 rests and then leaps up a third, and although the discantus 1 does indeed make a leading-tone motion to C (mm. 50–51), the tenor conspicuously avoids the expected G→F countermotion; instead, it rests, and the little hocket between the upper voices that follows in m. 50 avoids simultaneities altogether.

Apart from such obvious exceptions, the conventional procedures overwhelmingly in evidence at the ends of complete pieces, or of major sections thereof, cannot fail to produce an aural sense of closure due to the coordination of the following elements: 1) textual phrase ending, 2) duration of their ultimate sonority, 3) a caesura following,[56] and 4) directed contrapuntal motion in two or more voices. Such instances exemplify the cadence in a definitive sense, and as such they constitute a firm basis for interpreting, by extension, a wider range of musical articulations.

III. Basic Techniques of Counterpoint in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries

A valuable tool for developing a vocabulary of "common-practice harmony" in late medieval polyphony would be at hand if one could reduce the manifold possibilities of voice leading observable in surviving compositions to a limited number of fundamental categories. Among several scholars who have dealt with this issue, it has been Ernst Apfel who has had the most success in developing analytical paradigms for compositional techniques. These criteria, moreover, do not exist in a historical vacuum but are demonstrably rooted in the theoretical literature of the period.

Based on his research into medieval discant theory, Apfel identified two cardinal means of treating multi-voice counterpoint in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:

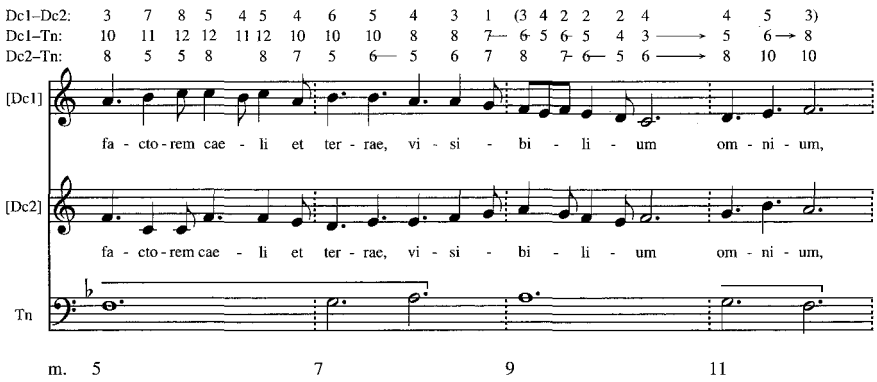
> From these [teachings of polyphonic discant composition] and from the corresponding musical sources, one sees [1] that there existed two different types of polyphony, and [2] how they differ: the first . . . developed from the possible duplications of a cantus [i.e., discantus] through improvisation, and the second consisted in the possibilities for expansion of a basic two-voice discant composition through supplementary voices.[57]

After a period of terminological experimentation in the 1950s and early 1960s, Apfel settled on consistent names for these techniques: the first he calls *mehrfach-zweistimmiger Satz* ("multiple two-voice counterpoint"); the second he refers to as *erweiterter Satz* ("expanded counterpoint")—a term deriving from its definitive characteristic, to be detailed presently.[58] I designate the latter as "expanded two-voice counterpoint," to emphasize the parallel with "multiple two-voice counterpoint." These two terms will be used for the respective techniques in the following discussion. In Continental music of the fourteenth century, Apfel's contrapuntal types correlate strongly with the two categories of musical texture ("paired upper-voice" and "cantilena") introduced above in part I.[59]

The concept of multiple two-voice counterpoint is an extension of theories of Apfel's teacher, Thrasybulos Georgiades, who in his 1935

dissertation argued that certain discant treatises, while describing counterpoint in terms of two parts only, actually provide for the composition or improvisation of more than one voice over a tenor.[60] The essence of the technique is that all upper parts are related individually to whichever voice is lowest at any given time. In both theory and practice, this low voice usually proves to be the tenor, especially in three-part writing. Example 9 is thoroughly representative of this kind of voice-leading:

Example 9: Voice relationships in multiple two-voice counterpoint.



Credo, Ivrea no. 48

In example 9, each of the upper voices makes an orthodox counterpoint individually with the tenor, but they are not coordinated so as to stand alone without it (note the several instances of unsupported fourths, and the consecutive seconds in the third measure of the example). This characteristic is a definitive quality of multiple two-voice counterpoint, namely, that each upper voice retains the possibility of being treated independently with respect to the lowest part, a technique that may well have originated as dual soloistic improvisation over a tenor. Apfel remarks that the harmonic intervals of each upper part are made "without consideration of the consonances made by the voices already added to the tenor."[61] This comment adheres to the traditional view that voices were composed "successively" in a mechanical sense. Such dissonances, however, are perhaps better explained as an idiomatic aspect of style than as reflecting a procedure wherein voices are added without being subject to adjustment.

Another characteristic aspect of multiple two-voice counterpoint shown in example 9 is that the two discantus parts are not clearly differentiated from each other registrally: they both occupy the space between about a third and a twelfth above the tenor, crossing often.[62] In the Credo, Ivrea no. 48, no voice other than the tenor ever occupies solely the lowest pitch

of a sonority à 3, and this circumstance is typical of three-voice pieces conceived in the technique of multiple two-voice counterpoint. Note also that neither of the texted upper parts is labeled in the source, and that no voice is explicitly designated "contratenor."

In a later study, Apfel describes a variation of multiple two-voice counterpoint, observable in Continental works, where the tenor (the lowest voice according to the treatises)[63] is not necessarily the sole point of reference:

> The tenor cantus firmus is, to be sure, the most important [voice] in the counterpoint, but it is the sole connective voice only for the second voice. For the third and fourth voice of the composition, the second or third voice can also be its connective voice. In this case, the tenor cantus firmus relinquishes to the appropriate voice a part of its function as main connective voice of the counterpoint.[64]

This way of relating the individual lines, which Apfel introduced in connection with the thirteenth-century motet, is reflected in theoretical statements to the effect that "if the triplum be discordant with the tenor, it will not be discordant with the discant[us], and vice versa."[65] According to Apfel, however, this particular variation "does not represent an independent compositional technique"; it is used only "within" a given piece, and represents only another "case of multiple two-voice counterpoint."[66]

Most of the three-voice Franco-Flemish mass settings from the *Ars nova* up through ca. 1440 correspond to Apfel's second basic contrapuntal type, which I refer to as "expanded two-voice counterpoint." This technique is predicated on the existence of a two-part framework, where one voice—usually the one that dominates the upper melodic profile—constitutes a self-sufficient counterpoint with the tenor. Apfel discusses this method primarily in the context of the fifteenth century, but he illustrates it as being a typical attribute of secular works of the preceding century (e.g., those of Machaut) that have one texted upper voice accompanied by a tenor and contratenor operating in an approximately equal register.

Contemporaneous theoretical confirmation of the technique of expanded two-voice counterpoint finds unequivocal expression in the *Ars contratenoris* of Anonymous XI:[67]

> Anyone who wishes to write a contratenor above any tenor should see where the discantus begins. . . . Note that anyone who wants to write a contratenor should not have two [consecutive] octaves with the tenor, either ascending or descending, nor admit [perfect] consonances next to each other, but should follow what the dis-

> cantus requires, so that the contratenor is consonant with the tenor, but not always with the discantus, because the contratenor may very well serve as a contradiscantus. And see that the contratenor does not have a fifth [with the tenor] when the discantus has a sixth, because that would make a second [between the two voices], etc. . . . Note also that we should not reckon eight notes above the tenor, as we do in the case of a contrapunctus or a discantus, but [should think of the contratenor as being] at the same pitch, because it is just as low as the tenor and sometimes lower.[68]

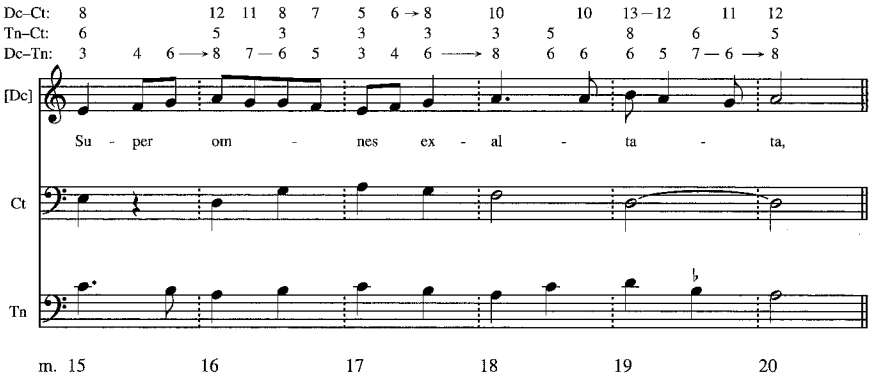
This brief passage clearly stipulates certain characteristics that prove to be definitive of expanded two-voice counterpoint: 1) the third voice is called *contratenor;* 2) the contratenor is contrapuntally secondary to the tenor and discantus; 3) the simultaneous placing of the discantus and contra at intervals of a fifth and a sixth above the tenor is prohibited (this stricture is not observed by upper parts in multiple two-voice counterpoint); 4) the contra does not inhabit the range of a discantus part, but rather has a range comparable to the tenor; 5) the contra may (and does) descend below the tenor at times.

The essence of expanded two-voice counterpoint is that structural dissonances between the discantus and tenor (i.e., those occurring in the unembellished *contrapunctus simplex*) are almost nonexistent. The resulting contrapuntal framework—what German scholars refer to as a *Gerüstsatz*—thus acts as a structural skeleton for the composition, where the discantus and tenor typically open and close at an octave's distance, and to which a third voice, often specifically designated "contratenor" in the sources, is added. This contra, when it lies above the tenor, is not required to be consonant with the discantus (since the tenor as low voice can ameliorate a dissonance). But when the contra is the lowest part, the tenor and discantus rarely, if ever, assume a dissonant relationship, even though as upper parts this would technically be allowable.

Example 10 illustrates the distinguishing attributes of expanded two-voice counterpoint, where, from the standpoint of voice leading, the discantus and tenor constitute a continuous self-sufficient framework, and the contra is a subordinate part.[69]

In the excerpt shown above, the contratenor is the lowest part, thus providing support for potential dissonances occurring between voices placed above it. But this possibility is not actually exploited, and no structural dissonances between the upper voices (tenor and discantus) can be found.[70] Rather, these two parts consistently observe the rules of correct intervallic treatment, and make by far the most coherent of the three two-voice combinations. Most importantly, these two voice-parts proceed in

Example 10: Discantus-tenor framework in expanded two-voice counterpoint.



Kyrie *O sacra virgo beata,* Apt 9

directed motion (major sixth to octave) at the end of the phrase. The discantus-tenor counterpoint can thus stand by itself, irrespective of the contratenor, even though the contra is the low voice throughout. On the other hand, the contratenor does not disturb the passage: it generally concords with both of the other voices.

In order to emphasize the distinction between multiple two-voice and expanded two-voice counterpoint, the passages in examples 9 and 10 have been chosen to illustrate paradigmatic aspects of each type, respectively. In practice the two types are not necessarily opposed to each other diametrically, and certain works are difficult to categorize.[71] Once attuned to their salient characteristics, however, one will almost invariably find critical clues pointing to one technique or the other as underlying a given piece.

The decisive affinity of the two procedures just outlined is that both realize a multi-voice complex as a concatenation of dyads codified progressively. In any such hierarchical construct it may be possible to assess certain voice parts as being contrapuntally dispensable and others as indispensable on the basis of whether or not they describe a structural basis for the composition.[72] And in fact, this dispensability *is* expressed differently in the two basic techniques. In three-voice pieces realized as multiple two-voice counterpoint, it is the sequence of low pitches, often identifiable literally with the tenor line, that is the indispensable element. In this type of piece the upper parts are not clearly differentiated in function, and therefore there is no single two-voice framework to be "expanded." Instead, either upper voice can be viewed as contrapuntally dispensable, excepting those cases when one of them descends below the tenor, in which case it

temporarily acts in place of the latter.[73] Conversely, in expanded two-voice counterpoint the discantus-tenor duet is conceptually primary and the contratenor is subordinate to both. But in this technique, the criterion of contrapuntal dispensability—as important as it is in clarifying the conceptual basis of the part writing—does not render the contratenor absolutely superfluous. From the fact that the discantus-tenor pair evinces the highest degree of contrapuntal integrity it does not follow that those voices must constitute a "complete" composition in every sense of the term.[74] Furthermore, the presence of alternative contratenors in different sources does not constitute evidence that this part was conceptually less important to the composition in a broader sense, for two reasons: First, the rhythmical and textural contribution of the contra is frequently crucial to the character of a given piece, such that a performance of the same work with only the discantus and tenor would be vapid in comparison to the three-voice rendition.[75] Second, in order to allow the structural voices periodically to rest, the contratenor becomes indispensable to the maintenance of polyphonic fabric.[76] Thus, rather than being an entity that is necessarily complete in and of itself, the two-voice framework represents simply a grammatical basis for the composition, which then can be "interpreted" in any number of ways through the addition of a contratenor.

It is commonly accepted that the contra also enriches such compositions by acting as a harmonic "filling voice," providing a third pitch to sonorities.[77] A number of scholars have interpreted the many resulting triads as adumbrating the system of harmony codified by European theorists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some researchers, notably Heinrich Besseler, have even asserted that certain compositions of the early fifteenth century—especially those in which the contra is consistently the lowest voice—represent a clear expression of that system. Such conclusions, however, are based on false premises, and I would caution strongly against accepting Besseler's argument that the mere presence of "low-clef" or "six-line" contratenors, with "fifth-fourth-construction" denotes the origins of "bass function" and "tonal-dominant harmony" in the late medieval chanson, or indeed in any genre of this period. Besseler's triadic analysis of the Dufay rondeau *Helas, ma dame par amours* is particularly revealing in that it utterly disregards the voice-leading continuity of discantus and tenor, even though these two parts comport themselves in a thoroughly conventional manner and establish an unequivocal basis for sonority-direction in the piece. If one accepts the dyadic premises of discant theory as the operative element of voice leading and sonority-building in the late medieval era (and the theory itself allows for no alternative), then triadic interpretations can only obscure the "harmonic" functionality of any music to which these premises apply.[78]

In defining his contrapuntal categories, Apfel concentrates on the theory and practice of the early fifteenth century. This chronological focus was undoubtedly influenced to some degree by themes developed in previous scholarship, but Apfel also justifies it with the observation that the earliest music theory comprehensively and unambiguously treating part writing for more than two voices appeared only at that time. According to Apfel, treatises describing the technique of expanded two-voice counterpoint began to appear on the Continent before 1450, whereas the English theorists continued to describe the older technique of multiple two-voice counterpoint.[79] Although Apfel's account implies that descriptions of the former technique cannot be traced before about 1400, a discantus-tenor framework indisputably does characterize much fourteenth-century French music, including many, if not most, of Machaut's chansons. I am not yet in a position to judge the extent to which the expanded two-voice technique was cultivated by contemporary English composers,[80] but the reciprocal proposition—how extensively the multiple two-voice method was practiced on the Continent in the 1300s—has not been emphasized. In fact, all of the mass settings in the Tournai manuscript and most of those in Ivrea 115 are multiple two-voice works, and the technique also appears to typify the motets in the later fascicles of the Montpellier codex and in the *Roman de Fauvel,* as well as Machaut's motets.[81] Moreover, all of the four-voice mass movements stemming from the French orbit, including Machaut's cycle, can be shown to have been composed in this manner.[82]

The above discussion has centered on the two primary types of counterpoint evident in Continental music during the fourteenth century. What has not yet been mentioned is a third type identified by Apfel, which he refers to as *klanglich-freier Satz,* or "tonal-free counterpoint." Because it is unquestionably a later and more sophisticated development, whose applicability to Continental music before approximately the second quarter of the fifteenth century appears to be next to nil, this technique is introduced below in part IV.

IV. The Concept of Contrapuntal Referentiality

As is explained above in part I, the tenor in three-part French mass settings of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries generally acts both as the lowest line and as the line that determines the voice-leading possibilities for the other parts. Both roles are directly corroborated in the music theory of the time, but an important distinction must be made between these two concepts—a distinction that hitherto has not been adequately addressed in the musicological literature. The problem can be clarified as follows: in the former aspect, the tenor is occupying its normal place as

what might be called the *referential pitch* of a given sonority, providing a point of reference for the tones placed above it, whereas in the latter aspect the tenor is acting as a *referential voice,* imparting coherence to voice-leading progressions.[83]

The referential pitch I define as the lowest note of any given "chord," to which all upper parts must conform, and from which they are reckoned in modern terminology (e.g., 10-6-3). This numerical means of identification is not found in medieval theory, but contemporaneous justification for a vocabulary of multi-voice sonorities based upon the lowest pitch does indeed exist, as in the following statement from Anonymous I:

> If you want to discant below the plainsong, [you do so as] if you are simply above the plainsong; [however,] no one is able to sing above this [plainsong] unless he is aware of the position of the low pitch, since all higher pitches have to adjust to the lowest, which makes a good consonance.[84]

The referential pitch, then, provides the supporting platform for a given sonority, and is crucial to the integrity and function of that sonority. This circumstance is explicitly corroborated by theoretical evidence, as in the following passage of Johannes de Grocheo:

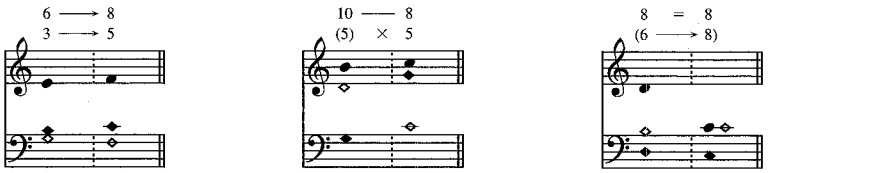
> But the tenor is that part upon which all others are founded, just as the parts of a house or a building [are based] upon its foundation. And it regulates the others and gives them quantity, just as the bones [do with respect] to the other parts [of the body].[85]

The low pitch is, in fact, most often identified by the theorists specifically with the tenor, although this state of affairs does not necessarily apply to the actual compositions of the time, as has already been demonstrated.[86] In practical composition, the referential pitch is frequently required to legitimize irregular dissonant intervals, such as fourths and tritones, occurring between voices lying above it.

The referential voice, on the other hand, is a contrapuntal, not a solely vertical, concept: it takes the linear progress of each voice part into account as well as their sonorous intervals. I define the referential voice as the one that is *conceptually anterior* to the others—the one that *creates the voice-leading possibilities* for the other parts. As will now be shown, the referential pitch and the referential voice are not necessarily identical. Example 11 shows three progressions, all taken from final cadences in actual works, which together serve to illustrate the distinction that must be made between referentiality in a vertical, as opposed to a contrapuntal, sense.

Example 11: Referential pitch vs. referential voice in contrapuntal progressions.[87]

(a) Kyrie, Apt no. 5 (b) Credo, Apt no. 42 (c) Gloria, Turin J.II.9 no. 8



Example 11a, a paradigmatic discant cadence, is the quintessential expression of the referential voice in the fourteenth century, which here is equivalent to the sequence of referential pitches. In this cadence, one voice (almost always the tenor) descends stepwise at a clear point of articulation. Here, not only does this part act as the lowest voice throughout the progression, but also, its descending motion by step creates the opportunity for the two upper parts to move in directed motion with it, while simultaneously supporting the parallel fourths between them. This type of progression, with tenor as lowest voice, is by far the most frequent one found at the ends of significant text sections, and is particularly in evidence in multiple two-voice counterpoint.[88] Rarely, the tenor occupies the middle position in this progression, but such cases can be discounted as being distinctly exceptional to the norm.

Progression (b)—a so-called octave-leap cadence—differs from (a) in that its referential voice is not simply equivalent to the succession of referential pitches. Here, the tenor is again the primary referential voice; it descends stepwise, concurrently describing the major-sixth-to-octave motion with the discantus, just as in progression (a). In progression (b), however, the tenor occupies the referential pitch only in the second sonority: the contratenor departs from its stereotyped middle-voice motion from major third to perfect fifth; instead, it leaps up an octave from its position as referential pitch in the penultimate, to the fifth above the tenor in the cadential sonority. This procedure adds an element of flexibility to the voice-leading, a characteristic typical of expanded two-voice counterpoint. In accord with the contentions developed above in part III, I would emphasize that in this technique the discantus, because it forms a grammatically intact duet with the tenor, acquires the status of a secondary referential voice relative to the contratenor.[89]

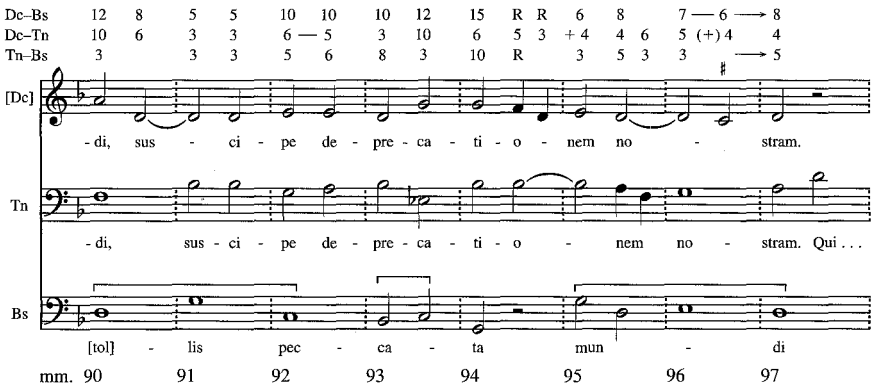
Examples 11a and 11b have in common the stepwise descent of the tenor that is present in a great majority of all significant cadences in the three-voice French mass settings of the period, regardless of contrapuntal technique. It is this regularity of tenor motion that determines the normal voice-leading alternatives of the remaining parts, even in other types of ca-

dences, and notwithstanding the registral position of the other parts relative to the tenor. In the few mass settings where the tenor has a demonstrable structural pattern, it is likely that that voice was fixed firmly before any other parts were written. In most cases, however, the referential voice is strictly a conceptual priority of composition, not literally a chronological one—it does not necessarily entail a *cantus prius factus.*

Progression 11c differs from 11a and 11b in that the contra occupies the referential pitch throughout, and moreover, it has the descending stepwise motion normally assigned to the tenor. But this is not simply a double-leading-tone cadence, since here the contra moves in parallel octaves with the discantus. Rather, there are two unconnected instances of directed motion here: 6→8 between tenor and contra, and 3→1 between discantus and tenor. Cadence (c) is noteworthy in that the discantus and contra *both* have usurped the tenor's normal stepwise descent, whereas the tenor *ascends* stepwise. In such a case I would nevertheless attribute priority to the tenor as referential voice, since it is the only part moving in contrary motion with both the other voices. This is a key criterion by which one can identify the primary referential voice in a given progression, namely, that any voice moving in contrary motion with all other parts takes precedence over any voice or voices descending stepwise.

The concept of referentiality is no less pertinent to a third contrapuntal category posited by Apfel, which was introduced above at the end of part III—the so-called *klanglich-freier Satz.* This type is not treated in part III because it is not observable in the early Franco-Flemish mass settings upon which the research for this study is primarily based. It is, however, crucial to understanding the compositional procedures of later generations, which, as far as I can see, still proceed from dyadic premises and thus maintain a potential distinction between the referential voice and the referential pitch. On the basis of his analyses of fifteenth-century works, Apfel initially identified this third technique as an outgrowth of expanded two-voice counterpoint, in which the discantus-tenor framework, while essentially intact, does incorporate some dissonances, and the ostensibly subordinate voice (often still labeled "contratenor," but now often joined with or replaced by the designation "bassus") lies more consistently below the tenor and is more fully assimilated into the composition. The underlying principles of this procedure are perhaps best rendered in English as "consolidated discant counterpoint," since, from a contrapuntal standpoint, all parts must now be considered integral to the composition. In his earliest published discussion of the *klanglich-freier Satz,* Apfel cites the following example from Ockeghem's *Missa Quinti toni,* claiming that this passage suffices to demonstrate "that the mass corresponds to a different compositional principle" than expanded two-voice counterpoint.[90]

Example 12: Intervallic treatment as basis of consolidated discant counterpoint.



Ockeghem, *Missa Quinti toni* (Gloria)

As usual, the yardstick Apfel uses for evaluating compositional integrity is the contrapuntal dispensability or indispensability of the individual voice parts. Accordingly, he assesses the contra (here labeled *bassus* in the source) as indispensable to the composition, since it is required to legitimize the irregular fourths of the nominal structural voices at an unambiguous point of cadence (mm. 95–97).[91] In this sense the bassus has unquestionably become the referential voice. But this evaluation is incomplete, because here the bassus serves as a referential voice in another way as well: it has appropriated the tenor function of making the directed progression with the discantus.

While Apfel's point is thoroughly valid as far as it goes, it should be remarked that progressions where the bassus legitimizes irregular fourths between the discantus-tenor pair are scarce in this mass, and the work as a whole is probably best characterized as expanded two-voice counterpoint with a low contra. Those few divergences from traditional intervallic usage thus merely point in a new direction and should not in themselves be construed as constituting an entirely novel compositional resource. This observation places into relief the problem of relying solely on the criterion of intervallic irregularity of the structural voices in identifying progressive configurations of dyadic counterpoint. Such a basis is limiting especially in that the fourth is not a common interval in the fifteenth century, and is particularly rare between tenor and discantus in three-voice pieces. The ultimate manifestation of this phenomenon, the "non-quartal piece," was touted by Charles Warren Fox as being an important factor in the development of the homogeneous voice ideal so characteristic of the years

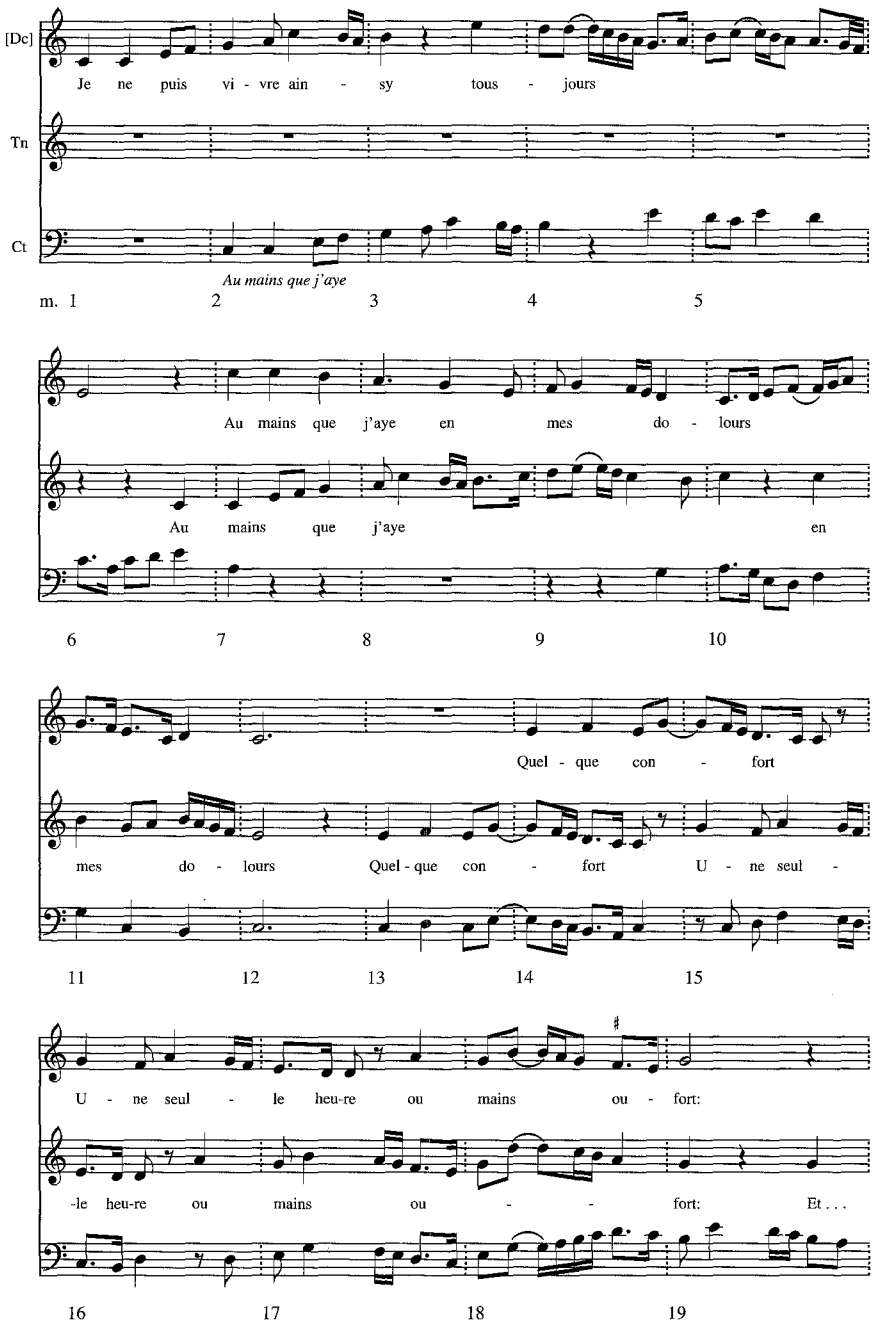
leading up to 1500.[92] In such works, criteria of contrapuntal dispensability become largely irrelevant.[93] Therefore it would be well to explore other ways in which a hierarchy of voice function might be recognized in music of the later fifteenth century.

In point of fact, any examination of Franco-Flemish polyphony from the time of Ockeghem onward is likely to reveal some sort of radical manipulation or reformulation of the two-voice framework. This typically takes the form of the discantus and tenor functions being objectified and parceled out among the various voice parts *ad libitum*.[94] It is perhaps in this respect that the foundations of a new and truly "consolidated" technique of discant-based composition can best be understood. Probably the first scholar to recognize the ramifications of this point was Bernhard Meier, who, in one of his earliest publications, conjectures an abstraction of the functions of discantus, tenor, and contratenor, and attempts to show how these roles were refashioned by Obrecht and his contemporaries into a procedure that was much more flexible than that of previous generations, yet which continued to be based on clear dyadic principles.[95] Concurrently, Meier rejects the idea that the "V–I cadence" can be traced to the early fifteenth century, alleging instead that the descending stepwise motion of the tenor, even as late as Josquin's time, is harmonized variously by the bassus, such that "stepwise sonority progressions, successions of third-related sonorities, and successions of fifth-related sonorities have completely equal entitlement."[96]

As a second example, we can consider the beginning of *Je ne puis vivre,* one of the "Jacqueline d'Hacqueville" chansons of Busnois. Here, the integration of voices is not simply a matter of contrapuntal relationships.

In this chanson, the integral role of each voice is operative on various planes. At the beginning (mm. 2–6), the contra is indispensable in a textural sense due to the tenor's delayed entry. This opening suggests that the contra is essential to the basic conception of the piece, not only because it is needed to establish polyphony, but also because it participates in the scheme of melodic imitation. These elements indicate that musical texture plays a decisive role in fashioning an organic unification of parts, although the influence of counterpoint is far from being completely overshadowed.[97] In any case, the contrapuntal self-sufficiency of the discantus-tenor pair is no longer absolute, as it typically was around 1400. This change is evidenced by the contra's assuming the role of referential voice when it cadences in directed motion with the discantus (m10→8) in mm. 11–12. While it is not unprecedented in fourteenth-century music to encounter such a transference of the referential voice, the systematic exploitation of this concept is a fifteenth-century phenomenon, which seems to derive from the sectional duos for upper voices that came into

Example 13: Textural basis of consolidated discant counterpoint.



Busnois, *Je ne puis vivre* (Bergerette)

vogue in the first few decades of the century (cf. Dufay's motet *Nuper rosarum flores*).

The result of the procedures just outlined is a work in which no voice is dispensable either contrapuntally or texturally. The handling of imitation, while not as systematic as would become typical in the sixteenth century, serves to integrate the piece motivically as well—a preoccupation new to the generation of Busnois.

The above discussion has attempted to sketch out the sorts of questions that need to be explored further in delimiting distinct procedures of consolidated discant counterpoint in vocal polyphony through the time of Palestrina.[98] With examples 12 and 13 I have tried to show how indispensability of parts can be expressed in the realms of both counterpoint (through voice function and dissonance treatment) and texture (through variation of voice couplings and treatment of imitation). This is not, of course, intended as an exhaustive catalogue of procedures, but is merely offered to enunciate certain principles that should prove helpful in analyzing music of the later fifteenth century—a period in which the paradigm of expanded two-voice counterpoint is only peripherally applicable.[99]

V. Referentiality as a Tool for Interpreting Musical Style

The general precepts developed above in part IV can profitably be applied in analyses and classification of extant works. For example, the concept of referentiality allows one to differentiate between two variant techniques of multiple two-voice counterpoint in three-voice works of the fourteenth century. The clearer of the two is seen where the tenor acts consistently as a low voice, with two more-or-less independent upper voices (usually both texted) moving above it.[100] In this technique the referential pitch is virtually identical with the referential voice—and both are identified almost exclusively with the tenor.[101] It exists in its purest form in a series of three-voice Glorias and Credos from the Ivrea codex.

The second variant of multiple two-voice counterpoint is represented in the works of the Tournai manuscript[102] and elsewhere. Although the tenor tends to predominate as the low voice in such pieces, any of the three parts can occupy the lowest position. Therefore, this technique may be said to manifest a "composite lower voice," as opposed to the tenor being always low. However, in none of these pieces is there a question of expanded two-voice counterpoint, since there is never any consistent two-voice framework that is contrapuntally self-sufficient. Rather, the vertical intervallic structures simply relate to whichever voice is lowest at any given moment. This type of counterpoint is equivalent to that "variation" of the multiple two-voice technique reported by Apfel, where the tenor "relinquishes a part of its function as main connective voice of the counterpoint"

to another voice.[103] Moreover, the standard treatment of four-voice writing during the fourteenth century can be viewed as simply an extension of this contrapuntal procedure, although texturally the four-voice pieces tend to be more regularized.[104]

In multiple two-voice works where there is much crossing between the lower lines (as is typical in works à 4), no single voice part acts as a referential voice at all, and this is exactly how Apfel had described such pieces as long ago as 1955, when he characterized the phenomenon as a *kombinierte Tiefstimme* ("combined lower voice").[105] In such situations, the succession of lowest tones (referential pitches) simply generates a composite referential voice, thus maintaining the essential characteristic of multiple two-voice counterpoint, namely, that all upper intervals, as well as their voice-leading possibilities, are reckoned individually from the lowest pitch, although the result was certainly subject to subsequent adjustment.[106] This interpretation leads to a recognition of the solus tenor's relevance to compositional process in four-voice writing, namely, that the solus tenor—a conflation (or sometimes a recomposition) of the lowest tones of the tenor and contratenor—is nothing other than a reflection of the multiple two-voice conception of four-part works during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, permitting a performance with only three voices while still maintaining orthodox intervallic relationships between the upper parts and the composite low voice. Thus, contrary to opinions that have been aired in the literature from time to time, the solus tenor is conditioned not merely by performance-practice exigencies, but can be related directly to principles of counterpoint.[107]

The normal procedure of expanded two-voice counterpoint, having a consistent two-voice framework between the discantus and tenor, with a contratenor that is for the most part contrapuntally dispensable, is evident in many three-voice pieces from the Apt manuscript, and is particularly characteristic of the mass settings in sources coeval with Bologna Q15. Works such as these also display a composite lower line in that the contratenor often has an almost equal share with the tenor in providing the referential pitch, but this shared "melody" is not a referential voice *per se,* since that function, with few exceptions, remains exclusively within the province of the tenor. This is true even when the contra lies below the tenor, by virtue of the contrapuntal integrity of the discantus-tenor duet. It is noteworthy that none of the four-voice mass settings from the period display this type of part-writing, because there is never a conventional two-voice framework, operating at the interval of an octave, that provides a contrapuntal basis for the composition.[108]

Conversely, Besseler's concept of the *Kombinationsbaß* does not discriminate between the two types of composite lower line I have been describing, even though their divergent character consists precisely in the

manner by which sonorities are directed (i.e., the identity of the referential voice).[109] This same lack of differentiation underlies Leech-Wilkinson's criticisms of analyses that treat the contratenor as contrapuntally secondary, in support of which he adduces the solus tenor as proof that the lowest notes are solely responsible for sonorous direction of a piece. The difficulty here is that the analyses concern mostly three-part works realized as expanded two-voice counterpoint, whereas the solus tenors are associated with four-part works realized as multiple two-voice counterpoint.[110]

Above are outlined some of the practical considerations that enter into a contrapuntal assessment of a body of actual works. As is stated above in part III, however, individual pieces do not necessarily fit neatly into one or the other category. For instance, one can point to a number of expanded two-voice examples that display residual elements of multiple two-voice counterpoint.[111] In such cases, one must appeal to other means of demarcation in order to judge which of the two techniques best fits the contrapuntal character of a given piece. But the existence of such exceptional pieces does not invalidate the categories, which are eminently applicable to a large number of works—it simply demonstrates the multifaceted options open to composers of the time.

In ambiguous cases, further clues for identifying expanded two-voice counterpoint can be invoked. These include: 1) the use of consistent octave closures between the tenor and another voice, with the third voice taking the fifth or the twelfth; and 2) the presence of an intervallic progression between the tenor and an upper voice that is orthodox, but which simultaneously creates parallel fifths (or less often, octaves) between the upper voice and a third voice, lower than the tenor. Both conditions just enumerated constitute evidence that the third voice is contrapuntally dispensable—a hallmark of expanded two-voice counterpoint.

On the other hand, additional criteria for identifying multiple two-voice counterpoint include: 1) short passages where the upper voices move in parallel unisons or seconds; 2) the setting of two upper parts simultaneously at intervals of a fifth and a sixth against the tenor in the underlying *contrapunctus simplex* (note-against-note reduction); 3) the presence of two upper voices that share the melodic profile more or less equally; and 4) the existence of passages in which another voice assumes a position lower than the tenor, with the tenor and upper voice moving irregularly (for example, in parallel fourths). The first three of these conditions all indicate that the two upper parts are operating independently of each other—a signal characteristic of multiple two-voice counterpoint. The fourth condition indicates that the referential pitch (low note) in successive sonorities is decisive for the voice-leading possibilities of the piece; this, of course, is the element that all multiple two-voice pieces have in common, regardless of the behavior of the upper parts.[112]

Most pieces not easily classifiable into one of the basic contrapuntal categories are characterized by a texture wherein the voices are consistently stratified, with vox 3 always topmost, vox 2 (sometimes labeled *contratenor*) always in the middle, the tenor always low, and there are very few, if any, voice crossings.[113] By definition, such pieces express one kind of cantilena texture, but the effect of stratifying the voices is to obfuscate the boundary between the two contrapuntal techniques.[114] Historically, these works represent a peculiar intermediate stage between multiple two-voice and expanded two-voice composition—a point at which it had been recognized as desirable that each of the three parts have a distinct identity and contrapuntal function, but at which musicians had not yet conceived how to provide the voice-leading flexibility for a third part to operate below a tenor linked contrapuntally to a discantus in a two-voice framework.

Given the intricate nature of the arguments presented above regarding contrapuntal referentiality, I recapitulate my main points: In multiple two-voice counterpoint the referential voice is defined as the sequence of referential pitches, and there may be no single voice part acting consistently in that role. On the other hand, when evaluating expanded two-voice counterpoint, one must often distinguish between the referential *pitch* in individual sonorities and the referential *voice* in a contrapuntal sense, since in this technique the tenor normally is the primary directive voice (i.e., "referential" to the other parts) regardless of whether or not another voice lies below it. When more than one part has equal claim to being the referential voice, priority should be assigned to the tenor (especially if it harbors a *cantus prius factus*), or possibly to the discantus.[115] In practice, the tenor usually does prove to be the referential voice in the French mass corpus of the fourteenth century, regardless of contrapuntal technique. The term "referential voice," however, is conceived differently in the two fundamental types of counterpoint (multiple two-voice and expanded two-voice), since in the latter, referentiality is defined by the contrapuntal integrity of tenor and discantus, irrespective of which voice has the low pitch, whereas in the former, referentiality is a function of the upper-part intervals—and their linear-connective possibilities—being reckoned precisely *from* the sequence of lowest pitches, irrespective of which voice or voices participate in the profile of that line. Thus, when the tenor occupies solely the position of the low voice in multiple two-voice counterpoint, it can indeed be said to be the referential voice, but when the sequence of low pitches is expressed as a composite, as is typically the case in four-voice writing, then the function of referential voice is shared between the lower parts (it is highly significant that this latter condition is in many cases literally reflected by the presence of a supplementary solus tenor in the manuscript). In the fifteenth-century technique of consolidated discant counterpoint, the principles of expanded two-voice composition still

basically apply, except that the procedures have become vastly more flexible: now the concept of voice function is treated abstractly, with the result that any line can assume the role of referential voice based on the prototype of discantus or tenor. Concurrently, the notion of a bassus voice-type of equal functional entitlement begins increasingly—but not yet decisively—to influence the structural hierarchy among parts. These traits of consolidated discant technique directly facilitated development of the fluid, equal-voice style of imitative polyphony in five and six parts that was to predominate in sixteenth-century music.

I would like to conclude by affirming that the two contrapuntal techniques defined in part III exhibit characteristic ways of treating referentiality, and that the resulting patterns in turn suggest general stylistic trends.[116] As is intimated in the preceding paragraph, I firmly believe that consistent patterns of analogous nature will prove to be observable in later music as well, even though compositional priorities and procedures continued to evolve throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[117] The commonalities identified in this study tend to reflect exigencies of artistic creation, and one cannot expect to find explicit corroboration for all of them in contemporaneous theory, although their precedents are regularly to be found there. The basic contrapuntal techniques (and other means of deploying musical resources) explicated above thus represent *compositional tendencies* rather than *prescriptive rules.* Often their characteristics are present in paradigmatic form; at other times they are less in evidence, but they are always discernible in some fashion. The lack of absolute consistency in the way individual pieces are realized should not surprise us, nor should it lead us to eschew the concepts developed above as a point of departure for evaluating and codifying compositional processes in vocal polyphony of the late medieval period.

Notes

* This is a substantially expanded version of a paper originally read at a meeting of the Northern California Chapter of the American Musicological Society at Mills College, 25 February 1995.

1. For a pertinent example one could point to the recent hypotheses suggested for the provenance and dating of codices Apt (F-Apt 16 bis) and Ivrea (I–Iv 115)—both central sources for the corpus of Franco-Flemish liturgical polyphony of the fourteenth century introduced below (note 6). After many pages devoted to the genesis of manuscript Apt, Andrew Tomasello's best estimate of its dating based on watermarks is that "fascicles V and VI were most likely compiled between 1377 . . . and 1412. . . . If one uses the narrowest range of dates, the time frame of 1395–1405 is reached" (Tomasello 1983: 145). The author does not even hazard a firm suggestion for the parchment fascicles, I–IV. Similarly, Karl Kuegle has come to some provocative conclusions regarding Ivrea, including revisions of its probable place and time of origin (Kuegle 1993: 130 ff.), yet neither assertion has been

established beyond doubt. These results appear to define the present limits of codicology for the repertory in question.

2. An essential starting point for this task is to achieve a suitable method of identifying basic contrapuntal techniques. Such a method has, in fact, been in existence for some time, but its validity and usefulness have hitherto been greatly undervalued in the English-language literature. See below, part III.

3. This applies particularly to the era of the *Ars nova* and *Ars subtilior* with the completion of the series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (24 vols., general eds. Kurt von Fischer, et al., 1956–91); it is less true of the succeeding period, for which a large percentage of the music transmitted in the Trent codices, and related sources, remains unpublished.

4. One can never, of course, afford to stray very far from the original codices in which the pieces are transmitted. This is true for two reasons: first, awareness of paleographical and notational issues (such as folio format) can often work to clarify analytical or performance questions; second, the modern editions are not devoid of errors, and one must always be in a position to consult the source manuscripts to verify questionable or stylistically incongruous readings.

5. In her pioneering study on the conceptual bases of sonority treatment in the fourteenth century, Sarah Fuller suggests that the contrapunctus manuals "are elementary texts," which are "certainly not addressed to experienced discantors or even apprentice composers of motets" (Fuller 1986: 39).

6. The two most important sources are the aforementioned Apt and Ivrea codices (see note 1 above). For a comprehensive listing of the corpus and its sources, see the present author's dissertation (Moll 1994: 10–60), where criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of individual pieces and groups of works are also discussed (18–27).

7. The term "referentiality" denotes the quality of a pitch or pitch sequence in a given voice part (or parts) being referential (i.e., taking conceptual precedence over a pitch or pitch sequence in another voice part or parts). I have coined it not because I especially wish to add to the analytical jargon of early music, but because I find it useful for sorting out the relationship between voice leading, sonority, and tonal coherence in a body of music whose relationship to later principles of functional triadic tonality is problematic at best. For a historiography and evaluation of the issues, see my essay entitled "Toward a Comprehensive View of Compositional Priorities in the Music of Dufay and his Contemporaries" (Moll 1997: 3–64), which the present study is intended to complement.

8. Schering 1914: 123. Schering's *superius* is interchangeable with my *discantus* (see note 12 below).

9. Jeppesen 1927: xlv; Ficker 1951: 114–15 (translated in Moll 1997: 118–20).

10. The concept of musical texture is entertained at greater length in Moll 1994: 126–35, 318–24, 368–69, where also can be found an assessment of earlier scholarship on the subject, a literature culminating in Hannah Stäblein-Harder's definitive study published in 1962.

11. The discussion both here and below focuses on three-voice writing, since this was undeniably the standard from about 1300 to 1450, and also because anything like an adequate treatment of four-voice counterpoint in the fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries would entail a degree of conceptual redefinition that is well beyond the scope of this paper. Those aspects of the issue that are relevant to the period up to around 1420 are introduced in Moll 1994: 219 ff. (see also note 108 below).

12. I have chosen the term *discantus* in preference to *superius* because it occurs much more commonly in theoretical treatises stemming from before ca. 1450, and in preference to *cantus* because the latter is sometimes used in earlier polyphonic theory to denote what would later be called a tenor—to which a discantus, indeed, is added (for particulars, see Moll 1994: 7, n. 29 and its accompanying discussion). In sources of French liturgical music of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the most notable occurrences of the archaic designations *motetus* and *triplum* are found in connection with the Tournai and Machaut masses, where they apply to parts that are fully texted. Apart from the two cycles just mentioned, the appellation *triplum* in this period seems to have been reserved mainly for an untexted or supplementary upper part, especially one that lies higher than a texted discantus (see the Kyrie, Apt no. 11). For a table of voice designations correlated with the presence or absence of texting in the three- and four-voice repertoire under investigation, see Moll 1994: 133 and 218, respectively.

13. Many mass compositions of this type, particularly those transmitted in the Ivrea codex, set the same text in both upper voices simultaneously (see example 9 below), a phenomenon that is all but nonexistent in contemporaneous motets and chansons. Note that in this and all applicable examples below, the measure numbers accord with the most recent modern edition (Cattin et al.: 1989/91). Regarding the recent renumbering of Ivrea's contents (not reflected in the present study) see below, note 44.

14. For particulars of text disposition in the applicable mass settings, as well as an assessment of the general textural and contrapuntal character of each piece, see Moll 1994: 392–497 (app. II). These statistics reveal a fundamental notational indeterminacy, namely, that the sources consistently transmit a high percentage of works in which one or both lower parts is untexted or is only rudimentarily texted, not to mention cases where a given voice part is texted in one manuscript but not in a concordant source (although a few surviving works do indeed have all parts texted in full—e.g., the Credo, Ivrea no. 62). In grappling with such issues, one quickly realizes that not only are the performing forces in question (i.e., vocal versus instrumental), but also, if one does decide to conform to current wisdom and add editorial text underlay (see note 15 below), one is continually forced into making decisions affecting the very form of a given piece. Specifically, the process of imposing an interpretation of how text declamation should coordinate grammatically among the various voice parts must in turn have a direct effect upon one's reading of the hierarchy of cadences and related articulations (see part II below), and hence upon musical structure itself. To this extent, any modern realization of such a piece becomes nothing less than a recomposition.

15. Roger Bowers in particular has advocated strictly vocal performance of English liturgical polyphony of the time (Bowers 1983: 161–92). If this view also applies to the contemporaneous French repertoire, which I believe is likely, then the existence of a so-called simultaneous style, which has been common currency

in the literature for years (see particularly Stäblein-Harder 1962), must be called into question. For a more thorough examination of this point, see Moll 1994: 126–35, 318–24. Regarding untexted voice parts, see note 14 above.

16. Bernhard Meier adduces evidence that this cadential formula of the tenor retains its leading role in polyphony through the time of Zarlino (Meier 1988: 91).

17. This statement applies to thirteenth- and fourteenth-century music. As evidence, I offer the corpus introduced above (note 6), among which there are only three works in which parts explicitly named *tenor* do not end on the low pitch at the final sonority—and all three betray other unique elements correlating with that unusual condition (Moll 1994: 189, 191). For general evidence regarding the primacy of the tenor, see the source just cited (186 ff.). It is well known that in the fifteenth century the tenor gradually lost its default position as lowest part in favor of various types of contratenor.

18. See below, examples 10, 12, and 13.

19. Fuller 1986: esp. 45 ff. A full consideration of all three topics lies outside the scope of this paper, and the first will not be pursued further beyond the few comments made here. Another study that explores similar issues is Leech-Wilkinson 1984.

20. The above quotations are all taken from Fuller 1986: 49–56.

21. Fuller visualizes a "continuum from neutral or non-committed to definitely directed" progressions (1986: 51).

22. Fuller 1986: 54.

23. See Pfannkuch 1958: col. 406. Meier discusses certain aspects of this issue as they relate to sixteenth-century music (1988: 90–101).

24. See Sachs 1974; also Apfel 1994, 1993, 1988.

25. These conclusions are based on exhaustive scrutiny of the French and related mass settings introduced above (see note 6). For a raw tabulation of major cadences in the complete works (appendix I), as well as structural reductions showing cadences and other points of articulation (appendix II), see Moll 1994: 377 ff.

26. A number of such extensions are illustrated in the source cited in the above note, chapters 9 and 10; see also example 7 below.

27. The list shown below (table 1) is based on fourteenth-century practice. By incorporating whatever modifications are necessary to account for the idiosyncrasies of a given repertory, however, I have found these criteria to be generally valid for European vocal polyphony through the time of Palestrina.

28. Some extraordinarily challenging problems can arise when considering pieces that are not fully texted in all parts, especially when text has been added editorially by modern editors or performers (see note 14 above).

29. All of the topics just specified are developed and illustrated in Moll 1994 (chapters 7, 9, and 10).

30. Pelinski 1975: 62–71. I prefer to designate this phenomenon more generally as "sustained sonority."

31. Fuller 1986: 56. In evaluating such effects, the element of text placement is, of course, crucial.

32. Various types of significant non-cadential sonorities are defined and illustrated in Moll 1994: 267–71.

33. Fuller 1986: 45–46.

34. Frobenius 1971: 67. Original: ". . . dum ad graviorem partem ipsius proportionis duple tendimus, utimur tertia, que minus ab huiusmodi parte distat, puta semiditonali, sic, dum in acutam partem finire volumus, utimur sexta, que in distantia equali ab ea parte acuta residet, puta semiditonali, que tonum integrum facit supra quintam; econtra autem sicut dum ad quintam tendimus, distantiam ipsius tertie a graviore dilatamus utendo tertia ditonali, sic distantiam consimilem, dum ad quintam tendimus, inter octavam et sextam penitus mensuramus. . . ."

35. A number of modern commentators have tacitly treated the phenomenon just defined as being literally equivalent to a cadence, but such an assumption is a gross oversimplification with respect to both the theory and the practice of the time. From the various theoretical stipulations, Sachs merely concludes that as a general rule, perfect consonances "stand at the beginning and end of a composition," whereas imperfect consonances "occupy the penultimate [position]" (1974: 113).

36. Among many citations that could be made from the secondary literature, Jeohash Hirshberg (1980: 40) refers to this as the "regular discant cadence," whereas Fuller refers to it as the "standard cadential formula" of the fourteenth century (1986: 38).

37. This of course entails that any imperfect intervals in the penultimate sonority that are diatonically minor must be made major through application of *musica ficta.*

38. A taxonomy of final and major-sectional cadence types à 3 is given in Moll 1994: 212–16, along with an analogous taxonomy of cadences à 4 (229–32); this latter tabulation shows the paradigmatic discant cadence (10-6-3→12-8-5) occurring in 41 of 73 comparable articulations in the four-voice works (56 percent). Criteria for judging what constitutes "major sections" of pieces are developed in chapter 10 of the same study.

39. This point is noted by Richard L. Crocker (1986: 113).

40. In his comprehensive survey of theories of *musica ficta,* Karol Berger concludes that when either progression is possible, i.e., when there is no B-flat signature in the lower voice(s) and no accidentals are given in the source, fourteenth-century theorists overwhelmingly sanction raising the upper voices rather than lowering the tenor (Berger 1987: 140–43).

41. Fuller defines "directed progression" as "a succession of two adjacent sonorities—the first imperfect in nature and unstable in quality, the second perfect in nature and stable in quality—in which the first moves to the second according to the norms of contrapunctus voice-leading" (Fuller 1992: 231). The author subsequently claims that "the power of the directed progression lies in its syntax of tendency followed by resolution" (232). As I see it, however, the term "directed" should be reserved solely for progressions in which imperfect sonorities are resolved stepwise according to the strictest principles of discant theory, so that any imperfect-to-perfect progression not incorporating such motion, even if

acknowledged as having a "tendency" toward resolution, should be considered "non-directed." This cavil is largely a matter of semantics, but it does affect the classification of cadence types (see below, example 6). Regarding directed progressions, see also Pesce 1990: 291.

42. Fuller recognizes this fact, saying that cadences are "special cases of directed progression," which are "not accomplished by quality or structure of the progression alone" (1986: 54).

43. Directed motion of voices, which occurs by definition in discant cadences but is also routinely placed at other points of musical articulation (see, for instance, example 7 below), should in most cases be inflected through *musica ficta* if necessary. Conversely, instances of directed motion within musical or textual periods (i.e., not coordinated with other elements listed in table 1) typically should *not* be inflected with accidentals to make minor imperfect intervals major. Such indiscriminate application of cadential *ficta* would distort the grammatical continuity of the composition. See also note 14 above.

44. This progression occurs at a relatively weak interior articulation in the Credo, Ivrea no. 46, mm. 70–71. Incidentally, the numbering of this piece as Ivrea 46 follows the *RISM* catalog (Reaney 1969: 294), but it should be noted that Ivrea has more recently been reindexed and its contents renumbered (Kuegle 1993: 358–82). For key to voice-part symbols in this and all following illustrations that apply, see example 3 above. As is explained below in note 46, the arrows indicate directed motion. In example 4, structural pitches in the penultimate sonority are shown in boldface.

45. All four progressions occur at ends of significant text phrases, but none is a final cadence: (a) Credo, Ivrea no. 56, mm. 14–15; (b) Sanctus, Ivrea no. 58, mm. 9–10; (c) Credo, Ivrea no. 57, mm. 13–14; (d) Credo, Ivrea no. 46, mm. 224–25. These examples are not, of course, intended as an exhaustive or absolute illustration of the range of possibilities.

46. The symbols I have adopted for the various kinds of intervallic progression are as follows: the presence of directed motion between any two parts is shown for each applicable voice by an arrow (→); any irregularity in the realization of directed motion, such as its being interrupted by a rest, is indicated by a broken arrow (⇢); a dash (—) indicates progression in a given voice—either leapwise or by step—that does *not* result in directed motion with any other part; a sign of equivalence (=) signifies a voice progressing in parallel motion with the sequence of low pitches. The resulting cadence types are designated by the abbreviation DC (Discant Cadence), followed by a numeral indicating the number of voices proceeding in directed motion; the letter "i" indicates that the progression is realized in an irregular fashion. Fuller uses the arrow symbol to indicate "the inclination of T[endency] toward R[esolution]," but I am using it to denote a specific *kind* of resolution, i.e., directed motion; see Fuller 1992: 232 (also note 41 above).

47. The term "doubly imperfect" refers to a sonority having two imperfect intervals above its low tone (e.g., 10-6). Although space constraints prevent my going into the issue at length, I consider it imperative to draw attention here to a terminology initially devised by Hellmut Kühn (1973) for describing multi-voice sonorities according to the dyadic usage of fourteenth-century theorists. As subsequently

modified by Sarah Fuller (1986), this scheme provides the basis for a valuable analytical vocabulary, one relevant aspect of which is introduced below (note 84 and its accompanying discussion).

48. In every case, the B♭ signature applies only to the tenor, and all imperfect consonances in the penultimates are major.

49. Friedemann Otterbach overstates the case when referring to directed motion as "ein 'mandatum' der Satzlehre" (1975: 19). Several prominent studies of fifteenth-century music have also posited directed motion as a contrapuntal standard without having fully weighed the theoretical principles underlying that assumption (see, for example, Perkins 1973: 193; also Randel 1971: 77).

50. See Berger 1987: 123 ff. The theorists' lack of consensus as to the necessity of moving from the closest possible imperfect consonance raises the possibility that *ficta* was only required at the most important articulations (final cadences and the ends of significant sections). Berger remarks that "there is a gray area . . . in which a [*ficta*] decision has to be made (by the composer, performer, or editor) as to whether a given progression should be treated as a cadence and properly inflected, or left intact" (138). The possibility of "relaxed" progressions and the potential choices of *ficta* evince the layers of subtlety that can be involved in interpreting contrapuntal articulations. See also note 14 above.

51. In example 6b, the low pitch given in outline form (𝔽) and the interval above it in parenthesis indicate that the tenor is not the low voice; the "x" indicates voice crossing. Examples 6b and 6c represent, in fact, alternative versions of the same piece.

52. But notice that here the contra is above the discantus.

53. Fuller discusses some interesting illustrations of the phenomenon (1986: 44–45). For other examples of "triadic" function in the fourteenth century, see Moll 1994: 254–56. The existence of these "triads," however, results from the simultaneous presence of perfect and imperfect intervals codified dyadically, and there is no compelling case for interpreting them (as Heinrich Besseler and others have done) as presaging the system of "functional triadic tonal harmony" codified in the theory of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see below, note 78). Hellmut Kühn's account of "triadic" sonorities in the fourteenth century (1973: 78–79) agrees in essence with those I have formulated here.

54. Fuller also uses the term "bridge" to describe similar phenomena (1992: 246). This and other resources of musical articulation are sometimes applied to rhetorical ends of text expression, especially in Credos; for particulars, see Moll 1994: 331–34. If the diatonic imperfect consonances over the tenor in m. 20 happened to be minor, I would recommend that they be raised through application of *musica ficta*.

55. This piece—the only extant one of its kind—sets the Gloria text in the discantus 2 and a trope in the discantus 1. In the excerpt shown, the two texts have coordinated phrase endings, confirmed by the subsequent untexted two-voice "link" (m. 50).

56. Most sectional cadences are followed by single or double vertical strokes entered into the manuscript itself (see table 1, no. 3); these serve to demarcate large-scale divisions in a piece, exactly as do the double barlines of today.

57. Apfel 1994: 19. This study exists in its original form as the author's dissertation at the University of Heidelberg (Apfel 1953). Original: "Aus diesen [Lehren des vielstimmigen Diskantsatzes] und aus den entsprechenden Denkmählern ergibt sich, daß es zwei verschiedene Arten von Vielstimmigkeit gegeben hat, und worin sich diese unterschieden haben: Die eine dieser beiden Arten entwickelte sich aus den möglichen Verdoppelungen eines Cantus bei der Improvisation und die andere bestand in der jeweiligen Erweiterung eines realen zweistimmigen Diskantsatzes durch Zusatzstimmen."

58. In the interest of completeness, it should be mentioned that Apfel's original term for *mehrfach-zweistimmiger Satz* was *klanglicher Satz* (or *motettischer Satz*), and his original term for *erweiterter Satz* was *freier Diskantsatz*. For the most concise explanation of the respective compositional techniques (using the earlier terms), see Apfel 1957: 31–33. A short sketch of the development of these ideas is provided in Moll 1997: 48–50.

59. See examples 1 and 2. I have previously suggested this typology as a revision of the "style categories" (initially proposed by Friedrich Ludwig in 1923) to classify the corpus of fourteenth-century French mass settings—a system that was subsequently adopted by Hanna Stäblein-Harder and many others. For references to further literature, see notes 10 and 15 above.

60. This study was published two years later (Georgiades 1937, see esp. 56–57). Sylvia Kenney subsequently claimed that "discant theory was concerned primarily with two voices only," although she did recognize that the *practice* of discant could entail more than two parts (Kenney 1964: 94–95). For counter-arguments supporting Georgiades's view, see Apfel 1988: 6–7.

61. Apfel 1953: 220. The original wording is ". . . ohne Rücksicht auf die Konsonanzen der bereits vorhandenen Stimmen zum Tenor. . . ."

62. This disposition is characteristic of paired upper-voice texture, illustrated above in example 1.

63. In theoretical descriptions of two-part counterpoint, the tenor is a *cantus prius factus* and, for all intents and purposes, is always lowest. In practice, however, "the lowest voice is decisive, whether it be the tenor or, when it lies below the tenor, the contratenor" (see Apfel 1955: 301; translated in Moll 1997: 176). Apropos of the foregoing comment, I might point out that other voice types besides contratenors (discantus, triplum, motetus) can be lowest.

64. Apfel 1988: 25. Original: "Der Tenor—c.f. ist zwar die wichtigste, aber nur für die zweite Stimme des Satzes die alleinige Bezugsstimme des Satzes. Für die dritte und vierte Stimme des Satzes kann auch dessen zweite oder/und dritte Stimme Bezugsstimme sein. Der Tenor—c.f. gibt in diesem Falle einen Teil seiner Funktion als Hauptbezugsstimme des Satzes an die betreffende Stimme ab."

65. Franco of Cologne (contained in Strunk 1950: 155). The original citation is in *CS* 1, 132. A newer Latin edition, edited by Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles (1974), exists as vol. 18 of the series Corpus Scriptorum de Musica.

66. Apfel 1988: 24–25.

67. *CS* 3, 465. This treatise is usually considered to date from the first half of the fifteenth century.

68. Slightly amended Latin text taken from Andrew Hughes (1969: 376–77). Original: "Si enim quis vult facere contratenorem supra quemlibet tenorem, debet videre ubi discantus incipiat. . . . Sciendum quod volens facere contratenorem non debet facere duas octavas cum tenore ascendendo, nec descendendo, nec debet accipere proximas concordantias, sed accipiat secundum quod discantus requirit, ita quod contratenor concordat cum tenore et non semper cum discantu, quia bene potest fieri in contratenore contradiscantus. [Et videndum ne] contratenor habeat quintam quum discantus habeat sextam, quia esset secunda, etc. . . . Et notandum etiam quod supra notas tenoris non debemus numerare octo sicut in contrapuncto vel in discantu, sed simpliciter una, quia contratenor est ita gravis sicut tenor est, aliquando gravior."

69. It is not coincidental that this passage is also presented as the first part of example 2 above; on the contrary, it is specifically intended to show the close correlation that exists around 1400 between cantilena texture and expanded two-voice counterpoint.

70. The fourths in mm. 15 and 17 are clear passing tones of short (minim) duration, placed in relatively weak metrical positions.

71. Certain cases of problematic identification are illustrated in part V below (see note 111).

72. See the interesting exploration of contrapuntal dispensability in Apfel 1960: 89–93 (translated in Moll 1997: 230–36); see also Dahlhaus 1990: 85. The question of dispensability takes on a heightened complexity and significance in four-voice counterpoint, but this topic will not be pursued here; it is explored further in Moll 1994: 219–24.

73. For a more complete discussion of this point, see the beginning of part V below.

74. This point has been made by Wolfgang Marggraf (1966: 19; translated in Moll 1997: 312). For further evidence, including a reference from contemporary aesthetician Nicole Oresme, see Leech-Wilkinson 1984: 24, note 6. See also my discussion in "Toward a Comprehensive View of Compositional Priorities" (Moll 1997: 58–59). Still, it is plausible that medieval musicians and listeners took for granted a wider latitude of performance possibilities, particularly in secular music, than some twentieth-century scholars would be inclined to accept.

75. A good example of rhythmic-textural indispensability is illustrated by the Cordier Gloria (Apt 38, with a concordance in I-Bc 15:30). The type of leaping contratenor that characterizes this piece was clearly becoming an important ingredient of musical style in the years before 1400, and it remains a prominent characteristic in Dufay's chanson output.

76. Absolute contrapuntal dispensability of the contratenor only obtains when neither of the structural voices is allowed to rest for more than perhaps a semibreve throughout the course of a piece—but this robs the composer of a valuable textural resource, namely the ability to utilize a variety of two-voice combinations. As the style of expanded two-voice counterpoint evolved in the course of the fifteenth century, composers seem to have become less and less willing to abdicate this option.

77. For an example from a recent textbook, see Atlas 1998: 64.

78. The analysis is found in Besseler 1950: 40–43; the terms quoted above all appear in chapter 3, 45–65. My interpretation accords entirely with Sachs's account of sonority-building (1974: 126), and also with Dahlhaus's criticisms of Besseler (1990: 84–86). See also Perkins 1973: 191–92; and Moll 1997: 27–48. As this study was in its late stages of preparation, I encountered yet another analysis of *Helas, ma dame* that corroborates the views expressed above (Bent 1998: 40–42).

79. For a summary of the relevant issues, see Apfel 1988: 6–12; also Apfel 1994: 95 ff. Many of these theoretical tracts still await a firm dating, but the views just related imply that a considerable time elapsed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which all treatises described either two-voice counterpoint exclusively, or multiple two-voice counterpoint.

80. Apfel claims that one of two styles of mass settings in the Old Hall manuscript is a type that "aside from the occasional use of a cantus firmus, corresponds . . . to the French chanson style [i.e., expanded two-voice counterpoint]" (1988: 251). It still remains to ascertain how far back into the fourteenth century such a method was cultivated by the English. The question of how extensively, and under what conditions, the technique of expanded two-voice counterpoint was practiced in England seems to me to be crucial to any attempt at comparing English to Continental practice before ca. 1420.

81. Apfel does acknowledge this fact, saying that "many Continental motets of the *Ars nova* are constructed according to the English [i.e., multiple two-voice] model" (1988: 11).

82. It is thus incontestable that multiple two-voice counterpoint dominates mass composition in the early part of the fourteenth century (see the list of three-voice settings in Moll 1994: 339). Since this technique is not necessarily predicated on any single two-part voice pair, one must now be prepared to acknowledge that, in strict terms, the concept of the "contrapuntally self-sufficient Cantus/Tenor framework, within which and around which other voices play," is *not* likely to be demonstrable as "a central principle of medieval composition" until around mid-century in three-voice writing, and much later in four-voice writing. (The quotations are from Leech-Wilkinson 1984: 11.)

83. In the Austro-German scholarly literature, the words *Klangträger* and *Harmonieträger* are often employed to signify the concepts just introduced, but neither term constitutes a definite explication of the principles I am detailing here. In the study introduced above in note 7, I have explored these terminological issues in much greater detail.

84. Anonymous I, *CS* 3, 360–61. Original: "Si supra planum cantum esses tantummodo, discantaveris sub plano cantu; nullus potest cantare supra hunc nisi sit expertus gravium de vocum sedibus, quia omnes superiores voces ad graviores habent recedere ad hoc quod consonantia bona sit." Another version of this text exists in *Quatuor principalia,* dated 1351 (*CS* 4, 294). See also note 47 above and its accompanying discussion.

85. Latin text in Rohloff 1967: 146. Original: "Tenor autem est illa pars, supra quam omnes aliae fundantur, quemadmodum partes domus vel aedificii super suum fundamentum. Et eas regulat et eis dat quantitatem, quemadmodum ossa partibus illis."

86. See example 10 above.

87. For key to voice-part symbols, see example 3. Intervals in parenthesis above the staff indicate that the tenor is not the low voice; "x" indicates voice crossing.

88. See the discussion of cadences in part II (above). Georgiades and Apfel both see the underlying principle of this progression—the "stepwise relationship of sonorities" (*Nachbarschaftverhältnis der Klänge*)—as a definitive attribute of multiple two-voice counterpoint, but the progression occurs frequently in expanded two-voice compositions as well.

89. But note also that the discantus and the contra cannot stand alone in the last sonority of progression (b). For some further deliberations on the referential status of the discantus, see note 115 below.

90. Apfel 1955: 298 (translated in Moll 1997: 173). It is not possible here to deal comprehensively with this more advanced technique of dyadic counterpoint, but I plan to do so in a future study.

91. I might take this occasion to point out that one recent study seriously misrepresents Apfel's compositional paradigms as they apply to the *Missa Quinti toni.* In accounting for the work's dissonance treatment, Andrew Kirkman (1995: 266–67) invokes Apfel's description of the *klanglicher Satz* (a term identified in note 58 above). This connection, however, is specious, since Apfel unequivocally characterizes the *Missa Quinti toni* as a *klanglich-freier Satz,* i.e., as a contrapuntal type whose principles differ materially from the ones Kirkman cites. For comparisons, see Apfel 1955: 303 (quoted by Kirkman) and 307 (regarding the *klanglich-freier Satz*); translations of these two passages can be found in Moll 1997 (178 and 183, respectively).

92. Fox 1945: 33–53.

93. There does remain the possibility of the contra legitimizing diminished fifths, but this interval, too, is infrequent.

94. That Apfel's thinking was moving in a similar direction is attested by his describing a second variant of the *klanglich-freier Satz,* wherein the tenor holds the cantus firmus in long notes while the contra takes the tenor's normal place as structural voice with the discantus (1955: 310). As an exponent of this practice, I would point to the *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini* of Johannes Regis, a work whose structural integrity is expressed almost solely through the continuity of the discantus and contratenor altus, even though both the tenor and contratenor bassus carry cantus firmi at various times.

95. See Meier 1952, esp. 32 (translated in Moll 1997: 156).

96. Meier 1952: 38 (translated in Moll 1997: 163). See also the sources cited above in note 78.

97. The tenor of *Je ne puis vivre* is remarkable in that it has exactly the same compass as the discantus (a twelfth—a–e′ in Guidonian notation), a circumstance most likely occasioned by the capabilities of specific performers but also reflected compositionally through imitative entries at the unison. This equalization of voice register militates against each line's independence, yet despite the constant voice crossings (and the attendant exchanges of voice function), vestiges of the discantus-tenor framework remain in evidence whenever both parts are sounding together.

98. Apfel declares that earlier representatives of the *klanglich-freier Satz* are to be found in English music even as early as the Old Hall corpus, but this hypothesis

still awaits further investigation (see Apfel 1960: 81–84; translated in Moll 1997: 219–23). For another perspective on the classification of compositional procedures, see Apfel's engaging comments regarding Ockeghem's *Missa Caput* (1955: 311–12; translated in Moll 1997: 189–90).

99. Up to now I have scarcely addressed the fundamentally more complex problem of four-part works (see note 11 above), not to mention the existence of pieces such as the Binchois rondeau *Dueil angoisseus,* which are transmitted in both three- and four-part versions. I intend to explore these kinds of issues more fully in future research.

100. See example 9 above, and its accompanying explanation. Note also that example 1 conforms to this criterion.

101. The term "tenor-founded multiple two-voice counterpoint," while admittedly rather cumbersome, accurately conveys the essence of the procedure. The possibility of a tenor-founded technique for four voices is discussed in Moll 1994: 226–27.

102. This source (B-Tc 27, *olim* 476) includes the six movements of the Tournai Mass (all à 3), as well as an independent Kyrie, which is probably three-voiced but may be monophonic, and a Sanctus that *is* monophonic apart from the two three-part *Osanna in excelsis* sections. For a discussion of the latter two movements, see Moll 1994: 147–49. Other works in the style of the Tournai Mass include the Kyrie attributed to "Chipre," Apt no. 5 with concordance as Ivrea no. 49, and the Credo of Murrin, Apt no. 41.

103. Apfel 1988: 25 (see note 64 above).

104. See Moll 1994: 217–27 and 369–70.

105. Apfel 1955: 303. Besseler uses a similar term, *Kombinationsbaß,* but he treats the phenomenon as though it were simply equivalent to the functional bass in triadic tonality, and thus misses the crucial distinction that must often be made in compositions of the early fifteenth century between the referential pitch and the referential voice; see Besseler 1950: 86 ff., as well as theses 44 and 45 in the same study (204).

106. Moll 1994: 184.

107. See Moll 1994: 224–26, 289–93, and 369–70, where the ramifications of this viewpoint upon compositional process in the Franco-Flemish liturgical repertory of the fourteenth century are explained. A similar interpretation of the solus tenor's relevance to four-voice composition is advanced in Bent 1981: 628–31.

108. See Moll 1994: 224–27, where the existence of a contrapuntal "proto-framework" between a tenor and contratenor of essentially equal register is hypothesized.

109. For particulars of Besseler's position, see note 105 above.

110. Leech-Wilkinson 1984: 25–26, note 13. See also Bent, who sketches out the compositional precepts involved (1981: 626).

111. Such pieces include the Kyrie, Apt 10 (attributed to Guymont), the Kyrie, Apt 6, and the Kyrie from the Toulouse Mass.

112. An apparent exception to this rule occurs in some four-voice works, but—significantly—only at major points of articulation (see Moll 1994: 241, example 9-2).

113. The term "always" discounts the minor exceptions usually found in such pieces. For a list of the applicable mass settings with stratified voices, see Moll 1994: 246.

114. Such pieces tend to act as a rudimentary form of expanded two-voice counterpoint, with the dispensability of the third part expressed more in textural than in contrapuntal terms.

115. In expanded two-voice counterpoint the tenor and discantus act as a unit and both are conceptually anterior to the contra. In certain types of pieces, as for example the large group of freely composed chansons, the melodic integrity of the discantus may well prevail over that of the tenor, with the former acting as a primary referential voice and the latter as a secondary one (see Moll 1997: 40, 59–61). Such an interpretation accords with arguments advanced by Peter Lefferts (1995: 119). Nonetheless, even in secular genres the tenor quite often cadences in contrary motion with the two other parts, and thus arguably should be assessed as the referential voice.

116. I must emphasize that a comprehensive set of style criteria can be achieved only by accounting for musical texture (see examples 1 and 2 above), in conjunction with counterpoint, whereupon it is possible to interpret distinct chronological trends in the repertory considered above (Moll 1994: 341–43). The results indicate that the mass corpus occupies a central place in the spectrum of compositional methods practiced by Franco-Flemish composers of the fourteenth century. While it has not been possible here to evaluate the contemporaneous French motets and chansons in light of the contrapuntal-textural typology outlined above, I am convinced that close analysis of these genres will confirm its general validity. Indeed, I can confidently predict the motets to correlate highly with multiple two-voice counterpoint and paired upper-voice texture, and the chansons with expanded two-voice counterpoint and cantilena texture. The actual range of basic conceptions and intermediary stages, however, will not be clarified until these secular and paraliturgical repertories are taken more fully into account.

117. Several distinct means of contrapuntal treatment during the first half of the fifteenth century are sketched out (with musical examples) in Apfel 1955: esp. 301–09 (translated in Moll 1997: 176–86). As is evidenced by the points raised above at the end of part IV (see also Moll 1997: 53–58), these hypotheses will most likely require further revision and refinement in light of a more thorough exegesis of the musical and theoretical texts. It also remains to apply the concept of texture more systematically to fifteenth-century repertoire.

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The Selection of Clausula Sources for Thirteenth-Century Motets: Some Practical Considerations and Aesthetic Implications

By Susan A. Kidwell

In addressing questions of compositional process, scholars of medieval polyphony have relatively little on which to build. They cannot gain insight from reading explicit written testimonies by medieval composers; nor can they look to evidence such as sketches, drafts, or revisions for guidance. Instead, they can only study theoretical accounts of how to compose good discant and examine the surviving pieces themselves to increase their understanding of medieval compositional process.[1]

Of all the surviving types of medieval music, the early Latin motet offers perhaps the best opportunity to explore aspects of compositional process, for the vast majority of early Latin motets were created in several observable stages. More than one hundred years have passed since Wilhelm Meyer's pathbreaking report that many early motets originated with the the addition of text to preexisting discant clausulae (Meyer 1898). While Meyer's discovery prompted an intense effort to identify related motets and clausulae (Ludwig 1910; Gennrich 1957; van der Werf 1989), other elements of compositional process were largely overlooked. Norman Smith (1989) recognized this lacuna and drew attention to the process of *converting* clausulae into motets; in this paper, I shall focus on an earlier stage of compositional process—the process of *selecting* clausula models to convert into motets. In brief, I shall identify factors that may have attracted medieval "composers" to select certain types of clausula models for early Latin motets.[2] I shall then consider the extent to which their criteria for selection apply to other segments of the thirteenth-century motet repertory. As I will show, the initial selection criteria not only reflected practical considerations, but also had long-range aesthetic implications for the stylistic development of the medieval motet.

The surviving sources of Notre Dame polyphony indicate that the composers of the earliest motets did not indiscriminately add texts to all of the approximately 950 passages of discant; instead, they focused their efforts on less than twelve percent of the available repertory.[3] To investigate potential criteria for selection, I compared a "motet group" of fifty-five clausulae that were converted into motets with a "control group" of 103 clausulae that did not become motets.[4] The purpose of this comparison was to look for possible stylistic differences between the two groups; if

found, significant differences could shed light on the process of selecting clausulae to transform into motets.

The motet group contains both discant passages from organum (DP) and separate clausulae (CL) that served as models for early Latin two-voice motets collected in manuscripts F and/or W2. Some of the clausulae in the motet group were also turned into three-voice conductus-motets, and many of them provided the basis for French contrafacta and/or later thirteenth-century double motets. Clausulae that were originally converted into French motets were excluded from initial consideration because they seem to reflect different practical and aesthetic concerns.

The control group was selected from the first two series of two-voice clausulae in the fifth fascicle of F (Nos. 1–288), which contain the most recent and stylistically sophisticated clausulae in the manuscript.[5] Since sixty of these 288 clausulae served as motet sources, it appears that the first two series of clausulae were not only available to composers for conversion into motets, but also generally suitable for texting. The same claim cannot be made for clausulae 289–462, which tend to be earlier in origin, simpler in style, and quite short in length (Baltzer 1995: xliv). Only the very last of these 174 clausulae served as a motet source.

As shown in table 1, the motet and control groups are directly comparable because their members are based on a common stock of tenors.[6] This restriction attempts to minimize any stylistic variance that may result from formal or harmonic features of the tenor.[7] In addition, all clausulae in the motet and control groups are included in the Florence manuscript, whether in the fifth fascicle or in the *Magnus liber organi.*

For the purposes of stylistic comparison, I shall focus on clausula features relevant to the texting process: the treatment of modal rhythm, phrase organization in the duplum voice, and cadences in the duplum and tenor voices. Significant stylistic differences between the motet and control groups may indicate which musical features appealed to composers who converted clausulae into motets.

Since the choice of rhythmic mode in the tenor voice affects modal rhythm and phrasing in the duplum, I will first consider the distribution of clausulae by rhythmic mode in the tenor. As summarized in table 2, the modal distribution varies between different groups of clausulae. Whereas nearly seventy percent of all Notre Dame clausulae are built on unpatterned tenors, the control clausulae are more evenly distributed among modal rhythmic classes. This discrepancy may be attributed to differences in chronology as ascertained from stylistic evidence; whereas unpatterned tenors in ternary or duplex longs dominate the earliest layers of the clausula repertory, later clausulae, including those in the control group, tend to exhibit more advanced stylistic features, including rhythmically

Table 1
List of Clausulae in Motet and Control Groups

Tenor	Tenor Text	Motet Number	Motet Group (source CL in F)	Control Group (related CL in F)
M 1	Dominus	43	No. 26	Nos. 27–35, 227–28
M 3	[Domi]ne	60 (=61)	No. 41	Nos. 47–48
M 5	Manere	70 (=69)	Nos. 42–45	No. 49
M 8	In Bethleem	98	DP (105r)	
M 9	Et illuminare	101	CL à3 (45r)	Nos. 57–58
M 12	Et confitebor	110, 112	DP (139v); No. 71	Nos. 67-70, 72, 231
M 13	Domino quoniam	131, 140; 133	DP (108v); No. 83	Nos. 78–82, 238
M 13	In seculum	141	No. 90	Nos. 85–89, 91–92, 94, 240–41
M 14	Nostrum	215	DP (109r)	Nos. 95, 242
M 14	[Immo]latus est	230, 232, 233, 234	DP (109r); Nos. 103, 104, 101	Nos. 98–99, 102, 243
M 15	In azimis sinceritatis	244	DP (110r)	
M 17	Et tenuerunt	248	DP (111v)	No. 115
M 23	[Captivi]ta[tem]	307, 308, 309, 310	Nos. 121, 122, 120; DP (116r)	Nos. 123–27, 248
M 24	Et gaudebit	313, 322	CL à3 (45v); No. 246	No. 131
M 25	Hodie perlustravit	337	No. 135	Nos. 134, 142, 250
M 26	Docebit	344, 345	DP (118v); No. 137	Nos. 138–39, 143
M 27	Amoris	360	No. 140	Nos. 141, 252
M 29	Mulierum	369	DP (121r)	No. 144
M 29	Iohanne	379	No. 147	Nos. 146, 258
M 32	Virgo	411, 414	DP (123r); CL à3 (11r)	Nos. 151–54, 156, 222
M 34	Regnat	437, 439, 442, 443, 444	DP (126r); Nos. 172, 170, 165, 164	Nos. 167–69, 171, 173–76, 203, 268–69

Table 1 (cont.)

M 38	Ex semine	483	DP (129v)	Nos. 181, 271
M 40	[Inquirien]tes autem	487 (=488)	DP (131v)	Nos. 273–74, 276
M 41	Domine	490	No. 184	
M 45	In odorem	495	CL à3 (45r)	No. 187
M 49	Et sperabit	505	DP (138r)	Nos. 189–90
M 51	[Adju]torium	516	DP (139v)	Nos. 198–99, 201, 214
M 51	Et exaltavi	517, 518	CL à3 (45r); No. 283	
M 53	Et florebit	524	DP (140v)	No. 225
M 54	Quia concupivit	529	DP (141v)	
O 1	Et Jerusalem	632	No. 1	No. 2
O 2	Tanquam	635, 636, 643	No. 9; CL à3 (10v); DP (66r)	Nos. 10–13, 15–18
O 16	Eius	697	DP (76r)	No. 159
O 18	Ad nutum	698	DP (76v)	
BD 1	Domino	655	DP (88v)	
BD 6	Domino	762	CL à3 (43r)	

Table 2
Modal Distribution of Notre Dame Clausulae*

Rhythmic Mode (Tenor)	All Clausulae	Control Group	Motet Group
1	37/950 (3.9%)	6/103 (5.8%)	7/55 (12.7%)
2	38/950 (4.0%)	16/103 (15.5%)	6/55 (10.9%)
3	14/950 (1.5%)	14/103 (13.6%)	4/55 (7.3%)
5	167/950 (17.6%)	40/103 (38.8%)	30/55 (54.5%)
Unpatterned	650/950 (68.4%)	27/103 (26.2%)	8/55 (14.5%)
Unclassified*	44/950 (4.6%)	—	—

*Percentages in this and subsequent tables may not add up to 100 due to rounding. Some clausulae have mixed modal patterns and could not be assigned to a single modal category. In tables 2 and 3a, these clausulae are represented as "Unclassified."

patterned tenors and more sophisticated phrasing in the upper voices (Baltzer 1995: xlii–xliv). Differences between the control and motet groups, however, cannot be explained in terms of chronology. These differences indicate that motet composers had a strong preference for clausulae with patterned, fifth-mode tenors, and that they tended to avoid converting clausulae with unpatterned or third-mode tenors into motets. The reasons for these preferences will become more apparent after considering modal rhythm of dupla voices, aspects of phrasing, and cadential patterns.

The degree of rhythmic regularity in the duplum voice of a parent clausula has a significant impact on the nature of text declamation in the offspring motet. For purposes of comparison, the extent of rhythmic regularity, or "modal purity," may be expressed as the percentage of ternary-long beats that have a regular modal division as opposed to beats with substitutions in the prevailing rhythmic pattern. For example, in the first rhythmic mode, the strict alternation of longs and breves constitutes "modal purity." "Modal impurity" can result from breaking or "fracturing" the long into two breves, or from extending the long into a ternary long, which then substitutes for a long-breve combination. Table 3a summarizes the distribution of motet sources and control clausulae by duplum mode and indicates the average levels of modal purity (MP) and impurity from fracturing (FR) or extending (EXT) the modal pattern. Following Apel (1953) and Smith (1990), I will refer to the process of fracturing the long in the modal pattern as *fractio modi,* and extending the long in the modal pattern as *extensio modi.*[8]

Table 3a
Treatment of Modal Rhythm in Dupla Voices (overview)

MOTET GROUP

	No. of Exx./55	Avg. MP	Avg. FR	Avg. EXT
Mode 1:	39 (70.9%)	67.3%	10.8%	21.9%
Mode 2:	6 (10.9%)	76.7%	13.8%	9.5%
Mode 3:	8 (14.5%)	86.9%	9.0%	4.2%
Unclassified:	2 (3.6%)	—	—	—

CONTROL GROUP

	No. of Exx./103	Avg. MP	Avg. FR	Avg. EXT
Mode 1:	62 (60.2%)	58.5%	14.3%	27.2%
Mode 2:	17 (16.5%)	65.7%	28.0%	6.4%
Mode 3:	20 (19.4%)	86.6%	9.0%	4.4%
Unclassified:	4 (3.9%)	—	—	—

The findings presented in table 3a reveal some interesting differences between the motet and control groups with respect to modal rhythm. In terms of overall distribution, the motet group has a larger proportion of first-mode dupla and a smaller share of dupla in the second and third modes than does the control group. This difference is certainly related to the distribution of tenor modes, for first-mode dupla are often coupled with fifth-mode tenors. However, additional factors may also be at work.

Focusing on clausulae with first-mode dupla, table 3b shows that the average modal purity level is higher in the motet group than in the control group (67.3 vs. 58.5%). This discrepancy may indicate that composers preferred using clausulae with rhythmic irregularities rather than regular patterning as the basis for thirteenth-century motets. As I will demonstrate, the rhythmic irregularities found in the motet group offered composers greater flexibility with respect to text underlay, and this often resulted in more varied text declamation.

As summarized by table 3b, high levels of modal purity are uncommon among first-mode dupla in both groups; only four clausulae in the control group and five in the motet group have consistently regular rhythmic patterning. The strictest instance of modal patterning occurs in a *Regnat* clausula (no. 165) from the motet group, shown below in example 1.[9] This paradigm of first-mode rhythm served as the basis for *Infidelem populum* (motet no. 443). Neither it nor a related *Regnat* clausula (no. 164), texted as *Deus omnium* (motet no. 444), experienced long lifespans as

Table 3b
Treatment of Modal Rhythm in First-Mode Dupla

MOTET GROUP: 39 Clausulae with First-Mode Dupla

	No. of Exx./39	Avg. MP	Avg. FR	Avg. EXT
High MP (>80%):	5 (12.8%)	86.8%	9.1%	4.1%
Moderate MP:	24 (61.5%)	70.2%	11.6%	18.2%
Low MP (<60%):	10 (25.6%)	50.7%	9.6%	39.8%

CONTROL GROUP: 62 Clausulae with First-Mode Dupla

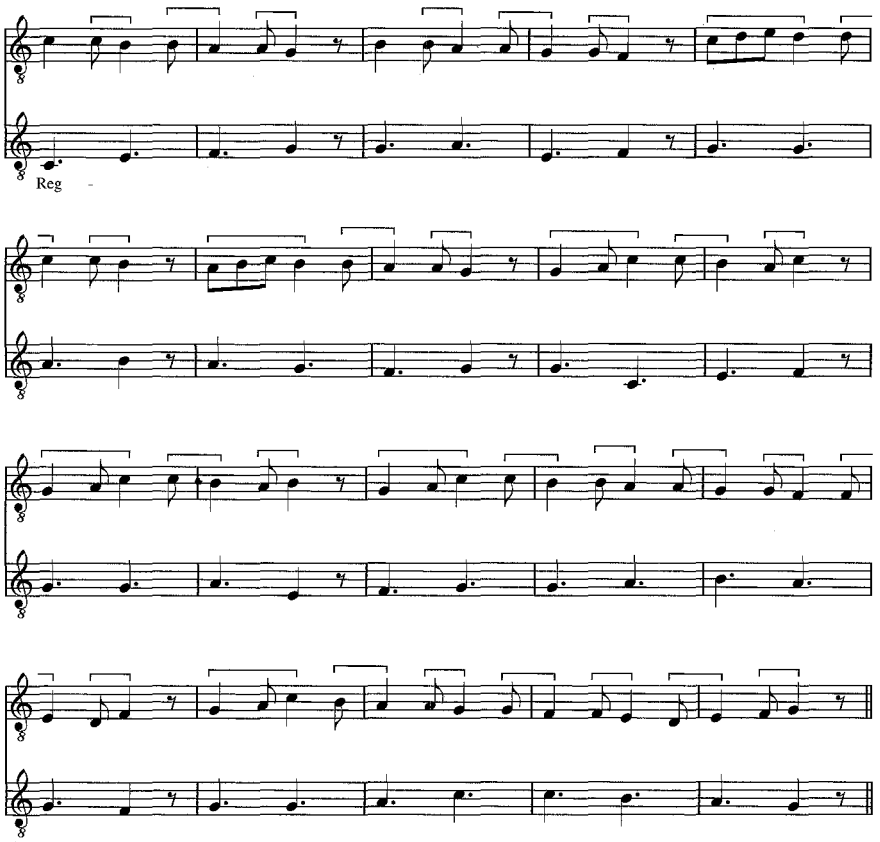
	No. of Exx./62	Avg. MP	Avg. FR	Avg. EXT
High MP (>80%):	4 (6.5%)	83.4%	5.6%	11.0%
Moderate MP:	30 (48.4%)	68.8%	14.1%	17.2%
Low MP (<60%):	28 (45.2%)	43.9%	15.9%	40.2%

motets. They were both converted into two-voice Latin motets but, as far as is known, were never used as the basis for French or double motets.[10] Only three other clausulae with high levels of modal purity were transformed into motets. Interestingly, all of them originated as three-voice conductus-motets but also survive in two-voice reductions.[11]

Clearly, selecting clausula sources with high levels of modal purity (coupled with regular phrase lengths) and then underlaying the motet text in a syllabic fashion would have resulted in very regular text declamation, which might have appealed to motet composers who wanted to emulate the poetic regularity of the conductus.[12] The composer who underlaid the text *Infidelem populum* to the modally pure clausula source presented above as example 1 achieved this result. One can readily observe similarities between the texts to this motet and the conductus, *Auctor vite,* given below as example 2;[13] both have regular line lengths and regular accentual patterns at the ends of lines, making them good examples of "rhythmic" poetry (defined by syllable count and final accent, as opposed to "metric" poetry, defined by regular scansion according to patterns of long and short syllables known as "feet").[14] In example 2, both motet and conductus texts feature predominantly seven-syllable lines and regularly recurring proparoxytonic accents on the antepenultimate syllable of each line. This pattern is represented as "7pp."

Another way to achieve regular patterning would have been to underlay text in a neumatic fashion to music with high levels of *fractio modi.* However, as discussed below, this approach was much more typical of French motets than of early Latin ones. With respect to the early Latin motet, it

Example 1: High modal purity in CL no. 165, *Regnat* (M 34); F, fol. 166r–v.



appears that after some initial experimentation, composers came to prefer using clausula sources with greater rhythmic contrasts. This shift in preference marks an important step in the emergence of the Latin motet as a genre characterized by irregularities of design and therefore distinct from the more patterned style of the conductus.

As shown in table 3b, both the control and motet groups have a large portion of clausulae with moderate levels of modal purity, ranging from sixty to eighty percent. Although the twenty-four motet sources in this moderate range have slightly higher levels of modal purity than the thirty "moderate" control clausulae (70.2 vs. 68.8% on average), the "moderate" motet sources still feature more instances of *extensio modi* than the control clausulae (18.2 vs. 17.2%). A passage from clausula no. 101, shown below as example 3, typifies the style of the "moderate" motet sources.[15] As I will

Example 2: Comparison of motet and conductus texts.

a) Motet, *Infidelem populum* (443); F, fol. 403r

Infidelem populum.	7pp
Haman ad patibulum	7pp
Suspenditur proprium.	7pp
Apprehende gladium.	7pp
Frange manus hostium.	7pp
Veni in auxilium	7pp
Naufraganti seculo	7pp
Et populo fidelium.	8pp
Iebuseos eice	7pp
Nos respice per filium.	8pp

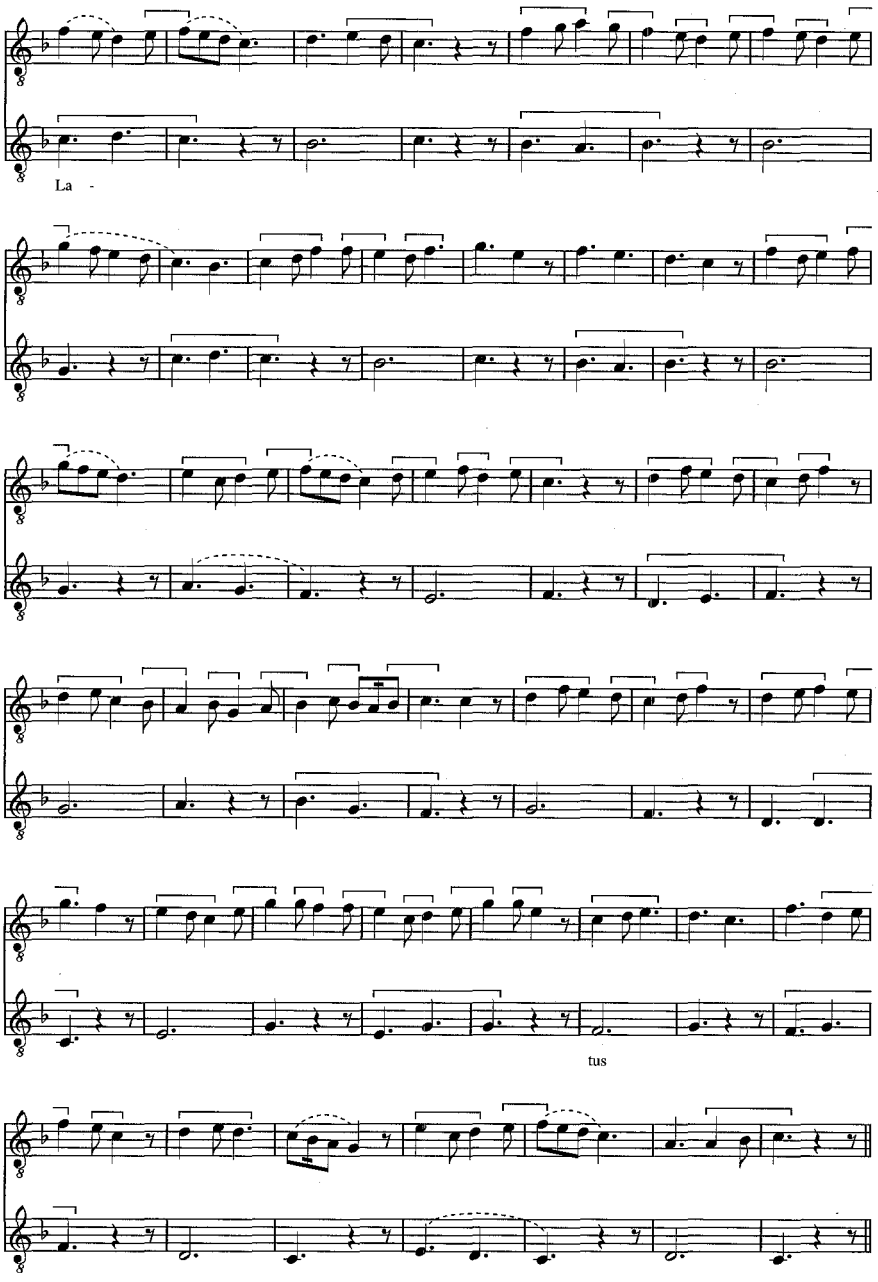
b) Conductus, *Auctor vite;* F, fol. 270v

Auctor vite virgine	7pp
Natus mori voluit	7pp
Sub sacci velamine	7pp
Quem pro reis induit.	7pp
Cuius vita lectio	7pp
Nobis et instructio,	7pp
Nos pro vite precio	7pp
Mundo mori docuit.	7pp
Ut surgamus oritur,	7pp
Ut vivamus moritur,	7pp
Celi pandens aditum,	7pp
Conpensemus igitur	7pp
Ut quod nobis creditur	7pp
Persolvamus debitum.	7pp

illustrate, the shifting rhythmic patterns made it possible for composers to underlay text in order to underscore units of text through contrasting rates of text declamation.

Differences between the motet and control groups are even more striking when one considers the substantial number of clausulae from both groups with low levels of modal purity. Of the twenty-eight control clausulae with low levels of modal purity, there are nineteen pieces in which *extensio modi* constitutes the principal component of modal impurity. In the motet group, eight of ten pieces with low modal purity feature significant amounts of *extensio modi.* The effect in such compositions is that the duplum voice moves in a mixture of first- and fifth-mode rhythms. Whereas clausulae in the motet group tend to alternate between longer passages of first-mode and ternary-long rhythms that allow for contrasting rates of text

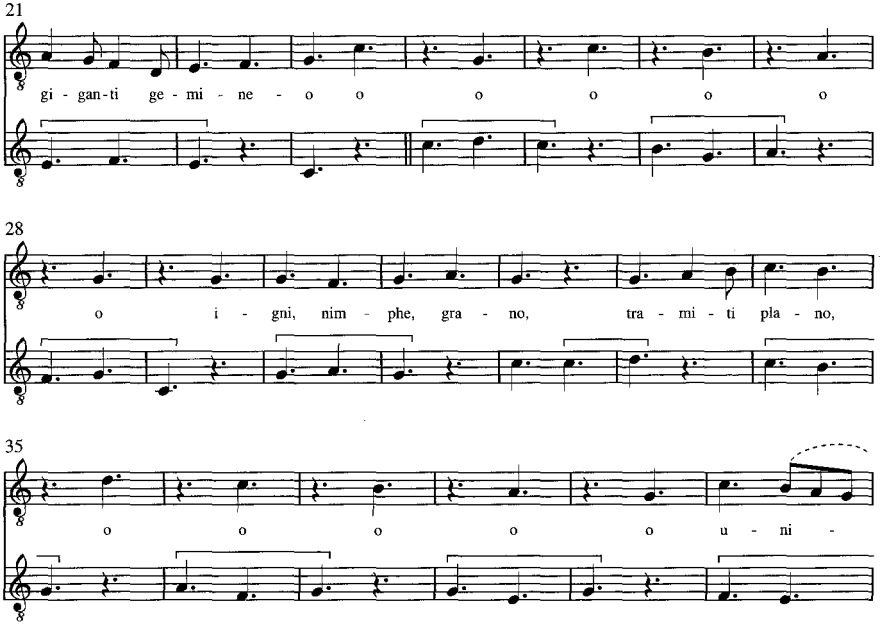
Example 3: Moderate modal purity in CL no. 101, [Immo] *Latus est* (M 14); F, fol. 158r.



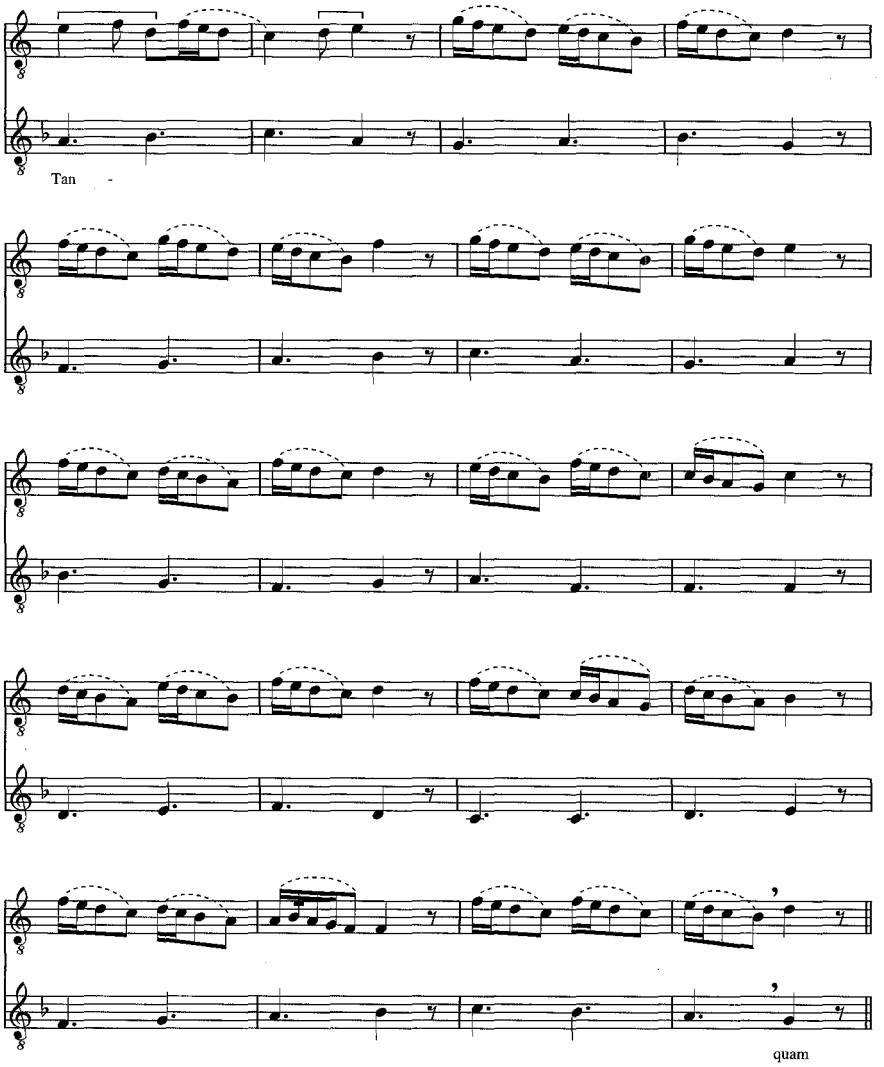
declamation, ten of the control clausulae with high levels of *extensio modi* have significant numbers of single ternary longs followed by ternary-long rests. Individual ternary longs followed by rests would have presented difficulties for text underlay because they would have disrupted the semantic flow with their hocket-like effect; thus, composers generally avoided converting clausulae with isolated ternary longs into motets. *Alpha bovi et leoni* (762) represents one notable exception. As shown in example 4, the composer of this motet underlaid isolated ternary longs present in the clausula source with the monosyllabic exclamation "o," which also reinforces the vowel sustained by the "[Benedicamus] DO-mino" tenor.

The control group also includes seven clausulae with exceptionally high levels of *fractio modi.* Example 5, a passage from clausula no. 12, illustrates this approach. This *Tanquam* clausula, from the Christmas Responsory *Descendit de celis* (O 2), has fractured rhythms on seventy percent of its beats. Substantial amounts of *fractio modi* would have presented difficulties for the predominantly syllabic approach to text underlay characteristic of the early Latin motet. Thus, the motet group has consistently lower levels of *fractio modi* on average, and has no member with more than 37.5% of its beats fractured. Apparently, composers only

Example 4: Isolated ternary longs in *Alpha bovi et leoni* (762) / *Domino* (BD 6), mm. 21–40; F, fol. 407r.



Example 5: High *fractio modi* in CL no. 12, *Tanquam* (O 2); F, fol. 147v.



avoided high levels of *fractio modi* when converting clausulae into early Latin motets, in which the predominant method of text underlay was syllabic; clausula sources for French motets often have significant amounts of *fractio modi.* I have argued elsewhere that composers of both clausula-based and newly composed French motets tended to underlay their texts in a more neumatic fashion in order to achieve greater regularity in text declamation (Kidwell 1996).

Some of the observations about clausulae with first-mode dupla shed light on the use of clausulae with second- and third-mode dupla as sources for early Latin motets. In general, second-mode clausulae often have significant amounts of *fractio modi* while third-mode clausulae tend to be modally pure. Since composers avoided selecting first-mode clausulae with heavily fractured modal rhythms or with high levels of modal purity, it comes as no surprise that they used only a limited number of second- and third-mode clausulae as models for early Latin motets.

Clausulae with second-mode dupla made up 16.5% of the control group but only 10.9% of the motet group (table 3a). On average, the second-mode clausulae in the motet group have higher levels of modal purity than those in the control group (76.7% vs. 65.7%) due to considerably lower levels of *fractio modi* (13.8% vs. 28.0%). It also seems significant that none of the clausulae in the motet group has fractured rhythms on more than 18.5% of their beats. This once again supports the hypothesis that composers of early Latin motets found high levels of *fractio modi* problematic for texting because of their preference for syllabic text underlay. Conversely, high levels of *fractio modi* did not deter composers from converting heavily fractured clausulae in the second rhythmic mode into French motets any more than it hindered them from selecting heavily fractured clausulae in the first mode as French motet sources.

It is also striking that composers avoided converting third-mode clausulae into motets. Almost 20% of the clausulae in the control group are in the third rhythmic mode compared to less than 15% of those in the motet group. While clausulae with high levels of modal purity were avoided throughout the motet group, the rhythmic pattern of mode 3 would have presented special problems for composers of early Latin motets, who generally underlaid texts to preexisting clausulae in such a manner as to have poetic accents coincide with musical ones.[16] Since the rhythmic pattern of mode 3 begins with two accented notes, it requires the text underlay of two adjacent accented syllables. The composer of *Ad veniam per veniam* (635) came up with an ingenious solution: as shown below in example 6, he started most lines of text with either a one- or a four-syllable word, which allows for correct text declamation in the third mode.[17]

Having focused on the rhythmic articulation of individual beats, I will now consider overall phrase organization in the duplum voice, and its effect on text structure. As with modal purity, significant differences between the source and control groups with respect to phrase organization support the hypothesis that composers were aware of stylistic attributes suitable for texting and chose their source clausulae accordingly. As summarized in table 4, clausulae that were converted into motets are generally longer (as measured in ternary-long units) and have more phrases than clausulae that did not become motets. In addition, those clausulae in the

Example 6: Third-mode text underlay in *Ad veniam perveniam* (635) / *Tanquam* (O 2); W2, fol. 145r.

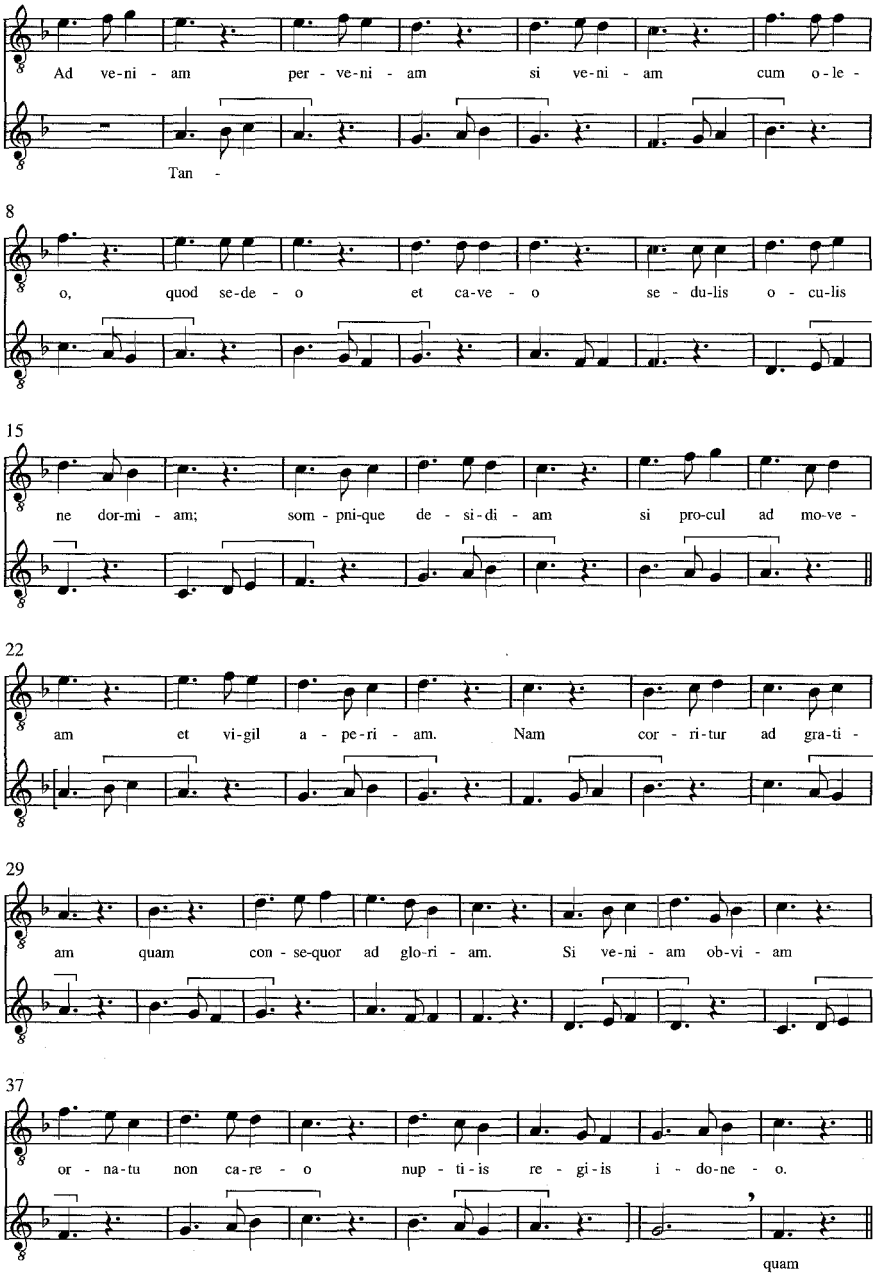


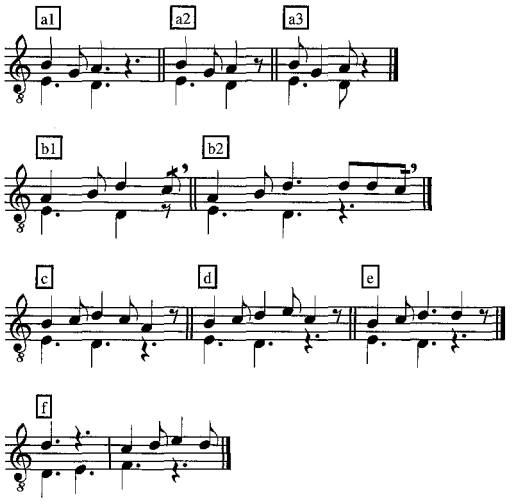
Table 4
Treatment of Phrasing in Dupla Voices

	Avg. Length (in TL units)	Average No. of Phrases	No. of Exx. with Regular Phrasing
Motet Group:	81.6	13.7	6/55 (10.9%)
Control Group:	65.2	12.0	20/103 (19.4%)

control group that have regular phrasing (defined as clausulae in which more than eighty percent of their dupla phrases are the same length) are more than double the number of those in the motet group. Presumably, the combination of regular line lengths and consistent rhythmic patterning would support extremely regular poetry in terms of line lengths and text declamation. Therefore it seems significant that whereas only one motet source combines regular phrasing with a high level of modal purity, nearly half of the control clausulae feature such a combination.[18] This suggests that motet composers not only wanted a meaningful number of phrases with which to work, but also that they were more interested in contrast and irregularities of design than in writing regular poetry. If the latter were the case and a "conductus-like" text with uniform line lengths was considered ideal, why did composers overlook so many clausulae with regular phrasing as sources? They seem to have perceived their new genre as something *different* from the conductus.

The manner in which a motet text is communicated is also affected by the nature of phrase endings in the clausula model. Example 7 illustrates six cadential patterns found in the selected repertory. The full cadence features simultaneous closure in both voices (exx. 7a.1–7a.3). Occasionally, these cadences are extended by the use of a plica or longa florata in the duplum that requires transcription of the following tractus as a breath mark (exx. 7b.1–7b.2). In effect, this weakens the sense of closure by providing for musical continuity between phrases. The half, implied, and "feminine" cadences are only found in clausulae that mix ternary-long with either long or breve rests. In the half cadence (ex. 7c), the last pitch in the duplum confirms the consonance initially established by the tenor and duplum, whereas in an implied cadence (ex. 7d), the final sonority suggested by the last pitch in the duplum contradicts that of the initial tenor-duplum consonance. The "feminine" cadence repeats the cadential pitch in the duplum, in a manner analogous to a feminine poetic ending (ex. 7e). In the sixth cadence type, the tenor continues beneath a phrase break in the duplum, resulting in overlap between the voices (ex. 7f).

Example 7: Cadence types.



a) Full cadences (3)

b) Extended cadences (2)

c) Half cadence
d) Implied cadence
e) "Feminine" cadence
f) Overlapping cadence

As summarized in table 5, the motet group has an average of three different cadence types per clausula; nearly all of its members have multiple cadence types per clausula and 34.5% of the motet sources feature more than three different cadence types. In contrast, one-third of the clausulae in the control group have only one cadence type. This condition is especially common in clausulae with tenors moving in unpatterned ternary or duplex longs, and may explain why composers avoided converting clausulae with unpatterned tenors into motets. The control pool also includes several clausulae that would have been especially problematic to convert into motets; two clausulae have dupla made up of one continuous phrase (nos. 15 and 176), and six have constantly overlapping cadences until the end (nos. 10, 17, 27, 57, 175, and 228).

If cadences are the musical equivalent of punctuation, then from the standpoint of texting, it would be logical that the motet group would favor a greater variety of types.[19] This situation allows for various degrees of closure on a continuum that ranges from the strongest, or full cadence, to the weakest, or overlapping, type. In effect, a variety of phrase endings offers the possibility of grouping lines of text into larger syntactic or semantic units that are set off by full cadences. As I have shown elsewhere (Kidwell 1993) and will illustrate in example 9, early motet composers regularly availed themselves of such opportunities to segment their texts. Conversely, the two extreme approaches found in the control group would have been unsuitable for texting: a clausula without cadences fails

Table 5
Comparison of Cadence Types

	Avg. No. of Cad. Types	1 Type Only	>3 Types
Motet Group:	2.9	7/55 (12.7%)	19/55 (34.5%)
Control Group:	2.0	34/103 (33.0%)	9/103 (8.7%)

to convey any sense of punctuation whereas a clausula with only one cadence type lacks the hierarchical means to differentiate strength of closure and therefore to group lines into larger semantic units.

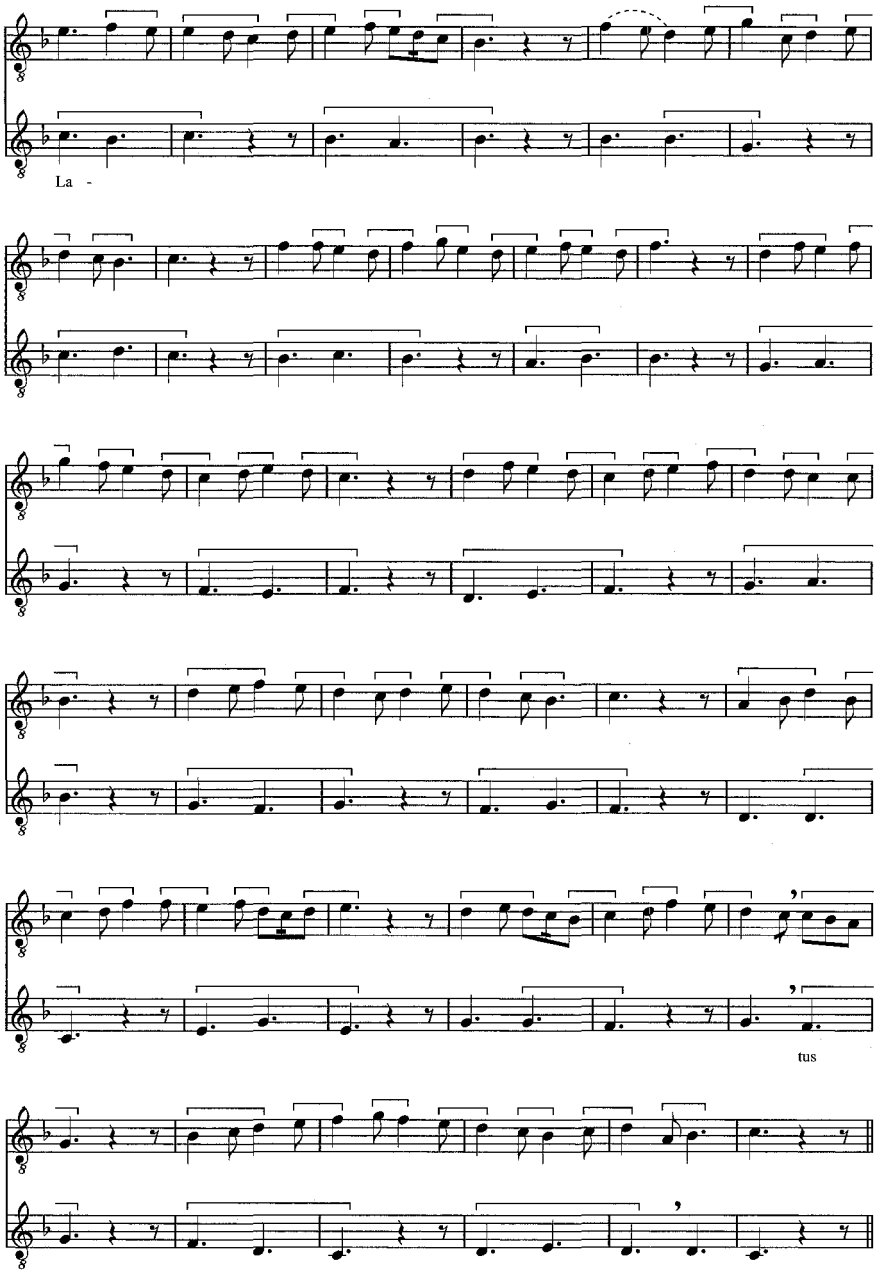
A good clausula source, then, is one that provides the motet creator with one or more means to differentiate units of text: contrasting patterns of declamation, varied phrase lengths, or a hierarchy of cadential patterns. A close examination of two complete clausulae will demonstrate how the various stylistic elements interact and will further illustrate stylistic differences between the control and motet groups.

Clausula no. 99, representative of the control group, appears below as example 8. This setting of *Latus est* from the Easter Alleluia *Pascha nostrum* (M 14) combines a first-mode duplum with a fifth-mode tenor. Its overall length of seventy-four ternary-long beats could have provided a composer with enough material to support a meaningful added text. However, it has other attributes that are atypical of motet sources. It has a modal purity level of 83.1%, which exceeds the norms for both the motet and control groups. The phrase organization of this *Latus est* clausula is also quite regular: it has eight phrases of eight ternary-long beats before a phrase of ten beats leading to an organal conclusion (example 8 omits this organal ending because motet composers typically stopped texting just before such concluding flourishes). It should also be noted that the tenor and duplum cadence together with a full (or masculine) ending for all nine phrases.

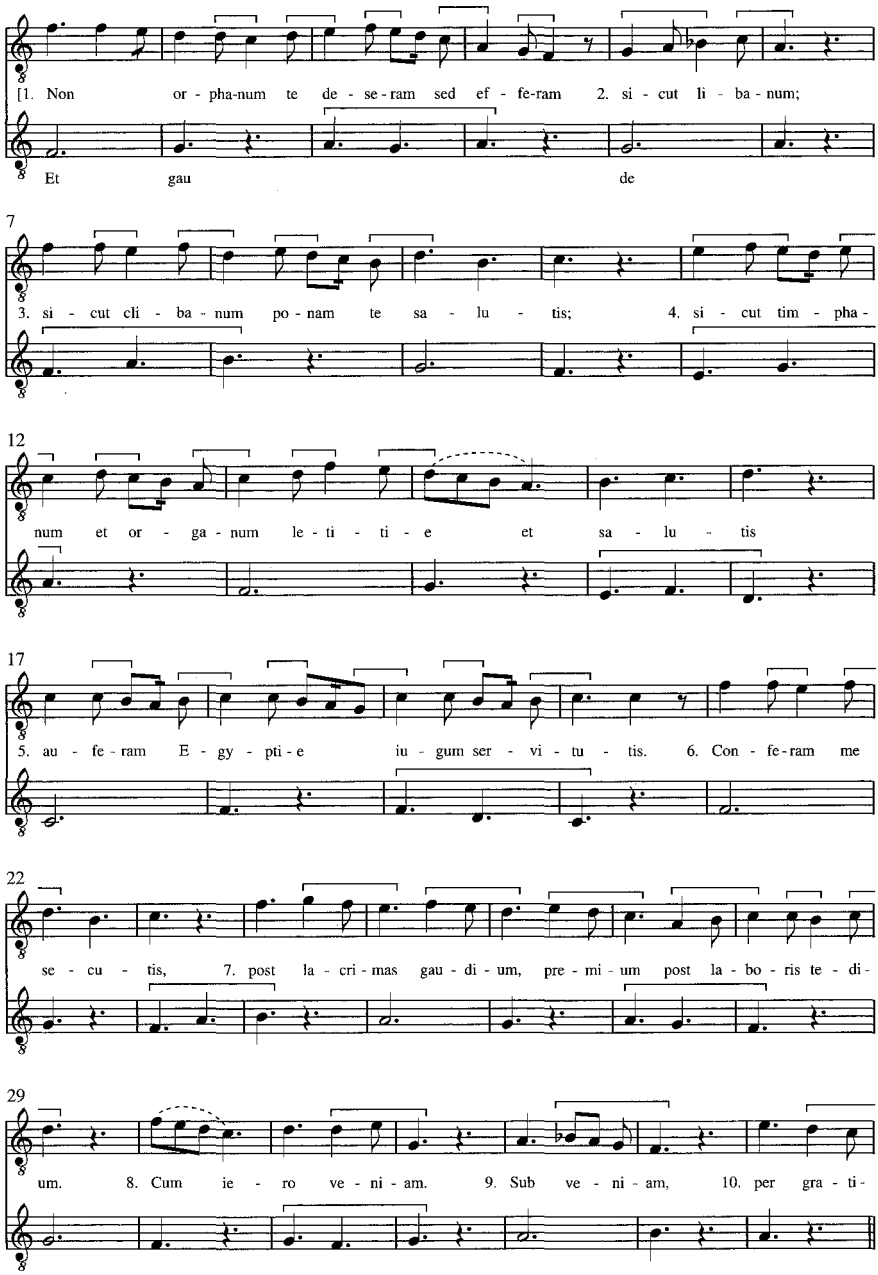
This composition may well have been considered a good clausula in its time. In fact, its regularity and periodicity may reflect the influence of Perotinian style, and Perotin was regarded by Anonymous IV as the best composer of discant (Yudkin 1985: 39). A texted version of this model could have featured regular declamation of thirteen-syllable lines as prefigured by modal purity and uniform phrase lengths, in which case the resulting motet could have approximated a conductus. Yet while many attributes found in this *Latus est* clausula typify the control group, few thirteenth-century motets exhibit such regularity.

The representative from the motet group, a clausula based on an *Et gaudebit* tenor from the Feast of the Ascension, appears as example 9a. The Latin motet text, *Non orphanum* (322), is underlaid for reference.[20]

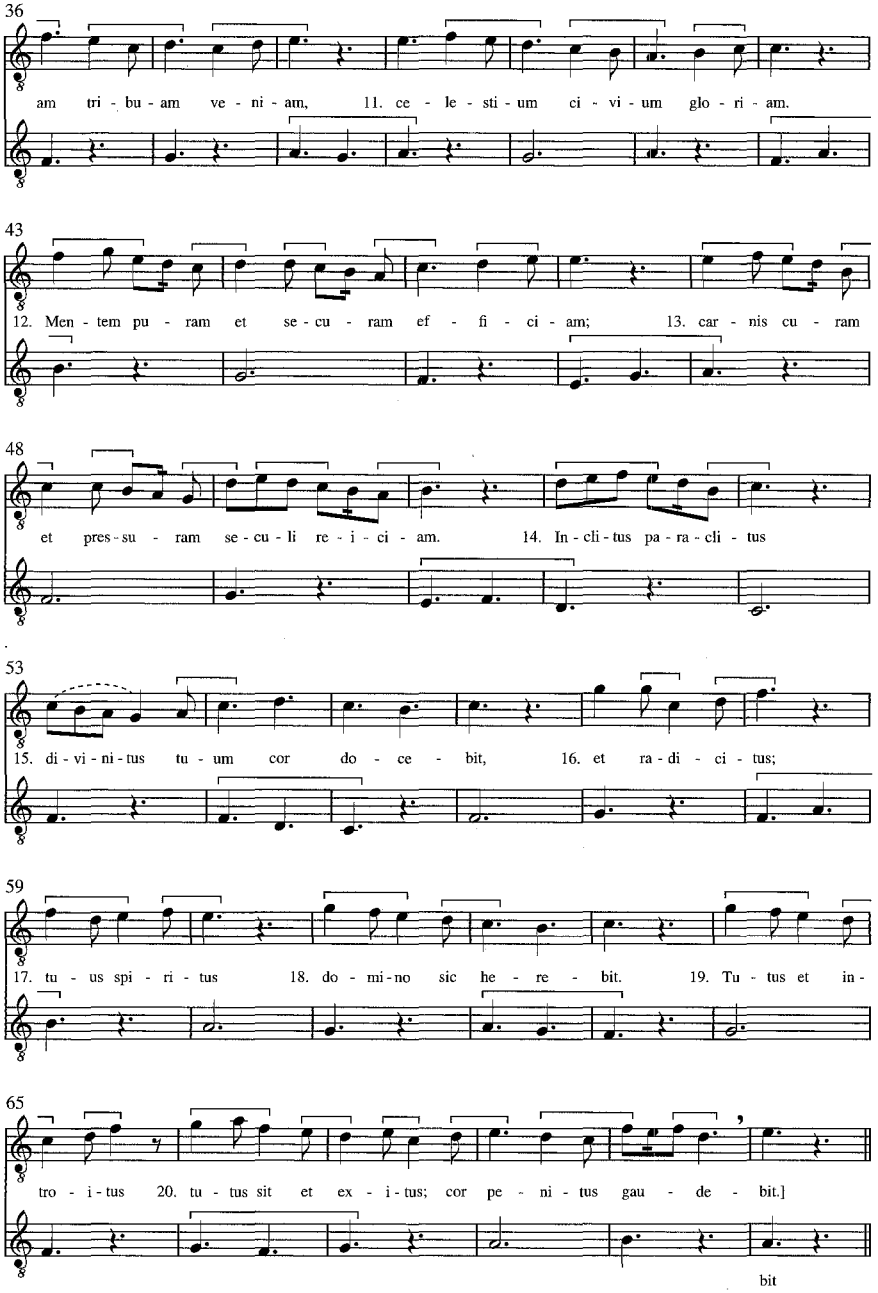
Example 8: CL no. 99, *Latus est* (M 14); F, fol. 158r (control group).



Example 9a: CL no. 246, *Et gaudebit* (M 24); F, fol. 174v (motet group).



Example 9a (cont.)



Example 9b: Text for *Non orphanum te deseram* (322) / *Et gaudebit* (M 24).

1	*Non orphanum te deseram* sed efferam	I shall not leave you orphans but I shall lift
2	sicut libanum;*	you up like frankincense;
3	sicut clibanum ponam te sa-lú-tis;*	like an oven of salvation I shall maintain you;
4	sicut timphanum et organum letitie et sa-lú-tis*	like a tambourine and an organ of joy and of salvation I shall take off
5	auferam Egyptie iugum servitútis.	the yoke of your Egyptian servitude.
6	Conferam me se-cú-tis,	I shall bestow myself to my followers,
7	post lacrimas gaudium, premium post laboris tedium.	joy after tears, reward after the toil of labor.
8	Cum iero *veniam.**	Although I shall go away, I shall come back.
9	Sub *veniam,**	When I come,
10	per gratiam tribuam *veniam,*	I shall come through grace and I shall bestow
11	celestium civium gloriam.	the glory of the heavenly hosts.
12	Mentem puram et securam efficiam;	I shall cleanse your mind and make it secure;
13	carnis curam et pressuram seculi reiciam.	I shall reject the cares of the flesh and the torments of the world.
14	Inclitus paraclitus	The glorious Comforter
15	divinitus tuum cor *do-cé-bit*	will teach your heart divinely
16	et radicitus;	and completely;
17	tuus spiritus	your spirit
18	domino sic he-ré-bit.*	will thus cling to the Lord.
19	Tutus et introitus	May both your coming
20	tutus sit et exitus; cor penitus *gau-dé-bit.**	and your going be safe; your inner heart will rejoice.

Unlike its control-group counterpart, this clausula has a modal purity level of 52.8%, which allows for varied text declamation. While some ternary-long extensions of the mode occur in short passages of alternate third mode (e.g., mm. 24–26 and 35–42), other instances of *extensio modi* prefigure longer passages of ternary-long declamation (e.g., mm. 9–10 and 15–16). In the texted version, the poet-composer took advantage of the change in modal patterning to emphasize the word "veniam," which is a direct quotation from the parent chant text. He then used the extended passages of ternary-long declamation to highlight the repetition of the word "salutis." *Fractio modi* also contributes to modal impurity in this example. However, unlike the extreme and consistent fracturing of the mode found to be atypical of motet sources, the fractio in example 9a occurs on a more localized level of one or two ternary-long beats. This type of *fractio* offered the motet composer a bit of flexibility with respect to text underlay. For instance, he interpreted a ternary-long beat fractured into three breves (transcribed as eighth notes) in three different ways: as two syllables in first-mode declamation (e.g., m. 3), as one syllable in extended declamation (e.g., m. 14), or as three syllables in more rapid declamation (e.g., m. 49).

The phrasing in the clausula source for *Non orphanum* is irregular; its twenty phrases range from four to twelve ternary-long beats in length. The irregularities in phrasing seem even more intricate due to varied text declamation within phrases, and due to the alternation between simultaneous and overlapped phrase endings.

The Latin text to *Non orphanum* (together with a translation) appears as example 9b. As indicated, lines 3–6, and 15, 18, and 20 have final accents on the penultimate syllable, while the remaining lines have final accents on the antepenultimate syllables. The poet-composer was able to achieve such a mixture of poetic accents in part because this clausula source uses five different cadential patterns. Penultimate accents fit the feminine ending of line 5 as well as phrase endings such as line 3 that have extended declamation (marked with hyphens), while the antepenultimate accents work well with either full (indicated by asterisks), half, or implied cadences. In addition to this technical aspect of text underlay, the composer of *Non orphanum* seems to have drawn upon the strong closure of simultaneous phrase endings to show parallels between lines of text. For instance, the full cadences after lines 2, 3, and 4 articulate the succession of "sicut" clauses; those after lines 3 and 4 serve to reinforce the repetition of the word "salutis"; and the full cadences after lines 8 and 9 highlight the quoted text "veniam," which is also emphasized by the contrasting modal pattern.

By comparing clausulae from the motet and control groups I have identified some stylistic features that might have attracted composers when converting clausulae into early Latin motets. It appears that the source clausulae for early Latin two-voice motets distinguish themselves from the larger repertory of Notre Dame clausulae in terms of their treatment of modal purity, phrasing, and cadential patterns. These differences suggest that for the purposes of texting, thirteenth-century composers did *not* view all clausulae as equal. Instead, it seems that a variety of practical and aesthetic concerns influenced their selection process. In general, clausulae that were too brief, were composed of very short phrases or one long phrase, had too many isolated single notes or rests, had uniform cadences, or had an excessive amount of modal fracturing rarely served as sources for early Latin motets. Apparently, these features were impractical and undesirable for texting. Nor does it appear that composers went out of their way to select clausulae that would be easy to sight read when converted into *cum littera* notation; very likely, the preference for internal variety in the rhythmic declamation would require prior knowledge of the clausula source's *sine littera* rhythmic notation. In addition to these practical matters, stylistic features of the motet source group point to an aesthetic preference for variety, contrast, and irregularities of design. Since these

features were more pronounced in the motet sources than in the control-group clausulae, it appears that "irregularities" in the early Latin motet do not automatically result from texting clausulae, but instead reflect artistic choice.[21]

It is now worth considering the extent to which these selection criteria apply to other segments of the thirteenth-century motet repertory. Table 6 provides a comparison of how the parameters introduced thus far apply to different types of early motets. It presents average values for the motet and control groups, and then summarizes data gathered for different subgenres of motets. The data reported in table 6 combine statistics already reported for the motet group—which only includes clausulae that were converted into two-voice Latin motets—with additional data for clausulae that were converted into other types of motets.

As indicated in table 6, twenty clausulae were converted into two-voice Latin motets but disregarded as sources for French contrafacta or as the basis for later double motets.[22] Several characteristics may have contributed to the fact that they were not chosen. All but three motets in this group have unpatterned or fifth-mode tenors; these slower moving tenors may have lost some of their initial appeal as composers began to experiment with faster tenors moving in first- or second-mode patterns (Baltzer 1995: xliii). The three motets with faster tenor patterns might have been excluded from further transmission due to their shorter-than-average overall lengths; *Virgo gignit* (133) is sixty-two ternary-long beats while *Hostem superat* (308) and *Quia concupivit vultum rex* (529) have respective lengths of forty-five and twenty-eight beats. In addition, the clausulae selected as models for two-voice Latin motets have lower-than-average levels of modal purity, marked by a substantial amount of *extensio modi.* As a result, most of the uniquely two-voice Latin motets have irregularly patterned text declamation, because their texts were underlaid syllabically according to the irregular rhythms of their parent clausulae. This approach

Table 6
Characteristics of Different Subgenres of Early Motets

Group/Subgenre	No. of Exx.	MP	FR	EXT	Length (in TLs)	Avg. No. of Cad. Types
Control Group	103	66.1%	15.6%	18.3%	65.2	2.0
Motet Group	55	72.0%	10.8%	17.2%	81.6	2.9
2v Latin motets only	20	69.9%	10.2%	19.8%	72.2	2.5
3v Conductus-motets	24	74.6%	6.4%	19.0%	92.7	3.3
2v French motets	42	65.0%	25.1%	9.9%	63.2	2.7
3v Double motets	17	67.1%	20.6%	12.2%	81.9	3.1

to text underlay allowed composers to emphasize selected units of text and therefore to communicate the meaning of their texts more effectively. However, while irregular declamation typifies early Latin motets, regular declamation became characteristic of other subgenres of motets.

Composers turned twenty-four clausulae into three-voice conductus-motets.[23] Many of these compositions were as short-lived as the two-voice Latin motets discussed above. In fact, less than half were transmitted beyond the earliest motet sources. However, clausula sources for conductus-motets have some striking differences from clausulae that were only converted into two-voice versions. The clausulae selected for conductus-motets are generally longer and have higher levels of modal purity than the two-voice motets. This makes them seem more "conductus-like" because they can support longer texts declaimed in a more consistent manner. Somewhat surprisingly, only one of the clausulae chosen to become a conductus-motet has consistently uniform phrase lengths, which could have prefigured uniform poetic line lengths.[24] In addition, these clausulae have a greater variety of cadence types than clausulae in any other group. This combination of conductus-like and motet-like features attests to the hybrid nature of conductus-motets, most of which were created before motet composers had solidified their preference for contrast and irregularities of design and thereby fully distinguished their new genre from the conductus.

Clausulae selected as models for two-voice French motets also have distinctive features.[25] They tend to exhibit faster tenor modes and a larger-than-average share of second-mode dupla (table 6). As a group, the clausula models for French motets have moderately low levels of modal purity due to consistently high amounts of *fractio modi.* Since the standard procedure for texting fractured rhythms is to use neumatic text underlay corresponding to the modal rhythmic pattern, high levels of *fractio modi* typically result in modally regular text declamation. In terms of overall style, high levels of *fractio modi* and regular text declamation are characteristic of newly composed French motets, such as those found in W2, fascicle 10, and of Latin contrafacta of French originals, such as those found in the appendix to the third Latin alphabetical series in W2, fascicle 8.[26] The present study indicates that stylistic differences between early Latin and early French motets may stem in part from the "precompositional" act of clausula selection, which was itself most likely influenced by different approaches to text underlay.

As shown in table 6, only seventeen clausulae were transformed into later thirteenth-century double motets, with independent texts for the motetus and triplum voices.[27] What factors led composers to use these clausulae as the basis for sophisticated double motets while ignoring

countless other potential models? Their overall lengths and number of different cadence types are close to those for the motet group as a whole. However, since many of these clausulae were converted into two-voice French motets as well as three-voice double motets, they have a higher incidence of second-mode dupla, higher levels of *fractio modi,* and lower amounts of *extensio* than the motet group overall. These features, combined with the presence of three clausulae in relatively pure third mode, result in fairly regular or "patterned" text declamation. In fact, as summarized in table 7, ten of seventeen clausula-based double motets feature patterned text declamation in at least the motetus voice.

Undoubtedly the clausulae listed in table 7 possess additional features that composers found appealing and worth preserving into the later thirteenth century. Many of them seem exceptionally tuneful, in part because of the presence of melodic repetition. Others may have enjoyed continued popularity on the basis of their texts. However, one additional factor seems striking: As indicated by table 7, eight of the seventeen clausulae that were transformed into double motets had three-voice clausula sources and/or prior conductus-motet versions. The texting of a prior three-voice model was an uncommon procedure. More typically, composers created a

Table 7
Clausulae Converted into Double Motets (additional parameters)

Motet	Patterned Declamation	Prior à3 Version
Ad solitum vomitum (439)	X	CondMot
Au doz tens (343)	X	
Ave Maria fons letitie (230)	X	CL, CondMot
Clamans in deserto (379)		
De virgula veris (112)	X	
Ex semine Abrahe (483)		CL, CondMot
Flos de spina (437)		CondMot
Gaude Syon (632)		
In Bethleem Herodes (98)	X	CondMot
Mens fidem seminat (495)		CL
Non orphanum (322)		
Qant voi le douz (235)	X	
Qui amors veut (218; Tr)	X	
Tanquam suscipit (636)	X	CL (triplum missing in ms.)
Trop m'avez (396)	X	
Velut stelle (315)		CondMot
Veni salva nos (360)	X	

three-voice motet by adding a newly composed triplum to a preexisting two-voice foundation. Furthermore, many of the motets generated by adding new text to a three-voice model are exceptional in terms of style as well as in terms of compositional process. For instance, later composers converted *Ave Maria fons letitie* (230) and *Ex semine Abrahe* (483) into double motets by adding text to the tripla of their earlier conductus-motet versions. As a result, both motets feature parallel phrasing between their motetus and triplum voices, a fairly homogenous rhythmic style, and for the most part, simultaneous text declamation. This contrasts with the more typical style associated with double motets: overlapped phrasing, rhythmic contrast, and more distinctive text declamation.

Mens fidem seminat (495) illustrates a somewhat different situation. After its early history as a two-voice Latin motet, composers turned *Mens fidem* into three-voice bilingual and French motets by simply adding text to the triplum voice of its preexisting three-voice clausula source. While the sources for *Ave Maria* and *Ex semine* were adapted into conductus-motets because they have parallel phrasing in the upper voices, the *In odorem* (M 45) source for *Mens fidem* has overlapped phrasing between the upper voices and would not have been suitable for conversion into a conductus-motet. The three-voice textings of this clausula are therefore closer to the expected style of a double motet because they feature contrasts in phrasing and declamation.

The composers of at least four motets with preexisting three-voice versions replaced the extant tripla with new ones: *In Bethleem Herodes* (98), *Velut stelle* (315), *Flos de spina rumpitur* (437), and *Ad solitum vomitum* (439).[28] While the triplum to *Ad solitum vomitum* generally moves with the motetus in note-against-note counterpoint,[29] the other three motets exhibit significant degrees of musical independence between the upper voices.

The fact that clausula sources used as the basis for later thirteenth-century motets differ from those chosen for the earliest motets underscores the significance of clausula selection. By texting clausulae with irregular modal rhythms and variable numbers of phrases and cadential patterns, composers of the earliest Latin motets defined their new genre as something different from the clausula and the conductus. Composers seem to have been attracted to a different type of piece when creating double motets; in general, they seem to have preferred clausula-based motets with more regular rhythmic patterning and/or text declamation in the motetus voice. While double motets feature greater regularity within individual voices, these individual voices combine in highly sophisticated ways due to the independent nature of their texts, rhythmic profiles, phrasing, and cadential points. The resulting combination of voices often

sounds "irregular" due to its polyphonic, polytextual complexity. In effect, the composers of later thirteenth-century double motets transferred an established preference for irregularity and contrast from the horizontal dimension (*within* the motetus voice) to the vertical dimension (*between* motetus and triplum voices). Thus reinterpreted, the aesthetic foundation established by composers of the earliest Latin motets continued to shape the subsequent development of the genre.

Notes

* A shorter version of this paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Pittsburgh, in November of 1992. I would like to thank Rebecca Baltzer, Mark Everist, Thomas Payne, Darwin Scott, and Michael Tusa for their helpful comments and suggestions.

1. In many cases, these pieces exist in multiple versions, raising serious questions about authorial intentions. Some scholars, inspired by recent trends in literary criticism, would undoubtedly prefer to avoid any discussion of compositional process because it privileges the position of the author—obviously problematic in the largely anonymous repertories of medieval music—over that of the reader.

2. I will use the term "composer" in the medieval sense: someone who puts something together—in the case of the early Latin motet, the person who converted a clausula into a motet by adding text. Everist (1994: 6) offers a fuller justification for using the term "composer" when discussing the creators of medieval motets.

3. The three principal collections of this repertory are: (1) W1: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 677 (olim Helmst. 628), (Baxter 1931); (2) F: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1, (Dittmer 1959); and (3) W2: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 1206 (olim 1099), (Dittmer 1960). For a guide to the contents of these sources, see Ludwig 1910 and Reaney 1966. Baltzer (1974) has classified the two-voice clausula repertory by tenor mode: 37 clausulae in mode 1 (22–23), 38 in mode 2 (87–88), 14 in mode 3 (139), 167 in mode 5 (227–35), ca. 320 in unpatterned ternary longs (311–24), ca. 330 in unpatterned duplex longs (360–75), and 47 in other categories (311–24, 360– 75). These figures add up to ca. 953.

4. Smith (1980) includes a useful inventory of the 107 clausula sources used as models for 247 motets. This inventory provided the basis for the current study.

5. Transcriptions of all clausulae are available in a recent edition by Baltzer (1995), who also provides an excellent summary of clausula style and chronology (xlii–xlvi).

6. Tenors are identified in table 1 and throughout this paper according to the traditional system established by Ludwig (1910). M, O, and BD prefixes identify tenors drawn from Mass, Office, and Benedicamus Domino chants, respectively; tenors are then assigned numbers based on the liturgical order in which they are used in the church year, with chants for the Temporale (beginning with Christmas) preceding those for the Sanctorale. Motet numbers, also established by Ludwig (1910), were assigned in the order of their parent tenors. Clausula

numbers used in table 1 and throughout this paper correspond with those in Baltzer's edition (1995) and differ slightly from the traditional clausula numbering established by Ludwig (1910), again based on the liturgical ordering of their tenors; for clausulae 59–236, Baltzer's numbers are one lower than those used by Ludwig.

7. Supported by descriptions of compositional process by medieval theorists, analytical studies of the motet all recognize the impact of the tenor on the polyphonic structure. Hofmann (1972) systematically explored this issue by examining the harmonic, tonal, melodic, and rhythmic implications of the cantus firmus with respect to motets based on the *In seculum* tenor from the Easter Gradual *Hec dies.* Crocker (1990: 641) provides a more recent discussion of why certain tenors were favored as motet sources.

8. Apel uses the term *extensio modi* without reference to a source, but cites Anon. IV as the basis for *fractio modi* (1953: 234–35). Smith cites Johannes de Garlandia's description of how to notate *fractio modi* using either plicas or four-note ligatures (1990: 284).

9. All transcriptions are my own, based on Dittmer's facsimile editions of manuscripts F and W2. For published transcriptions of all clausulae in the Florence manuscript as well as detailed summaries of variants between other manuscript readings, see Baltzer (1995).

10. *Infidelem populum* has a modal purity level of 95.0% while *Deus omnium* exhibits 83.3% purity. Hereafter, motet incipits will simply be followed by their standard catalogue numbers for reference.

11. See *Deo confitemini* (131; 83.3% modal purity), *Laudes referat* (140; 86.1% modal purity), and *Gaudeat devotio* (215; 86.1% modal purity).

12. For some of the most recent discussions of the conductus, see Page 1997 and Traub 1995.

13. For a modern edition of the text for *Infidelem populum,* see Blume and Dreves 1906: 241; for an edition of *Auctor vite,* see Anderson 1981: 3: xxii.

14. For more on rhythmic poetry, see Fassler 1987 and Sanders 1995.

15. The irregular reading of the five-note *currentes* figure in mm. 8–9 was adopted from Baltzer 1995: 82.

16. For more on this point, see Kidwell 1993: 181–95.

17. The text to *Ad solitum vomitum* (439) is constructed in a similar fashion to accommodate the 98.6%-regular third-mode patterning.

18. The clausula source for *Deus omnium* (444) has a first-mode duplum with a modal purity level of 83.3%; the duplum is also organized into completely regular six-beat phrases. Clausulae in the control group that combine regular modal rhythm and regular phrasing include nos. 30, 48, 87, 99, 138, 175, 189, and 241. The vast majority of these clausulae have third-mode dupla.

19. For more on the relationship between music and grammar, see Bower 1989.

20. The actual text underlay varies slightly from that shown in example 9, due to minor variants introduced in the conversion from clausula to motet. For a transcription of the motet as it appears in the Florence manuscript, see Kidwell 1993: 481–83. For an alternative transcription based on the manuscript reading in W2, see Anderson 1976: 162–66.

21. Sanders provides a clear statement of the more mainstream but alternative viewpoint: 'The musical phraseology of most clausulas and Notre Dame motets, while carefully planned, exhibits no regularity. . . . Since the versification has to accord with the musical phrases of the pre-conceived clausula (or discant section), it cannot be regular. Irregularity of verse structure thus became a hallmark of the 13th-century motet, as the primary measuring tool was the pre-conceived music with its varied phrase layout' (1980: 12:618).

22. Clausula sources for the following two-voice Latin motets are summarized in table 6: motet nos. 43, 133, 141, 234, 244, 308, 309, 310, 442, 443, 444, 487, 490, 505, 516, 518, 529, 655, 697, and 698.

23. Clausula sources for the following conductus-motets are summarized in table 6: motet nos. 70, 98, 108, 131, 140, 215, 228, 230, 232, 307, 313, 315, 337, 345, 411, 437, 439, 441, 483, 517, 524, 635, 643, and 762.

24. The clausula source for *Homo quam sit pura* (231) has a 94.1% reliance on four-beat phrases.

25. Clausula sources for the following two-voice French motets are summarized in table 6: motet nos. 8, 48a, 54, 55, 62, 63, 79, 100, 102, 104, 111, 115, 122, 132, 135, 165, 233a, 235, 249, 250, 307a, 314, 319, 328, 339, 343, 344a, 370, 380, 397, 402, 406, 413, 415, 419, 485, 515a, 634, 641, 663, 764, and 817 (528e).

26. For transcriptions of these works, see Tischler (1982) and Anderson (1972, 1976).

27. Clausula sources for the following Latin motets, later converted into double motets, are summarized in table 6: motet nos. 98, 112, 218, 230, 235, 315, 322, 343, 360, 379, 396, 437, 439, 483, 495, 632, and 636.

28. It is impossible to comment on the conversion of a three-voice *Tanquam* clausula into the motet *Tanquam suscipit* (636) because the triplum to the clausula source was never entered into the Florence manuscript (Dittmer 1959: fol. 10v).

29. Baltzer (1974: 140–41) has pointed out that the use of note-against-note counterpoint is typical of third-mode clausulae.

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Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique

(for Ernest Sanders)

By Thomas B. Payne

One of the greatest obstacles to histories of earlier medieval music lies in the relative absence of concrete historical testimony for extant compositions. Information pertaining to the names, life spans, and working records of composers is rare, dates for the creation or performance of pieces are exceptional, and critical judgments of specific works from contemporaries almost nonexistent. As a result, detailed explanations of how a medieval musical genre may have originated or developed during an era of cultivation can pose special challenges to historians of the period. Scholars may be forced to paint impressionistic or monolithic landscapes that may obscure decades or even centuries of intense artistic transformation. Typically they have to reason from manuscript sources or theoretical testimony produced much later than the compositions they seek to understand, or they may be compelled to draw conclusions from teleological assumptions of how a particular genre unfolded over time. Faced with such impediments, it would seem that investigators would wish to seize upon and exhaust any measure of data able to illuminate the history of medieval music, if only fractionally. Such resources, though, have not always been exploited as fully as they deserve.

An example of such an oversight applies to at least thirty-one conductus preserved among the four main manuscript sources now associated with the music of the Notre Dame school: F, W1, W2, and Ma.[1] Thanks to references in their lyrics to contemporaneous historical events, the texts of these pieces can be dated with relative security either to a specific year or within a brief time span. Their subjects are manifold: they mourn the deaths of kings or celebrate their coronations; they chastise popes for corruption and emperors for cowardice; they urge the faithful to take up a crusade, and then just as easily berate them for the loss of holy relics.[2] But whatever their intent, this repertory of datable conductus represents a potentially precious sample of changing musical tastes within the total corpus of 275 such works preserved among the four sources. Since other types of hard data concerning the historical development and aesthetic preferences of Notre Dame music are difficult to come by, a comparison of the texts and music of these datable pieces presents an opportunity to evaluate the stylistic development of the conductus from approximately

1170 to ca. 1250. It is therefore remarkable that these works have not been the source of numerous comparative studies.

In fact, it was not until 1985 that Ernest Sanders first presented an examination of changes in style between earlier and later pieces in the datable repertory.[3] Most notable was his demonstration of the progressive length and complexity visible in polyphonic caudae (melismatic sections), and how such caudae begin to feature increasingly complicated formal schemes soon after their appearance in works from the 1180s. However, since Sanders confined his remarks almost exclusively to polyphonic works, and even then chiefly to their caudae, there exists no comparable estimation of the historical development of the datable monophonic repertory, nor of features in the polyphonic works that lie outside the use of melismatic embellishment, such as the choice of poetic structures or preferences for certain musical forms. Because datable monophonic conductus outnumber the polyphonic (19 out of the total 31), and because caudae are by no means a staple of the repertory, the need for a more inclusive inquiry into these important works is long overdue.

Several objections have arisen to using the datable repertory as a measure of historical tendencies. Mark Everist (1989: 27–30) in particular has claimed that there is no way to rule out the possibility that the texts and music of these pieces may have been written at widely varying intervals, and, additionally, that we may not possess the original, representative musical settings of these works. Although due caution should be exercised, particularly since it is unclear what practical function these pieces actually served,[4] the events recounted in the datable works help to confirm rather than deny the supposition of a simultaneous composition of music and text. The majority of these poems treat events so specifically circumscribed that it would appear curious for a composer to turn to them years later as verbal material for new musical settings.[5] In support of this claim, it is striking that none of the datable examples survives elsewhere in a version that differs fundamentally from its musical rendering in the earliest sources.[6] Such a state of affairs, although it relies on the absence of evidence, suggests that the members of the datable repertory were regarded as a series of musical commemorations that retained their essential outlines throughout the time of their compilation.

Yet another related question deserves attention, for a number of the datable conductus appear to address issues or invoke personages far from the orbit of Notre Dame cathedral, and thus would not serve to illuminate the style of the conductus as practiced at Paris in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Particularly conspicuous are the numerous works that relate to English matters; but here the distance is more apparent than real. Not only was there a considerable English presence on the Continent

during the decades bounded by the datable conductus, but many of these so-called "English" works actually point to France, and occasionally even to Paris itself, as the place of their origin. For example, Thomas Beckett, the archbishop of Canterbury whose murder is mourned in *Novus miles sequitur* (1173), spent the years 1164-1170 in exile as the guest of Louis VII of France; Geoffrey of Brittany, son of Henry II of England, who may be the subject of the lament *Anglia planctus itera* (1186 or 1189), died in Paris and was buried in Notre Dame, thus weakening the claim that these compositions are English products. In a similar vein, Geoffrey's brother Henry the Younger, who is mourned in *Eclypsim patitur* and *In occasu sideris* (both from 1183),[7] was allied at the time of his death with Philip Augustus of France, while his sibling Richard the Lion-Hearted, celebrated in *Redit etas aurea* (1189 or 1194), is noted for spending only six months of his ten-year reign in the Isles. Richard, moreover, never learned to speak his subjects' language and spent the remaining years of his life chiefly in France.[8] Lastly, the pattern of concordances, the musical style of the works, and the paths of transmission revealed by the surviving sources also do not support the claim that the works connected with England are indigenous compositions.[9] The only clear exception among the conductus with insular themes is the earliest datable example, *In Rama sonat gemitus,* which is not only unique to W1, a source copied in Scotland, but whose text also betrays a likely English perspective in its condemnation of Beckett's exile across the Channel.[10]

Yet even though the repertory examined in these pages focuses on France, and particularly on Paris, this study makes no claim that the conductus repertory preserved in F, W1, W2 and Ma is in any sense exclusive to the city or its cathedral. It also does not attempt to distinguish between insular or Continental compositions. Instead, the purpose is to determine what stylistic features these pieces may preserve from the time of their composition, and how observable changes in musical taste may reflect the resources that composers and poets could exploit in fashioning conductus. The terms "Notre Dame"and "Parisian" are therefore used here for the sake of convenience, as labels to delimit a large group of diverse works whose manuscripts—rather than the pieces they contain—claim a point of origin in Paris. The use of these labels thus denotes not the generative forces behind these works, but rather the primary locus for their collection and dissemination. Indeed, the importance of the city of Paris as a cosmopolitan cultural and intellectual center in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries argues just as strongly for its role as a receptor as it does for its role as an instigator of musical styles.

Consequently, there should be little hesitation in using the datable conductus to inform the study of the genre at large. Their music and texts

appear to have originated in close temporal proximity to the events they relate, and, except for the textual circumstances that enable them to be situated in time, they exhibit no exclusive traits; the forms and styles they display are evident throughout the Parisian conductus repertory. The availability of specific compositions with known dates of creation therefore presents an opportunity for historical insight that should not be ignored. The observations submitted in this study are thus intended to help establish a more complex and concentrated assessment of the style of the conductus preserved in the central sources. The inquiry begins with the evidence that arises from the structure of the poems.

Stanzaic Construction

In terms of large-scale designs, the music and poetry of the datable conductus collaborate to provide four different and representative types of strophic organization. Each of the arrangements depends on the balance of repetition between music and text. The four types include: 1) *regular strophic* forms, where the same recurring block of music is repeated to accompany a series of identically formulated text stanzas; 2) *through-composed strophic* designs, where identical poetic stanzas are answered with music that does not mirror their matching forms; 3) *strictly through-composed* pieces with no repetition of larger formal units on either textual or musical levels; and 4) works that recall a structural feature especially reminiscent of the liturgical *sequence* or the vernacular *lai,* in which textual strophes are disposed into a series of pairs, and where each double-stanza unit is differentiated by a contrasting musical setting.

Of the four poetic schemes, the most common is the regular strophic form.[11] The repertory under scrutiny includes thirteen works disposed in this manner (see table 1).[12] Included in this table are four pieces that survive only as single strophes, but that presumably were originally multi-stanzaic.[13] The organization of Latin lyric poetry into repeating strophes appears prominently in the medieval West as early as the fourth century in the poems attributed to St. Ambrose (reg. 370–397), the bishop of Milan who is credited with first popularizing the Latin hymn and securing its entry into the liturgy of the Western church. The continued significance of the strophic form is attested by its predominance not only in medieval Latin lyric, but also in the vernacular songs of troubadours, trouvères, Minnesänger, and of Spanish, Italian, and English poets. By the late twelfth century, during the activity of the earliest composers and poets that can be associated with the Parisian conductus, the strophic model was a means of arranging poetry and song that already possessed a long history, widespread esteem, and the stamp of liturgical approbation.

Table 1
Uniform Strophic Structures
(identical poetic stanzas and music, 13 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Structure
1164	In Rama sonat	1	1* strophe(s), 8 lines
1173	Novus miles	3	3 " 10 "
1174	Dum medium silentium	1	8 " 8 "
1179	Ver pacis aperit	2	5 " 8 "
1183	Eclypsim patitur	2	4 " 8 "
1183	In occasu sideris	2	3 " 15 "
1187	Venit Ihesus in propria	1	1* " 13 "
1190	Pange melos lacrimosum	2	4 " 8 "
1197	Eclypsim passus	1	1* " 12 "
1198	Pater sancte dictus	1	4 " 7 "
1198	Dic Christi veritas	3	3 " 12 "
1208	Christus assistens	1	4 " 10 "
1223	Beata nobis gaudia	1	1* " 12 "

(*indicates single strophes preserved from what was, presumably, a multi-strophic poem.)

Other than their shared structures, though, there appears little else to tie these thirteen datable works to each other, nor is their use of a regular strophic arrangement particularly indicative of any general tendencies in the Notre Dame conductus repertory. Polyphonic and monophonic compositions are nearly equally represented (6 and 7 works, respectively), and as table 1 demonstrates there is no overwhelming preference for either a specific number of lines per stanza or a particular number of strophes per song. The chronological boundaries of the datable strophic conductus are also quite extensive. The examples stretch from the earliest piece in the corpus, *In Rama sonat gemitus,* from the 1160s, to Philip the Chancellor's *Beata nobis gaudia* of 1223. Hence, any attempt to evaluate a strophic Notre Dame conductus for the purpose of determining its time of composition must rely on other stylistic attributes.

Nonetheless, even though the presence of regular strophic works in the Notre Dame repertory extends at least over a half century, it appears significant that eleven of the thirteen datable examples were written prior to the turn of the century. In the wake of pivotal musical advancements, noticeable for the first time around the year 1200 and associated with the figure of Perotinus,[14] it is not unreasonable to conjecture that in the early decades of the thirteenth century a uniformly strophic musical setting of a

conductus poem may have been viewed as a piece of restrained, if not conservative, compositional workmanship.

This hypothesis may even be substantiated by considering the datable poems whose individual strophes are poetically identical, but which feature different musical settings for each stanza (see table 2). In contrast to the regular strophic conductus that reuses its music, through-composed settings of strophic poetry appear to be a slightly later phenomenon. The first appearance of such a work in the repertory does not occur until after 1185, and the remaining five examples all issue from the thirteenth century.

The same scenario also seems to hold true, if not to an even greater extent, for conductus that feature not only through-composed music but texts as well. In these compositions there is no hint either of musical or poetic repetition on the strophic level. Such wholly through-composed works do not surface until nearly a decade after the earliest strophic conductus with through-composed music in table 2. Although they constitute a very small number of datable works, they appear to represent an even later departure (see table 3).

Although it is readily apparent that conductus set to strophic poetry were cultivated throughout the Notre Dame era, the above tabulations suggest that during the decade prior to the turn of the century the artists associated with the Paris cathedral began more customarily to fashion their music—and eventually their poetry as well—outside the constraints of the strophic models that most closely characterize earlier medieval Latin lyric poetry and the vernacular songs of the troubadours and trouvères.

Just as the strophic conductus relied on an older scheme, so does the fourth and final poetic design in the datable repertory, which involves the organization of textual strophes into series of musically identical pairs. This procedure has an especially obvious precedent in the double versicles of the sequence, a form of great antiquity that was especially prized at Paris.[15] One of the most celebrated Notre Dame poet-composers, the cantor Adam (who until recently bore the name of the abbey of Saint Victor, where he spent his final days) is credited as the prime mover in the regularization and cultivation of the poetic and musical form of the sequence.[16]

The evolution of the sequence into the form now associated with Adam of Paris owes much to the same aesthetics that shaped the lyric poetry of the conductus.[17] Although the Latin sequence had originated in the ninth century as a genre that typically featured texts either in prose or in quantitative verse, by the eleventh it had begun to emulate the new rhymed, rhythmic lyric based on syllable count and the location of the

Table 2
Through-Composed Strophic Forms
(identical poetic stanzas with contrasting music, 6 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Structure
1186/89	Anglia planctus itera	1	2 strophes of 9 lines
1208	Anni favor iubilei	2	3 " 7 "
1209–12	Rex et sacerdos prefuit	1	3 " 7 "
1223	Alabaustrum frangitur	1	3 " 12 "
1223	O mors que mordes omnia	1	3 " 10 "
1233	Clavus clavo retunditur	1	3 " 8 "

Table 3
Through-Composed Poetry *and* Music (3 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Structure
1198	Iherusalem Iherusalem	1	5 of 12, 14, 12, 6, 4 lines
1209	Regi regum omnium	2	3 of 8 lines (dissimilar)
1236	Aurelianis civitas	1	4 of 6, 8, 7, 8 lines

final accented syllable in the poetic line. In the course of the next hundred years, significant developments that were to affect sequence texts included the casting of its paired versicles into stanzas that are often quite similar both in length and form to conductus strophes, and ultimately encompassed the fashioning of all the versicle pairs to match each other in structure and length.

At least seven "sequence-form" conductus occur within the datable repertory (see table 4). Included as a possible eighth case in this tally is the planctus *Sol eclypsim patitur* (1188 or, more probably, 1252), whose four preserved strophes frequently display some striking parallelisms suggesting that it may actually exhibit a free form of strophic pairing. Such a practice of varied doubling has been associated with the repertory of *versus* from Aquitania in Southern France, and would be fitting for this composition, which appears to emanate from Spain.[18] As table 4 demonstrates, datable examples of conductus poetry in sequence form illustrate two different types of verse structures. Each pair of strophes may either be distinct from the others in its poetic scheme, or, alternately, every one of the doubled stanzas may match the others in the length, number, and accentual patterns of its lines. In other words, the texts alone of the latter category

Table 4
Datable Conductus with Musically Paired Strophes

A. SEQUENCE FORMS (dissimilar paired strophes, 4 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Pairing
1181	Omnis in lacrimas	1	3 double, 1 single
1190–92	Divina providentia	1	3 double
1209	O felix Bituria	3	2 double, 1 single
1188/1252	Sol eclypsim patitur	1	? 2 double (varied)

B. STROPHIC SEQUENCES (identical paired strophes, 4 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Strophic Pairing
1189/94	Redit etas aurea	2	2 double
1192–97	Sede Syon in pulvere	1	3 double
1224	De rupta Rupecula	3	2 double, 1 single
1233	Clavus pungens acumine	2	2 double, 1 single

are indistinguishable from regular strophic conductus, and the disposition of such works into sequence form is evident only through the presence of music that offers a different setting for every other stanza. This latter scheme is known as the strophic sequence, to borrow a term used by Hans Spanke (1936: 76–77).

The enumeration of these two classes in table 4 shows that, just as with the through-composed strophic structures discussed above, both types of sequence-form pieces are absent from the earliest layer of datable Notre Dame compositions. Datable conductus with paired strophes do not surface until 1181, as much as ten to fifteen years after the earliest known examples in the main sources. Strophic sequences in particular appear to be a later development. The first datable instance of such a work (*Redit etas aurea* of 1189 or 1194) postdates the earliest member of the "nonstrophic" type by at least eight years (*Omnis in lacrimas* from 1181). The apparently later arrival in the conductus repertory of the strophic sequence, in which all stanzas are essentially equal in construction, consequently mirrors the shift of the liturgical sequence itself towards an increasingly homogenized poetic structure.

The examination of large-scale textual and musical designs in the datable works thus shows some rather contradictory trends between the uniform and through-composed strophic conductus on the one hand and

those compositions that feature paired versicles on the other. As the datable repertory proceeds chronologically, a decline in the number of pieces with regular strophic organization on both poetic and musical levels is noticeable. Only two of the conductus based on this model were written after the turn of the century.[19] In contrast, datable works with strophic texts set to through-composed music increase after 1200, with the first example appearing in *Anglia planctus itera,* placed either in 1186 or 1189. The most recent practice of all, however, arose with settings that are through-composed both musically and poetically, in which the design of the lyrics as well as the music is free from the successive repetition associated with stanzaic designs. These "thoroughly composed" pieces surface at least by 1198 with the example of the planctus *Iherusalem Iherusalem* and remain to include one of the very latest of the datable Parisian conductus, *Aurelianis civitas,* from 1236. On the other hand, an opposite trend is visible in the texts of those pieces that employ the doubled strophic pairing typically associated with the liturgical sequence. In these works, which first occur in the datable repertory by 1181, the greatest variety in poetic scheme occurs in the earlier compositions, while the stricter textual regularity of the strophic sequence appears later (by 1189 or 1194) and prevails longer (up to at least 1233).

Verse Schemes

On a slightly smaller scale, the construction and organization of the individual lines of verse within a poem may likewise indicate historical trends. Poetic verse schemes in the datable repertory exhibit three major types. These comprise complete pieces or single strophes that either contain 1) *isosyllabic* patterns, with the same number of syllables per line appearing throughout the poem; 2) a series of *distichs,* in which lines of only two different formations alternate regularly; or 3) less uniform schemes with lines of two, three, or four different lengths. Of all these types, the most informative is the first.

Among the isosyllabic schemes that occur in the datable conductus, the most common example, with the greatest chronological sweep, is the eight-syllable line with a consistent stress on the proparoxytone, or antepenultimate syllable (8pp).[20] By the time of the Notre Dame school, the 8pp line had the double fortune of being both very old and extremely distinguished. In its construction it recalls the quantitative classical iambic dimeter, the very scheme that Saint Ambrose had used exclusively for introducing his hymns to the Western church. In its rhythmic, accentual form it continued as one of the most common patterns for the liturgical hymns of the Office, and was especially popular in the north of France, where it attracted the attention of the Notre Dame poets for their conductus and the trouvères for their chansons (see Spanke 1936: 22, 23).

As a result of its wide acceptance, the use of 8pp lines in the datable conductus provides no overt chronological trends, except for its persistence throughout the corpus (see table 5). The exclusive use of the line for an entire poem occurs in eleven texts within the datable conductus repertory. Three are strophic sequences, four others are single stanzas, and the rest are regularly strophic. There is likewise no consensus among them as to a favored number of lines per strophe or number of strophes per poem. The chronological boundaries of the 8pp pieces are similarly extensive. They range from the earliest datable conductus, *In Rama sonat gemitus* (1164–70), to the two Holy Nail lyrics of 1233, *Clavus clavo retunditur* and *Clavus pungens acumine.* In addition to these works, 8pp lines also appear as the sole component of several specific strophes in three other through-composed datable poems, two from the twelfth century and the third probably composed as late as 1252.[21]

Isosyllabic strophes with proparoxytonic lines of seven syllables (7pp) are likewise chronologically diverse, although not as numerous as the eight-syllable type.[22] Somewhat more informative for suggesting chronological tendencies is the role played by poems composed solely of six syllables with an antepenultimate stress (6pp).[23] This particular scheme recollects the design of alexandrine verse, a pattern associated especially with Old French epic poetry consisting of a twelve-syllable line with a marked caesura after the sixth syllable. During the course of the twelfth century, notably in some of the hymns of Peter Abelard, the caesura became increasingly emphasized by rhyme, which divided the line in half and led to the more common 6pp form found in the Notre Dame conductus repertory.

Two datable works composed solely of 6pp verses appear in the conductus repertory. They are the coronation song *Ver pacis aperit* from 1179 and the planctus *Eclypsim patitur* of 1183, which varies from a constant 6pp scheme only once in its refrain.[24] Besides *Ver pacis* and *Eclypsim patitur,* 6pp lines are also prevalent in the first and second strophic pairs of the 1181 monophonic lament *Omnis in lacrimas.*[25] From this evidence, the exclusive use of 6pp lines in a conductus stanza offers the possibility that such works may issue from the last two decades of the twelfth century. This interpretation has been strengthened by the research of Janet Knapp (1979), who has specifically investigated six polyphonic conductus that have exclusive, or nearly so, 6pp verse schemes.[26] She has found that these compositions exhibit a closely related musical style and a notational consistency that she applies to the vexing question of their rhythmic performance. A further perusal of the entire Notre Dame conductus repertory reveals a total of twelve examples that rely exclusively on 6pp lines for either their entire verse scheme or for the complete content of specific strophes (see table 6).[27] Only three of these pieces (*Beate virginis, Fontis in*

Table 5
Datable Conductus with Eight-Syllable Proparoxytonic (8pp) Lines Throughout (11 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Number of Strophes	Lines per Strophe
1164–70	In Rama sonat	1	1	8
1170	Dum medium	1	8	8
1186/89	Anglia planctus	1	2	9
1187	Venit Ihesus	1	1	13
1192–97	Sede Syon	1	3 double	6
1197	Eclypsim passus	1	1	12
1209–12	Rex et sacerdos	1	3	7
1223	O mors que mordes	1	3	10
1223	Beata nobis	1	1	12
1233	Clavus clavo	1	2 double, 1 single	8
1233	Clavus pungens	2	2 double, 1 single	8

Table 6
Six-Syllable Proparoxytonic (6pp) Lines Throughout All Strophes

A. DATABLE WORKS (2 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
1179	Ver pacis aperit	2	strophic (5 strophes)
1183	Eclypsim patitur	2	strophic (4 strophes) (refrain: 6pp+10pp)

B. OTHER NOTRE DAME WORKS (10 pieces)

	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
	Beata viscera . . . cuius	1	strophic
*	Beate virginis	2	through-composed strophic
	Celum non animum	3	strophic
*	Fontis in rivulum	1	sequence (1a and b)
	Fulget Nicholaüs	3	through-composed (strophe 1 of 3)
	Heu quo progreditur	2	strophic
*	Iam vetus littera	2	through-composed strophic
	Procurans odium	3	strophic
	Si mundus viveret	3	strophic
	Partus semiferos	1	strophic (refrain: 4x7pp)

(*indicates works with extended caudae.)

rivulum, and *Iam vetus littera*) diverge significantly from the simpler styles of Knapp's "early layer" compositions by presenting extensive melismatic interludes throughout the course of each work. These observations imply that the bulk of the 6pp conductus repertory—those pieces that correspond stylistically to the datable *Ver pacis aperit* (1179) and *Eclypsim patitur* (1183)—were also likely composed before 1200, and that the use of an isosyllabic 6pp verse structure did not make great inroads in the development of the more complex, melismatically suffused works associated with the thirteenth-century datable repertory.[28]

Closely related to the 6pp verse, both in its structure and in its isolated use in the conductus repertory, is the line of ten syllables with a final proparoxytonic accent (10pp). This specific linear scheme is also prominent in vernacular literature, both in Occitan and Old French, and was especially favored for the chanson de geste.[29] The 10pp line as used in Notre Dame conductus nearly always features a caesura after the fourth syllable, which suggests that it may be easily and conveniently viewed as a 6pp line introduced by a four-syllable unit.[30] Indeed, the relationships between these two types of lines may extend beyond their structural similarities, since their use throughout the conductus repertory suggests a chronological proximity as well.

Isosyllabic texts of 10pp lines occur only five times in the conductus from Notre Dame sources (see table 7) and the only datable representative is Philip the Chancellor's encomium to Innocent III, *Pater sancte dictus Lotarius* (1198). Of the other examples, the two-part *O varium fortune lubricum* and Philip's monophonic *Homo vide que pro te patior* share with *Pater sancte* and the majority of the isosyllabic 6pp works an unpretentious musical style, with sections devoted to caudae notably absent. The two exceptions are the three-part *Ortus summi peracto gaudio,* which possesses only a modest closing melisma, and the strikingly different *Christi miles Christo quo militat,* a composition for two voices that brandishes extensive, musically sophisticated caudae at the beginning and end of each of the five 10pp couplets that make up its strophes. The consistency in style, however, of the other, plainer decasyllabic conductus suggests that these poems may hail from around the same time as *Pater sancte* (1198). With the additional evidence of a connection between the form and style of works with proparoxytonic lines of ten and six syllables, it is even tempting to suggest a time of composition one or two decades earlier than *Pater sancte* for most of the 10pp works.[31] Except for the advanced *Christi miles,* then, the sparse number of such conductus and their prevailing stylistic simplicity argue for a period of cultivation principally before the turn of the century.[32]

Strophes composed of regular chains of distichs are rare in the datable repertory and by themselves do not provide ready means for chronological arrangement into earlier or later practices, even when bolstered with

Table 7
Ten-Syllable Proparoxytonic (10pp) Lines Throughout All Strophes

A. DATABLE WORKS (1 piece)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
1198	Pater sancte	1	strophic

B. OTHER NOTRE DAME WORKS (4 pieces)

	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
*	Christi miles Christo	2	through-composed strophic
	Homo vide que pro te patior	1	strophic
	O varium fortune lubricum	2	strophic
+	Ortus summi peracto gaudio	3	strophic (refrain: 7pp,6pp)

(*indicates a work with extended caudae; + indicates a work with a modest concluding cauda.)

additional datable works that use a less rigorous series of the same two-line units or by a survey of the entire body of Notre Dame conductus. Two different and representative types of such strictly alternating patterns are especially prominent. As with the relationship between the alexandrine and 6pp designs signaled above, both first formed a series of longer lines that were eventually split into two unequal units through the increasing demarcation of a fixed caesura (as well as the end of the line) through rhyme. One of the two schemes consists of fifteen syllables divided into 8p+7pp; the other presents thirteen arrayed as 7pp+6p.

The former of the two is unquestionably the older. Whatever its debt to quantitative classical metrics may be, it appears prominently in early church hymns, and is perhaps best known as the scheme of *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis* by Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 540–ca. 600).[33] Strikingly, the one datable example that faithfully follows this fifteen-syllable pattern, *Pange melos lacrimosum* of 1190,[34] actually evokes the precedent of the older hymn in its opening word.

The obstacles to using the 8p+7pp line for assessing the chronology of Notre Dame conductus seem clear. Spanke cites two other such works that use both the same form and rhyme scheme as *Pange melos: Fraude ceca desolato* and *Hec est dies triumphalis,* both of which are heavily melismatic works that probably issue from the 1200s. He also reveals the additional employment of the fifteen-syllable distich in conductus from before the turn of

the century in Alain de Lille's *Exceptivam actionem* and in a poem without a surviving melody by Walter of Châtillon (Spanke 1936: 27–28). Other, less regular occurrences of this pattern within the datable repertory add little additional support. They show that individual stanzas using the elements of the 8pp+7p model range all the way from the twelfth-century *Omnis in lacrimas* (1181) to portions of *Aurelianis civitas* (1236).[35]

The second instance of reiterated two-line chains in the datable conductus repertory appears not only to be a more recent phenomenon than the fifteen-syllable design of *Pange melos lacrimosum,* but also is instructive because the datable items seem to contradict the evidence of the conductus repertory at large. The thirteen-syllable distich of 7pp+6p is more generally known as the "goliardic measure," so called from its frequent use in Latin poems with secular and profane themes.[36] Although several isolated examples of this line have been traced back to as early as the fourth century, it was not until the middle of the twelfth that it truly blossomed and became one of the most prevalent of the verse forms of its time. It is especially closely associated with Walter of Châtillon, and several of his poems in this arrangement are preserved with music in Notre Dame manuscripts.[37]

The datable conductus repertory argues for the most concentrated use of the goliardic measure before 1200. Only two works, *O felix Bituria* (1209) and *Sol eclypsim patitur* (1188/1252), give evidence of the implementation of the thirteen-syllable unit after the turn of the century. Both of these pieces are also singular in presenting their texts in regular distichs. All the other datable examples of the scheme, which either feature a more varied configuration of the lines or mix the goliardic pattern with other verse forms, point to the twelfth century (see table 8). However, this apparently pointed chronological information does not conform to the evidence presented by the complete body of Notre Dame conductus. No less than twelve undated examples with goliardic measure appear in the central Notre Dame manuscripts. Three of these works, *Flos in monte cernitur, Ave virgo virginum,* and *Quid tu vides Jeremia,* do conform to the unadorned musical style already associated with the earlier layer of the corpus, but a further nine pieces are more elaborate, melismatically rich compositions that probably issue from the thirteenth century.[38]

Far from being silent, then, the structures of the poetic texts in the datable repertory can provide some telling means for inquiry into conductus style. Not only do the various strophic designs of the works furnish perspectives for clarifying the development of the genre, but even the use of certain poetic schemes in the verse of these specific pieces can offer information for the outlining of trends within the Notre Dame school. As these compositions demonstrate, investigations of their texts as well as their

Table 8
Datable Conductus Featuring "Goliardic Stanzas" (7pp+6p lines)

A. REGULAR DISTICHS (2 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Verse Scheme	
1209	O felix Bituria	3	strophe 2a:	4(7pp+6p)
			strophe 3:	6(7pp+6p)
1188/1252	Sol eclypsim	1	strophe 1a:	2(7pp+6p)

B. NON-DISTICHAL PATTERNS (3 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Verse Scheme
1170	Novus miles	3	2(7pp+6p) +2(7pp+7pp+6p)
1183	In occasu syderis	2	2(7pp+6p) +3(7pp) +4(7pp+6p)
1189/94	Redit etas aurea	2	3(7pp+6p) +2(7pp) +6p

C. COMBINED WITH OTHER TYPES OF LINES (2 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Voices	Verse Scheme
1190–92	Divina providentia	1	strophe 2: 6(8pp) +2(7pp+6p)
1198	Iherusalem Iherusalem	1	strophe 3: 2(7pp+6p) +8(8pp)

music are essential tools in any attempt to unravel the musical history of the conductus.

Musical Designs

The evidence illustrated by the poems in the datable repertory may appear informative for the history of Notre Dame conductus, but the testimony provided by its music, some of which has already surfaced above, is even more profitable. Although Sanders (1985b) provided a valuable initial foray into this topic, an investigation of the changes in musical style throughout the entire datable Notre Dame corpus still remains to be accomplished. Sanders's results, as he himself admitted, were especially limited by the fact that he did not incorporate monophonic pieces into his evaluations.[39] Their inclusion, however, is indispensable for a balanced overview. Therefore, in an effort to expand his findings and to reinforce his depictions of chronological trends, both monophonic and polyphonic datable conductus are examined here.

Monophony

Since so much of the general inquiry into Notre Dame music has focused on polyphony, the position of the monophonic pieces in the repertoire has tended to remain obscure. This has also been the case in earlier research on the datable repertory, possibly because monophonic works lack so many of the clues that polyphony suggests for charting historical change. Although in their most general features they do conform to the historical trends demonstrated by the datable polyphonic conductus, evidence for rhythmic interpretation, economy of melodic material, and an increasing clarity and complexity of formal musical structures are all absent or figure less prominently in the monophonic pieces. Moreover, the stylistic overview of the one-part conductus shows that they exhibit less obvious enrichment after the turn of the century than do contemporaneous polyphonic works.

Within the datable monophonic corpus, however, a distinctive early convention does arise in several conductus that present musical designs associated especially with the vernacular songs of the trouvères. Such pieces are characterized by the complete absence of melismatic sections, a generally syllabic or at most lightly ornamented setting of music to text, and a structure that presents a repetition of the phrases for the opening two or three poetic lines. The bipartite AA/B formal design that is evident in these works has long been recognized as a familiar element of medieval vernacular song. As early as the first decade of the fourteenth century, Dante alluded to the practice in his *De vulgari eloquentia,* an unfinished treatise on vernacular poetry and song that often features excerpts from the texts of troubadour and trouvère chansons as illustrative material. In a chapter dealing with the composition of the stanzas of a song (*cantio*), Dante relates the most common formal elements that are found in the music of such works:

> We say, therefore, that every stanza is composed in order to receive a specific melody; but there are different ways of doing this. For there are some [stanzas] that proceed all the way through to the end by means of a through-composed melody [*oda continuata*] – that is without a repetition of any phrase and without *diesis.* And we define diesis as a progression [within a song] that turns from one melody to another, which when we speak in the vernacular, we call a *volta* (turn). . . . On the other hand, there are certain [stanzas] that do admit diesis; and there can be no diesis according to the way it is defined here, unless a melody undergo repetition either before, after, or on either side of the diesis. If the repetition is made before the diesis, we say that the stanza has *pedes* (feet); and it is proper that it

> should have two, although now and then three appear, albeit rarely. If the repetition occurs after the diesis, then we say that the stanza has *versus* (verses). If there is no repetition before [the diesis], we say that the stanza has a *frons* (front); if there is none afterwards, we say that it has a *sirma,* or *cauda* (tail).[40]

Dante's observations may be paraphrased a little more readily by using the alphabetical designations common to musical analysis: if the form of a song can be represented by AAB, it is composed of two pedes and a *cauda;*[41] if by ABB, it features a frons and two versus. Should a work divide in the manner AABB, then it has both pedes and versus. If, however, the piece is through-composed, it has none of these four elements.

The scheme of the pedes-plus-cauda (AAB) plan described by Dante and designated here as the *cantio* form is one of the most common designs in the entire body of medieval song. According to Spanke, the cantio form is first observable in the *cansos* of the earliest troubadours, and soon spread to other lyrics. This same form so dominated Latin song written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that it is estimated that half the surviving corpus, both in the Notre Dame repertory and elsewhere, uses this structural pattern.[42]

The confluence of the medieval vernacular chanson and the Notre Dame conductus is therefore especially evident in the five datable syllabic[43] works that present cantio forms (see table 9). Their formal structures are remarkably consistent. Four of the five specimens within this body of pieces confine their opening section (the two pedes) to the first four poetic lines. Here the musical phrases of the third and fourth lines echo the first and second, producing the pattern a–b a–b, or on a larger scale AA. Likewise, the length of the succeeding *cauda* (the B section of the cantio form) in all but two of these works happens to correspond exactly with the two pedes in its number of lines; but it also may be independent in length and structure, as in the nine-line *cauda* segment of *Venit Ihesus in propria* (1187), or the three lines of *Pater sancte dictus Lotarius* (1198), both with texts by Philip the Chancellor. In addition, refrains may be present, as in Walter of Châtillon's *Dum medium silentium tenerent* (1174). In two different instances in the datable repertory, though, the *cauda* section exhibits a repetition scheme of its own that signals the presence of Dante's versus. A representative case of the use of both pedes and versus in a conductus can be seen in *Pater sancte,* offered as example 1, which, significantly, is a contrafact of the trouvère chanson *Douce dame grez et graces vous rent* by Gace Brulé.[44] In this piece the customary pair of two-line pedes (AB AB) is followed by two versus of one line each (CC′), the first member of which closes on the final pitch of the mode (g), the

Table 9
Monophonic Datable Syllabic Conductus in Cantio (AAB) Form (5 pieces)

Date	Incipit	Poetic/Musical Scheme
1164–70	In Rama sonat	1 strophe
1174	Dum medium	strophic; refrain
1181	Omnis in lacrimas	sequence
1187	Venit Ihesus	1 strophe
1198	Pater sancte	strophic; contrafact

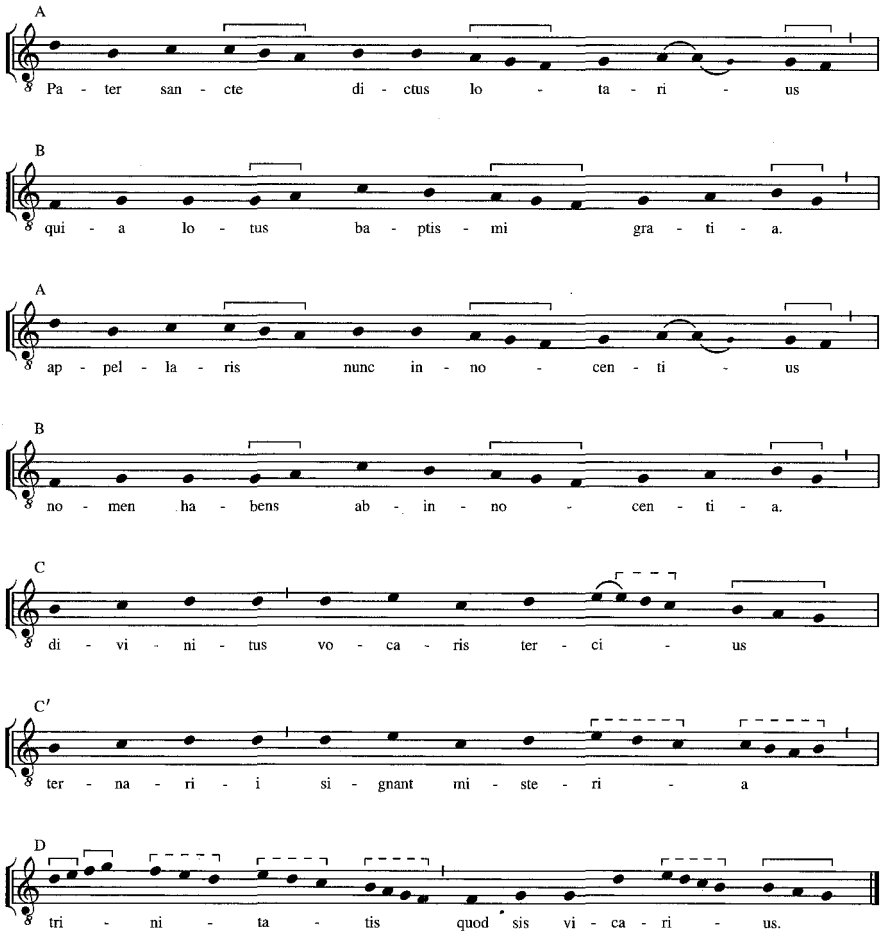
second on its upper third (b). This "open" segment is then completed by a relatively ornate final phrase (D), which sets the last line of the strophe and rounds off the composition by cadencing once again on the final.

Besides contrafacture, these cantio-form pieces exhibit additional affinities with the trouvère corpus in their poetic forms. All are either strophic or single stanzas that appear to be the only surviving members of an originally multistrophic lyric.[45] The single exception to this characteristic is the 1181 *Omnis in lacrimas,* a sequence form whose first stanzaic pair also diverges from the more usual two-line coupling of pedes in the other datable conductus by admitting a three-line repetition (see example 2).[46]

In considering the historical significance of these compositions, it seems consequential that all of these "trouvère-style" conductus predate the thirteenth century. They range from the earliest datable work, *In Rama sonat gemitus* (1164–1170), to Philip's *Pater sancte* from 1198. Though there are indeed two later datable monophonic compositions that use the opening repetition typical of trouvère chansons, these differ from the ones considered here since they either contain extensive caudae, or are prosulas—texts written to conductus caudae that have been dissociated from their original setting.[47] Hence, that part of the datable repertory that most closely resembles the vernacular songs of the trouvères seems, significantly, to embrace a very early layer of compositions. This assertion is strengthened by the predominance of strophic forms among the relevant examples, as well as the presence of the single datable example of an isosyllabic 10pp lyric in *Pater sancte dictus Lotarius.* Philip the Chancellor's two earliest datable works are counted among the pieces in this stratum, and the cantio form is also well represented in the surviving music to several of the texts of his older contemporary, Walter of Châtillon.[48]

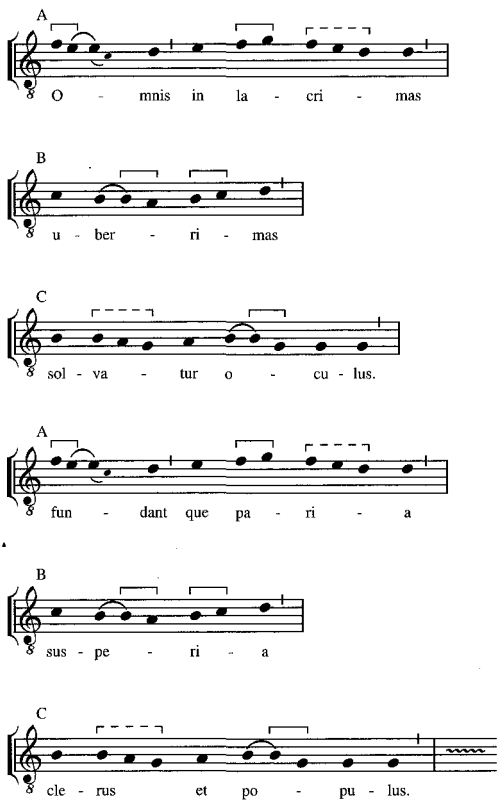
Unfortunately, no other formal melodic designs in the music of the datable monophonic conductus appear as chronologically decisive as the trouvère-style cantio form, nor are they easily classified. Other incidents of phrase repetition do exist, but such cases either accommodate only a very

Example 1: *Pater sancte dictus Lotarius* (1198), F, fol. 440.



few examples, or else they are chronologically diverse and therefore not readily indicative of stylistic trends.[49] Similarly, those compositions that are through-composed on the strophic level and those with occasional or unsystematic repetition of phrases appear in the datable repertory soon after the cantio form and coexist with it. The earliest such through-composed strophes occur in the second and third versicles of *Omnis in lacrimas,* a conductus in sequence form from 1181, whose initial strophic pair, as shown in example 2, features a cantio structure with a *pes* of three lines.

Example 2: *Omnis in lacrimas* (1181), strophe 1, lines 1–6, F, fol. 415v.



Somewhat more enlightening for the chronology of the datable monophonic conductus is the noticeable change in style between the earliest syllabic works and those later ones that contain melismatic sections. The rise of such caudae in the monophonic repertory coincides almost exactly with their appearance in the polyphonic conductus (Sanders 1985b: 505). Melismas are absent from six of the seven earliest pieces in the datable corpus[50] and first surface as a component of the monophonic repertory in the lament *Anglia planctus itera* from either 1186 or 1189. Already in this initial appearance, short melismas or groups of ornate neumes not only introduce each strophe, but occur throughout this richly embellished composition. Their employment in strophe 2 is particularly sophisticated and indicates that a high degree of fluency is already possible in this elaborate style. In *Anglia planctus,* the presence of brief caudae not only imparts a musical complexity to this piece that is missing in the trouvère-style

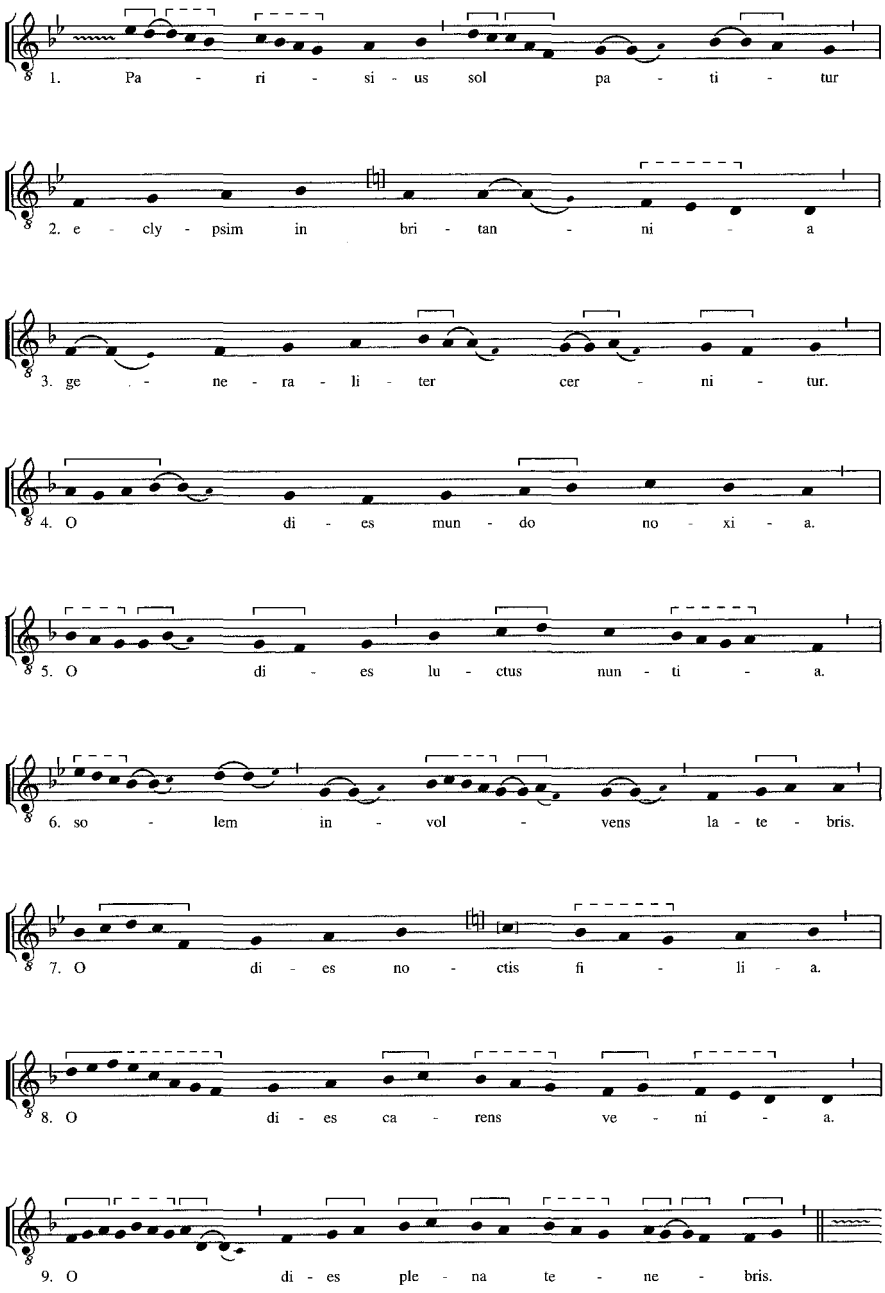
works profiled above, but also serves in this instance as a notable means of delineating the structure of its text (see example 3).

In this example, the strategic placement of short melismas or florid neumes at the beginning of lines 1, 4–6, and 7–9 splits the stanza into three tercets, a delineation supported by the interlocking formations of the strophe's rhyme scheme (aba bbc bbc), its syntax, and the anaphora in lines 4, 5, and 7–9 (the exclamation "O dies"). By 1189 and thereafter, caudae are the rule in datable monophonic conductus. The sole exceptions occur only in Philip the Chancellor's trouvère contrafact *Pater sancte* (1198), in his conductus prosulas, and in one of the very latest one-part pieces, *Aurelianis civitas* (from 1236 and probably also his work), whose unusually spare, syllabic setting at this late date makes one wonder whether it might be a prosula as well.[51]

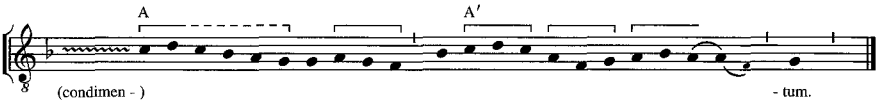
Several of the caudae among the datable monophonic conductus exhibit polished musical forms and elegant melodic organization. Like their polyphonic counterparts, they too seem to have shared at least partially in the new formative aesthetics that are readily visible in the organa of Perotinus.[52] Some of the more ambitious specimens have been included in the following illustrations. For instance, in example 4, which features two caudae in conductus from 1190–1192 and 1223 respectively, a pair of related phrases carves out a melismatic couplet. The two *ordines* in each part of this example begin with closely related gestures, but finish with cadences that are strongly contrasted through their use of open and close endings. Other specimens present short motives in melodic sequence, as in example 5, but perhaps the lengthiest and most ambitious of all the datable monophonic caudae is the one that ends the 1198 lament *Iherusalem Iherusalem,* presented as example 6. The design of this elegant melisma seems almost to resemble a "textless" cantio form in its AA′BB′C structure, except that the correspondence here between the opening sequential gestures is upset somewhat by the strokes of division that separate the two phrases into uneven components.

Melismas such as those presented in examples 4–6 are the exception rather than the rule, but it may be worthwhile to notice that all of them stem from the 1190s or later, at the same time it is hypothesized that Perotinus may first have surfaced in Paris (Wright 1989: 293–94). More typically, the bulk of the caudae that appear throughout the monophonic datable corpus are neither as lengthy, as complex, nor as adventurous as most of their polyphonic counterparts. Interestingly, several of them present a recurring figure, especially frequent at cadential points (compare the boxed phrases in example 7). The close identity of this gesture among the various pieces as well as its pitch content easily recall a particular reiterated formula from the body of organum duplum.[53] If more expressions

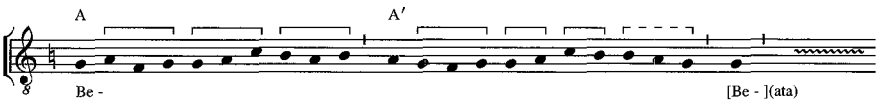
Example 3: *Anglia planctus itera* (1186/89), strophe 2, F, fol. 421v.



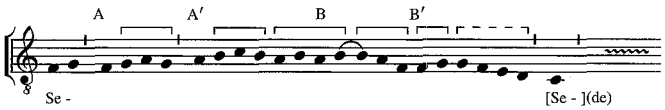
Example 4: Melodic couplets in caudae.
a. *Divina providentia* (1190–92), strophe 3, final cauda, F, fol. 420v.



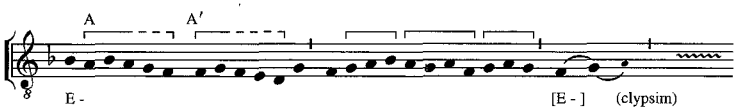
b. *Beata nobis gaudia* (1223), opening cauda, F, fol. 433v.



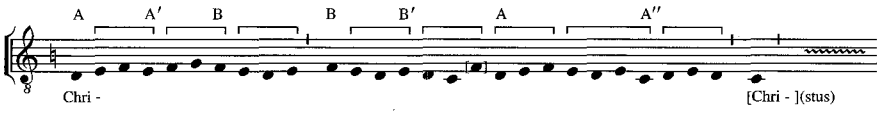
Example 5: Sequential gestures in caudae.
a. *Sede syon in pulvere* (1192–97), strophe 1, opening cauda, F, fol. 419v.



b. *Eclypsim passus tociens* (1197), opening cauda, F, fol. 429.



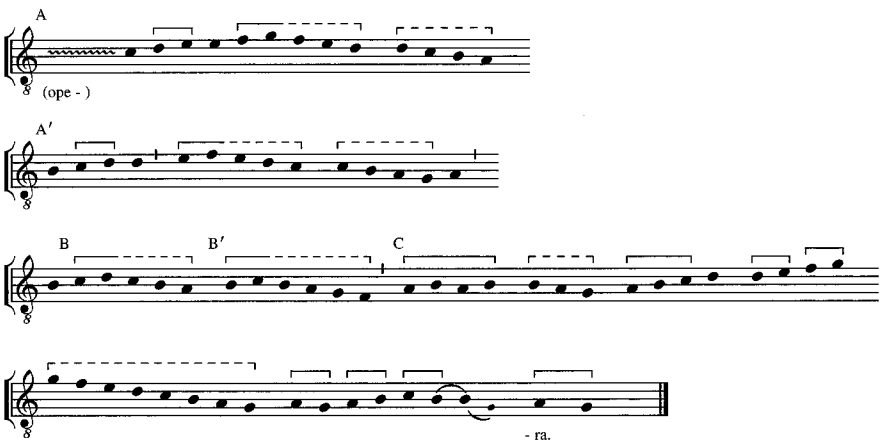
c. *Christus assistens pontifex* (1208), opening cauda, F, fol. 435v.



like this one should be identified, they would suggest that melodic, rhythmic, and compositional relationships between Leoninian organa and monophonic conductus are not as diverse as previously assumed.[54]

Given the contemporaneous developments in polyphony, the lack of strong rhythmic profiles in the notation of many of the monophonic caudae is perhaps startling. Very few melismas within the monophonic datable repertory appear to suggest a sure rhythmic rendering. The majority of these tend either to be very short, comprising only two or three

Example 6: *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophe 5, final cauda, F, fol. 435.

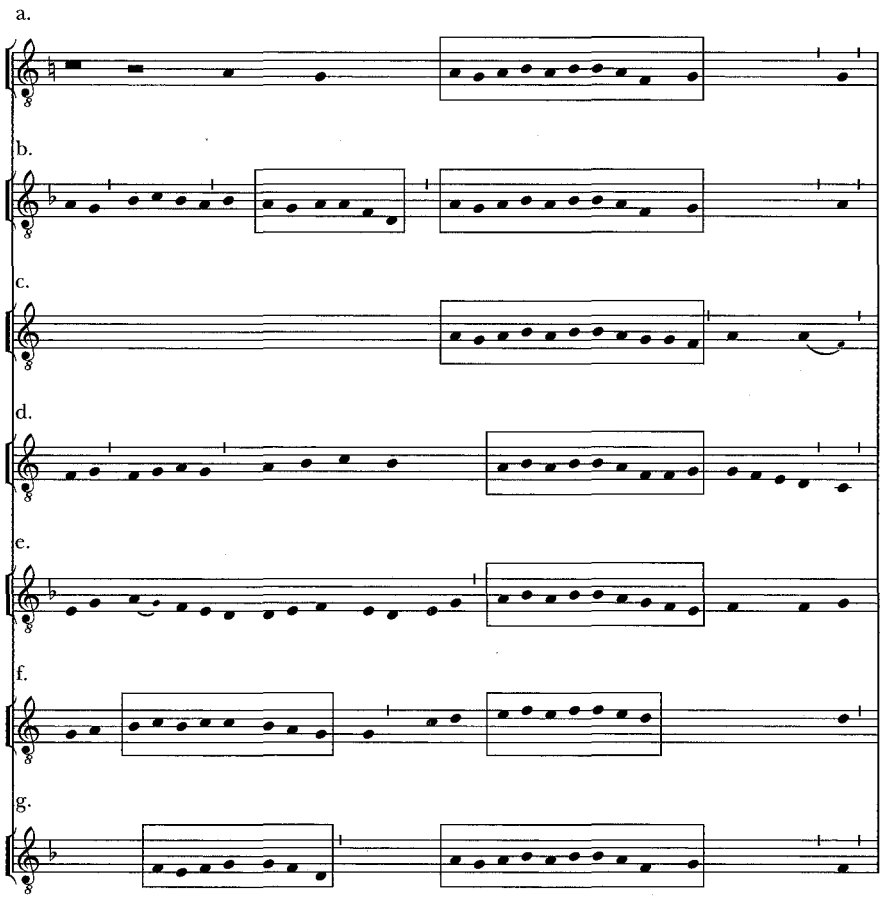


measures in modern transcription, or else they restrict their rhythmic indications only to the opening gestures of the phrase. Three of the five brief specimens given in example 8 begin with chains of ligatures that imply the rhythmic values associated with either the first or third rhythmic modes. Shortly after these melismas begin, though, the phrases quickly disintegrate into less obvious readings along the lines of *organum purum.* Again, it should be emphasized that all of these examples hail from the last decade of the twelfth century at the earliest, which suggests that it was not until this later period that conductus composers began to incorporate some of the rhythmic facets of polyphony into their monophonic works.

However, a few such caudae are more exceptional. In three instances, melismas appear that are more consistent in their implications of modal rhythms and that also exhibit a scheme of antecedent and consequent phrase pairing that commonly surfaces in the caudae of the polyphonic corpus and in the copula sections of Notre Dame organa (see ex. 9). It is well worth noticing that not only do all the "modal" caudae in example 9 hail from well after 1200, but all their texts are by Philip the Chancellor. They consequently present the strong possibility that their music may have been written – or at least strongly influenced – by the hand of Perotinus.[55]

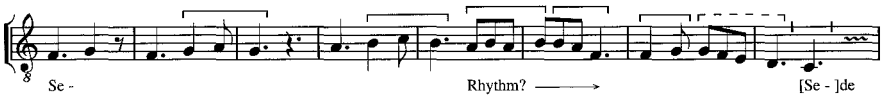
Even though the excerpts presented in example 9 offer evidence of an occasional foray into rhythmic precision, they remain anomalous. Caudae in later monophonic conductus tend to maintain the rhythmic ambiguity of earlier specimens. All of the observations of musical style offered here imply that the monophonic conductus repertory is essentially a more rhythmically fluid genre when compared to the polyphonic. Some notable

Example 7: Seven examples of cadential formulae.
a. *Sol eclypsim patitur* (1188/1252), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 451.
b. *Divina providentia* (1190–92), strophe 1, opening cauda, F, fol. 420.
c. *Turmas arment christicolas* (1192/93), opening cauda, F, fol. 431v.
d. *Sede syon* (1192–97), opening cauda, F, fol. 419v.
e. *Eclypsim passus tociens* (1197), final cauda, F, fol. 429.
f. *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophe 3, opening cauda, F, fol. 434v.
g. *Clavus clavo* (1233), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 437.

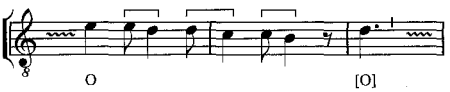


support for this view is presented by the recent trend in the musicological literature that sees the one-part conductus as a species that participated little, if at all, in the development of rhythm that is so closely linked to the polyphony of the Notre Dame school.[56]

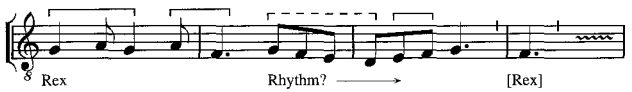
Example 8: Five examples of occasional modal rhythms.
a. *Sede syon in pulvere* (1192–97), strophe 1, opening cauda, F, fol. 419v.



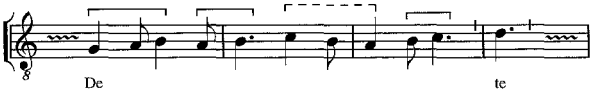
b. *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 434v.



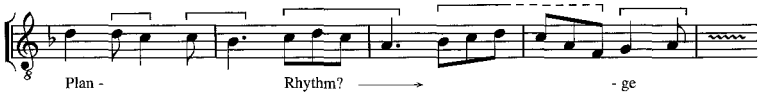
c. *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (1209–12), strophe 1, opening cauda, F, fol. 435v.



d. *O mors que mordes omnia* (1223), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 448v.



e. *O mors que mordes omnia* (1223), strophe 3, opening cauda, F, fol. 448v.

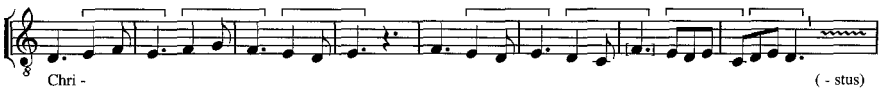


Polyphony

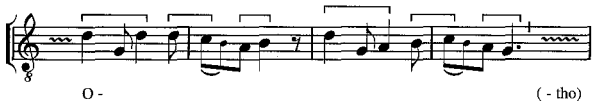
The polyphonic conductus, on the other hand, have rightly been appraised as some of the most impressive witnesses to the innovative forms, styles, and procedures associated with the Notre Dame school. Those in the datable repertory can offer weighty evidence for charting the stylistic course of the conductus in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In contrast to the monophonic corpus, clearer indications of rhythm in polyphony make possible more significant observations about chronological development.

In terms of large-scale musical forms, there is a further interesting point of contact between the monophonic and polyphonic repertories in

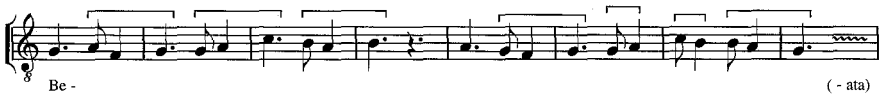
Example 9: Three examples of extensive modal rhythms.
a. *Christus assistens pontiphex* (1208), opening cauda, F, fol. 435v.



b. *Rex et sacerdos prefuit* (1209–12), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 436.



c. *Beata nobis gaudia* (1223), opening cauda, F, fol. 433v.



the presence of the AAB cantio form in six of the datable multi-voice conductus (see table 10). As this table shows, polyphonic examples with this musical form are typically distinct from the monophonic. Their incorporation of sometimes lengthy caudae and their preference for sequence structures or through-composed strophic forms stands in stark contrast to the emphasis on regular strophic organization in the monophonic examples.[57] There is a quite notable exception, though, to both these features in the earliest member of the polyphonic cantio group, *Ver pacis aperit.* This two-voice, five-strophe conductus, the text of which was written by Walter of Châtillon to celebrate the coronation of King Philip Augustus of France in 1179, is actually a trouvère contrafact.[58] It features no melismas and, except for its added duplum, exhibits no appreciable differences from its monophonic counterparts.[59] Although this is only a single example, *Ver pacis* may well be indicative of a style current in the earliest layer of the polyphonic conductus. Like the monophonic pieces that most closely resemble this type of trouvère song form, it also suggests that other nonmelismatic cantio schemes in the polyphonic Notre Dame conductus repertory may stem from the two or three decades that preceded the turn of the century.

It may also be significant that cantio forms occur only once in datable polyphonic pieces from after the first decade of the thirteenth century. This tendency leads to the supposition that with the concentration on other features that prevail in later polyphonic conductus (most notably

Table 10
Polyphonic Datable Conductus in Cantio (AAB) Form (6 pieces)

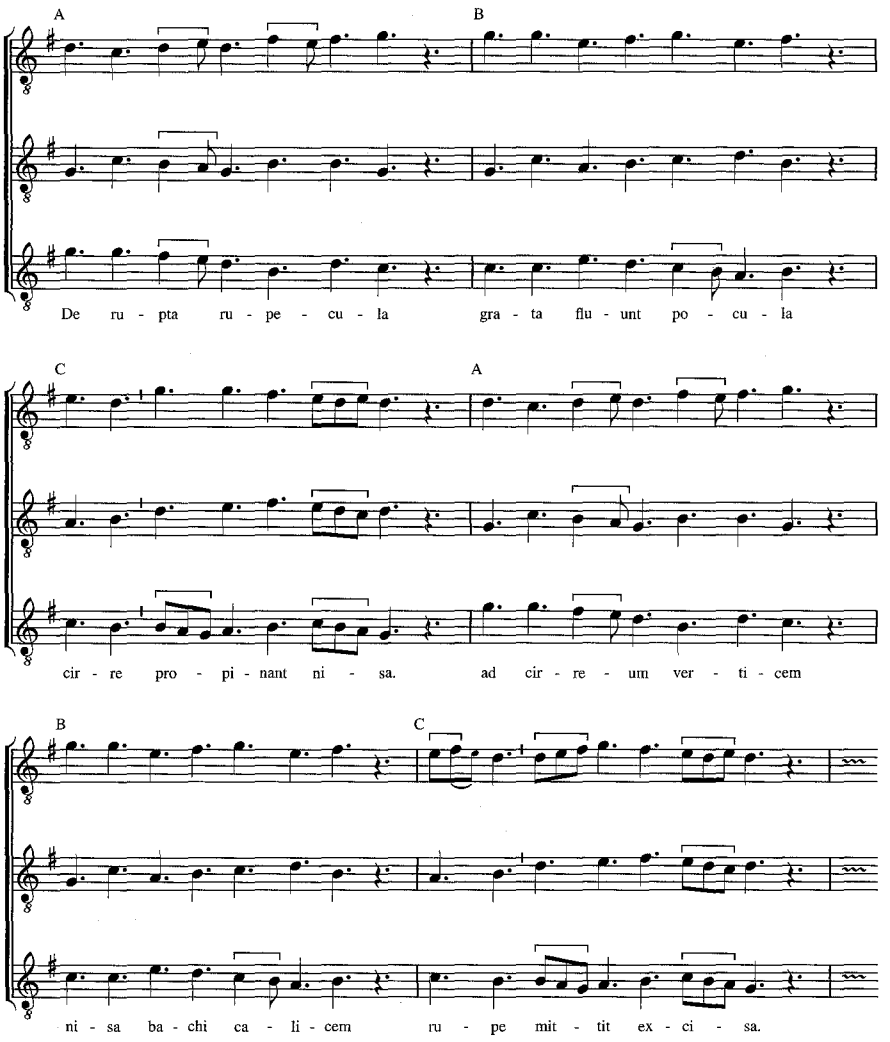
Date	Incipit	Voices	Poetic/Musical Scheme
1179	Ver pacis aperit	2	no melismas; strophic; contrafact
1189/94	Redit etas aurea	2	melismas; strophic sequence
1190	Pange melos	2	melismas; strophic
1209	Regi regum omnium	2	melismas; strophe 1 of 3
1209	O felix Bituria	3	melismas; sequence
1224	De rupta Rupecula	3	melismas; strophic sequence

the development of increasingly complicated melismatic writing), through-composed musical settings became the norm, as did similar departures from uniform strophic structures in the production of conductus texts. The only exception to these observations is the example of the three-voice strophic sequence *De rupta Rupecula* from 1224, which differs from the other pieces in having a three-line pes (A–B–C, A–B–C), and is likewise singular in restating the music of all of its vocal parts nearly exactly upon repetition (see ex. 10).[60]

The datable polyphonic conductus, just like their monophonic counterparts, also show changes in the musical intricacy of their text settings and the incorporation of cauda sections over the years. This feature may aid in pinpointing differences in style and serve as signposts for the chronological evaluation of other Notre Dame conductus. As with the datable monophonic repertory, the earliest layer of the polyphonic corpus is characterized by prevalent syllabic declamation and an absence of caudae. This style is generally consistent with the works in the datable repertory that indicate trouvère influence, except that in these instances the opening repetition of the cantio form may be absent. A nearly strict syllabic style is present in three of the four earliest works, which also happen to display a regular strophic organization in their texts: *Novus miles sequitur* (1173), *Ver pacis aperit* (1179, in cantio form), and *In occasu syderis* (1183). Thereafter, all of the examples contain melismas, matching their appearance in the monophonic pieces.

A more embellished type of text setting, which signals the presence of a different aesthetic approach, surfaces in *Eclypsim patitur* from 1183, the earliest datable polyphonic conductus that also features caudae. This work is especially distinguished from the earlier specimens in the multi-part datable repertory through the style of its *cum littera* sections (the divisions of the piece that present the syllables in relatively quick succession). Here the texted portions are much more ornate than the polyphonic examples

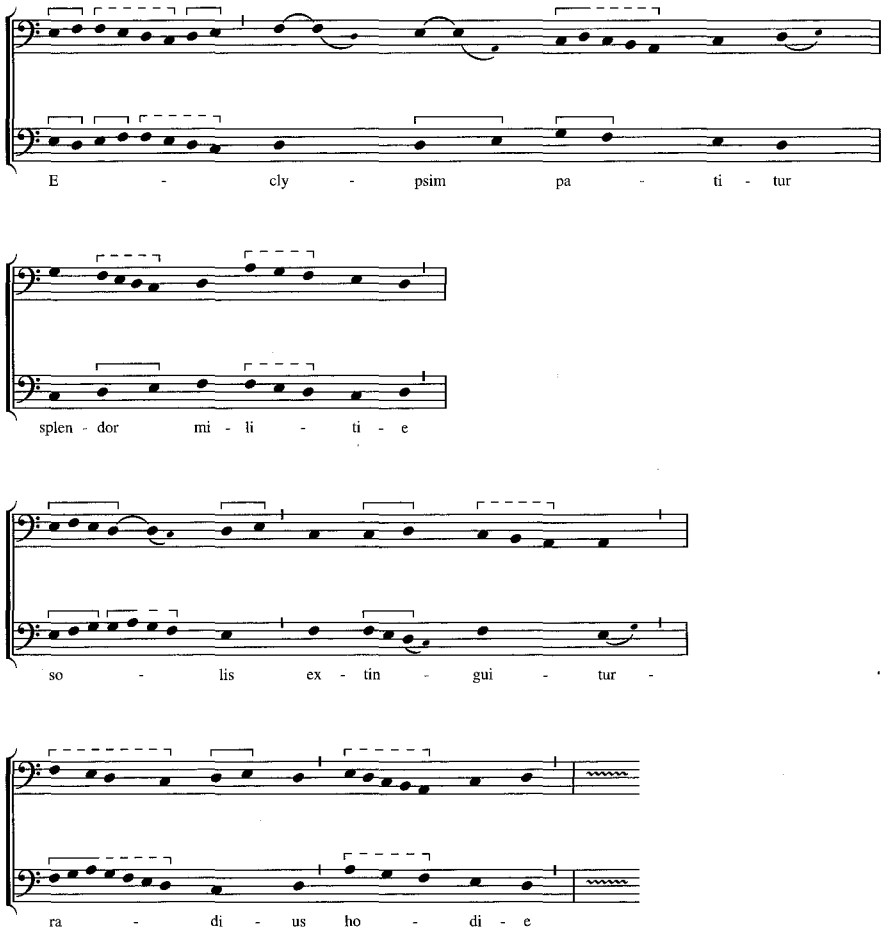
Example 10: *De rupta rupecula* (1224), strophe 1, lines 1–6, F, fol. 245.



from previous years. An especially noticeable trait in this piece is the way in which its two vocal parts frequently match varying aggregates of ligated pitches that are often ambiguous with regard to their harmonic simultaneity and rhythmic execution, if any such specificity is indeed intended (see ex. 11).

Stylistically, the conflicting pitch ratios of the ligatures and the notational obscurities evident in example 11 are rather striking in their resem-

Example 11: *Eclypsim patitur* (1183), lines 1–4, F, fol. 322v.



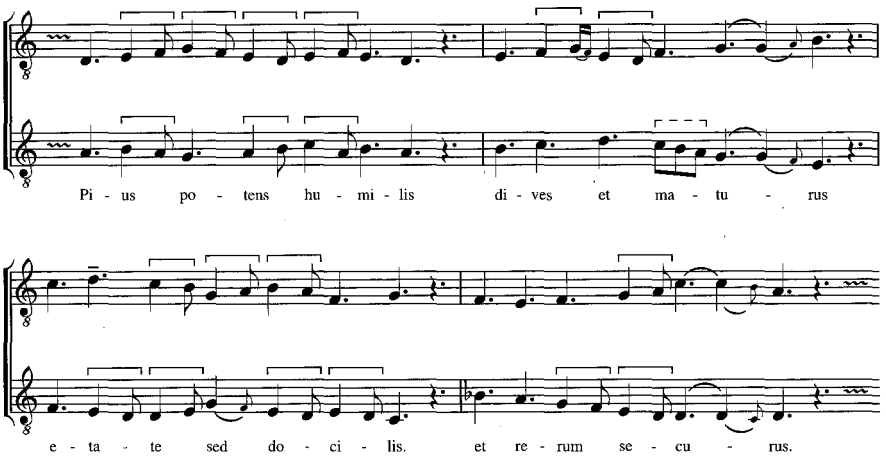
blance to works associated with both the earlier Aquitanian polyphonic repertory and the multi-part compositions that are now preserved in the so-called Codex Calixtinus. If *Eclypsim patitur* is in fact representative of a polyphonic style that was current in the 1180s, it may serve to indicate a second point of contact beyond the indebtedness of the Notre Dame composers to the forms and styles utilized in the vernacular songs of the trouvères. Through paleographical and liturgical studies of the Codex Calixtinus, as well as the identification of one of the composers cited therein with Albert, a cantor of Notre Dame (d. 1177), other scholars have already demonstrated that the Aquitanian, "Compostelan," and Notre

Dame repertories may not be as isolated as has been hitherto suspected.[61] In support of this assertion, the few records of twelfth-century polyphony from the area of Paris prior to the Notre Dame sources show that practices that emerged in the South also made inroads to the North (Huglo 1982). Since *Eclypsim patitur* may postdate the polyphony in the Codex Calixtinus by only a few decades, it could well illustrate another type of polyphonic conductus style prevalent at the time when Leoninus was supposedly active: a concatenation of two ornately textured musical lines whose harmonic and rhythmic ambiguity contrasts strongly with the balance and homogeneity of musical materials under the hand of Perotinus and his contemporaries.

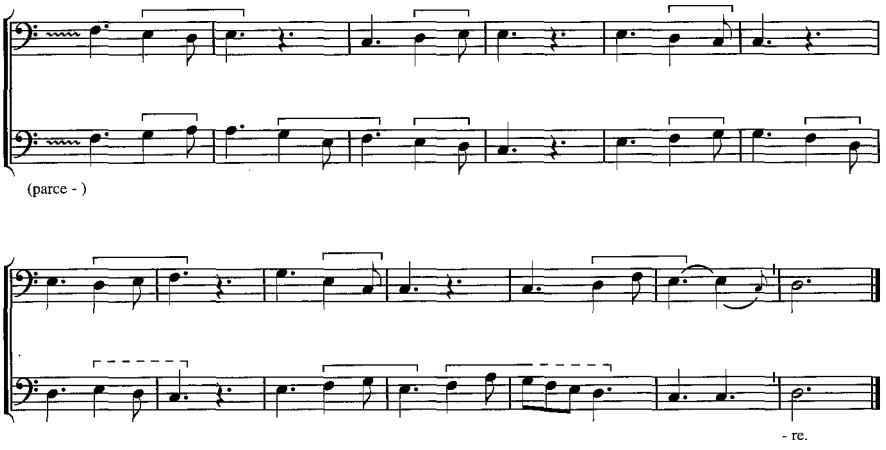
Such "Perotinian" consistency in a musical setting appears for the first time either six or eleven years after *Eclypsim patitur* in *Redit etas aurea* (1189/94), a conductus in praise of King Richard the Lion-Hearted. This piece is representative of the classic Notre Dame conductus style and exhibits traits that were to persist throughout the early decades of the thirteenth century. In addition to the two lengthy, elegant caudae that end each strophic pair, there is a greater autonomy between the texted and melismatic sections in *Redit etas* than is apparent in *Eclypsim patitur*. The cum littera sections in *Redit etas* are now less ornate and recall the earliest syllabic pieces. But even when a higher degree of embellishment does surface, as in the second strophe of this work, there appears to be a more conspicuous effort to balance the motion of each voice with the other, so that the earlier uncertainties of pitch alignment practically vanish (see ex. 12).

Except for the above observations on the form and texture of texted portions, it is in the development of their caudae that the ongoing changes in the polyphonic conductus are best apprehended. Ernest Sanders devoted a sizable portion of his 1985 study to the examination of caudae, and his findings are instructive. In addition to noting the presence of melismas in all polyphonic conductus composed after 1189, he observed that the phrase structure of such sections becomes more complex during the thirteenth century (1985b: 505, 508–09). We may add here that the formal design of such caudae, in terms of the interrelation and correspondence of musical phrases to one another, also shows signs of increasing intricacy. Even in the earliest instance of polyphonic cauda segments in *Eclypsim patitur* from 1183 (see ex. 13), there are shared motives among parts, and correspondences among phrases (in their use of melodic sequence and rhythmic consistency), but the melodies themselves show little in the way of stricter formal correlation. In fact, their synchronicity and mirror-image counterpoint still recall features prevalent in the caudae of the Aquitanian corpus.[62]

Example 12: *Redit etas aurea* (1189/94), strophe 2, lines 19–22, F, fol. 319.

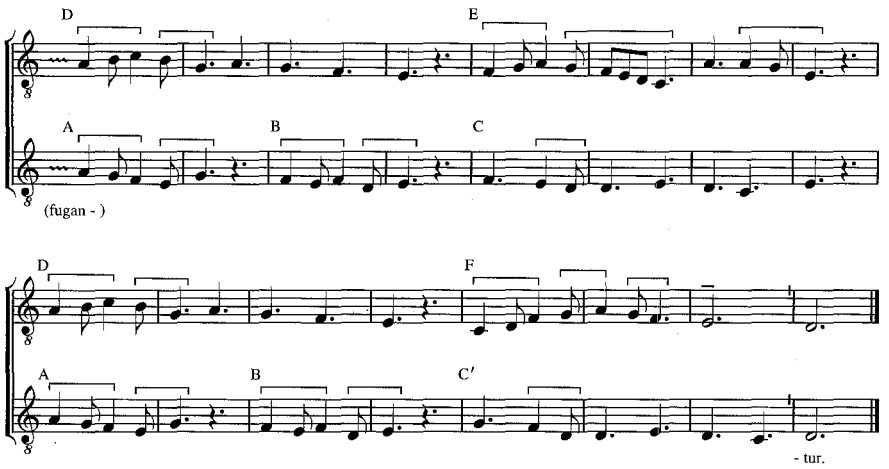


Example 13: *Eclypsim patitur* (1183), final cauda, F, fol. 323.



By 1189 or 1194, in the caudae of *Redit etas aurea,* there is still no significant rhythmic interplay among the phrases, but the music now betrays a seemingly new formal awareness in its reliance on clearly articulated repetitive structures in each of the two voices. In example 14, which presents the first of the two caudae in *Redit etas,* the tenor states three phrases that are immediately repeated with only a slight change in the last member to produce an open and closed pair of cadences (ABC–ABC′).

Example 14: *Redit etas aurea* (1189/94), strophe 1, final cauda, F, fol. 319.

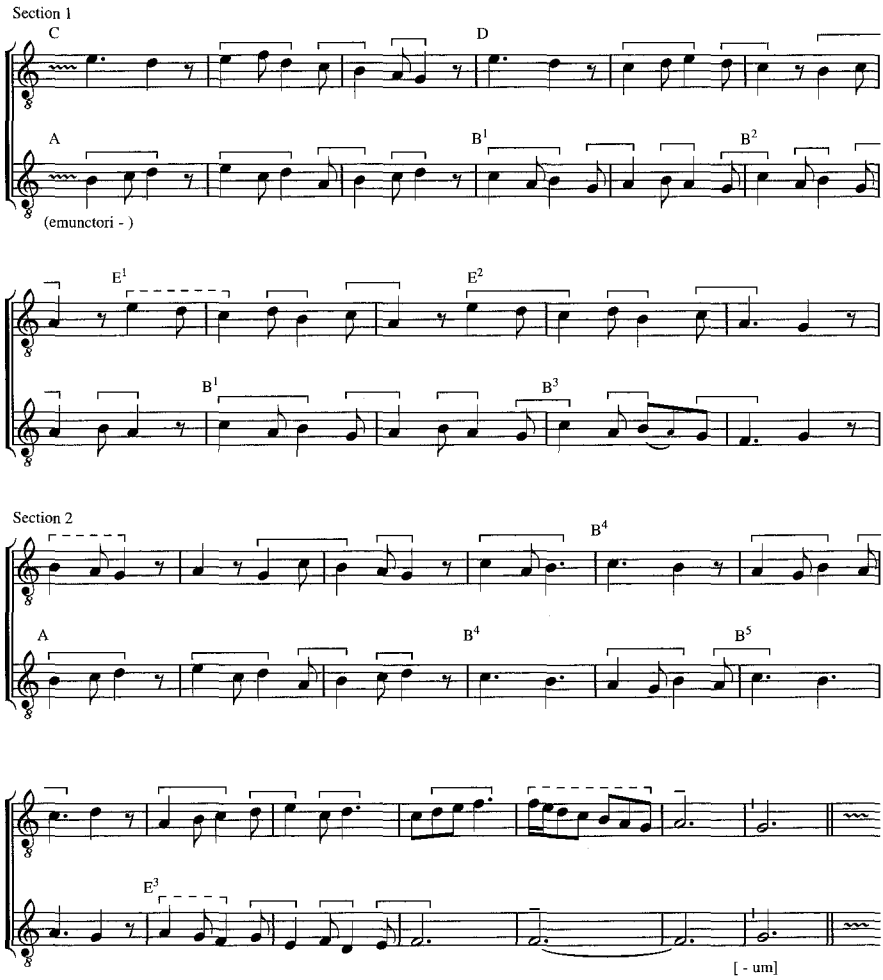


Meanwhile the duplum, which is consistently disposed into four four-measure groups, presents a design with the form DE–DF that closely mirrors the tenor's structure.

By the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century, formal designs like the ones in the caudae of *Redit etas* were further enriched by the dovetailing of phrases among the voices. This device for achieving an unbroken flow within a melismatic section by interlacing the entrances and cadences of the different vocal parts served to forge some of the most attractive and elegant caudae in the datable repertory. One of the most splendid examples, which exhibits a sophisticated formal structure as well as instances of rhythmic continuity, appears in a melisma from the two-part *Anni favor iubilei,* probably from 1208 (see ex 15).[63]

This cauda divides into two parts, transcribed here as sections of eleven and thirteen measures. The first of these two sections displays a tenor with the form $AB^1B^2B^1B^3$ (B^2 and B^3 are consequent "answers" to the preceding melodies of B^1). The duplum, however, shows a contrasting structure (CDE^1E^2), and is further complicated by a short rhythmic overlap with the phrases of the tenor beginning in the sixth measure of this section. In the second portion of the melisma, the tenor continues to echo phrases from the first (AB^4B^5). Here the B components generally progress in longs while recalling the melodic contour from their counterparts in the first section. As in *Redit etas,* the duplum is essentially independent here, except for a brief exchange of motives between the two voices that produces a fleeting snatch of canonic imitation beginning in the fifth measure of this segment. The final six bars of this cauda continue to exploit

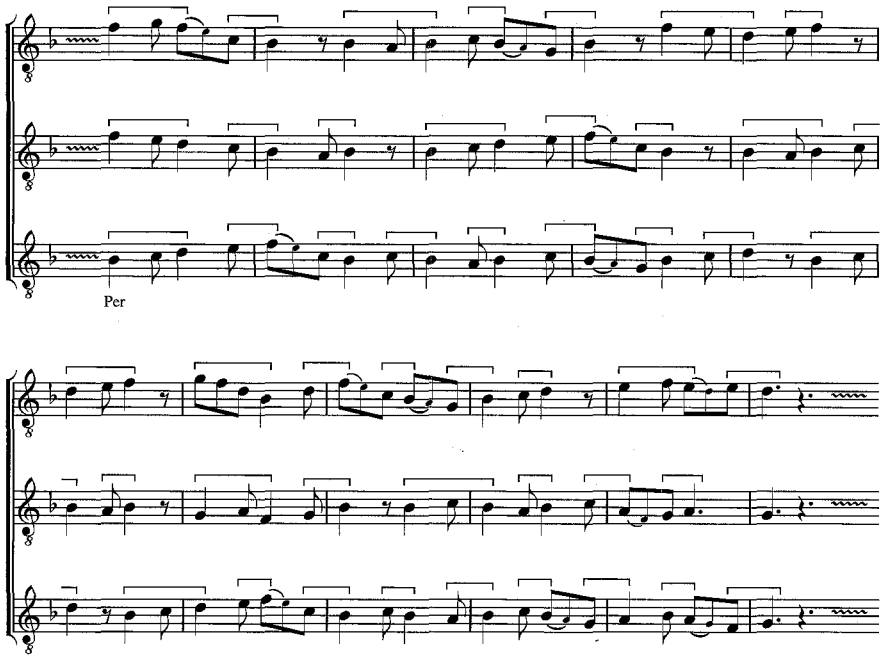
Example 15: *Anni favor iubilei* (1208), strophe 2, final cauda, F, fol. 348.



the relationships of the two vocal parts by featuring a repeat of the duplum phrase E^1 from section one, now transposed down a fifth in the tenor (E^3).

In the following decades, the caudae that appear in datable examples of polyphonic conductus continue to explore structural and melodic features analogous to those detailed above, in some cases with an even greater emphasis on motivic interrelationships among the voices, voice exchange, and occasionally canon. In example 16a, for instance, the musical material in all the parts is so highly integrated that the opening three

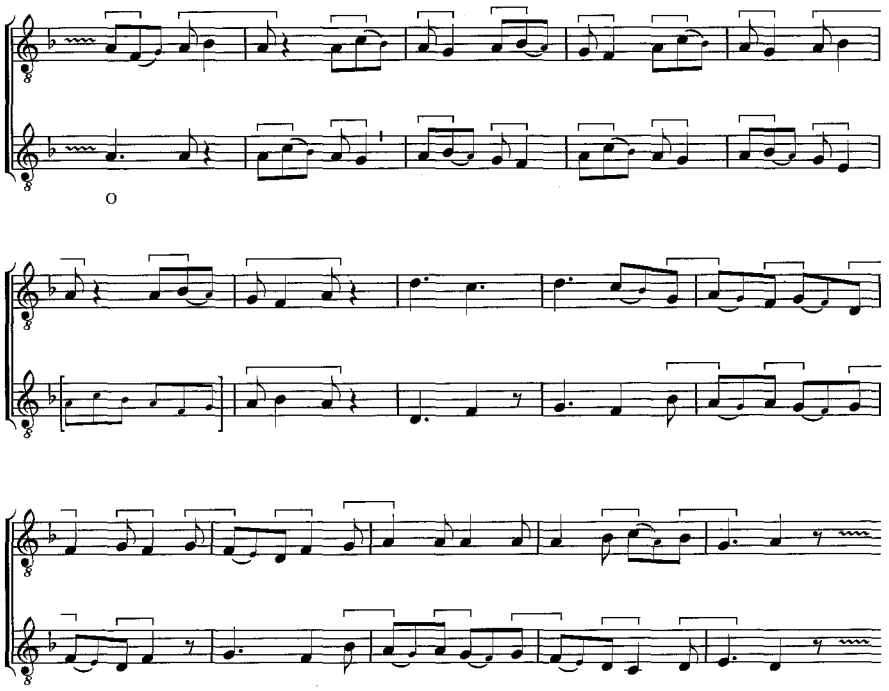
Example 16: Two examples of later caudae.
a. *O felix Bituria* (1209), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 209v.



bars of this cauda contain nearly the entire melodic substance of its remainder. Furthermore, the distribution of rests is so carefully staggered that nowhere do all three parts cadence together, and two of the three voices are allowed to converge at only one point. Likewise, in example 16b, the complementary second-mode rhythms of the first seven measures are complicated even further by an exact imitation at the unison, four measures in length and separated by the distance of only a single ternary long.

Ernest Sanders notes an additional trait in the later works from the thirteenth century, discernible for the first time around 1210, in the exploration of the new iambic rhythmic patterns that complete the system of six rhythmic modes (Sanders 1985b: 510–12; Roesner 1990: 41–62). Although he correctly states that the earliest datable cauda with such rhythms appears in the final melisma of *O felix Bituria* from 1209, this final melisma presents some complexities in transmission since it also happens to appear independent of the conductus as a freely composed *Benedicamus Domino* setting from the Saint Victor codex (StV). The presence of this cauda in the guise of an organum raises the question as to when this portion of the piece was composed and whether or not it originally served as

Example 16 (cont.)
b. *Clavus pungens acumine* (1233), strophe 2, opening cauda, F, fol. 358v.



part of the conductus, which otherwise is completely trochaic in its rhythms.[64] A possible impetus for appending this melisma to the conductus at a time after its initial composition might be traced to the canonization of St. William of Bourges and the institution at Notre Dame of a liturgical feast in his honor. According to liturgical documents, William was sanctified in 1218, nine years after his death, but his feast was not added to the Parisian liturgy until more than a decade after he achieved saint-hood.[65] The later addition of a cauda in the new iambic rhythmic modes, based on an earlier freely composed *Benedicamus Domino,* would have served to embellish the older conductus further, and would even tie it to the liturgy for possible performance on William's feast day. But though the earliest appearance of the iambic rhythms of the second and third modes is difficult to determine for certain, they were certainly in use by the 1220s, as table 11 shows.[66] Such evidence may not only help to fix the dates of the incursion of the various rhythmic modes into the conductus repertory, but also may illuminate the development of rhythmic style in the discant clausulae and the early medieval motet.[67]

Table 11
Polyphonic Melismas Featuring Explicit Iambic Rhythms

Date	Incipit	Voices	Location (rhythmic mode)
1209	O felix Bituria	3	final cauda (modes 2, 3; added later?)
1224	De rupta	3	final cauda (mode 2)
1233	Clavus pungens	2	opening cauda, strophe 2 (modes 2, 6)

The above discussion of musical and textual traits in the datable conductus repertory has confirmed previous suggestions of notable changes in musical style during the decades surrounding the year 1200 and has built upon Sanders's earlier findings to propose some further elements that may be significant for weighing the chronological development of Parisian conductus style. By investigating textual as well as musical features, and monophonic as well as polyphonic works, the evidence of the entire datable repertory confirms and expands Sanders's observations of progressive rhythmic, melodic, and formal refinements in caudae; it also indicates that through-composed schemes in both poetry and music had become more common by the early decades of the thirteenth century. Rather surprisingly, though, an opposite trend is seen in the texts of several conductus that feature strophes disposed into paired versicles (the so-called "sequence" forms). Here a tendency towards strophically uniform texts mirrors the same sort of progression that can be seen in the larger history of the sequence repertory itself. Furthermore, the analysis of individual poetic line schemes in the datable repertory suggests that stanzas composed solely of lines of six and ten syllables with a paroxytonic accent did not survive long after the year 1200. Finally and most notably, this investigation proposes that the presence in conductus of cantio forms modeled on the chansons of the vernacular repertories appears largely in the twelfth century and that the use of secular songs as models or patterns for Notre Dame conductus declines or even disappears after the end of the century.

All the above features propose that pivotal stylistic transformations to the conductus began in the decade preceding the year 1200, at the same time that similar developments have been claimed for the repertory of organa tripla and quadrupla. It is in this interval that many of the musical advancements connected with the Parisian repertory, and specifically with the activity of the composer Perotinus, were codified, and that the conductus began to take on the musical trappings that are now most closely associated with the Notre Dame school. The conclusions of this study suggest, therefore, that in the two decades surrounding the turn of

the century, the Parisian conductus ceased to be a type of song that relied on earlier models and became instead a sophisticated compositional entity unto itself, on a par with the organa and motets that accompany it in the major sources. Although they have been relatively ignored for decades, the datable conductus provide an excellent means to paint a more detailed picture of the history of Notre Dame music. Thanks to their evidence, the development of nearly a century of medieval song in Paris may now be more closely documented, and historians may now begin to chart even more carefully the development of an important genre from one of the most significant chapters in Western European music.

Appendix

Datable works of the Notre Dame School

The following works are arranged in chronological order, with the possible date or dates following the incipit. Information enclosed within parentheses indicates the number of voices and the number of the piece in the conductus catalogs of Anderson (1972, 1975) and Falck (1981), respectively.

In Rama sonat gemitus 1164–1170 (à1; L1, 181) On the exile in France of Thomas Beckett, archbishop of Canterbury.

Novus miles sequitur 1173 (à3; E11, 228) On the death of Thomas Beckett.

Dum medium silentium tenerent ca. 1174 (à1; K15, 99) Part of a longer *prosimetrum* beginning "In domino confido," delivered by the author to the University of Bologna; author: Walter of Châtillon.

Ver pacis aperit 1179 (à2; J32, 366) Coronation of King Philip Augustus of France; author: Walter of Châtillon.

Omnis in lacrimas 1181 (à1; K2, 253) Death of Henry I, count of Champagne.

Eclypsim patitur 1183 (à2; I7, 105) Death of Henry the Younger, son of King Henry II of England.

In occasu syderis 1183 (à2; I11, 178) Death of Henry the Younger and praise to the future King Richard the Lion-Hearted of England.

Anglia planctus itera 1186 or 1189 (à1; K12, 14) Death of Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1186) and/or death of his father, King Henry II of England (1189).

Venit Ihesus in propria 1187 (à1; K42, 365) Fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, impetus for the Third Crusade; author: Philip the Chancellor.

Redit etas aurea 1189 or 1194 (à2; I8, 298) Coronation of King Richard the Lion-Hearted of England, or in celebration of his release (1194) from imprisonment by Emperor Henry VI, which occasioned a second coronation.

Pange melos lacrimosum 1190 (à2; I15, 258) Death of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

Divina providentia 1190–1192 (à1; K9, 96) During the regency of Willam of Longchamp, bishop of Ely, under King Richard the Lion-Hearted.

Turmas arment Christicolas 1192 or 1193 (à1; K41, 352) Death of Albert of Louvain, archbishop of Liège, assassinated at Rheims.

Sede Syon in pulvere 1192–1197 (à1; K8, 321) Call to Henry II, count of Champagne, to deliver the Holy Land from Islamic forces.

Eclypsim passus tociens 1197 (à1; K33, 104) Death of theologian Petrus Cantor.

Dic Christi veritas 1198 (à3; C3, 94) Conflict between King Philip Augustus and Pope Innocent III over the rejection of Ingeborg of Denmark as queen of France.

Iherusalem Iherusalem 1198 (à1; K46, 169) Deaths of Henry II, count of Champagne (1197) and his mother Marie, countess of Champagne (1198).

Pater sancte dictus Lotarius 1198 (à1; K61, 267) Installation of Pope Innocent III; author: Philip the Chancellor.

Christus assistens pontiphex 1208 (à1; K48, 61) Installation of Peter of Nemours as bishop of Paris; author: Philip the Chancellor (the bishop's nephew).

Anni favor iubilei 1208 (à2; J25, 16) Call to the Albigensian crusade.

Regi regum omnium 1209 (à2; J22, 300) Death of St. William, archbishop of Bourges; canonized 1218, feast added to Notre Dame calendar approximately a decade later.

O felix Bituria 1209 (à3; E8, 232) Death of St. William, archbishop of Bourges; closing *Benedicamus* cauda in mode 2 possibly a later addition (ca. 1218? late 1220s?).

Rex et sacerdos prefuit 1209–1212 (à1; K49, 308) Dispute between Pope Innocent III and Emperor Otto IV over land conquests; author: Philip the Chancellor.

Alabaustrum frangitur 1223 (à1; K50, 12) Death of King Philip Augustus of France; tentative author: Philip the Chancellor.

O mors que mordes omnia 1223 (à1; K77, 241) Death of King Philip Augustus; tentative author: Philip the Chancellor.

Beata nobis gaudia 1223 (à1; K44, 41) Accession of King Louis VIII of France (reg. 1223–1226).

De rupta Rupecula 1224 (à3; F25, 82) Commemoration of the battle of La Rochelle.

Clavus clavo retunditur 1233 (à1; K51, 64) Recovery of the Holy Nail of St. Denis; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.
Clavus pungens acumine 1233 (à1; J39, 65) Recovery of the Holy Nail; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.
Aurelianis civitas 1236 (à1; K60, 25) Riot in Orléans between the townspeople and the clergy; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.
Sol eclypsim patitur 1188 or 1252 (à1; K83, 331) Death of Ferdinand II of Spain, king of León (1188), or death of Ferdinand III, saint, king of León and Castile (1252).

Piece whose dating needs further discussion

(See Dronke 1989: 7)
Veritas equitas largitas 1226–1236 (à1; K62, 375) Reference to Louis IX under regency of Blanche of Castille?

Pieces whose dating has been rejected

(See Sanders 1985b: 521)
Nulli beneficium (à2; H7, 229)
Nemo sane spreverit (à3; F12, 215)

Datable pieces from the "Saint Victor" Manuscript (StV) – not considered

Gaude felix Francia 1226 or 1244 (à2; P3, 136) Coronation of King Louis IX of France, or in celebration of the anniversary of his coronation.
Scysma mendacis Grecie 1244? (à2; P4, 320) Refers to the flight of Pope Innocent IV to France before Emperor Frederick II.

Notes

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1. The following common sigla are employed for the manuscript sources: W1—Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.; F—Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1; W2—Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.; Ma—Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 20486; Ch—Châlons-sur-Marne, Archive de la Marne et de la region de Champagne-Ardenne, 3.J.250; StV—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 15139; Fauv—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146.

2. See the appendix to this article for a complete list of the works. The three datable prosulas to organa and conductus caudae, *Associa tecum in patria* (1212), *Crucifigat omnes* (1219–1220), and *Bulla fulminante* (1222–1223), are not considered

here, since as prosulas they form a special, independent group of compositions and deserve separate study. For like reasons the monophonic rondelli preserved in the eleventh fascicle of F are also not taken into account in this study. An addendum to the appendix, the lyric lai *Veritas equitas largitas,* proposed by Peter Dronke (1989: 7) as a work stemming from the years 1226–1236, does not appear as a datable work in these pages, since in my view the evidence for its chronological specificity awaits additional demonstration. Finally, *Gaude felix Francia* and *Scysma mendacis Grecie,* two datable conductus preserved in the so-called St. Victor Manuscript (StV), lie outside the scope of this study, primarily because the relationship of this manuscript to the Parisian repertory remains to be determined (for a start in this direction, see Falck 1970: 315–26).

3. Sanders 1985b. The bulk of the datable conductus repertory was first identified by Léopold Delisle in his plenary address to the French Historical Society (1885: 82–139).

4. For a notable attempt to situate several conductus within the ritual of royal coronations, see Schrade 1953: 9–63.

5. Everist (1989: 29) actually admits that such a relationship would argue for the concurrence of musical and poetic composition. An obvious exception needs to be made, though, for works that are fashioned through the principle of contrafacture, the retexting of a preexistent song; yet even these redactions indicate a preference for the verse form and musical features of the model at the time the contrafact was devised.

6. Modifications to the state of conductus may include the addition or subtraction of polyphonic voices, the abbreviation of lengthier caudae, and the slight rewording of a text so as to play down the specific occasion for its original composition. None of these changes essentially obscures the musical fabric of the earlier redaction of the work. Verbal paraphrase is particularly evident in the works transmitted in the early fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* (Fauv), where the modification of textual details allows the pieces to function within the context of the *Fauvel* narrative. For an assessment of the music in this source, as well as the controversial opinion (not subscribed to here) that the abbreviated Notre Dame pieces in Fauv represent the original musical state of these works, see the essay by Edward Roesner in the introduction to the recent facsimile edition of this manuscript (Roesner et al. 1990).

7. The dating of *In occasu* to 1183 and its focus on Henry the Younger was tentatively suggested by Gordon A. Anderson (1979: 5:xiii). I am especially indebted to one of my students, Ms. Rachel Cooper, for her convincing arguments that the younger Henry is indeed the subject of both *In occasu* and *Eclypsim patitur.*

8. For the preceding historical details, any thorough book on medieval English history will suffice. See, for example, Poole 1955: 209, 349–50; Henderson 1958: 55; and Warren 1973: 581, 591, 599.

9. On the complex musical commerce between the continent and the British Isles, see the complementary studies of Everist 1992 and Losseff 1994.

10. On the text of *In Rama sonat,* see Stevens 1970: 316–19. For its "English" perspective, see the cautious statement of Schrade 1953: 17 (and the reference cited therein). Other datable works that point away from Paris include *Sol eclypsim*

patitur, which probably hails from Spain, and *Turmas arment christicolas* (1192 or 1193), possibly composed in Rheims. For support of these contentions, see below, note 18, for a discussion of *Sol eclypsim,* and see Falck 1981: 110 for *Turmas arment.*

11. The two datable conductus prosulas, *Crucifigat omnes* and *Bulla fulminante* from 1219–1220 and 1223, respectively, are also organized into uniform strophes.

12. In this and the following tables, the pertinent works are arranged chronologically. A poem encompassing a possible time period of several years has the inclusive dates separated by an en dash, whereas two possible dates for a given piece are distinguished by a slash.

13. These pieces are *In Rama sonat gemitus, Venit Ihesus in propria, Eclypsim passus tociens,* and *Beata nobis gaudia reduxit.* One other work with a single stanza, *Turmas arment christicolas* (1192 or 1193), does not appear to have been conceived on the strophic model due to its considerable length.

14. This view is supported by the dates proposed for the composition of Perotinus's quadruple organa, *Viderunt omnes* (1198) and *Sederunt principes* (1199) (see, for example, Sanders 1966: 243–44; and Baltzer 1974: 1:510). However, Pinegar (1994) argues that these dates should be pushed forward by a year or two.

15. For an assessment of the Parisian sequence and its relationships with the music of Notre Dame, see Fassler 1987b.

16. On Adam of Paris and his development of the so-called "Victorine" sequence, see Fassler 1984 and 1987b, and Wright 1989: 274–78.

17. The major points in the following brief outline of the historical development of the sequence are indebted chiefly to Spanke 1936: 76–77, 80–84.

18. See Spanke 1936: 81–84. *Sol eclypsim* mourns a "Fernandus Hispanie," and has been assigned to two different individuals: Ferdinand II, king of León (d. 1188) and Ferdinand III, the saint, king of León and Castile (d. 1252). The literature usually credits the former candidate as the one to whom the piece is dedicated. The only mention of Ferdinand III that I know of stems from Yearley 1981. I believe there is good reason to support the later date, because of indications that *Sol eclypsim* was added to F after the bulk of its contents had already been entered; see Payne 1986: 240, n. 23.

19. *Christus assistens* (1208) and *Beata nobis* (1223).

20. The terminology employed here to denote a verse's structure by the number of syllables per line and by the fall of the final accentual syllable within it (proparoxytonic [pp] and paroxytonic [p]), derives from Norberg 1958: 5–6. Analogous descriptions are employed by the poetic theorists of the time, notably in Johannes de Garlandia's *Parisiana poetria,* a treatise from ca. 1220. For a general introduction to this work and to rhythmic poetry and its musical connections, see Fassler 1987a and Sanders 1995. The latter study offers some useful corrections to the former.

21. Exclusively 8pp strophes appear in the monophonic conductus *Divina providentia* (1190–1192), strophe 1; *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophes 1, 2, 4, and 5; and *Sol eclypsim patitur* (1188/1252), strophes 1b, 2a, 2b.

22. Datable conductus poems composed exclusively of 7pp lines include *Alabaustrum frangitur* (1223), a monophonic lament with three twelve-line strophes; and *De rupta rupecula* (1224), a strophic sequence with two double and one

single stanzas, all again of twelve lines. Considerably earlier are the examples of 7pp lines in individual isosyllabic strophes. These comprise the nine-line first strophe of the monophonic *Divina providentia* (1190–1192); and the eight-line opening stanzas of the polyphonic *Regi regum omnium* and *O felix Bituria,* both probably from 1209. There is no instance of any Notre Dame conductus with strophes formed solely from 7p lines, and only one example in the entire corpus is similarly constructed from octosyllabic paroxytonic (8p) verses (*Si quis amat quod amare*).

23. The following history of the six-syllable line and its ancestry derives from Spanke 1936: 36–37; and Norberg 1958: 99–100.

24. The refrain shows the pattern: 6pp+10pp, or 6pp+(4p+6pp).

25. The schemes are strophe 1: 2(6pp+4pp+6pp)+2(8pp)+4(6pp); strophe 2: 4(6pp)+4pp+6(7pp).

26. The six 6pp conductus that she scrutinizes are *Fulget Nicholaüs, Celum non animum, Procurans odium, Si mundus viveret, Heu quo progreditur,* and *Ver pacis aperit.*

27. Not reckoned as separate pieces in this numbering are the two contrafacts of *Procurans odium: Purgator criminum* and Philip's *Suspirat spiritus.* The remaining stanzas of *Partus semiferos* argue that the opening lines of the first strophe, ostensibly 6p, are accented proparoxytonically throughout.

28. Poems that feature a prominent use of 6pp lines mixed with other types are also not habitual in their use of caudae. Only three of twelve works of this type display an elaborate, melismatic style: the datable *Dic Christi veritas* (1198), *O curas hominum,* and *Eterno serviet.* Similarly, of the four works I have found that have only an occasional appearance of the 6pp line, two, *In ripa ligeris* and *A globo veteri,* have prominent caudae.

29. See Chambers 1985: 1–5. On the possible derivation of the 10pp from quantitative meter, see Norberg 1958: 153.

30. See also Knapp 1979: 397 for this claim.

31. The music of *Pater sancte* is a contrafact of a trouvère song (see the discussion of this piece below) and may therefore presumably be dated as earlier than the Latin text. This feature thus supports the claim of a late twelfth-century preference for the 10pp line by conductus composers.

32. Other instances of ten-syllable lines in the conductus repertory sustain this assertion. Mixtures of the decasyllabic scheme with other verse structures appear in two elaborately styled monophonic works, *O labilis sortis humane status* and *Stella maris lux ignaris ave,* neither of which possesses any caudae.

33. On this verse form and its history, see Spanke 1936: 26–27; Norberg 1958: 113–14; and Beare 1957: 15–19, 138–40, 181–82, 262.

34. The scheme is 4(8p+7pp) per strophe.

35. The stanzas consist of *Omnis in lacrimas* (1181), strophe 3: 5(7pp)+3(8p)+ 7pp; *Regi regum omnium* (1209), strophe 2: 4(7pp)+2(8p +7pp) and strophe 3: 2(2(8p)+2(7pp)); and *Aurelianis civitas* (1236), strophe 2: 2(8p+7pp)+3(8p)+7pp.

36. On the goliardic measure, see Spanke 1936: 40–45; Norberg 1958: 151–52, 187–88; and Raby 1957: 2:196, 248.

37. For some examples of Walter's and other works, see Spanke 1936: 42.

38. The works are: *Sonet vox ecclesie, Flebiles et miseri, Ave tuos benedic* (all in strict distichs), and (with mixed poetic schemes) *Ave salus hominum, Novus annus hodie, Nicolai presulis, Novum sibi texuit, Virga Yesse regio,* and Perotinus's *Salvatoris hodie.*

39. "The examination of available evidence presented here produces suggested perspectives, even though it yields relatively spotty results, in part because it restricts itself to polyphonic compositions, and, specifically, to melismatic passages" (1985b: 505).

40. Book 2, chapter 10. Original: "Dicimus ergo quod omnis stantia ad quandam odam recipiendam armonizata est; sed in modis diversificari videntur. Quia quedam sunt sub oda continuata usque ad ultimum progressive—hoc est sine iteratione modulationis cuiusdam et sine diesi. Et diesim dicimus deductionem vergentem de una oda in aliam (hanc voltam vocamus, cum vulgus alloquimur). . . . Quedam vero sunt diesim patientes; et diesis esse non potest, secundum quod eam appellamus, nisi reiteratio unius ode fiat, vel ante diesim, vel post, vel undique. Si ante diesim repetitio fiat, stantiam dicimus habere pedes; et duos habere decet, licet quandoque tres fiant, rarissime tamen. Si repetitio fiat post diesim, tunc dicimus stantiam habere versus. Si ante non fiat repetitio, stantiam dicimus habere frontem. Si post non fiat, dicimus habere sirma, sive caudam."

41. This particular formal term should not be confused with the melismatic sections of the same name found in the conductus. When used to define the B section of a cantio form, it will be italicized.

42. See Spanke 1936: 142–47 for an account of the development and acceptance of the cantio form. For some observations on the effect this form may have had on the structure of the poetry, see Diehl 1985: 93.

43. The term as used in this context simply denotes an absence of caudae.

44. The other instance of a secular contrafact among the pieces of the datable repertory appears in the two-part *Ver pacis aperit* of Walter of Châtillon, whose tenor is identical with Blondel de Nesle's *Ma ioie me semont.*

45. The relevant monostrophic works are *In Rama sonat gemitus* (1164–1170) and Philip the Chancellor's *Venit Ihesus* (1187).

46. A similar design appears at the beginning of the three-part, melismatic *De rupta rupecula* (1224) (see example 10).

47. Such pieces are *Beata nobis gaudia reduxit* (1223) and the conductus prosula *Bulla fulminante* (1219–1220). What is especially interesting, however, is the fact that the designs of conductus caudae sometimes recall the repetition schemes of the cantio form.

48. Walter's works with music that use a trouvère-style cantio form comprise the datable *Dum medium silentium tenerent* (1174), *Licet eger cum egrotis,* and the polyphonic works *Omni pene curie, Ver pacis aperit* (1179), as well as the questionably attributed *Vite perdite.* For information on these specific pieces, consult the catalogs of Anderson (1972, 1975) and Falck (1981: 138–256).

49. Consider, for instance, those datable works that feature an identity between the first two lines of a strophe: *Divina providentia* (1190–1192), strophe 3; *Iherusalem Iherusalem* (1198), strophe 4; *Alabaustrum frangitur* (1223), strophe 3; and *Aurelianis civitas* (1236), strophe 1; or, alternately, the single example of repetition between only the first and third lines of a strophe in *Clavus clavo retunditur* (1233), strophe 1.

50. Of the seven, only *Eclypsim patitur* (1183), for two voices, has caudae.

51. For the claim of authorship, see Payne 1991: 1:143–51.

52. For more on these opinions, see Sanders 1966: 248–49.

53. Compare, for example, the formulaic melodic material over the syllables (*con-*)*stantes* in the organum duplum setting of the verse of the responsory *Iudea et Iherusalem* ℣. *Constantes estote* in F, fol. 65; W1, fol. xvii (13); and W2, fol. 47.

54. For an assessment of some of the aesthetic differences between organum duplum and conductus, see Roesner 1990: 70–74.

55. On the likelihood of close collaboration between the poet and the composer, see Payne 1986 and 1991, chapters 4 and 8.

56. See, for example, Fassler 1987b: 369 and Stevens 1986: 492–504. Sanders (1985) presents analogous arguments for the interpretation of the *cum littera* sections of polyphonic conductus. The rhythmic relationships of the caudae of monophonic conductus to the *modus non rectus* of organum purum, though, deserves further comparative study.

57. In the datable monophonic repertory, the only instance of caudae in a work that also possesses cantio form occurs in the late *Beata nobis gaudia* (1223).

58. Blondel de Nesle's *Ma ioie me semont.* See Anderson 1972: 184, no. J32.

59. Another specimen, the planctus *Pange melos lacrimosum,* probably from 1190, is also quite close to the style of the trouvère-influenced cantio. It does, however, contain a brief final cauda.

60. Another datable instance of a three-line pes is found in the earlier monophonic *Omnis in lacrimas* (1181) (see example 2 above).

61. On the dating and provenance of the Codex Calixtinus, see Wright 1989: 278–81, 336; and the recent contributions offered in Huglo 1995.

62. For these techniques, see Treitler 1964: 37–39; 1979: 546–48.

63. Interestingly, a rare occurrence of musical concordance between an organum and a conductus surfaces in this example. Measures 3–10 of the tenor of example 15 can also be found in extended form in the organum triplum *Exiit sermo* ℣. *Sed sic eum.* See the duplum voice near the beginning of the verse: F, fol. 18v; W2, fols. 14v–15r.

64. On the transmission of this cauda, see Falck 1970: 321–24, who argues for the priority of the *Benedicamus.*

65. The date of 1218 is given for the creation of the feast at Notre Dame in Wright 1989: 79, 81; but Baltzer (n.d., note 7) shows that the actual institution of the celebration at Paris cannot be traced to earlier than the 1230s. I am indebted to Professor Baltzer for her generosity in sharing her paper with me prior to its appearance in print.

66. In this table, caudae with a strict succession of mode 3 ligatures have not been included, since a possibility remains for reading their rhythms trochaically.

67. On the significance of iambic rhythms for the history of the motet and clausula, see especially Sanders 1973: 529–31.

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reviews

Franchino Gaffurio. ***Theoricum opus musice discipline,*** edited by Cesarino Ruini. (Musurgiana: Collana di trattati di teoria musicale, storiografia e organologia in facsimile a cura dell'Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale di Roma, 15.) Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1996.

Reviewed by Leeman L. Perkins

This handsome new facsimile of Gaffurio's first published treatise, the *Theoricum opus musice discipline,* printed in Naples in 1480, could occasion some surprise. Why, one might ask, print yet another edition of a work that has been accessible, for the most part, since 1934? Did not the first facsimile of Gaffurio's revision of this work, the *Theorica musicae* published in Milan in 1492, include an extensive introduction by the editor, Gaetano Cesari, in which the differences between the two versions of the treatise were explored in detail and important passages in the earlier printing were also given in photographic reproduction?[1] And did not Broude Brothers Limited publish a facsimile of the 1480 publication in their series, Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile, as indicated in their reference catalogue?[2]

The answer to the first question is yes, but of course the Cesari edition is now 65 years of age and has become increasingly rare and difficult to find. Surprisingly, however, the answer to the second is no; the facsimile of *Theoricum opus musice discipline,* together with two other Gaffurio prints listed in the Broude catalogue, is marked NYP (not yet published) and has still not appeared in print. By contrast, the 1492 version of Gaffurio's speculative theoretical thought, the *Theorica musicae,* has been made available in facsimile repeatedly; in addition to the 1934 edition, there was a reprint brought out by Broude Brothers in 1967 and another published in Italy by Forni in 1969. More recently, an English translation by Walter Kreyszig appeared in the Music Theory Translation Series edited by Claude V. Palisca (see the summary bibliography at the end of this review).

Apparently, then, this is the first and only complete facsimile of Gaffurio's *Theoricum opus musice discipline* of 1480, and its editor, Cesarino Ruini, who has written a very helpful introduction (given in both the

original Italian and in English translation) is correct in his assertion that the earlier edition, "has hitherto been relegated to a state of obscurity" (p. xxxviii). But is he also justified in claiming that "however well documented Cesari's study may be, it is still not the easiest way to approach the early edition"? Why, indeed, if the 1492 publication represents a more mature, revised version of the 1480 treatise, is there any need at all for a facsimile of the initial publication?

Ruini suggests a number of possible answers to this fundamental query in his introduction. He quotes Cesari in observing that the "earlier Naples edition was endowed with a 'beauty of type' and 'precision' that made it 'typographically better' " (p. xxxvii). He observes as well that the *Theoricum* has a significant place in the history of incunabula, being the first book on music theory printed in Italy and following by only a few months Francesco Niger's well-known publication, the *Brevis grammatica,* often cited as one of the earliest examples of mensural notation included in a printed book.[3]

The most compelling reason, by far, however, stems from Gaffurio's working methods. As has been pointed out repeatedly, Gaffurio's theoretical writings were an ongoing "work in progress" during much of his adult life.[4] They divide themselves clearly between two separate traditions, the practical and the speculative, and in both of these the processes of revision and amplification can be traced from the earliest known versions of his theoretical works to those that followed.

His practical theory is embodied primarily in the *Practica musicae,* published in Milan in 1496. However, it clearly went through several stages of preparation, as is evident from the manuscript copies of Books 1, 2, and 4 that have survived alongside the printed version (see below the summary bibliography, Manuscripts). But the continuous evolution of his speculative thought is even more dramatic.

A number of the subjects treated in his earliest known work, the *Extractus parvis Musicae,* are taken up again in the *Theoricum* of 1480 (Ruini, p. liv). The latter then underwent substantial revision before its republication in Milan in 1492 as the *Theorica musicae.* Gaffurio continued working with his material, moreover, gradually integrating into it the fruits of the humanistic scholarship with which he was so much involved in the 1480s and 1490s. Although unable to read Greek and initially unfamiliar with the works of the "harmonists" of antiquity, he assimilated bit by bit into his own theoretical writings what he was able to glean from the authors whose works he had others translate into Latin for his own use: Aristides Quintilianus, Bellerman's Anonymous, and Manuele Bryennius, as well as the *Harmonics* of Ptolemy, translated from the Greek at his instigation.[5] Some of the stages through which Gaffurio took his revisions can

be seen in the manuscript copies made of his work around 1500, before taking final form in the *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus,* which was finally published in Milan in 1518.

It should be clear, then, that despite the considerable attention and study devoted to Gaffurio's speculative theory, particularly in recent years, there is still a good deal to be done. In order to understand fully the evolution of his thought as the writings of the ancient Greek harmonists became available to him and his understanding of them increased, it will be necessary to trace it with care from one stage to the next. This means collating and comparing not only the published works but also the manuscripts that preceded them, especially those containing either significant segments of the printed versions or even entire works. In this perspective, then, the *Theoricum opus musice discipline* is an essential link, representing in its earliest printed form the comprehensive discussion of speculative theory that occupied Gaffurio during a critical period in his intellectual development.

We are informed, by a brief note following the title page, that the copy from which the facsimile was made is that found in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna. There is no explanation as to what prompted this choice, nor is there any comment on the annotations added in the margins of some chapters by a previous owner to identify bibliographical sources and important topics. The book presumably once belonged to the celebrated Bolognese composer, scholar, and pedagogue, Padre Giovanni Battista Martini, whose collections form the nucleus of that library,[6] but there is no indication that the elegant cursive hand in which those entries were made might have been his. (It appears earlier to me, most likely dating from the 16th century.)

Such intriguing details cannot help but arouse one's historical curiosity, and it is frustrating not to have an answer of some sort. The essential matter, however, is that the Institute for Musical Bibliography in Rome has provided us with a fine facsimile reprint of one of Gaffurio's most important treatises. It is printed with wide margins on a very good grade of paper that manages to convey something of the impression that the original book must have made when it was first published 516 years earlier. The new edition may not last as long as the first, but at least we can be sure that it will make the 1480 edition of Gaffurio's seminal treatise more readily available to the next generation of interested scholars and carry his theoretical thought into the new millennium.

Franchino Gaffurio (1451–1522)
Theoretical Works[7]
Bibliographical Summary

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Tractatus brevis cantus plani.[10]
Dedicated to the Lodi priest, Paolo Greci (ca. 1474); unpublished autograph in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 1158.

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Dedicated to Carlo Pallavicino. Written in Verona, 1746; now lost.

Flos musicae.
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Theoriae musicae tractatus.
(ca. 1479); London, British Library, MS Hirsch IV.1441.

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(1480), became Book 2 of *Practica musicae;* Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library.

Tractatus practicabilium proportionum.[11]
Dedicated to the Cremonese patrician Corradolo Stanga. Written between 1481 and 1483; became Book 4 of *Practica musicae*; MS now in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, A 69.

Micrologus vulgaris cantus plani.[12]
Dedicated to the Lodi priest, Paolo Greci (ca. 1482); MS now in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, A 90.

Practica musicae.[13]
(Published in Milan, Sept 30, 1496.) A copy of Book 1 now in the Biblioteca Civica, Bergamo, MS Sigma IV 37, made from the autograph MS by Alessandro Assolari in 1487.

De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus.[14]
Lodi, Biblioteca Laudense in Lodi, MS XVIII.A 9, dedicated to Bonifacio Simonetta, Abbot of S. Stefano in Lodi; copied in 1500, but with corrections added until March, 1514.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 7208, presented to Nicolò Leoniceno, translator of Ptolemy's Harmonics; dated March 27, 1500.

Lyon Bibliothèque Municipale (formerly Palais des Beaux Arts), MS 47, an autograph, illuminated and sent by Gaffurio to Charles Jaufred, president of the Parlement de la Dauphiné (Grenoble) ca. 1505–06.

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VIII.D.11, Franchinus Gaforus, *Theorica artis musicae,* an undated study copy.

Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Ser. nov. 12745, an illuminated presentation copy completed in 1507 and inscribed with a dedication to Jean Grolier, who became the Treasurer and Intendant of Milan for King Louis XII of France in 1509.

Glossemata quaedam super nunnulluas partes Theoricae Johannis de Muris.
Unpublished autograph MS dated Jan. 1, 1499; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS 165.

Notes

1. *Franchini Gafuri Theorica musicae,* ed. Gaetano Cesari (Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1934).

2. Catalogue 175, for example, Musicological Publications (New York: Broude Brothers Limited, 1989), p. 74.

3. See, for example, Poole 1980: 233–35.

4. See Sartori 1955: 1237–43, and, especially, Miller 1980: 7–79.

5. See Palisca 1985: 191–225, especially 200–05.

6. Concerning Martini, see Brofsky 1980: 723–25.

7. It is unlikely that the following will include all of the relevant sources, both printed and manuscript. It is intended only to help fill a void in the current literature on Gaffurio, providing a more up-to-date and comprehensive list of the sources of his theoretical writings than is otherwise currently available.

8. Kreyszig's claim in his translation, *The Theory of Music,* Franchino Gaffurio, Translated, with Introduction and Notes (p. xxx, note 70), that his "comparative edition of [the versions of 1480 and 1492] is in preparation and will be published by Hans Schneider of Tutzing, Germany in 1993" was apparently premature. So far as I was able to determine, no such edition has yet appeared.

9. Concerning this manuscript treatise, see Miller 1970: 367–70, 386–88.

10. Concerning this manuscript treatise, see Miller 1970: 370–73.

11. Concerning this manuscript treatise, see Miller 1970: 373–83.

12. Concerning this manuscript treatise, see Miller 1970: 383–86.

13. Concerning this manuscript treatise, see Miller 1970: 386.

14. Concerning these manuscript sources for the *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus,* see Palisca 1985: 201–03.

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Timothy McGee, editor, with A. G. Rigg and David N. Klausner. ***Singing Early Music: The Pronunciation of European Languages in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance.*** Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996. 320 pp.

Reviewed by Eric Rice

The principal title of this book underscores its kinship with Harold Copeman's *Singing in Latin* (1990), a pioneering work that has become an important resource for conductors and singers of Latin-texted music. Copeman painstakingly analyzes puns, spelling, and descriptions of phonology from various periods, offering suggestions for pronunciation in the performance of music along the way. While Copeman's book has been widely praised for its utility, it has also been criticized for "fall[ing] between two stools: it is neither a totally scholarly presentation of sources with an added commentary nor a practical handbook with guidelines to performers clearly set out" (Ledsham 1993). *Singing Early Music,* on the other hand, is designed primarily as a practical handbook for performers based on sound linguistic scholarship. It offers important advice to singers and choral conductors, and it is of interest to musicologists and literary scholars as well. Much of the information presented was not easily accessible to performers prior to the book's publication, and this information has been gathered and presented in a clear, concise, interesting, and, above all, convenient fashion. This is an eminently useful book, but it needs to be used with discretion.

Easy access to information has clearly been an important criterion for the organization of the book. It is divided into sections dealing with regions of Western Europe: Germany and the Low Countries, Britain, France, the Iberian Peninsula, and Italy. Each of these sections contains a set of chapters dealing with languages, including Latin, spoken in the various regions. After some general remarks, most chapters present a brief summary of evidence for the pronunciations proposed; short bibliographies are provided for the benefit of those whose curiosity is less easily satisfied. Diachronic sound charts are provided so that one can see the changes in sound in relation to orthography that occurred over time, and sample texts from musical works are printed with transcriptions in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). An introduction provides clear, concise overviews of phonetics and European languages, and a phonetic chart is provided at the end to help the reader interpret the symbols of

the IPA. Finally, a compact disc containing readings of nearly all the sample texts is provided so that the texts and their transcriptions can be associated with the sounds they represent. In short, the book is designed to convey a great deal of information about a complex subject as concisely as possible, and it is largely successful. As might be expected, however, the concision of the book does lead to some problems with its use.

Scholarly presses are imposing increasingly stringent length limits and editorial requirements on editors and authors, and *Singing Early Music* could well owe some of the impetus for its brevity to its publishers rather than to its contributors or editors. Reducing the phonology of an entire language to a chapter of around a dozen pages is fraught with problems; add to this the changes in pronunciation that can occur over five hundred years, coupled with the scholarly debate about the nature of those changes, and one begins to see the complexity of the contributors' task. Timothy McGee makes this abundantly clear in his preface, and he also explains the book's guiding principle with regard to disclosure of what is known and unknown:

> In some cases [the contributors] have been able to make quite sophisticated distinctions with great confidence, while on other occasions the choice of one sound over another may be no more than an informed guess. To avoid burdening the reader with authors' frequent claims of uncertainty, they have been edited down to a minimum. We ask you to believe that in mixing together secure fact and unclear guesses we have not intended to mislead but to give assistance. When an unambiguous answer was not available we instructed our authors to give the best possible advice, believing that our principle audience—singers—would prefer the opinion of an authority to no opinion at all. (xii)

There are several points worth considering here. First of all, performers referring to this book will not necessarily read the preface, especially once they have recognized the user-friendly format of the work. Such a format invites users to seek only the information they need in the appropriate chapter or chapters, without recourse to the preface; thus the cautionary remarks made there do not suffice in disclosing that educated guesses will not be distinguished from established facts. This is unfortunate, since the above paragraph makes it clear that more specific acknowledgements of such details once existed elsewhere in the text, but were subsequently "edited down." What may have seemed burdensome to the editors when reading the book cover-to-cover (an unlikely task for the average user) is less so when one is reading, say, twelve pages on the pronunciation of Old French.

Secondly, the authors' tendency to omit statements of uncertainty (as prescribed by the editors) contributes to the generally authoritative tone of the book, and I fear that some users may find it too easy to take the word of the authors as gospel. It is possible to state an opinion as an expert and also express uncertainty about it, allowing readers to make their own informed decision. In spite of the cautionary statement quoted above, in the opening of the preface McGee asserts the book's authority, even espousing the possibility of "historically correct vocal performance":

> The original desire to undertake this book grew from my interest in the performance of medieval and Renaissance music. It seemed to me that if we are to recreate the music of those early centuries as faithfully as possible to the intentions of the composers, our first concern should be to perform it with the sounds the composers expected to hear. And whereas a number of scholars and instrument makers have been involved in the reproduction of authentic musical instruments over the past century, far less attention has been given to singing the texts with the correct pronunciation. It was this thought that prompted me to propose this book to the language specialists who have written the individual chapters.
>
> Correct pronunciation will not by itself guarantee a historically correct vocal performance any more than will the use of the correct instrument; numerous other matters must also be taken into account. (xi)

While I am not at all opposed to the recovery and application of performance techniques of the past (this being, in fact, an area of considerable interest to me), I believe that scholars and performers must be cautious about claims for their use. The debate on performance practice scholarship and the use of authoritative terms like "authentic" and "historically correct" in connection with performance has compelled many scholars and performers to reevaluate their terms, if not also their positions.[1] This is not the place to rehearse the ideas of the debate; it is enough to stress that there *is* a debate. The notion that one can recover a "correct" performance from the past has been questioned not only because of the nature and small number of relevant historical documents, but also (and more importantly) because of the impossibility of total objectivity.[2] The linguistic snapshots the book provides do not so much as hint at these questions, and perhaps they cannot; they can, however, allow for the possibility of them by admitting what is unknown, and not insisting on "correctness."

This is but one of two pitfalls of the concise chapters. The other, as Alison Wray has rightly pointed out in an earlier review of this book, is

that the lack of detail in each chapter can easily lead one to make false analogies, and exceptional words can be read as regular ones (Wray 1997: 134). In one or two cases it seems that the IPA transcriptions have suffered exactly this fate. For example, the dialogue "Que dis-tu?" by Pierre de Ronsard, which also survives in a musical setting by Lassus, is given as an example of a late sixteenth-century French text. Here are the first two lines and their transcription (85–86):

> Que dis-tu, que fais-tu, pensive Tourterelle,
> dessus cest arbre sec? —Las! passant je lamente.
>
> kə di ty kə fɛ ty pãsivə tuṛtəṛɛlə
> dəsy sɛt aṛbṛə sɛk la pasã ʒə lamãtə
>
> [What are you saying, what are you doing, pensive Tourterelle,
> upon this brittle tree? —Alas! suffering, I grieve.]

In addressing the critical issue of final consonant pronunciation in French, Robert Taylor writes: "During Period Three [1450–1650], the general rule is that *all* final consonants are silent, except for rare cases when they were restored consciously for the sake of clarity or as a result of spelling" (71, emphasis Taylor's). The above transcription would seem to conform to the letter of this rule: the word "Las," an archaic truncated version of "hélas" (whose relationship to the English "alas" is apparent), appears without a final sounding *s*. Alas, "hélas" is a word in modern French that is often mispronounced by English speakers, who have few occasions to use it other than in reading poetry and often do not learn that it is pronounced with a final *s*. Taylor takes great pains to explain the timing of the disappearance of final consonants generally, barring the exceptions he mentions above; this word, an exception in modern French, warrants further explanation, particularly since it occurs so often in the repertory. (It appears again in the following example, a Baïf text, also without a sounded *s*.) Is it possible that this word simply survived as it was, never losing its final consonant? Or was it restored consciously for the sake of clarity, one of the exceptions Taylor gives? While for some the meaning of the word in the above couplet may be clear from the context, the presence of a sounded final *s* would clarify things. "La" could be mistakenly heard as "là," meaning "there" (signifying Tourterelle's position upon the "arbre sec"), rather than "alas." One could also argue that the final *s* was maintained here for emphasis, another one of the exceptions Taylor cites. A related problem is the word "sec," here transcribed with its final consonant sounded, but read without it on the compact disc. It is another example of

an exception to the rule Taylor gives. These sorts of words ought to have been discussed, particularly when they are common in the repertory.

Other possible misreadings become apparent when one considers the pronunciation of a given text with regard to its meaning. Here is the beginning of another example, this time from the *Roman de Fauvel,* and its transcription (80–81):

> Se mes desirs fust a souhais,
> mener devroie grant joie;
>
> sə me dezir̥ fyta su.ɛs
> mənɛr dəvr̥we.ə gr̥añ ʒwɛ.ə
>
> [If my desires were all I could wish,
> it would bring [me] great joy;]

As is clear from the context of the sentence, the first word is not the reflexive pronoun that it would seem to symbolize in modern French ("se") nor the demonstrative pronoun ("ceux"), but rather the conjunction ("si" in modern French). Since this is the case, it seems less likely that the *e* in "se" represents the sound of a mid-central unrounded *e* or "schwa" [ə] as indicated above, and more likely that it represents the sound of an upper-mid front unrounded *e* [e], which is quite a bit closer to the high front unrounded *i* [i] than the schwa.[3] This idea is supported by the next example in the book, a Machaut text, in which the same word is spelled "si" around a half-century later (82). This word, spelled both ways, is ubiquitous in the fifteenth-century chanson repertory, and it is a shame that its pronunciation has not been adequately explained. Dedicated singers and choral conductors will aim to understand a text's meaning so as to transmit it more effectively; with a bit of background in the language being performed, access to a clear translation can illuminate issues of pronunciation as well as musical articulation.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that a knowledge of modern French will assist greatly in the use of the chapter on Old French. This is undoubtedly true for the other chapters as well, though not all languages pose so many problems of pronunciation. Not only will familiarity with a language's modern equivalent (if it has one) assist in interpreting the information in the chapter (and in noting the occasional ambiguity or error), it will also provide a bit of guidance at those times when the book's format raises as many questions as it answers. It is always wise, when possible, to consult a native speaker of the appropriate modern language. Often, the reactions and instincts of a native speaker with a good ear can

assist in refining a performance. Given this possibility and the scope of the book's undertaking, it is somewhat surprising that so few European scholars were involved in the project.

The pronunciation of Latin raises another set of interesting problems. The basic premise of the chapters on Latin—that its pronunciation in a given region was affected by the local vernacular—will ring true to anyone who has had the experience of comparing performances of the same motet by an amateur German choir and, say, an amateur English one. The question becomes not so much how Latin pronunciation was affected, but to what degree. The evidence, and there is a significant amount of it, is mustered in Copeman's *Singing in Latin.* Some of the conclusions reached there and in *Singing Early Music* are far removed from what one might imagine. During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Latin was a language of commerce, administration, diplomacy, literature, and religion. It was no one's mother tongue, but it was very much a living language, and it can be difficult to imagine the degree of difference in pronunciation of Latin throughout Europe. The evidence, however, indicates that such regional differences in pronunciation were considerable.

The sixteenth century saw serious attempts to reform the pronunciation of Latin to what was believed to be that of Antiquity; Erasmus's 1528 treatise *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus* (A Dialogue on the Right Way of Speaking Latin and Greek), is one of the most important sources for pronunciation in the period, and it is cited often regarding regional pronunciations in both *Singing Early Music* and *Singing in Latin.* As part of Erasmus's efforts to effect pronunciation reform, he sought to demonstrate just how different the various regional pronunciations were. Not only was he well traveled and extremely well educated, he seems also to have had a very good ear. But Erasmus was unsystematic in his presentation of regional pronunciations, and it is important to remember that because he was attempting to persuade his readers of the need for reform, he had every reason to exaggerate. His complaints center on the most aurally deficient and least educated Latin speakers of the period, and he mentions music and singers very little.

Another important source, one that Copeman cites as a guide to pronunciation in both *Singing Early Music* (259–60) and *Singing in Latin* (70–73), is Ornithoparcus's *Musice active Micrologus* (1517). Ornithoparcus (whose vernacular name was probably Vögelstätter) was a well-traveled musician, and his treatise includes some very telling remarks on regional pronunciation. Nearly a century later, John Dowland, who presumably became familiar with the treatise during his tenure at the Danish court, thought enough of it to publish an English translation in 1609. The trea-

tise ends with "Ten Precepts necessary for every Singer," and it is in these precepts that descriptions of pronunciation are given. Precept six reads:

> 6. The changing of vowels is a sign of an unlearned Singer. Now, (though divers people doe diversly offend in this kinde) yet doth not the multitude of offenders take away the fault. Here I would have the *Francks* to take heede they pronounce not *u* for *o,* as they are wont, saying *nuster* for *noster.* The countrey Church-men are also to be censured for pronouncing, *Aremus* in stead of *Oremus.* In like sort, doe all the *Renenses* from *Spyre* to *Confluentia* change the vowel *i* into the diphthong *ei,* saying *Mareia* for *Maria.* (89–90 of treatise; printed in facsimile in Copeman 1990: 72–73)

The details on regional pronunciation offered here are interesting, but I would like to focus on the first two sentences. As with Erasmus, the pronunciations that are being transmitted to us are those of the "unlearned," who should not be excused simply because they are many in number. In our attempts to recover the details of past performances, the question must be posed whether the composer's intentions (which we can never know entirely, and which we may consciously choose to ignore in some cases) are aligned with them. If we possess a specific complaint about music performed poorly in a given historical moment, do we want to reproduce it simply for the sake of history?

In response to sources like the treatises by Erasmus and Ornithoparcus, the authors have prepared transcriptions of sample texts containing striking diphthongs. Consider the first two lines of the text of a motet by Robert Fayrfax and their transcription (59–60):

> O Maria Deo grata
> Mater Christi praesignata
>
> oː maˈrəi·a ˈde·o ˈgræːta
> ˈmæːtɛr ˈkrəistiː presiŋgˈnæːta
>
> [O Mary, pleasing to God,
> preordained mother of Christ]

The diphthongs assigned to the letter *i* in "Maria" and "Christi" are the most striking feature of this passage. The vowel shift was well underway in English during Fayrfax's lifetime (ca. 1464–1521), and while it seems plausible enough to me that some might have pronounced Latin this way in

speech, did this really extend to singers? In our own day, choral conductors of amateur ensembles spend a great deal of time trying to expunge unwanted diphthongs from their performances and to articulate necessary diphthongs cleanly (this is especially true in the United States, where the pure vowel is a very rare commodity). I cannot imagine that this was less true during Fayrfax's lifetime, particularly given the statement by Ornithoparcus quoted above (in which one of the diphthongs he cites as egregious, that of "Maria," matches that of the above transcription). In these transcriptions (and in the book generally), the issue of how to *sing* the pronunciation proposed is not addressed. To sing the diphthong of the second syllable of "Maria" in the above transcribed text, does one sing the first vowel long and the second vowel short (unlikely), or the first short and the second long (probably)? How long should the first vowel be if it is not the long vowel? If the transcription is followed to the letter, it raises technical questions for the singer.

Furthermore, there are reasons to dispute the idea that musicians in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance pronounced Latin as poorly as people described in Erasmus's treatise and similar writings. While Ornithoparcus's remarks indicate that regional differences in Latin pronunciation affected singers, the degree to which this was true must have varied widely. How would a musician like Josquin, who spent his youth in French-speaking lands and much of his career in Italy, have wanted the Latin of his motets pronounced? Would his singers and students have adopted his pronunciation as "the proper pronunciation"? This question applies to many singers and composers of the period, for though Josquin was an exceptional musician, his peregrinations were anything but exceptional. Copeman addresses these issues in a section of *Singing in Latin* called "The 'international' composers" (183–93), but they are entirely absent from the Latin chapters in *Singing Early Music*. Since Copeman contributed six of the seven Latin chapters, it seems likely that he was directed not to include information of this kind, which might have extended the Latin chapters far beyond the length of the others.

Similar questions arise when the location of a given composer or choir sits on a linguistic boundary. I recently prepared Columbia University's collegium musicum for a concert that included plainchant and sixteenth-century polyphony from a vespers service in the Collegiate Church (now the Cathedral) of Saint Mary in Aachen, Germany. Aachen lies at the junction of two borders: that dividing French-speaking Belgium and the Netherlands, and the border dividing the latter two countries from Germany. During the period in question, the surnames of singers employed in the choir of the Collegiate Church seemed to indicate that singers were of Belgian and Dutch origin and thus possibly French- and

Dutch-speaking, but the canons of the church were clearly German speakers (a number of the church's surviving documents from the period are in German). In the end, I deferred to the canons and settled on a modified German pronunciation for the texts of the service, but I acknowledge that I made the decision based on educated guesswork and a limited time frame in which to research the problem. A great deal of thought must go into these kinds of decisions, and artistic choice will (and should) play a large role.

The collaborators have prepared a helpful and informative book that is easy to use. With its help, many professional and amateur performers are realizing effective performances with previously unused vocal colors. The book has been cited in program notes for concerts by the New York–based ensembles Anonymous 4 and Lionheart, who reported that their recent performances together of Ockeghem's *Missa Mi-Mi* "just felt right" because they were using a pronunciation influenced by French, as suggested by the book.[4] In my own conducting work I have found it very helpful.

However, there is much that the book does not do that it could have easily done. Rules are summarized, but exceptions are not noted. The editors and authors would have done well to differentiate between educated guesses and reasonably established facts, and they could have avoided the authoritative tone conveyed by notions of "historically correct" performance. It is a pity that very few European scholars were involved in the project, for they would have brought different perspectives and instincts about their own languages to the discussion. Involving a greater number of musicologists and performers in the discussion might also have shed additional light on problems specific to the repertories of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[5] The book does not truly deal with the notion that trained singers, both in our own day and in earlier times, sing differently from the way that they speak. (The principal title, *Singing Early Music,* could serve to raise the expectation that vocal performance practices are treated in the book; while the rest of the title clarifies the book's contents, it is remarkable that a book called *Singing Early Music* does not actually discuss singing or music *per se.*) Finally, the book does not actively advise singers and conductors to consider the context in which the music was initially created, and its effect on pronunciation. This may seem an obvious point, but a performer with a deadline is likely to look for quick answers in a book like this, overlooking, for example, the somewhat complicated question of whether Josquin intended the Latin in his motets to be sung with an Italian or French pronunciation. In the end, it is always wise to consult experts and native speakers, each of whom will bring something different to the enterprise. Something as rich as the pronunciation of language cannot be summarized easily, and this fact needs to be borne in mind.

Notes

1. The literature documenting this debate is considerable, but two rich and well-known points of departure are Taruskin (1995) and Kenyon (1988).

2. On this point and for an excellent list of questions raised by the rise of the "historical performance" movement, see Kenyon (1988, esp. 12–14).

3. My thoughts on this are due in part to personal communication with Paul van Nevel, April 1999.

4. John Olund of Lionheart, personal communication, January 1999.

5. For an example of the kind of collaborative work that European linguists and musicologists have produced, see Rosenthal (1998). My thanks to Paul van Nevel for bringing this book to my attention.

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