

Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus

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STUDENTS OF MEDIEVAL MUSIC show little disposition today to challenge interpretation of the multi-voice Parisian conductus as a modal genre: the evidence from both theoretical and musical sources weighs too heavily in its favor. My purpose here is to examine the specific application of the modal principle to a small, stylistically coherent, but notationally perplexing group of two- and three-voice compositions of the syllabic or declamatory type, and to clarify the relationship between poetic and musical rhythm in these compositions. The following summary of thirteenth-century theoretical and musical information available to us on the notation and interpretation of the polyphonic conductus will provide background essential to the discussion.

Three large treatises of the thirteenth century which relate quite particularly to the music of the Notre Dame school refer to the conductus as a species of discant or modally ordered polyphony. John of Garland, whose original comprehensive essay, *De mensurabili musica*, is assignable to the second quarter of the century,¹ gives primary consideration to the three types of organum: discant, copula, and organum (*per se*). He mentions the conductus and the motet in his discussion of note forms,² however, and even cites a fragment from the duplum of a three-voice conductus to illustrate the first *maneries* of the imperfect (first) mode.³

The treatise of the English theorist known as Anonymous IV (c.

¹ See Erich Reimer, *Jobannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, X-XI (Wiesbaden, 1972), I, p. 12.

² "Et sciendum, quod huiusmodi figurae aliquando ponuntur sine littera, aliquando cum littera; sine littera ut in caudis vel conductis, cum littera ut in motellis." Reimer, I, p. 44.

³ Reimer, I, p. 40. The quotation is from the terminal melisma of the well-known admonitory conductus, *Dic Christi veritas*.

1275),⁴ which is heavily dependent on that of John in its discussion of the modes and their notation, classifies the several genres of measured polyphony according to the books or collections in which they appear. The books cited include some devoted to the organum and some to the conductus, specifically, two- and three-voice conductus with melismas and two-, three- and four-voice ones without.⁵

The glossated text of the St. Emmeram Anonymous (1279),⁶ likewise richly indebted to the *De mensurabili musica*, identifies four types of measured polyphony: organum, conductus, motet, and hocket.⁷ The same categories are named in a modest tract, the *Discantus positio vulgaris*,⁸ portions of which may predate John's treatise, but much of which betrays the hand of the modernizing editor.⁹

The major authors all comment on the discrepancy between melismatic and syllabic notation (*figure*¹⁰ *sine vel cum littera*). Whereas melismatic music is written largely in ligature, the presence of a text causes the ligatures to be broken down into their component parts.¹¹ Such ligatures as remain can seldom be read in the normal way.¹² It is not to be imagined, however, that the altered appearance of notation

⁴ Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, IV–V (Wiesbaden, 1967), II, p. 2, gives as a *terminus post quem* for the treatise the death of Henry III of England in 1272 and notes that the oldest surviving version, which is not, however, the original one, has been placed, for paleographical reasons, around 1275.

⁵ Reckow, I, p. 82.

⁶ *Ein anonymes glossierter Mensuraltraktat, 1279*, ed. Heinrich Sowa (Kassel, 1930).

⁷ The author gives less attention to the conductus than to the other categories, mentioning it but briefly in relation to certain problems of notation (pp. 59 and 72) and performance (p. 99).

⁸ Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*, ed. Simon Cserba (Regensburg, 1935), p. 192.

⁹ See Fritz Reckow, "Proprietas und Perfectio," *Acta musicologica*, XXXIX (1967), p. 137, n. 81.

¹⁰ My preference is for the spelling of the period, which does not use the diphthong. It appears here only in verbatim quotations from editions reverting to classical practice.

¹¹ So John: "Inter figuras, quae sunt sine littera et cum littera, talis datur differentia, quoniam ille, quae sunt sine littera, debent, prout possunt, amplius ad invicem ligari. Sed huiusmodi proprietates aliquando amittitur propter litteram huiusmodi figuris associatam." Reimer, I, p. 44. Anonymous IV's formulation is similar: "Nota, quod differentia est dicendo cum littera et sine littera, quoniam sine littera fit ligatio punctorum iuxta duas vel tres vel quatuor etc. ligatas, in quantum plus poterit secundum quod melius competit etc. . . . Cum littera vero quandoque fit ligatio, quandoque non. Sed in maiori parte plus distrahuntur quam ligantur." Reckow, *Anonymus 4*, I, p. 48.

¹² Cf. the St. Emmeram Anonymous: "in hoc loco [that is, the end of the ligature] uult actor quoddam incidens de bene esse inserere recitando modum scribentium et cantorum *contra artem* [my emphasis] sepius usitatum in motellis solummodo aut in conductis supra litteram." Sowa, p. 59.

cum littera signals a departure from modal principles. On the contrary, the theorists assert that simple notes must be reduced to ligatures¹³ and they describe, in varying detail, how this is to be done. Here follow a few of the suggestions made by Anonymous IV, the most expansive of the authors on this particular subject. A *brevis recta* over one syllable and a *longa recta* over the next are together equal to a *binaria*¹⁴ with propriety and perfection ($\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}} = \overset{\cdot}{\text{b}}$).¹⁵ A long over one syllable, a breve over the next, and a long over the third add up to a *ternaria* with propriety and perfection ($\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{b}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{c}} = \overset{\cdot}{\text{a}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{b}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}$). A long followed by a *binaria* without perfection, a *brevis recta*, and a *longa recta*, stands in notation *cum littera* for a (ternary) long plus a quaternaria ($\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{b}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{c}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{d}} = \overset{\cdot}{\text{a}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{b}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{c}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$).

After adducing a few more examples, Anonymous IV concludes that there is no need for ambiguity in notation *cum littera*; that through the use of correct forms, whether simple notes or ligatures, a precise indication of the rhythm is possible even when new syllables are introduced in rapid succession. Almost as an afterthought the theorist notes that at an earlier time there had been neither a material distinction between long and breve, nor differences in ligature shapes. The properties of a note form were to be seen not on the page but in the mind's eye.¹⁶ The notation to which he refers is precisely the sort found in the Notre Dame manuscripts.

The theoretical support for a modal reading of the conductus is incontrovertible. Evidence of a musical nature—over and beyond that of style in general—is found in the transmission of five conductus, four in their entirety, one fragmentarily, in both syllabic and melismatic forms. Settings of two poems by Philip the Chancellor, *Bulla fulminante* and *Minor natu filius*, stripped of their texts, form the conclusions to *Dic Christi veritas* and *Austro terris influente*, respectively; *Crucifigat omnes* is attached to *Quod promisit ab eterno*; *Anima iugi* shares

¹³ "Omnis figura non ligata debet reduci ad figuram compositam per aequipollentiam." Reimer, I, p. 63.

¹⁴ John and Anonymous IV use the expression *due ligate*; the St. Emmeram speaks of *binarie*, *ternarie*, etc.

¹⁵ For this and subsequent instructions, see Reckow, *Anonymus 4*, I, pp. 48–9.

¹⁶ "Ea quae dicuntur cum proprietate et sine perfectione, erant primo confuse quoad nomen. Sed per modum aequivocationis accipiebantur, quod quidem modo non est, quoniam in antiquis libris habebant puncta aequivoca nimis, quia simplicia materialia fuerunt aequalia. Sed solo intellectu operabantur dicendo: intelligo istam longam, intelligo istam brevem. Et nimio tempore longo laborabant, antequam scirent bene aliquid, quod nunc ex levi ab omnibus laborantibus circa talia percipitur mediantibus praedictis ita, quod quilibet plus proficeret in una hora quam in septem ante quoad longum ire." Reckow, *Anonymus 4*, I, pp. 49–50.

its melody with that of the cauda following the final strophe of *Relegentur ab area*; and a few phrases of *Veris ad imperia* are embedded in the terminal melisma of *Columbe simplicitas*.¹⁷ The mode inferred from the discrete forms of the syllabic songs can be corroborated in every case by the largely unambiguous notation of their melismatic counterparts.

The poems in question are all in a regular trochaic rhythm and all are declaimed in the longs and breves of the first mode. A line of seven syllables coincides with a phrase of four modal feet (Anonymous IV's third ordo of the first mode perfect):

; a line of six
Mi-nor na-tu fi-li-us

syllables coincides with a phrase of the same length with a substitution in the penultimate foot:

. Longer and shorter
Cru-ci-fi-gat om-nes.

lines are similarly adapted to the mode.

The Notre Dame composer acknowledged the analogy between trochaic rhythm and the first mode by setting large numbers of texts in the way shown. There are other poetic types, however, and the first mode is but one of several distinguishable in the larger polyphonic repertory. Two fundamental questions are suggested. One: are there similar analogies between other modes and other patterns of poetic rhythm? Two: are trochaic poems in syllabic setting invariably governed by the first mode?

With the aim of providing at least a partial answer to the first of these questions I should like to examine a group of conductus with the same rhythmic (poetic) structure, composed in the same musical style. A list of the pieces showing their position in the principal sources of the Notre Dame repertory follows.¹⁸

Fulget Nicholaos, Str. 1, *F*, fol. 219^v

Celum non animum, *F*, fol. 223^v; *W*₁, fol. 15^f

¹⁷ All save the last of the above-named pairings have been noted in the scholarly literature. For *Dic Cbristi/Bulla fulminante*, see Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, I, 1 (Halle, 1910), p. 98, and passim; for *Quod promisit/Crucifigat omnes* and *Relegentur ab area* (Str. 2: *Clausus in testa*)/*Anima iugi*, see Heinrich Husmann, "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XI (1954), pp. 1-38; for *Austro terris/Minor natu*, Manfred Bukofzer's posthumously published "Changing Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music," *The Musical Quarterly*, XLIV (1958), pp. 1-18. Grounds for the position that the syllabic compositions involved did not originate as textual tropes of existing melismas are examined in my forthcoming book on the polyphonic conductus.

¹⁸ The manuscript sigle are those in common use:

F: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1

*W*₁: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod-Guelf. 667

Ma: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486

Procurans odium, *F*, fol. 226^r; *Ma*, fol. 124^r
Si mundus viveret, *F*, fol. 226^v; *Ma*, fol. 127^v
Heu quo progreditur, *F*, fol. 350^v
Ver pacis aperit, *F*, fol. 355^r
O varium Fortune lubricum, *F*, fol. 351^v

With the exception of the last, to which I shall return, all of the strophes at hand are made up of six-syllable proparoxytonic verses (*6pp*).¹⁹ One might think it went without saying that the regularly recurring accent on the fourth syllable indicated either a dactylic sequence (˘˘˘˘˘˘) or, given a secondary accent on the final syllable, an iambic one (˘˘˘˘˘˘). In fact, the lines do not fall into regular or consistent patterns. Individually or out of context they may be classified as either dactylic or iambic, but no single pattern governs the poem as a whole. The opening stanza of *Procurans odium* will illustrate:

Procurans odium
 effectu proprio
 vix detrahentium
 gaudet intentio.
 5 Nexus est cordium
 ipsa detractio.
 Sic per contrarium
 ab hoste nescio
 fit hic provisio,
 10 in hoc amantium
 felix condicio.

As indicated, the antepenultimate accent is stable, but the portion of the line ahead of it is variable. Of eleven lines, four (4, 5, 6, 11) have an accent on the first syllable; three (1, 2, 8) have one on the second; and four (3, 7, 9, 10) are indifferent.²⁰ However these last are construed there will remain a substantial percentage of lines which are at

¹⁹ There is a handful of exceptions. Four out of the 45 lines which comprise *Si mundus viveret* have a penultimate (paroxytonic) stress. The opening line of *Fulget Nicholaos* should doubtless have one as well, although proper names were sometimes subject to change for poetic purposes. Cf. Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale* (Stockholm, 1958), pp. 189–203 and *passim*. It is possible that *Nicholaos* was heard to correspond with *egregiùs* and *cláriùs*, the cadential words of the third and the ninth lines of the strophe.

²⁰ Line 3 may be either iambic or dactylic depending on whether the secondary accents of *detrabentiùm* are stressed or suppressed. An accent on the first of the monosyllables at the beginning of lines 7, 9, and 10 sets up a dactylic pattern, one on the second, a series of iambs.

variance with the majority. The single remaining strophe of *Procurans odium* has five lines with three groups of two syllables, six with two groups of three. Thus, to interpret the poem in its entirety as either iambic or dactylic is to force upon the rhythm a regularity which really does not exist.²¹

All of the poems in the group under consideration have the same rhythmic characteristics. Individual strophes may show a degree of consistency, but these always appear in combination with others which are markedly irregular.²²

What do the musical settings of these texts tell us about the way the Notre Dame composer viewed the poetic rhythm? The notation is painfully ambiguous, but one thing is clear: the composer saw the lines as falling into two parts. Sometimes the verses of these songs are sung straight through without interruption. Not infrequently, however, a tractus or vertical stroke drawn through the middle of the staff indicates a break of some sort following the third syllable.²³ The problem is to discover the appropriate declamatory rhythm for the resultant three-syllable groups.

Several attempts have been made to deal with individual pieces of this group. As long ago as 1928–9 Friedrich Gennrich published transcriptions of *Ver pacis aperit* and *Procurans odium* in his monumental essay on medieval contrafacts.²⁴ Much work has been done in the intervening years and I am quite sure that he himself would now gladly set aside his readings of these songs in the second mode with upbeat. Curious as those transcriptions may seem, they do have something in common with the more recent ones of Heinrich Husmann, who elected to read the same pieces²⁵ as well as *Si mundus viveret*²⁶ in

²¹ It is no accident that medieval writers almost invariably describe the rhythm of a given verse solely in terms of the cadential accent. See Giovanni Mari, *I trattati medievali di ritmica latina* (Milan, 1899).

²² It is significant that contemporary authors consistently avoid any discussion of this species of verse. Of eight essays printed by Mari, only one, Master Sion of Vercelli's redaction of the *De rhythmo dictamine*, includes even a brief reference to it. The three verses given as examples are identified, on the basis of the cadence, as dactylic.

²³ An ambiguous symbol, the tractus is always used to signal an interruption of some kind. It may indicate a rest (duration unspecified) or simply a place to breathe; it also serves to identify the precise point at which a syllable is introduced into a melismatic context.

²⁴ "Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien," Pt. II, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, XI (1928–9), pp. 321–48.

²⁵ "Zur Rhythmik des Trouvèregesanges," *Die Musikforschung*, V (1952), pp. 110–31.

²⁶ "Zur Grundlegung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittellateinischen Liedes," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, IX (1952), pp. 3–26.

the fourth mode, and of Leo Schrade, who understood *Ver pacis aperit*²⁷ to be in the second, without upbeat.

For a long time I shared Husmann's opinion, and the transcriptions which appear in my unpublished dissertation²⁸ are comparable to his. I have never been comfortable with the readings, however. For one thing they are not genuinely modal. If the syllables are declaimed in the values of the fourth rhythmic mode, the result is an imperfect phrase. A phrase is perfect or complete only when it ends with the value or the unit with which the modal foot is initiated.²⁹ In the case of the fourth mode the phrase must end with two breves: . Neither this nor the second perfect ordo of the mode, , is compatible with a six-syllable line, and those of us who attempted to establish a link with the fourth mode should have been more alert to what happens in the case of the first. The basic foot of the latter consists of two elements, a long and a breve, but its most characteristic phrases consist of odd numbers of notes. When the first mode governs the declamation of a texted composition it is typically linked with lines having odd numbers of syllables—five, seven, or eleven, most characteristically—or with couplets of fifteen. Even-syllable lines which are musically self-contained or which form the conclusion of a larger unit are most often adapted to the mode by means of substitutions.³⁰

The assumption that two groups of three syllables can add up to a perfect phrase in the fourth mode has to be in error. But the fact remains that, whatever the theoretical objection, there is a practical reason for at least considering the fourth mode. In many instances a composite of two, three, even four notes coincides with the third syllable of the line. Just as often the initial syllable is accompanied by a simple note. It is tempting to believe that the third syllable is much longer than the first. Consider the opening phrase of *Si mundus viveret* as transcribed in the fourth mode (Ex. 1). The note forms seem to

²⁷ "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries," *Annales musicologiques*, I (1953), pp. 9–55.

²⁸ "The Polyphonic Conductus: A Study of the Sixth and Seventh Fascicles of the Manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1" (Yale University, 1961). For *Celum non animam* and *Procurans odium*, published in *Thirty-five Conductus for Two and Three Voices*, Collegium musicum, VI (New Haven, 1965), I adopted Schrade's second-mode solution.

²⁹ "Modus perfectus dicitur esse, quodcumque ita est, quod aliquis modus desinit per talem quantitatem vel per talem modum sicut per illam, qua incipit." Reimer, I, p. 39. Anonymous IV is more succinct: "Perfectus [modus] dicitur, quando terminatur per eandem quantitatem, qua incipit." Reckow, *Anonymous 4*, I, p. 23.

³⁰ See above, p. 386.

Example 1

Si mundus viveret, opening phrase

Si mun - dus vi - ve - ret mun - dus pe - cu - ni - a
 reg - na - ret in - ter nos pax et con - cor - di - a,

justify the values adopted; modal propriety argues against them. Observe that if all of the verses are declaimed in this way the song will not have so much as a single properly cadenced phrase. There will be literally no place to breathe—a condition hardly compatible with the concept of a song as such.

Another objection to the reading is that the relationship between textual and musical rhythm is inconstant. For example, one may justify the association of the pattern ♪♪♪ with the words *Si mundus*. The stress is on the first syllable of *mundus* and a certain amount of musical emphasis results from the greater duration of the syllable—greater, that is, by comparison with the one ahead of it. The third, unstressed syllable is a sort of cadential syllable and the extra time there may be deemed suitable for rounding off the half-phrase. The association is somewhat arbitrary but by no means impossible. The problem is that if the musical rhythm is thus construed as adaptable to the poetic rhythm $\sim\sim\sim$, it cannot then be found appropriate to $\sim\sim\sim$ or $\sim\sim\sim$. And yet, given the operation of the modal system, once the pattern is initiated, it must be repeated.

There is, I believe, a way to resolve the difficulty. It was first suggested to me by still another composition in the Florence MS: *O vera o pia* (fol. 242^v). Although it is copied with the three-voice conductus in the sixth fascicle of *F*, the piece is not really a conductus, but a polyphonic prosula. The previously cited essay of Bukofzer³¹ observes the categorical confusion. The single text and the discant relationship of the voices point to the conductus. The pre-existent tenor—it is borrowed from the Marian offertory, *Recordare virgo ma-*

³¹ See n. 17.

ter³²—is more suggestive of the clausula or the motet.³³ A few years ago Gordon Anderson, apparently unaware of Bukofzer's essay, published a brief report on the piece accompanied by a transcription in what he identified as the fourth mode.³⁴

The text of the prosula, which I take to be deliberately archaic,³⁵ is governed by assonance rather than rhyme. The vowel on which the original melisma is sung is repeated not only at the end of each of the six-syllable lines, but at the end of each half-verse as well. The cadential accent fluctuates between the penultimate and the antepenultimate syllables: *O vera, o p'ialo gemma spléndida*, etc. The tenor of the polyphonic setting is rigorously organized, proceeding in a consistent pattern of three simple notes (one to a syllable) and a rest. The second and third voices are lightly ornamented and, in all but two instances, one or the other sings through the tenor break in the middle of the line.

The fourth mode, which has been proposed for this piece, has all of the disadvantages pointed out in connection with *Si mundus viveret*. It is true that the modal problem could be eased by construing the unornamented final syllable of the line as a breve followed by a long rest rather than as a ternary long. In that case the mode would be properly identified as the second, with a substitution in the second foot: .³⁶ Modally feasible this may be, but the con-

O ve-ra, o pi-a

flict between textual and musical rhythm remains.

There is another way to interpret the piece. It is to read the simple notes in the tenor as longs of the fifth mode: . At one

O ve-ra, o pi-a

stroke the problems are eliminated. Each group of three notes constitutes not only a complete, but a thoroughly characteristic phrase. Although the fact is at first obscured by the presence of a text, the initial voice originated as a chant melisma and the rhythmic order

³² *O vera o pia*, together with the other known prosulas for the melisma in question, was published by Clemens Blume, *Analecta hymnica*, XLIX (Leipzig, 1906), p. 322.

³³ Bukofzer accordingly chose to categorize the composition as a motet with texted tenor.

³⁴ "A Troped Offertorium-Conductus of the 13th Century," this JOURNAL, XXIV (1971), pp. 96-100.

³⁵ The earliest known version appears as a 13th-century addition to the St. Yrieix manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Latin 903. It is copied in the bottom margin of fol. 161^v.

³⁶ Although he called it the fourth mode, this is, in fact, the way Anderson transcribed the prosula.

imposed upon it corresponds to that used for countless clausula tenors. The ligature that we reconstruct *in intellectu* is the fifth-mode ternaria used by convention in the clausula tenor: .³⁷

The reading proposed is modally sound. It has the further merit of clarifying the formal structure of the text. The rests which mark off the three-note groups (and which, in the fourth mode, are entirely suppressed) reinforce the assonance at the end of each half-verse. Finally, and by no means least important, the equalizing of the syllables absorbs or accommodates the irregularity of the verses by neutralizing the stresses.

It is true that the majority of the forms used to notate the prosula could be reduced to either the fourth or the fifth mode, but it is also true that at the two points in the piece where the notation is without ambiguity, the fifth mode is the one indicated. The first of the unequivocal signs, transcribed as Example 2, occurs in the middle of the fourth musical phrase (lines 6 and 8). Notice that the *c* in the second voice is not part of a ligature but stands alone, followed by an imperfect (in fact, that is, though not in form) binaria: . The *b* and *a* must be construed as the first two notes of a ternaria which cannot be written because of the appearance of a new syllable.³⁸ The *g* following represents the concluding member of the intended ligature. (See the dotted bracket in the example.) The initial statement of the phrase and its repetition, written out in the manuscript, are both notated in this way.³⁹

A second, more extended proof of the fifth mode occurs at the very end of the piece. I cite the concluding line (Ex. 3). The music with *nobis* has to be interpreted according to the rules for notation *sine littera*. These call for the reading of the simple note as a ternary long

³⁷ The St. Emmeram Anonymous acknowledges the convention disapprovingly, remarking that sometimes the longs of the fifth mode “abusie causa breuitatis in figura ternaria sint posite.” Sowa, p. 88. While not condoning it, Anonymous IV explains the usage as conforming to the rule that whatever can be joined (in ligature) should be: “quod possumus coniungere non disiungatur.” Reckow, *Anonymus 4*, I, p. 55.

³⁸ Imperfect ligatures in modal composition are discussed by Willaim G. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony* (New Haven, 1954), pp. 94–100. See also Reckow, “Proprietas und Perfectio,” p. 127, where it is observed that “the *figura imperfecta* of John of Garland is a pure modal ligature the last note of which—if it may be thus paradoxically expressed—is not present.”

³⁹ Professor Norman Smith has kindly forwarded to me some corroborative evidence from the discant clausula. The configuration used in the prosula appears with the same meaning in the dupla of, among others: *Et filio* (F 6, fol. 147^r) with *fi-*; *Et filio* (F 7, fol. 147^r) with *fi-* and with *li-*, leading into *-o*; *Dominus* (F 28, fol. 149^v) with *mi-*; *Dominus* (F 33, fol. 150^r), with *mi-*; *In seculum* (F 91, fol. 157^r), with *se-*, leading to *-cu-* and with *-cu-*.

Example 2

Si mundus viveret, lines 6 and 8

nos al - ma de - vi - a
Do - mi - na pro - pe - ra

except at certain times when it is followed by a note of the same pitch or by one which accompanies a new syllable. There is no justification for forcing the simple unpeated notes of the phrase at hand into values smaller than the ternary long. The substitution of a duplex long for two ternary longs, as in the last phrase of tenor and duplum, is a commonplace,⁴⁰ and the binaria in the triplum, though not subject to any material enlargement, must stand for a pair of longs.

The overall stylistic unity of the prosula precludes a sudden shift at this point in the music from a rather frenetic fourth mode with heavy fractures of the *brevis altera* to the measured pace of the fifth. The latter is the pace at which the whole piece necessarily moves.

The similarity between *O vera o pia* and the several conductus under discussion is considerable. The austerity of the prosula is tempered in some of the songs by a modest increase in ornamentation, but the declamatory patterns are, for the most part, identical.

The evidence for a reading in the fifth mode is most abundant in

Example 3

Si mundus viveret, conclusion

gau - di - a no - - - - bis.

⁴⁰ For a description of characteristic patterns of the fifth mode and their notation, see Waite, pp. 63-4.

followed by a binaria, the same form found in *O vera o pia*. Here, as in the comparable figure in the triplum with the third syllable of line 8 (*con-*), *F* shows the binaria clearly separated from the simple note.⁴³

The remainder of the notational evidence, all of which is to be found in *W*₁, involves one of two devices: either the gemination or the enlargement of forms. The simplex in the triplum with the third syllable of line 1 (*non*) is fully twice the width of the normal simplex in this composition.⁴⁴ If those in the tenor at corresponding points in line 6 (*iu-*) and 10 (*ne-*) are not quite as broad, they are still distinctly larger than the simple notes around them. Paired notes of the same pitch occur in the middle of lines 6 (*iu-*) and 7 (*tur-*) in the duplum.

What all of the notational clues add up to is the regular recurrence of a duplex long (or ternary long/ternary rest) in the middle and at the end of the musical phrase. The surrounding values, to be congruent, must be ternary longs.

The transmission of *Si mundus viveret* closely parallels that of *Celum non animum*. A simple piece is copied in two sources, one of which, *Ma*, confirms by means of very particular symbols what, in this instance, can only be inferred from the other. The only significant difference in the copies is the elimination from *Ma* of the third voice.

The poem consists of nine lines set in the manner of the canzona: *ababcdcd'e*. The copyist of *Ma* introduces with the third syllable of all but the last of the lines in the *Abgesang* his peculiar form for the duplex long: □.⁴⁵ It is found each time in whatever voice or voices have simple notes: in lines 5 (*pre-*) and 7 (*et*) in the tenor and duplum; in 6 (*-va-*) and 8 (*et*) in the duplum.⁴⁶

The Florence manuscript three times calls for the reading of a binaria in the triplum as two ternary longs, the same reading *contra artem* illustrated at the end of *O vera o pia*. In lines 5 and 6 the form coincides with the simple notes given in *Ma* as duplex longs. The remaining example occurs at the cadence of line 5. The third voice also has one pair of phrases (the *b*'s of the *Aufgesang*) which conclude with a descending quaternaria, assigned, as in *Celum non animum*, the value of two ternary longs.

⁴³ *W*₁ has the simple note and the ligature contiguous, but the former has a stem: ♯. While I am persuaded that the reading intended is essentially the same as that in *F*, the group having the duration of a duplex long, the form here is not decisive: the stem with an ascending ternaria is a commonplace in *W*₁.

⁴⁴ Cf. John of Garland: "Duplex longa est illa, quando latitudo transit longitudinem." Reimer, I, p. 46.

⁴⁵ The interpretation is verified by frequent appearances of the form in melismatic contexts.

⁴⁶ The simple tenor note in the last line in *F* is replaced in *Ma* by a ternaria.

Procurans odium is an engaging piece without any of the severity of the foregoing compositions. Movement pervades all of the voices as they exchange melodic material in a manner suggestive of the rondellus. Three- and four-note ligatures are common, the latter appearing only with the third syllable of the line, the former frequently so. To put it the other way around: only one line of eleven lacks a three- or four-note group at the half-verse. Once again it is necessary to turn to *Ma* for a precise indication of the time those groups should receive. Seven times a duplex long appears in conjunction with these composites. It is first seen with lines 3 and 4, which share their music with 1 and 2 (Ex. 5).

In *Ver pacis aperit*, a two-voice contrafact of Blondel's *Ma joie me semont*, one finds much of the simplicity of *Celum non animum* and *Si mundus viveret*. The declamation of the text is straightforward in the extreme, such ornamentation as there is seldom exceeding two notes to a syllable. With a single exception the only three-note ligatures to appear coincide, as we have come to expect, with the third syllable of the line. These, together with subdivisions of the verse by means of tractus, suggest extra time at this point. The decision to evaluate this at six tempora is reached by extension, as it were, from pieces of similar style less ambiguously presented.

The initial strophe of *Fulget Nicholaos*, a 3, and the two-voice *Heu quo progreditur* also move in the longs of the fifth mode. In most cases the use of six tempora with one of the syllables ahead of the cadence is implied by a three-note ligature. It is thrice made explicit, however, by the simplex-binaria combination (*Fulget Nicholaos*: lines 7 [-ri-] and 9 [-trans], triplum; *Heu quo progreditur*: line 4 [a], tenor and duplum). What distinguishes these two compositions from the ones treated above is a certain flexibility of declamatory pattern. While the extension to six tempora occurs most frequently with the third syllable, it is also found with the first (*Fulget Nicholaos*: lines 1 [Ful-] and 2 [gem-]; *Heu quo progreditur*: lines 2 [pre-], 3 [vir-], 4 [a], 5 [iam]) and with the

Example 5

Procurans odium, lines 3-4

vix de - tra - hen - ti - um gau - det in - ten - ti - o

penult (*Heu quo progreditur*: 8 [-di-]). The change of pattern does not, of course, effect a change of mode.

If the reader is not yet persuaded that the Notre Dame composer found the irregular proparoxytonic verse of six syllables best accommodated by the fifth mode, let him consider *O varium Fortune lubricum*. This long commentary on the inconstancy of Fortune is built of ten-syllable proparoxytones, to be sure, but these are closely related to the shorter lines. Here are two tercets of the opening strophe:

O varium Fortune lubricum,
 dat dubium tribunal iudicum,
 non modicum paras huic premium,
 quem colere tua vult gratia,
 et petere rote sublimia,
 dans premia tamen, prepostere

...

A caesura divides the line into two parts of four and six syllables, respectively.⁴⁷ The accentual pattern of the first is invariable: ~ ~ ~ ~; the second shows the ambiguity characteristic of the *6pp*. Sometimes the initial stress falls on the first syllable, sometimes on the second.⁴⁸

The caesura is regularly acknowledged in the music by the placement of a tractus after the fourth syllable. The opening line, however, has additional subdivisions indicated thus: *O|varium|Fortune|lubricum*. The breakdown of the line into groups of 1 + 3 + 3 + 3 syllables is suggestive of the third rhythmic mode, the very one adopted for the monophonic version of the song in the *Roman de Fauvel*.⁴⁹ A look beyond the first line of the polyphony, however, discovers abundant and persuasive evidence for rejecting the third mode.

Although it is a simple piece, *O varium Fortune lubricum* is not strictly syllabic. Instead of cadencing immediately with the enunciation of the last syllable of the line, several phrases are rounded off with

⁴⁷ A complex arrangement of rhyming sounds calls attention to the caesura. Throughout the poem the inner rhyme of the first two lines of the tercet becomes the end rhyme of the third, even as the end rhyme of the first two is transferred to the caesura in the third.

⁴⁸ Examples of this line in the poetic treatises have the accents before the caesura reversed (~ ~ ~ ~); what follows is entirely regular. Sion of Vercelli identifies the line as dactylic, while John of Garland (not the musical theorist) calls it iambic. See Mari, *I Trattati*, pp. 18 and 50.

⁴⁹ E. Fred Flindell, "Syllabic Notation and Change of Mode," *Acta musicologica*, XXXIX (1967), pp. 21-34, has suggested the same mode for the polyphony.

brief melismatic extensions. Lines 1, 3, 5, and 7 conclude as shown in Example 6. The simple notes in the tenor at the end of 1 can only be read in the way shown. The ligatures in 3, both of which start on the same pitch as the preceding note, could under certain circumstances be joined to that note to form a quaternaria. The context militates against such a construction here. The repeated notes in the duplum of 5 fall easily into first-mode subdivisions of the longer notes in the tenor. It is inconceivable that they should be forced into the framework of the third mode.⁵⁰ The cadencing fragment in this voice is to be understood as a pair of three-note ligatures, neither of which can be written as such because of repeated pitches. (See the dotted brackets in the example.)

A handful of extended forms also help to clarify the reading of the syllables after the caesura. Duplex longs occur in the tenor at *sub-* (see

Example 6

O varium Fortune lubricum, ends of lines

(a) line 1

lu - bri - cum _____

(b) line 3

pre - mi - um _____

(c) line 5

ro - te sub - - li - mi - a,

(d) line 7

e - ri - gens _____

⁵⁰ The redactor of *Fawvel* had no difficulty at this point as he made use only of the tenor.

Ex. 6(c), and in both voices with syllable 9 (= 3 of the *6pp*) in line 6 (*pre-*). Comparable extensions of the first member of each of the two binarie at the close of the composition indicate quite clearly that the said member should have the value of a ternary long (Ex. 7).⁵¹

The information from the short melismas and that from the enlargements combine to establish the same declamatory pattern for the latter part of the *10pp* as for the *6pp*. Ahead of the caesura the values must certainly add up to those of the fifth mode as well. It now appears that the tractus after the first syllable of the piece signals a rest of three *tempora*; thus the even number of syllables is accommodated to a phrase of the fifth mode. Successive lines do not separate the first syllable from what follows, but extra time is suggested in almost every case by a ternaria in one voice or the other.⁵²

The answer to the first of the questions posed at the outset of this essay must by now be apparent. The nature of the *6pp* is such that it can be accommodated only by a mode which evens out the irregularities of the poetic rhythm. It cannot be linked with one of the more sharply profiled modes because its own profile is so low. One feature alone is remarkable for its stability, namely, the antepenultimate accent. The musical setting does not suppress this feature—the accent

Example 7

O varium Fortune lubricum, conclusion

The musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in a treble clef and the lower staff is in a bass clef. Both staves show a sequence of notes with stems, including dotted notes and beams. A dashed line above the notes in the upper staff indicates a melisma. Below the staves, the lyrics 'e - li - - - gens' are written, with a long horizontal line under 'gens' indicating a melisma.

⁵¹ Recall the use of the same form in the W_1 copy of *Celum non animum*.

⁵² In the interest of completeness, attention is called to three further songs which prove to be fifth-mode settings of irregular texts. Each of the three strophes of *Artium dignitas* (*F*, fol. 349^r; W_1 , fol. 108^r) consists of proparoxytonic verses of varying length: six of six syllables, one of four, and one of eight. The *6pp* is treated in the usual manner; the *4pp*, heard three times in the through-composed setting, is adapted to the fifth mode in the same way as the syllables ahead of the caesura in *O varium Fortune lubricum*. An odd number of substitutions similarly adjusts the *8pp* to match the mode, not only in this piece, but in *Cortex occidit littere* (*F*, fol. 316^v; W_1 , fol. 109^r), made up exclusively of this species of verse. (The terminal melisma of the latter, much less an integral part of the composition than the caude which conclude or otherwise embellish *O vera o pia* and *O varium Fortune lubricum*, nonetheless appears in *F* in the fifth mode. It is transmuted in W_1 to the sixth.) *Veneris prosperis* (*F*, fol. 352^v), like *Artium dignitas*, has lines of differing length.

regularly coincides with the beginning of the second half-phrase—but neither does it impose upon the poetry patterns which ill become its flexible structure.

We come now to the second of our questions: are syllabic settings of trochaic poetry invariably governed by the first rhythmic mode? The answer is no. The following pieces, all in the strictest possible poetic rhythm, can readily be shown to move in the longs of the fifth mode:

Mundus vergens, *F*, fol. 9^r

Veri floris sub figura, *F*, fol. 229^r; *W*₁, fol. 15^v; *Ma*, fol. 129^v; *W*₂,⁵³ fol. 39^v

Redit etas aurea, *F*, fol. 318^v; *W*₁, fol. 110^v

Gratuletur populus, *F*, fol. 349^v; *W*₁, fol. 115^v; *Ma*, fol. 125^v

In occasu sideris, *F*, fol. 350^v; *W*₁, fol. 117^r

Pange melos lacrimosum, *F*, fol. 351^r; *W*₁, fol. 119^r

Involutus in erroris, *F*, fol. 353^v

The reader will notice that the two- and three-voice compositions listed here are freely intermingled in the manuscripts with those based on the *6pp*. (*Mundus vergens* is copied in the first fascicle of *F* with the other compositions *a 4*: two organa, one clausula, and two conductus.) All five of the pieces *a 3* are copied in *F* between fols. 219^v and 229^r. The pair of these which occur in *Ma* reduced to two voices lie between fols. 124^r and 129^v, while the two in *W*₁ occupy fols. 15^r and 15^v. *Cortex occidit littere*⁵⁴ and *Redit etas aurea* stand somewhat apart in *F*, on fols. 316^v and 318^v, respectively, but the remaining two-voice pieces are grouped together on fols. 349^r–355^r. *W*₁ records six of the compositions *a 2*, *Cortex occidit littere* and *Redit etas aurea* among them, between fols. 108^r and 119^r. *Gratuletur populus* stands between *Procurans odium* and *Veri floris sub figura* in *Ma*. The scribes or redactors of the several manuscripts have made no exception to the usual practice of keeping compositions of similar style in close proximity to each other.

Having examined the first group of songs in great detail, we may pass more quickly over the second. The same ambiguities are present; the same sorts of clues suggest their resolution. Some pieces provide a substantial amount of notational information; some are to be read in the fifth mode on the basis of their overall style. Careful scrutiny of two of the trochaic pieces should suffice to support our conclusions.

Each of the four strophes of *Redit etas aurea* consists of three cou-

⁵³ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod-Guelf. 1099.

⁵⁴ See above, n. 52.

plets ($7pp + 6p$) and a tercet ($7pp + 7pp + 6p$). The rhythm, as already noted, is entirely regular and, given the modest ornamentation of the first musical strophe,⁵⁵ declamation in longs and breves at first seems feasible. It is true that the majority of the composites which do occur (eleven of sixteen) cause the somewhat uncharacteristic fracture of the modal values into groups of two or three semibreves. Still, the reading is possible.⁵⁶ The ornamentation increases so markedly in the latter part of the piece, however, that declamation in the first mode is virtually out of the question. On the strength of this Heinrich Husmann determined that the proper declamatory mode was the fifth.⁵⁷ The case is strong on stylistic grounds and there are notational features which prove it beyond any doubt. Once again the essential information is to be found in a melisma, in this case the one which concludes the initial strophe. It is given here with the last two lines of text (Ex. 8).

The declamatory pattern of the tercet is a simple augmentation of the first-mode pattern for verses of the same species. The cauda, which is an integral part of the larger strophe and presumably compatible with it in style, takes the place of the duplex long elsewhere introduced with the penultimate syllable of the shorter line.

A few details in the notation of the melisma in W_1 may be confusing, but there is nothing that cannot be resolved. The first three notes in the tenor (mm. 35–6) are written in ligature, not the normal ligature of the first mode, certainly, but the conventional one of the fifth. F has simple notes. The omission from W_1 of tractus marking the cadence of the subsequent tenor phrase and its repetition (mm. 38 and 46) was, in all probability, an error, but the clarity of the duplum and the perfect symmetry of the phrase make it certain that extra time is needed at this point. Both scribes use the binaria standing for two ternary longs near the close of the duplum. Here it is the progress in the tenor that determines the reading.

Husmann describes the melismas as being in the first mode and it is possible to identify this one as such. It might also be described as hovering between the first and the fifth or as a fifth mode oriented toward the first, or vice versa. What is important here is not so much

⁵⁵ The four strophes of the poem are arranged in pairs after the manner of the sequence: *a a b b*.

⁵⁶ The monophonic version of the song in the *Roman de Fauvel* is notated in the first mode.

⁵⁷ Husmann, "Zur Grundlegung der musikalischen Rhythmik," p. 11, n. 1. Jacques Handschin also used the fifth mode for the transcription in Alfred Einstein's *Short History of Music*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1938), p. 260.

number of mistakes which mar the copying and which indicate, perhaps, that the scribe had little understanding of the original intention. Here as elsewhere, then, we must depend on *F*, *W*₁, and *Ma*. Collectively these manuscripts show a fairly complex adaptation of the trochaic text to the fifth mode.

The strophes of *Veri floris sub figura* consist of seven verses: three of eight syllables (*8p*), three of seven (*7pp*), and one of six (*6p*). The simplest way to equate an eight-syllable line with a phrase of the fifth mode is to give one syllable the value of a duplex long. All three manuscripts indicate in one way or another, however, that the *8p* is divided into two groups of four syllables, each declaimed in the same manner: ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. The similarity to the treatment of
Ve-ri flo-ris sub fi-gu-ra

the *6pp* is remarkable. *Ma* gives no indication of a rest after the fourth syllable, but *W*₁ has tractus in all voices in each of the first two lines. The third, which goes over the page, has no stroke, but the change to the new folio begins with the fifth syllable. *F* has tractus in all voices in line 1, in one voice in line 3.

While the tractus is useful in suggesting the proper subdivision of the line, it is the material enlargement of key forms, above all in *Ma*, that provides the requisite information as to durational values. The opening verse in the said manuscript has extended forms with the third (♣) and seventh (♣) syllables in the tenor, one of the two voices here recorded. The eight-syllable lines which follow are less explicitly notated (only the fourth syllable of line 2 carries a duplex long), but may be assumed to follow the model of the first. *W*₁ employs enlargements at different but comparable places: in the duplum with the penult of line 2, in the triplum with that of line 3.

The seven-syllable lines are arranged here in two unequal parts: ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. ♪. Rests after the fourth syllable are introduced
flo-rem fe-cit mi-sti-cum
 in *Ma* for lines 5 and 6. The added length of the third syllable is signalled twice in *W*₁, all three times in *Ma*, by enlarged forms.

The setting of the last line corresponds to that of the *6p* in *Redit etas aurea*, with a duplex long on the penultimate syllable. Every one of the sources has such longs drawn at this point in the tenor and the duplum. The third voice has a composite of four notes in *W*₁, one of six in *F* (Ex. 9).⁵⁸

⁵⁸ For the reading of the ascending two-note ligatures as the equivalent of a quaternaria, see Waite, pp. 124–5. The artificial quaternaria is here telescoped with the ternaria, also artificial, which follows.

Example 9

Veri floris sub figura, conclusion

The musical score for Example 9 consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef, starting with a forte dynamic marking 'F'. It features a plicated simplex (two notes beamed together) and a four-note composite. The bottom two staves are bass clefs, likely for lute or organ accompaniment, showing a simple harmonic accompaniment. The lyrics '(na)-tu - - - ra.' are written below the vocal line, with hyphens indicating the syllable structure.

The Florence copy of *Veri floris sub figura* has a number of forms which are used in an unorthodox way. A pair of ternary longs with one syllable may be indicated, as we have seen elsewhere, by a binaria. Only rarely—and never in this piece—does the scribe indicate the long value of the first note of that ligature by a material extension. Another way of notating two ternary longs is by means of a plicated simplex, a form used no fewer than four times in this particular composition (Ex. 10). Three times material enlargements found in *Ma* and/or *W*₁, as shown, serve to corroborate the reading based on *F*, while the four-note composite appearing in the triplum of *F* with *no(stri)* strongly suggests a duration of six *tempora*.

The use of the plicated simplex as shorthand for two simple notes involves a certain amount of risk, and on the basis of the version of *Veri floris sub figura* in *F* it might be difficult to prove that this was what the scribe had in mind. The fact is, however, that there are several places in the melismatic sections of the more grandiose compositions where the context verifies exactly this practice. I call attention to a

Example 10

Veri floris sub figura

(a) duplum, line 2

Example 10 (a) shows a duplum line in bass clef. The notes are quarter notes: G, A, B, C, D, E, F, G. The lyrics 'quem pro - du - xit' are written below the notes.

quem pro - du - xit

(b) duplum, line 3

Example 10 (b) shows a duplum line in bass clef. The notes are quarter notes: G, A, B, C, D, E, F, G. The lyrics 'cle - ri no - stri' are written below the notes.

cle - ri no - stri

(c) triplum, line 3

Example 10 (c) shows a triplum line in treble clef. The notes are quarter notes: G, A, B, C, D, E, F, G. The lyrics 'pi - a cu - ra' are written below the notes.

pi - a cu - ra

(d) duplum, line 5

Example 10 (d) shows a duplum line in bass clef. The notes are quarter notes: G, A, B, C, D, E, F, G. The lyrics 'pre - ter u - sum' are written below the notes.

pre - ter u - sum

single example, drawn from the conclusion of *Iam vetus littera* (*F*, fol. 272^v; *W*₁, fol. 151^r; *Ma*, fol. 47^r). The melody of the cauda consists of four phrases (*a b c d*), each repeated with a slight cadential variant. The relevant passages occur at the beginning of phrases *b* and *c*, the first of which has the same counterpoint both times. The transcription follows *F* (Ex. 11).

The Florence scribe establishes the tenor pattern through the use

Example 11

Iam vetus littera, conclusion

(a) phrase *b*

Musical notation for phrase *b*. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The tenor line (bass clef) begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes F3, E3, and D3. Both lines feature a series of eighth-note patterns.

(b) phrase *c*¹

Musical notation for phrase *c*¹. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The tenor line (bass clef) begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes F3, E3, and D3. Both lines feature a series of eighth-note patterns.

(c) phrase *c*²

Musical notation for phrase *c*². The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The tenor line (bass clef) begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes F3, E3, and D3. Both lines feature a series of eighth-note patterns.

pa - - - - - cem, pa - - - - - cem,
cem. . .
do - na no - bis pa - - - - - cem

Musical notation with Latin lyrics. The vocal line (treble clef) is accompanied by a tenor line (bass clef). The lyrics are: pa - - - - - cem, pa - - - - - cem, cem. . . do - na no - bis pa - - - - - cem.

of simple notes in the tenor of *b*.⁵⁹ Having done so, he proceeds in *c* with the shortened form. Any doubt as to the correct reading of *c*¹ is removed when the tenor repeats with its new, wholly unequivocal counterpoint. The copyist of *W*₁ introduces the plica at once in *b*, no doubt assuming that, as in *c*², the proper reading of the tenor will be deduced from the duplum. This is not the place to explore the several uses of the plica in the notation of the conductus, only to note that, like the ligature, it is often to be interpreted *contra artem*.

* * *

The notation of syllabic music in the fifth mode has been a source of confusion to students of the Notre Dame repertory. The theorists, who treat but briefly of notation *cum littera*, emphasize the reconstruction of ligatures from discrete figures, and the handful of conductus preserved in both syllabic and melismatic form all move in the longs and breves of the first mode. It is not surprising, then, that the initial impulse of the modern scholar is to relate the forms before him to one or another of the modes normally notated in ligature. The simpler the forms the stronger the temptation to treat them as components of ligatures reconstructed *in intellectu*. And yet, it is precisely the simple forms which are needed to indicate the fifth mode regardless of whether the music is syllabic or melismatic.

The notation of the pieces at hand points clearly to the fifth mode, the deliberate pace of which was found by at least one medieval author to be suitable for certain kinds of syllabic music. The late thirteenth-century theorist, John of Grocheio, describes the categories of composition popular in his day, among them the *cantus coronatus*, "called by some," he says, "the simplex conductus." A sophisticated genre customarily composed by kings and nobles and sung before kings and princes of the earth, this *cantus* is executed solely in long notes.⁶⁰

Given the reference to the simple conductus, we might be tempted to conclude that John was thinking of the sort of piece we have been discussing. That would be a mistake, for his examples make it clear that what he meant by the *cantus coronatus* was the monophonic French

⁵⁹ *Ma*, which concludes with the first statement of *b*, likewise uses simple notes.

⁶⁰ "Cantus coronatus ab aliquibus simplex conductus dictus est. Qui enim propter bonitatem in dictamine et cantu a magistris et studentibus circa sonos coronatur, sicut gallice 'Ausi com l'unicorne' vel 'Quant li roussignol'. Qui etiam a regibus et nobilibus solet componi et etiam coram regibus et principibus terrae decantari, ut eorum animos ad audaciam et fortitudinem, magnanimitatem et liberalitatem commoveat, quae omnia faciunt ad bonum regimen. Est enim cantus iste de delectabili materia et ardua, sicut de amicitia et caritate, et ex omnibus longis et perfectis efficitur." *Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio* (Leipzig, 1943), ed. Ernst Rohloff, p. 50.

chanson. What is pertinent in the remarks cited is the expressed acceptance of declamation in long values. Furthermore, John's association of music so declaimed with "kings and princes of the earth" serves to reinforce our conclusions, since four of the conductus in the group treated relate to royal personages. *Ver pacis aperit* was written for the coronation of Philip Augustus in 1179, *Redit etas aurea* for the sacring of Richard I of England in 1189. *In occasu sideris* is at once a lament on the death of Henry II and a celebration of Richard's accession to the throne,⁶¹ while *Pange melos lacrimosum* is thought to have been prompted by the death of Barbarossa in 1190.

Finally, if the ternary long is the proper declamatory unit for the compositions cited—and the evidence is much too persuasive to be set aside—we are now in a position to read more exactly the prior history of the rhythmic modes. A commonly accepted chronology has the first and fifth modes the earliest to develop, followed somewhat later by the third, second, and sixth.⁶² The dates of the above-named occasional pieces and, we may guess, of those akin to them in style, not only confirm the position of the fifth mode in the accepted relative chronology, they establish as absolute its existence two decades and more before the close of the twelfth century.

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⁶¹ Leopold Delisle, "Discours prononcé à l'assemblée générale de la Société de l'histoire de France," *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, Année 1885, p. 119, and others after him who saw this composition as relating only to Henry's death, based their opinion on the single strophe of the text found in *F*. Two further strophes present in *W*₁ celebrate the coming of a "new heir of Hector . . . Richard of Poitou."

⁶² See especially Waite, pp. 59-77; Ernest Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and the Alternating Third Mode," this *JOURNAL*, XV (1962), pp. 249-91, above all, pp. 280-6, and "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," *Festschrift Walter Wiora* (Basel, 1967), pp. 241-9; and Rebecca Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausulae" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1974, University Microfilm no. 74-14204), chap. 9 and *passim*.