

Ernest H. Sanders / New York

(Ex. 13)

O  
BL

O - - - - - san - na - - - - -  
O - - - - - san - na in - - - - -

O  
BL

in ex - - - - -  
ex - - - - - cel - - - - -

O  
BL

- - - - -  
- - - - -

O  
BL

- - - - - cel - - - - - sis, - - - - -  
- - - - - sis, - - - - -

*BU* is of course a much more individual case. As we have seen, the compiler changes rhythms and even pitches as he chooses, though he clearly used *BL* as a basis. In the Gloria of the Lantins Mass, *O* has a two-part canon at the unison over a Tuba for the first section «Et in terra... bonæ voluntatis». *BL* accepts this version, but cuts out a full measure in all parts. However, this manuscript also includes a more normal setting for Cantus, Tenor, and Contratenor, retaining the original Cantus. *BU* once again shows its individuality by having a very different version only 8 bars in length, as compared with *O*'s 13 and *BL*'s 12. Indeed, one has the impression that *BU* was compiled for a choir whose accomplishments were generally on a less ambitious level than those for which *O* and *BL* were written. Four-part works are very few, amounting to no more than five in all, and two-part works are quite frequent. Some are in fact reductions of works found in three or four parts in other sources. Nevertheless, *BU*'s compiler certainly emerges as a strong personality, and the modern text underlay—usually, the kind of thing a twentieth-century editor might apply—is often striking. Finally, in the realm of accidentals, *BU* also often stands alone. Where the other two manuscripts write nothing, *BU* may well indicate a semitone at a cadence, for instance in the first two cadences of the Credo of the Lantins Mass. Such details, which may well appear insignificant in themselves, become important when used in conjunction with parallel sources.

Though temporal *termini a quibus*, covering a time span of approximately six decades, have been fixed for quite a few Notre-Dame conductus because of specific and datable events addressed in the poetry (see Appendix I), stylistic and technical factors have, on the whole, not yet been coordinated with known chronology. The examination of available evidence presented here produces suggestive perspectives, even though it yields relatively spotty results, in part because it restricts itself to polyphonic compositions and, specifically, to melismatic passages, and to one conductus *sine caudis* (*Crucifigat omnes*). The latter is one of four known so far which originated as caudæ of other conductus;<sup>1</sup> like clausulæ serving as conceptual and notational models for motets, these caudæ served as models for new conductus *sine caudis*.

The absence of caudæ is no secure criterion for dating. Yet, it is noteworthy that after 1189 all datable polyphonic conductus<sup>2</sup> not based on prior melismatic models have caudæ and that the earliest of these compositions (*Eclipsim patitur*) relates to an event that occurred in 1186,<sup>3</sup> even though the period of datable conductus begins some twenty years earlier.

## Examples 1a and 1b

*Eclipsim patitur*—*W*<sub>1</sub>, f. 110<sup>r</sup> (101<sup>r</sup>); *F* f. 322<sup>v</sup>

E - - - - -  
E - - - - - clypsim

1 The source for *Crucifigat omnes* is the final cauda of *Quod promisit*; the other three are *Bulla fulminante*, *Minor nati filius*, and *Anima iugi*, whose sources are caudæ of *Dic Christi veritas*, *Austro terris influente*, and *Relegentur ab area*, respectively.

2 The term «datable conductus» stands for compositions concerning events of which the more or less precise date is known.

3 The first datable monophonic conductus with a few (short) melismata concerns the same event.

[parce - -  
parce - -  
- - re.]  
- - re.

Ex. 1a demonstrates in a nutshell the kaleidoscopic motivic technique characteristic of many caudæ. The style of each voice of the short passage is familiar from the dupla of discant passages in the early layer of the *Magnus liber organi*.

Examples 2a and 2b

*W*<sub>1</sub>, f. 19<sup>v</sup> (15<sup>v</sup>) and *W*<sub>1</sub>, f. 31<sup>v</sup> (27<sup>v</sup>)

[ce - - - perunt  
ce - - - perunt  
quo - - - niam  
quo - - - niam]

It is the cross-referential contrapuntal exploitation of such material for which the conductus caudæ were the proving ground, hence evidently leading to the rise of the composition of organa tripla.

Significantly, Ex. 1b already consists of rhythms that are frequently encountered in works known to be by Perotinus, but are still very rare in the *W*<sub>1</sub> version of the *Magnus liber organi de gradali*, where generally they are associated with double longæ in the tenor.<sup>4</sup> The following excerpt

<sup>4</sup> They occur in M 23 (concordance of the relevant passage in M 42), M 48, and M 46. In the *Magnus liber organi de antiphonario* (*W*<sub>1</sub> version) such passages are relatively more frequent. Confer Ernest H. Sanders, «The Question of Perotinus's *Œuvre* and Dates», *Festschrift für Walter Wiora* (Kassel, 1967), pp. 241 f.; *idem*, «The Medieval Motet», *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift für Leo Schrade* (Bern & München, 1973), pp. 501 f.

from Perotinus's conductus *Salvatoris hodie* is quite similar in rhythmic style and in the resolute writing of dissonances in conjunction with the coördinate, though relatively independent melodic drive to contrapuntal cadences.<sup>5</sup>

Example 3

*W*<sub>1</sub>, f. 95<sup>r</sup> (86<sup>r</sup>); *LoA*, f. 86<sup>v</sup>; *Ff*, 201<sup>r</sup>; *Ma*, f. 111<sup>v</sup>; *W*<sub>2</sub>, f. 31<sup>r</sup>

[filie  
filie  
filie  
stola  
stola  
stola]

Unfortunately, as so often is the case in examining aspects of the Notre-Dame répertoire, the evidence is too meager for definite conclusions, but it may not be unreasonable to suggest that Perotinus played a major rôle in creating the concept and developing the style of the conductus *cum caudis*.

Examples 4 (1189) and 5 (1190?) show that the rhythms soon to be known as first mode were of course prevalent in the caudæ of conductus written before the end of the 12th century. Indeed, they continued to be prominent in the 13th century, as is well known from all Notre-Dame genres.

Example 4

*Redit etas aurea*—*W*<sub>1</sub>, f. 110<sup>v</sup> (101<sup>v</sup>); *Ff*, 318<sup>v</sup>

(a) [fugan - -  
fugan - -]

<sup>5</sup> For other examples from the same composition, see Sanders, «*Sine littera and cum littera*», *Music and Civilization: Essays Presented to Paul Henry Lang* (New York, 1984).

(b) [verita - -  
verita - -

- - tur.]  
- - tur,

- - tis.]  
- - tis.

Example 5  
Pange melos—*W*, f. 119<sup>r</sup> (110<sup>v</sup>); *F* f. 351<sup>r</sup>

[specu - -  
- - la.]

specu - -  
- - la.

\*or  
or

In the early years of the new century, however, the interrelated phrase design of the voices became considerably more complex, as it also did, gradually, in the organa tripla (and quadrupla) and in the emerging clausula repertoire.

Example 6  
Regi regum—*F* f. 337<sup>r</sup>

[iustitie]  
iustitie,

Example 7a  
*O felix Bituria*—*W*, f. 88<sup>r</sup> (79<sup>v</sup>); *F* f. 209<sup>r</sup>

[Per  
Per

Per

*Regi regum* and *O felix Bituria* pertain to an event that occurred in 1209. The second of these compositions is the first datable conductus with a cauda containing second-mode rhythms, thus lending a measure of support to the suggestion I made in 1967 that «in the years around 1210.... [Perotinus] must have.... experimented with the increasing variety of rhythm that came to be codified into the modal system.»<sup>6</sup>

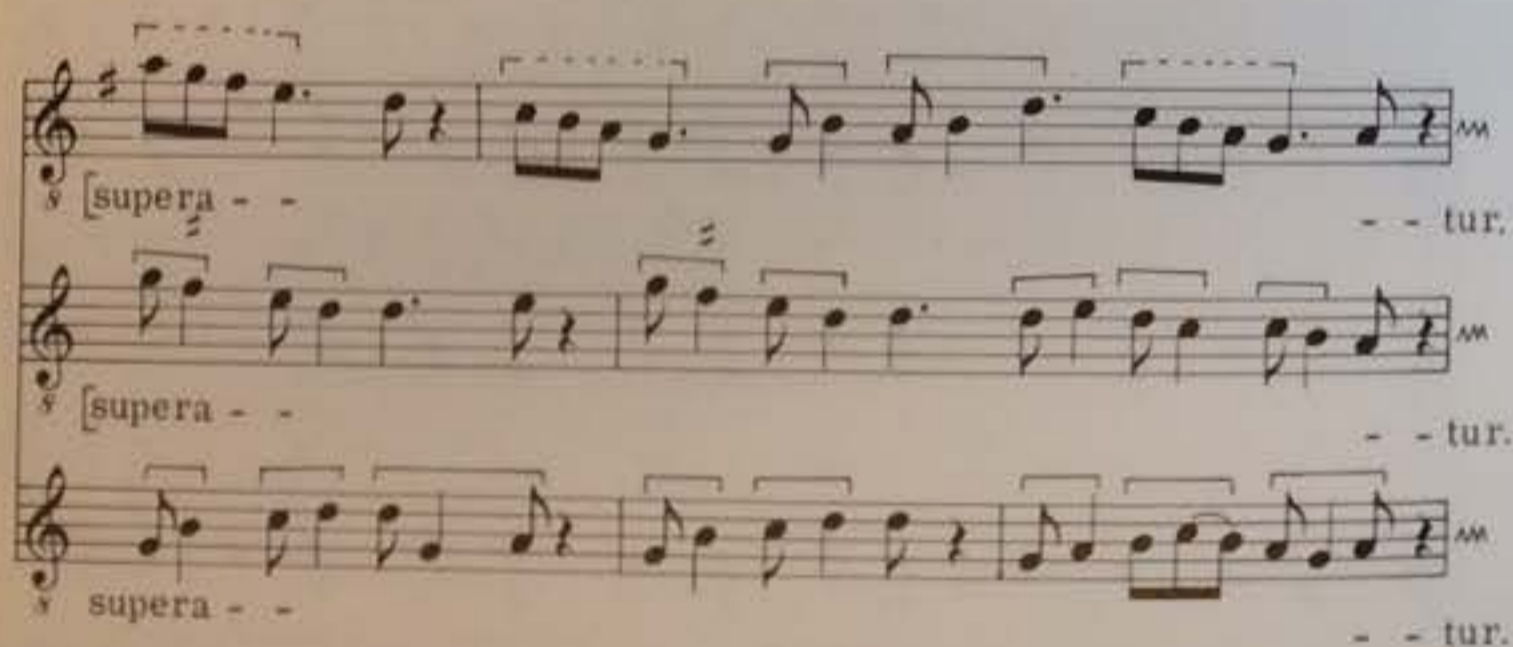
Example 7b  
*O felix Bituria*—W, f. 88<sup>r</sup> (79<sup>v</sup>); F f. 209<sup>r</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Sanders, «The Question,» p. 245.



The second-mode rhythms in Ex. 7b are, on the whole, elaborations of the rhythmic pattern of the newly emerged third mode, from which the second mode is likely to have originated.<sup>7</sup> A later conductus, concerning an event in 1224, contains a cauda whose second-mode passages are entirely independent of any association with the third mode.<sup>8</sup>

Example 8  
*De rupta Rupectula—F f. 245'*



The evolutionary process tentatively outlined here through observation of rhythmic features is paralleled by the declining incidence and cadential use of the vertical interval of the fourth in the above excerpts. As in other répertoires, after the twelfth century it increasingly loses validity as an unsupported contrapuntal interval.

<sup>7</sup> Confer *idem*, «Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in 13th-Century Polyphony,» *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XV (1962), p. 282.

<sup>8</sup> In *F*, the only source to contain the ending of the piece, the transmission of the end of the final cauda is corrupt.

The entire Notre-Dame répertoire contains no conductus for three voices that sets a poetic text concerning an event prior to the 13th century—except, apparently, *Crucifigat omnes* (dated circa 1188) and *Novus miles sequitur* (dated 1173). Routine composition for three voices seems quite unlikely as early as 1173. While it may have been cultivated fifteen years later, it is very doubtful that as early as 1188 a syllabic conductus would have been derived from the cauda of another; in all probability the presumably precedent technique of turning a clausula into a motet did not begin to flourish before the later years of the first decade of the 13th century.<sup>9</sup>

Otto Schumann, one of the editors of the texts of the *Carmina Burana*, considered *Crucifigat omnes*, whose text appears in that collection, to have been written in consequence of events leading to the third crusade and therefore dated it somewhere between 2nd October 1187, the day of Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, and early 1189.<sup>10</sup> To test this assumption it is essential to examine the poem's vocabulary carefully and without preconceptions.<sup>11</sup>

	Crucifigat omnes domini crux altera, nova Christi vulnera! Arbor salutifera perditur; sepulcrum gens evertit extera violente; plena gente sola sedet civitas; agni fedus rapit hedus; plorat dotes perditas Sponsa Syon; immolatur Ananias; incurvatur cornu David; flagellatur mundus; ab iniustis abdicatur per quem iuste iudicatur mundus.	May the Lord's second cross, Christ's new wounds, crucify everyone! The tree [trunk] of salvation has wasted away; violently a crowd of heathens demolishes the sepulcher; the city that was [though] full of people sits solitary [abandoned]; the goat destroys the lamb's covenant; Zion, the bride, bewails her lost dowry; Hananiah is struck down; the horn of David is bent low; he who is guiltless is scourged; he by whom the world is justly judged is deposed by the sinners.
5		
10		
15		

<sup>9</sup> Sanders, «The Question,» pp. 248, 245.

<sup>10</sup> *Carmina Burana*, eds. Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, v. II<sup>1</sup> (Heidelberg, 1930), p. 99. — Volumes I<sup>1</sup> and II<sup>1</sup> were published simultaneously; vol. I<sup>2</sup> was edited by Otto Schumann (Heidelberg, 1941), and vol. I<sup>3</sup> by Otto Schumann and Bernhard Bischoff (Heidelberg, 1970). The edition awaits completion.

<sup>11</sup> The translation into English offered here differs in a few details from that given in Gordon A. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre-Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel/Helmstadt, 1099 (1206)*, part I, pp. 58 f. For transcriptions, see part II, pp. 30 f, 232 f, 264; *El Códex musical de Las Huelgas*, ed. Higinio Anglés, v. III (Barcelona, 1931), N° 97; Janet Knapp, *Thirty-five Conductus*, in *Collegium Musicum VI* (1965), pp. 42 f; *The Las Huelgas Manuscript*, ed. Gordon A. Anderson, v. II (*Corpus mensurabilis musicae* 79, 1982), N° 62.

20	O quam dignos luctus! Exulat rex omnium; baculus fidelium sustinet opprobrium gentis infidelis;	O what fitting lamentations! The king of all is exiled; the staff of the faithful suffers the scorn of the infidels;
25	cedit parti gentium  pars totalis; iam regalis in luto et latere	the total part [the part that is totality, <i>id est</i> , Christ]  gives way to the party of the heathens; now the royal land struggles in mud and brick [ <i>id est</i> , in oppression]
30	elaborat tellus, plorat Moysen fatiscere; homo, dei miserere, fili, patris ius tuere, in incerto certum quere,	and bewails the faintheartedness of Moses. Man, have mercy on God, son, defend the father's authority [right]; in instability seek that which is certain,
35	ducis ducum dona promerere et lucrare lucem vere lucis!	make sure you deserve the gifts of the leader of leaders and gain the splendor of the true light.
40	[Quisquis es signatus fidei caractere, fidem factis assere, rugientes contere catulos leonum; miserans intueri corde tristi damnum Christi; longus Cedar incola,	Whoever you may be who are marked with the sign of the faith, demonstrate that faith with deeds, smash the roaring young lions; regard with pity and saddened heart Christ's harm. You who have long been a far-off in- habitant
45	surge, vide, ne de fide reproberis frivola; suda, martyr, in agone spe mercedis et corone; derelicta Babylone pugna	of Kedar, rise and see to it that you are not condemned of trifling faith; toil in combat, martyr, in hopes of reward and crown; forsake Babylon and fight
50	pro celesti regione, aqua vite; te compone, pugna!]	for the heavenly realm, for the water of life! Prepare yourself, fight!
55		

The poem contains a number of metaphorical allusions strongly suggesting that it concerns not the third, but the fifth crusade. The most important of these metaphors is the expression «*plorat Moysen fatiscere*» (vv. 30-31). According to Schumann, this «*wird heißen, daß das Heilige Land trauert über die Saumseligkeit, mit der zum Kreuzzug gerüstet wird...*»<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Carmina Burana*, eds. Hilka and Schumann, II<sup>1</sup>, p. 98.

There was, however, no undue delay in the preparation for the third crusade.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, if the poet's purpose had been merely to complain about a generally prevailing tardiness, his reference to Moses (*id est*, his protracted reluctance to do the Lord's bidding—*Exodus* III and IV) would be quite enigmatic. On the other hand, beginning in early 1219, the constant procrastination of Frederick II to assume the military leadership of the fifth crusade, quickly became a cause célèbre in Christendom. Pope Honorius III reprimanded him on 1st October «*quod ad Terre Sancte subsidium promptiorem et maiorem non exhibes apparatus,*» and cautioned him «*ne... laqueum, quod absit, excommunicationis incurras*». The letter is filled with exhortations: «*excitare te ipsum... compelle... festina, festina... Festina, rex egregie...*»<sup>14</sup> The urgent tone is particularly understandable in the light of what in September the pope had written to Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate with the crusaders: «*Noveris autem multitudinem signatorum ad Terre Sancte festinare succursum, ad quem etiam carissimus in Christo filius noster Fredericus illustris, in Romanorum Imperatorem electus, speratur recepta imperii corona in proximo accessurus. Quare sicut alter Josue populum Domini corroborata et confortata...*»<sup>15</sup> In a further letter to Frederick, written in March 1220, the pope again complains «*de retardato processu tuo in subsidium Terre Sancte*» and enjoins him: «*Accingere, accingere gladio...*»<sup>16</sup> Moreover, «much contemporary popular criticism was directed at Frederic; it appears in some of the poetry of the troubadours, who reminded him of his repeated failures to fulfill his vow.»<sup>17</sup> For instance, a poem by Peirol contains the following line: «Just a short while ago I saw the emperor swear many an oath, which he now breaks...»<sup>18</sup>

While Moses was often referred to in mediæval writings as a prototypical leader, the use of his name in connection with the state of the fifth crusade in 1219 or shortly thereafter was especially apt. In 1218, the crusaders, having arrived in Acre, decided for a number of sound strategic reasons to implement an old plan, which had been considered several

<sup>13</sup> The best and most recent accounts of the crusades are given in Adolf Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Freiburg i/Br, 1956) and Kenneth M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades* (1969 ff). A lively and detailed account of the fifth crusade is contained in Joseph P. Donovan's *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade* (Philadelphia & London, 1950), chapters II-IV.

<sup>14</sup> J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles, ed., *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, v. 1 (Paris, 1852), p. 692.

<sup>15</sup> *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, v. XIX (1880), p. 691.

<sup>16</sup> J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles, ed., *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, v. 1 (Paris, 1852), p. 746 f.

<sup>17</sup> Kenneth M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades* (1969 ff), p. 437. For troubadour poems referring to Frederick II, several of them dealing with his dilatory rôle in the fifth crusade, see O. Schultz-Gora, *Ein Sirventes von Guilhem Figueria gegen Friedrich II*, (Halle a/S, 1902), especially the list in Appendix I (pp. 33-38).

<sup>18</sup> See Friedrich Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* (Zwickau, 1829), pp. 317 ff; 2nd ed., Karl Bartsch, ed. (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 258 ff; Vincenzo de Bartholomæis, *Poesie provenzali storiche relativo all' Italia*, v. II (*Istituto storico Italiano: fonti per la storia d'Italia*, v. LXXII; Roma, 1931), pp. 11-14.

times ever since the first crusade, to wrest the Holy Land from the Moslems by first conquering their Egyptian stronghold. They began their siege of the important city of Damietta (about 45 kilometers west of Port Saïd) on 29th May 1218. It was not until 17 months later (5th November 1219) that they succeeded in taking it, only to lose it again in August 1221.<sup>19</sup> That defeat in effect brought the fifth crusade to its ignominious end.

The man who, more than anyone else, was responsible for the conduct of the crusade in Egypt was the papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius. That the crusaders' difficulties in Egypt as well as Frederick's constant procrastinations should have caused the latter to be referred to as Moses—at least in this poem—seems anything but surprising.<sup>20</sup> Not only was he the European secular leader, but he was also thought of as the only figure of sufficient authority and brilliance to guide the crusaders from Egypt to the Holy Land.

These circumstances make it possible to interpret several other references in the poem, which proceeds from a general lament about the plight of the Holy Land (stanza 1), to the exhortation of Christians to come to the rescue (stanza 2), to a specific appeal to «Moses» (stanza 3). The injunction to «defend the faith with deeds» would seem to imply that Frederick's many promises were no longer sufficient. The reference to a long stay in far-off Kedar is uniquely applicable to Frederick, who, though a Sicilian by background and inclination, had resided in Germany since 1212. The warning not to run the risk of being «condemned of worthless faith» finds its corollary in the pope's cautionary mention in October 1219 of possible excommunication. The command to foresake Babylon, *id est*, the sordid affairs of the secular world with its sinful luxuries,<sup>21</sup> seems peculiarly appropriate to Frederic and his political preoccupations. The reference to «corona» can also be seen as specific; on 22nd November 1220 Honorius bestowed the imperial crown on Frederic, who at long last had left Germany to go to Rome for that occasion. To be sure, several of these expressions can be understood as applicable to Christians generally, but the references to Kedar and, especially, to Moses seem too precise, given the historical circumstances, not to be related to Frederick II and therefore justify the specific relevance of the other allusions.

Thus, the poem is likely to have been written in the summer or early fall of 1219, before the crusaders' conquest of Damietta, or, possibly, during the spring or summer of 1220, *id est*, before Frederick's coronation, at a time when on account of the crusaders' increasing demoraliza-

<sup>19</sup> Hence the line in Peirol's poem: «Empereur, Damietta awaits you...».

<sup>20</sup> Such Biblical allusions were staples, as is also borne out by the pope's reference to Pelagius as Joshua before the walls of Jericho/Damietta.

<sup>21</sup> This differs from Anderson's rendition (Gordon A. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt, 1099 (1206)*, part I, p. 59) of «derelicta Babylone» as «with the Holy Land in captivity»; in the same translation into English «the law of Moses» is substituted for «Moses».

tion the situation in Egypt had already begun to deteriorate fatefully. The revised dating is entirely consistent with the most recent dating of MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660 («Carmina burana»), which reverts essentially to that given by Wilhelm Meyer, *id est, circa* 1225.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the manuscript contains another poem that can be dated 1219 (or perhaps a year or two earlier).<sup>23</sup>

The amended date brings this composition into close temporal proximity with *Bulla fulminante* (1222-1223),<sup>24</sup> another of the four conductus that are known to be versions *cum littera* of the cauda of a preëxisting conductus. (Passages in *Crucifigat* that show the priority of the melismatic version are *domini crux [Duplum]* and *Ananias... flagellatur mundus [Duplum]*.) The earlier date traditionally assigned to *Crucifigat* must be recognized to predate the rise of this «motetish» procedure by at least twenty years.

The poetic form, which Schumann had called «sehr kunstvoll, sorgfältig und eigenartig»<sup>25</sup> of course owes its idiosyncrasies to the sophisticated phrase structure of the melismatic original—a situation that is abundantly familiar from the motet répertoire with its melismatic models (clausulæ). The following diagram shows the ingenuity of the poet in his confrontation with that of the composer.

		20			20		28		
Musical phrases	Longæ	4 4	4 4	4 4	8	8	8	4+6	4+6
		AA'	BB'	CD	E-D	E-D	F(=FF')	G-G'	G-G'
Verses	Rhymes and number of syllables	a <sub>6</sub> b <sub>7</sub>	b <sub>7</sub> b <sub>7</sub>	c <sub>6</sub> b <sub>7</sub>	d <sub>4</sub> d <sub>4</sub> e <sub>7</sub>	f <sub>4</sub> f <sub>4</sub> e <sub>7</sub>	g <sub>8</sub>	g <sub>8</sub> g <sub>8</sub> h <sub>2</sub>	g <sub>8</sub> g <sub>8</sub> h <sub>2</sub>
		40			30		44		

A complete edition of the composition is given in Appendix II. The *Hu* version, whose Duplum diverges after *Syon*, shows significant contrapuntal and rhythmic differences from all the others. For melodic adjustments in the Duplum see *sepulcrum*, *vi(olente)*, *a(gni)*, and *rapit*. Revealing rhythmic variants occur at *omnes*, *sepulcrum*, and, especially, *sponsa Syon immolatur*. In all these spots, *Hu* perverts the emphatic rhythm, clearly indicated in the cauda of *Quod promisit* (note particularly the explicit *divisiones* in *W<sub>1</sub>* in the last of those three passages) and in *Crucifigat* by a special notational device at *sponsa Syon* in *W<sub>2</sub>b*, to a continuation of the preceding trochaic (first-mode) rhythm. These changes were

<sup>22</sup> See David Fallows, «Sources, MS, Secular Monophony», *The New Grove XVII*, p. 637a; Wilhelm Meyer, ed., *Fragmenta Burana* (Berlin, 1901), p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> Hilka and Schumann, eds., *Carmina Burana*, v. II<sup>1</sup>, p. 71<sup>a</sup>; v. I<sup>2</sup>, p. XI.

<sup>24</sup> Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili* (Halle a/S, 1910), p. 266; Jacques Handschin, «Conductus-Spicilegien», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft IX* (1952), p. 107.

<sup>25</sup> Hilka and Schumann, eds., *Carmina Burana*, v. II<sup>1</sup>, p. 97.

reported by Anderson without comment,<sup>26</sup> although he had earlier asserted that the mensural sources of Notre-Dame conductus (particularly *Hu* and a fragmentary source in the Heidelberg library) «reflect very accurately the rhythm of these works as conceived by their composers and as transmitted in manuscripts in square notation».<sup>27</sup> The Triplum of *Cjec* seems less accomplished than that in the Continental sources, since only the latter has musical recurrences together with those of the Tenor and Duplum.<sup>28</sup>

\*\*\*\*\*

The most probable time of composition of *Novus miles*, a conductus concerning St. Thomas of Canterbury, has been said to be «almost certainly in the early part» of 1173<sup>29</sup> or «the spring of 1173».<sup>30</sup> The Latin text and a translation into English are given below to provide the necessary basis for an examination of the content and dating of the poem.

	Novus miles sequitur viam novi regis, bonus pastor patitur pro salute gregis;	The new champion [soldier] follows the path of the new king; the good shepherd suffers for the welfare of his flock.
5	Thomas agni sanguine lavat stole gemine purpuram rubentem; res est satis evidens quod illustrat occidens	Thomas doubly laves the purple of the robe reddened with the blood of the lamb. It is very clear that he who perishes
10	totum orientem.	illustrates him who was just born. <sup>31</sup>

26 Gordon A. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt. 1099 (1206)*, part I, p. 63.

27 «The Rhythm of *cum littera* Sections of Polyphonic Conductus in Mensural Sources.» *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXVI (1973), p. 301; he made a similar assertion five years later in «The Rhythm of the Monophonic Conductus in the Florence Manuscript as Indicated in Parallel Sources in Mensural Notation.» *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXI (1978), p. 480.

28 For a differing view, see Anderson, *The Latin Compositions*, part I, p. 65.

29 Denis Stevens et alii, eds., *Music in Honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury* (London, 1970), p. 49. An edition of the conductus is found on pp. 10 ff. It is identical to that given in Janet Knapp, *Thirty-five Conductus*, in *Collegium Musicum VI* (1965), pp. 40 f, including three textual readings (accidens, paralytici, Legicestriam). For two other editions, see Higini Anglès, *El Còdex musical de Las Huelgas*, ed. v. III (Barcelona, 1931), N° 102; Anderson, ed., *The Las Huelgas Manuscript*, II, N° 63.

30 Denis Stevens, «Music in Honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury.» *The Musical Quarterly* LVI (1970), p. 340, where the composition is referred to as a motet.

	Opus erat medico mundo morienti, et gregi dominico pastore prudenti;	The dying world needed a healer, <sup>32</sup> the Lord's flock needed its wise shepherd.
15	sanguis Thome medici mundi paralytici vulnera sanavit; clamat grex dominicus quod Anglorum medicus mundum renovavit.	The blood of Thomas, the healer, has cured the wounds of the palsied world. The Lord's flock proclaims the world's renewal by England's physician.
20		
	Thoma, nati parvuli miles triumphalis, sis cleri, sis populi pastor spiritalis;	Thomas, triumphant champion of the tiny Son, be the spiritual shepherd of clergy and people.
25	audi Legecestriam, clerum et miliciam eius ita rege, ut regnet in patria peracta milicia	Hear Leicester and guide its clergy and knighthood so that, having completed its service, it may abide with the eternal king
30	cum eterno rege.	in the heavenly realm.

The summary of the poem's content given in the cited article<sup>33</sup> refers to the effect the martyrdom of St. Thomas «had on the Western world» (vv. 9-10), identifies the «new king» (v. 2) as the son of Henry II, whom the latter had crowned (as co-regent) in 1170 and who («the young Prince Henry») is taken to be the «little boy» of the poem (v. 21). The salient fact to remember in reading this poem, however, is that the feast of St. Thomas of course occurs on the day of his martyrdom, *id est*, only four days after Christmas, the birthday of the new king, the *natus parvulus*, which is hardly what anyone would have called the eighteen-year-old Prince Henry in 1173. Nor, clearly, do verses 9 and 10 have anything to do with the effect of the murder in the cathedral on the Western world. The enormity of this event, «*in loco sacro, sacro Domenicæ Nativitatis tempore*,»<sup>34</sup> is signified with consummate poignancy in the poem. Not only has St. Thomas's blood effected miraculous cures,<sup>35</sup> but it also serves as

31 But also (?): that the West wholly illumines the East, and also (?) that (paradoxically) the sunset illumines the sunrise.

32 Also: Dying, the guiltless one needed a physician. — For the various meanings of *miles* and *militia* see *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*; J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediæ Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976); Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs Chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1954); *Novum Glossarium Mediæ Latinitatis*.

33 Denis Stevens, «Music in Honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury.» *The Musical Quarterly* LVI (1970), pp. 339 f.

34 *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Sarum*, ed. F. Proctor and C. Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1882, R/ 1970), col. cclvi (eighth lesson).

35 Denis Stevens, «Music in Honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury.» *The Musical Quarterly* LVI (1970), pp. 340. See also the ninth lesson in the *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Sarum*, ed. F. Proctor and C. Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1882, R/ 1970), col. cclvii: «*leprosos mundans, consolidans paralyticos...*».



a shocking reminder, right there and then, of the little babe's ultimate destiny, of the purple robe<sup>36</sup> bloodied doubly and in a dual way—both before and after, as it were.

The third stanza does indeed seem to point to 1173 as the most likely year of origin of the conductus. Leicester was one of the major centers of rebellion against the king, who finally gained his decisive victory in July 1174.<sup>37</sup> However, if one wishes to relate the poem to a specific event, there are other occasions that could have prompted the writing of the third stanza, which, like the second, exists only in one of the three sources transmitting the conductus. «A new revolt broke out in 1183» in Leicester and «the struggle which broke out between King John and the barons in 1215 again made Leicestershire the scene of conflict».<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, the likeliest of the pertinent dates must be recognized to be 1173, though the liturgical references<sup>39</sup> strongly point to the day of the feast rather than any other time of the year.

The one remaining problem is the fact that a composition for three voices would seem to be an almost impossibly early occurrence in 1173. While the three voices have been described as intertwining «themselves harmoniously, smoothly, and with a skillful use of minimotives»<sup>40</sup> the Triplum, which occurs in only one of the three sources, is nonetheless the least smooth of the voices (it contains four *fifths*, one *seventh*, and one *octave*) and has the greatest number of contrapuntal infelicities. One may well be justified to conclude, therefore, that it was a later addition or, less probably, that a somewhat problematic composition à 3 was written at some later time (perhaps 1215).<sup>41</sup>

36 *St. Mark*, XV, 17, 20; *St. John*, XIX, 2, 5.

37 Wilfred L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), p. 135.

38 *The Victoria History of the County of Leicester*, v. II (1954), pp. 83, 84.

39 Note also the following two verses in the sequence «*Solemne canticum hodie in die sancti Thomæ Martyris*» (*Missale ad usum insignis et præclara ecclesie Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson, Burntisland, 1861-1863, p. 72): *Sed Christi sic in vestigio/ stabant Thomæ pedes recti...*

40 Denis Stevens, «Music in Honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury», *The Musical Quarterly* LVI (1970), pp. 339.

41 I thank the members of my graduate seminar in the Spring of 1982 for their productive collaboration, particularly Barbara Witucki, who compiled a very useful list of datable conductus.

## Appendix I

### Datable Conductus<sup>42</sup>

<i>Incipit</i>	<i>Anderson N°</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of Voices</i>
In rama sonat gemitus	L 1	1164-1170	1
Novus miles sequitur	E 11	1173 (?)	3
Ver pacis aperit	J 32	1179	2
Omnis in lacrimas	K 2	1181	1
Eclipsim patitur	I 7	1186	2
Anglia planctus itera	K 12	1186	1
Venit Jhesus in propria	K 42	1187	1
Sol eclipsim patitur	K 83	1188	1
Redit etas aurea	I 8	1189	2
In occasu syderis	I 11	1189	2
Pange melos lacrimosum	I 15	1190 (?) <sup>43</sup>	2
Divina providentia	K 9	circa 1192	1
Turmas arment christicolas	K 41	1192-1193	1
Eclipsim passus tociens	K 33	1197	1
Jherusalem, Jherusalem	K 46	1198	1
Pater sancte dictus Lotharius	K 61	1198	1
Christus assistens pontifex	K 48	1208	1

42 For relevant bibliographic details see Gordon A. Anderson's invaluable «Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné», *Miscellanea Musicologica* VI (1972), pp. 153-229; VII (1975), pp. 1-81. Not included in this list are: (1) *Nulli beneficium*, because of the entirely too flimsy grounds on which this composition was dated by Handschin in «A Monument of Mediæval English Polyphony», *The Musical Times* LXXIV (1932), p. 512; (2) *Nemo sane spreverit*; Léopold Delisle associated this poem with king Philipp II (Philipp Augustus), «qualifié de borgne dans plusieurs textes du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle» («Discours», *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de L'Histoire de France* XXII [1885], p. 111, n. 6). There is no information, however, when during his 58-year life he lost the sight of one eye; indeed, Alexander Cartellieri, in his four-volume biography of Philipp (*Philipp II August, König von Frankreich, 1190-1222*) states (v, IV, pt. II, p. 577, n. 1) that «otherwise nothing is known» of the king's blindness in one eye; (3) and (4) *Aque vive dat fluentia* and *In paupertate predio*, poems concerning Sts. Anthony of Padua and Francis of Assisi, respectively, cannot be dated precisely; (5) and (6) *Dum sigillum* and *Salvatoris hodie* as well as (7) *Beata viscera*, while known to have been composed by Perotinus, can likewise not be dated with sufficient precision.

43 «Ces deux couplets se rapportent peut-être [sic] à la mort de l'empereur Frédéric Barberousse, en 1190» (Delisle, *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de L'Histoire de France* XXII [1885], p. 119, n. 2).

Anni favor iubilei	J 25	1208 <sup>44</sup>	2
Regi regum omnium	J 22	1209	2
O felix Bituria	E 8	1209	3
Rex et sacerdos pefuit	K 49	1212	1
Crucifigat omnes	D 3	1219 (1220)	3
Bulla fulminante	L 5	1222-1223	1
Beata nobis gaudia	K 44	1223	1
Alabastrum frangitur	K 50	1223	1
O mors que mordes omnia	K 77	1223	1
De rupta Rupecula	F 25	1224	3
Clavus clavo retunditur	K 51	1233	1
Clavus pungens acumine	J 39	1233 (?) <sup>45</sup>	2
Aurelianus civitas	K 60	1236	1

## Appendix II

### Critical Commentary

Abbreviations:	<i>b</i>	brevis	<i>lig</i>	ligature
	<i>div</i>	divisio	<i>si</i>	single note
	<i>Du</i>	Duplum	<i>T</i>	Tenor
	<i>l</i>	longa	<i>Tr</i>	Triplum

Numbers designate bars and — after the comma — notes within bars.

#### I. Final cauda of *Quod promisit* (Anderson catalogue: G 2)

Sources: *W*<sub>1</sub>, f. 140<sup>v</sup> (131<sup>v</sup>); *F*, f. 301<sup>r</sup>; *Ma*, f. 77<sup>v</sup>; *W*<sub>2</sub>, f. 112<sup>v</sup>; *Hu*, f. 133<sup>v</sup>; Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek H.B.I. (Ascet.), f. 32<sup>v</sup>.<sup>46</sup>

Variants: *T W*<sub>1</sub> 2,3-4 *si* (D)/ 9,1-6 *div* after each note. *T F* 4,3 B/ 13,7-9 *ll* (GF). *T Ma* 1,6-7 no *div*/ 6,5-7 *ll* (BG). *T Hu* Flat signature through bar 5, cancelled before bar 7/ 1,6-7 no *div*/ 3,1 D/ 3,4-6 CDC/ 5,1-6 missing/ 8,3 no plica/ 11,8 rest (no *b*)/ 13,8 see transcription.

*Du W*<sub>1</sub> 9,1-2, 4-6 *div* after each note. *Du F* 10,4 *div*/ *Du Ma* 2,3 *div* erased. *Du W*<sub>2</sub> 9,5 *div*/ 13,7-9 *ll* (AG). *Du Hu* Flat signature through bar 9, cancelled before bar 10/ 2,3 *lb* (GG), no rest/ 6,1-7 missing/ 8,3 no plica/ 10,4 and 10,8 *div*/ 13,9 see transcription.

<sup>44</sup> While this conductus is usually dated 1209-1229 (see also Robert A. Falck, «The Structure of the Polyphonic and Monophonic Conductus Repertoires,» Brandeis University Dissertation, 1970, pp. 44, 105; his *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory* [Musicological Studies/ Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen XXXIII, 1981] is a slightly revised, but not updated version of the dissertation), Nikolaus Paulus (*Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, v. II, Paderborn, 1923, pp. 101 ff) and Paolo Brozzi (*Storia degli Anni Santi*, Milan, [1950], p. 15) provide information making 1208 a more likely date.

<sup>45</sup> Confer Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi still* (Halle a/S, 1910), p. 266.

#### II. Conductus *Crucifigat omnes* (Anderson catalogue; D 3)

Sources: *W*<sub>1</sub>, f. 78<sup>v</sup> (71<sup>v</sup>); *F*, f. 231<sup>v</sup>; *W*<sub>2</sub>, f. 46<sup>v</sup> (= *W*<sub>2a</sub>); *W*<sub>2</sub>, f. 138<sup>v</sup> (= *W*<sub>2b</sub>); Cambridge, Jesus College, Q.B.1, f. 1<sup>c</sup>; *Hu*, f. 97<sup>r</sup>; Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek H.B.I. (Ascet.), ff. 33<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>.<sup>46</sup>

General remarks: For commentary on the text see *Carmina Burana*, eds. Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, and Gordon A. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt. 1099 (1206)*. The punctuation of the original sources has been retained in the edition of the music, but was adjusted in the edition of the text (p. 513 *supra*). Accidentals are indicated as written in the sources; extrapolations are given in square brackets.

Variants: (1) Text: See Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, *opere citato*, I<sup>1</sup>, pp. 92-94; Otto Schumann and Bernhard Bischoff, *opere citato*, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 198.

(2) Music: Confer Anderson, *The Latin Compositions*, part I, pp. 57 ff. — No Tr in *W*<sub>2b</sub> and *Hu*.

*T W*<sub>1</sub> 2,3-4 *si* (D)/ 3,1-7 missing/ 7,9-10 *div*/ 7,10 BA (lig)/ 8,10 BA (lig). *T F* 2,5 C/ 7,9-10 *div*/ 8,9-10 *div*/ 9,7-8 A plicated. *T Cjec* 2,2 FE (lig)/ 2,3-4 *si* (D)/ 2,4-5 *div*/ 7,5-6 *div*/ 8,14 B plicated. *T W*<sub>2a</sub> 1,6-7 no *div*/ 2,7 B plicated/ 3,7-4,1 no *div*/ 4,7-5,1 no *div*/ 5,6-6,1 no *div*/ 7,3-4 B plicated/ 7,12-13,10 missing. *T W*<sub>2b</sub> 2,7-3,1 no *div*/ 4,8-5,1 no *div*/ 6,7-7,1 no *div*/ 7,3-4 B plicated/ 10,8-11,1 no *div*/ 11,5-8 BAGG/ 12,5-6 BA/ 12,8-13,1 no *div*. *T Hu* see transcription. Anglès as well as Anderson (both editions) alter the note values of the source over *omnes* (first phrase) and over *sepulcrum*.

*Du W*<sub>1</sub> 3,1-7 missing/ 7,3-4 E plicated/ 7,9-10 *div*/ 8,9-10 *div*/ 13,4-5 *div*. *Du F* 6,3 B/ 8,9-10 *div*/ 9,3-4 E plicated/ 9,8-9 A plicated/ 12,1 B. *Du Cjec* 2,3-4 *div*/ 5,3-4 *div*/ 7,3-4 lig/ 7,5-6 *div*/ 9,5-6 *div*/ 11,3 CB (lig)/ 11,4-5 *div*/ 12,1-13,10 missing. *Du W*<sub>2a</sub> 3,7-4,1 no *div*/ 4,8-5,1 no *div*/ 5,6 D and *div* written twice/ 7,12-13,10 missing. *Du W*<sub>2b</sub> 3,7-4,1 no *div*/ 4,8-5,1 no *div*/ 6,7-8,1 no *div*/ 10,8-11,1 no *div*/ 12,8-13,1 no *div*. *Du Hu* See transcription. Anglès as well as Anderson (both editions) alter the note values of the source over *omnes* (first phrase) and over *sepulcrum*. Anderson's emendation of the ligature over *mundus* (ends of the last two phrases), annotated in his critical commentary, conflicts with his «The Notation of the Bamberg and Las Huelgas Manuscripts,» *Musica Disciplina* XXXII (1978), p. 51.

*Tr W*<sub>1</sub> 2,2-3 missing (erasure)/ 3,1-7 missing/ 7,10-11 *div*/ 8,9-10 *div*/ 13,5-6 *div*. *Tr F* 7,3-4 *si* (A)/ 7,7-8 GF (lig)/ 7,10-11 *div*/ 8,9-10 *div*/ 9,1,2,3-4 *si* plicata/ 9,5-6 *div*/ 9,6 *si* (G)/ 9,10-11 E plicated/ 12,5-6 *div*. *Tr W*<sub>2a</sub> 1,7-8 no *div*/ 2,4-5 *div*/ 2,9 FE (lig)/ 3,3-6 EFFE/ 3,10-4,1 no *div*/ 4,6 E/ 5,5 E plicated/ 5,6-9 CBA (coniunctura)/ 7,3-4 *si* (A)/ 7,7-8 GF (lig)/ 7,12-13,10 missing.

<sup>46</sup> For the monophonic Stuttgart source, which was not available to me, see Gordon A. Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt. 1099 (1206)*, part I, pp. 63-65, and Part II, p. 264.

Crucifigat omnes

Tr  
Cjec

[Cru-ci-fi-gat o-mnes do-mi-ni crux al-te-ra

D3

[Cru-ci-fi-gat o-mnes do-mi-ni crux al-te-ra

umbrăcu-  
G2

no-va Chri-sti vul-ne-ra ar-bor sa-lu-ti-fe-ra,

no-va Chri-sti vul-ne-ra ar-bor sa-lu-ti-fe-ra,

no-va Chri-sti vul-ne-ra ar-bor sa-lu-ti-fe-ra,

per-di-tur se-pul-crum, gens e-ver-tit ex-te-ra,

per-di-tur se-pul-crum, gens e-ver-tit ex-te-ra,

per-di-tur se-pul-crum, gens e-ver-tit ex-te-ra,

vi-o-len-te ple-na gen-te so-la se-det ci-vi-

vi-o-len-te ple-na gen-te so-la se-det ci-vi-

vi-o-len-te ple-na gen-te so-la se-det ci-vi-

tas, a - gni fe - dus ra - pit he - dus, plo - rat do - tes per - di - tas;

tas, a - gni fe - dus ra - pit he - dus, plo - rat do - tes per - di - tas;

tas, a - gni fe - dus ra - pit he - dus, plo - rat do - tes per - di - tas;

Spon - sa Sy - on im - mo - la - tur, A - na - ni - as

Spon - sa Sy - on on im - mo - la - tur, A - na - ni - as

Spon - sa Sy - on im - mo - la - tur, A - na - ni - as

in - cur - va - tur, cor - nu Da - vid fla - gel - la - tur mun - dus,

in - cur - va - tur, cor - nu Da - vid fla - gel - la - tur mun - dus,

in - cur - va - tur, cor - nu Da - vid fla - gel - la - tur mun - dus,

ab in - iu - stis ab - di - ca - tur per quem iu - ste iu - di - ca - tur mun - dus.]

ab in - iu - stis ab - di - ca - tur per quem iu - ste iu - di - ca - tur mun - dus.]

ab in - iu - stis ab - di - ca - tur per quem iu - ste iu - di - ca - tur mun - dus.]

W 1

F, Ma - li.]

Hu - li.]

- lum.

W 2

- li.]

- li.]

Crucifigat omnes

Hu

[Cru - ci - fi - gat o - mnes do - mi - ni crux al - te - ra

Cru - ci - fi - gat o - mnes do - mi - ni crux al - te - ra

no - va Chri - sti vul - ne - ra ar - bor sa - lu - ti - fe - ra

no - va Chri - sti vul - ne - ra ar - bor sa - lu - ti - fe - ra

per - di - tur se - pul - crum gens e - ver - tit dex - te - ra

per - di - tur se - pul - crum gens e - ver - tit dex - te - ra

vi - o - len - te ple - na gen - te so - la se - det ci - vi - tas

vi - o - len - te ple - na gen - te so - la se - det ci - vi - tas

a - gni phe - dus ra - pit e - dus plo - rat do - tes per - di - tas

a - gni phe - dus ra - pit e - dus plo - rat do - tes per - di - tas

spon - sa sy - on in - mo - la - tur a - na - ni - as  
 spon - sa sy - on in - mo - la - tur a - na - ni - as  
 in - cur - va - tur cor - nu Da - vid fra - gel - la - tur mun - dus  
 in - cur - va - tur cor - nu Da - vid fra - gel - la - tur mun - dus  
 ab in - iu - stis ab - di - ca - tur per quem iu - ste iu - di - ca - tur mun - dus.  
 ab in - iu - stis ab - di - ca - tur per quem iu - ste iu - di - ca - tur mun - dus.

Beobachtungen zur frühen Sequenz  
in ost- und westfränkischer Überlieferung

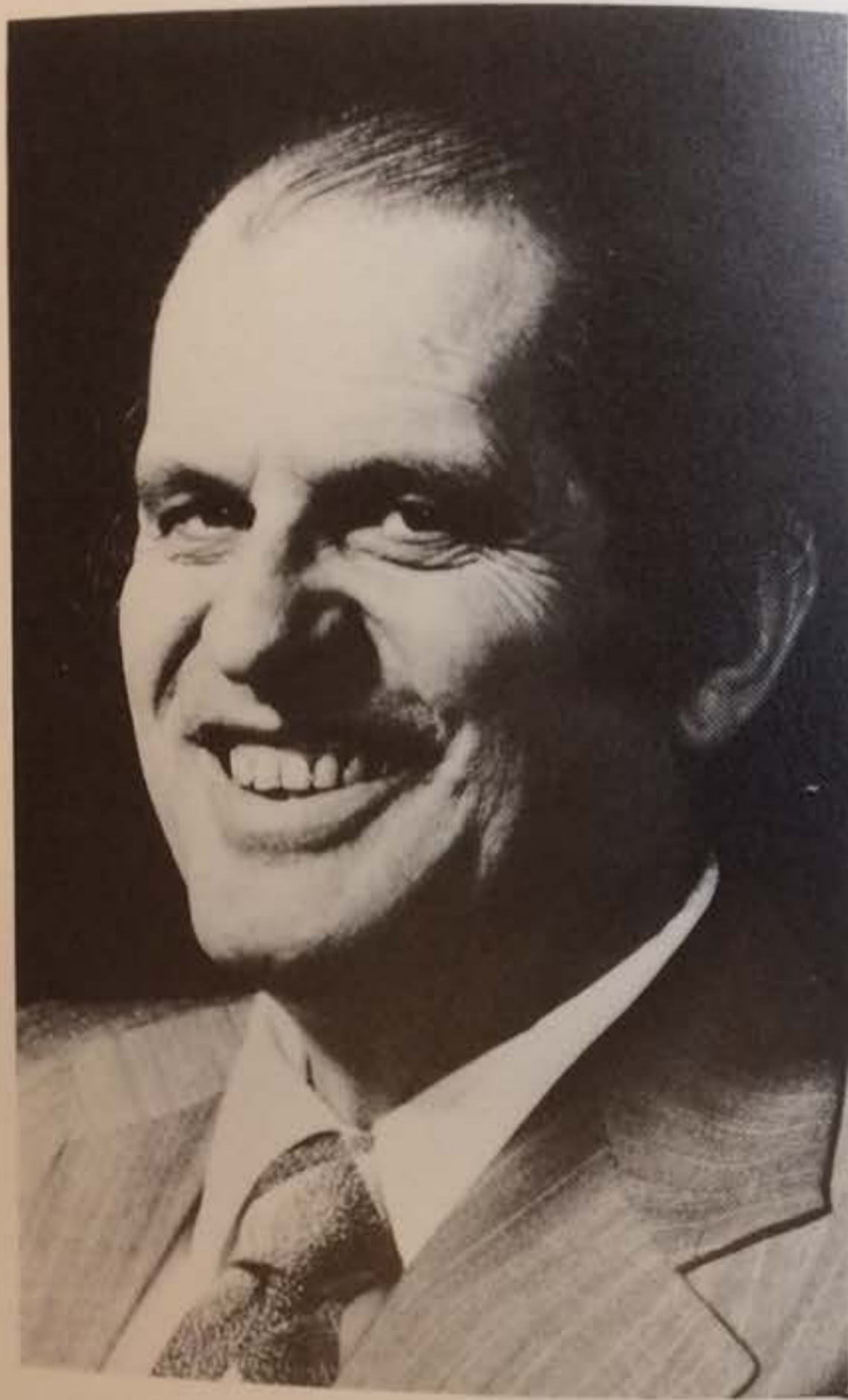
Karlheinz Schlager / Erlangen

Da es in Handschriften um die Jahrtausendwende aus dem ost- und westfränkischen Überlieferungsbereich Melodien, textierte Melodien und Texte gibt, die aufeinander zu beziehen sind und der Gattung der Sequenz zugerechnet werden müssen, gilt für diese Zeit die einfache Feststellung, daß die Sequenz in ihrer frühen Überlieferung in zwei Formen nachweisbar ist: als eine mehr oder weniger ausgedehnte Melodie und als eine zu dieser Melodie passende Dichtung. Diese Feststellung schließt nicht ein, daß zu jeder Sequenz eine textlose Notenfolge überliefert sein muß, die als *iubilatio* am Beginn ihrer Entstehungsgeschichte stehen würde.

Der Text kann mit oder ohne Andeutung musikalischer Notation geschrieben sein, die Melodie erfordert eine Kette von Neumen. Weder Text noch Notation sind gegeben, wenn in der Anweisung *cum sequentia* die Melodie als erweiterte Jubilus-Wiederholung nach dem Alleluia-Vers vorgeschrieben ist—sei es, daß die zu singende Melodie mangels Zeichenvorrats oder wegen fehlender Konvention in der Ausführung des als Vorschrift zu betrachtenden Zusatzes nicht notiert werden konnte, sei es, daß sie in einer Handschrift für die Texte der Messe nicht notiert zu werden brauchte.<sup>1</sup>

Die textlose und die textierte Sequenzenmelodie werden in den Handschriften getrennt oder verbunden notiert. Im Falle der separaten Aufzeichnung erfolgt die Zuordnung des Textes zur Melodie oder der Melodie zum Text, wie die Rubriken ausweisen, über einen Melodietitel, einen Alleluia-Vers, einen Textanfang oder eine liturgische Bestimmung. Die Aufzählung dieser unterschiedlichen Rubriken könnte zu denken geben. Sicher sind sie nicht wahllos gesetzt worden, und ebenso sicher waren es nicht nur vordergründige Gesichtspunkte, die dazu führten, unterschiedliche Brücken zwischen Melodie und Text zu bauen.

<sup>1</sup> In Bruxelles/Brüssel, Bibl. Royale ms. 10127–144, einer Handschrift des 8./9. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kloster Blandinusberg bei Gent mit Ordines, einem Sakramentar und einem Antiphonale (Missa) ohne Neumen haben sechs Alleluia-Verse den Zusatz »Cum sequentia«. Zur Handschrift vgl. K. Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores, secunda editio aucta*, Freiburg i/Ue (Schweiz), 1968, Nr. 856 und 1320; zur historischen Einordnung und den vermutlichen Melodien vgl. B. Stäblein, *Die Unterlegung von Texten unter Melismen. Tropus, Sequenz und andere Formen*, in I.M.S. Congress Report New York 1961, vol. I, S. 12–29, mit Ergänzungen in: *Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XVIII, 1961, S. 1–33, sowie K. H. Kohrs, *Die aparállelen Sequenzen*, München 1978 (= *Beiträge zur Musikforschung* Bd. 6), bes. S. 75 ff.



Gordon Athol Anderson

\* den 1. Mai 1929, Armadale (Vic.)  
† den 30. Juni 1981, Armidale (N.S.W.)

Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen  
Band IXL/2

Musicological Studies  
Vol. IXL/2

# GORDON ATHOL ANDERSON

(1929-1981)

*In Memoriam*

von seinen  
Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen

*Teil II*

Godt – Tischler



Institute of Mediæval Music, Ltd  
Institut de Musique Médiévale, SA  
Institut für Mittelalterliche Musikforschung, GmbH