

Conductus and Modal Rhythm

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IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN EIGHTY YEARS since Friedrich Ludwig (1872–1930), arguably the greatest of the seminal figures in twentieth-century musicology, began to publish his studies of medieval music. His single-handed occupation of the field, his absolute sovereignty over the entire repertoire and all issues of scholarly significance arising from it, and his enormous, inescapably determinative influence on the thinking of his successors, most of whom had studied with him, explain the epithet *der Grosse* he was given on at least one occasion.¹ Almost his entire professional energies were devoted to the music of the twelfth and, particularly, the thirteenth centuries, as well as to the polyphony of the fourteenth century, which he began to explore in depth in the 1920s. His stringent devotion to the facts and to conclusions supported by them was a trait singled out by several commentators.²

Ludwig's insistence on scholarly rigor, however, cannot be said to account completely for his *Modaltheorie*, which appeared to posit the applicability of modal rhythm to all music of the Notre Dame period—except organal style—and of the pre-Garlandian (or pre-Franconian) thirteenth century, including particularly the musical settings of poetry. Much of the pre-Garlandian ligature notation in thirteenth-century sources of melismatic polyphonic compositions of the first half of that century (clausulae, organa for more than two voices) and of melismatic portions of certain genres, such as the *caudae* of conducti,³ signifies modal rhythms, and the appropriateness of the modal system cannot be disputed in this context. Its validity for

¹ Hans Spanke dedicated his "St. Martial-Studien: Ein Beitrag zur frühromanischen Metrik," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, LIV (1931), 282–317, 385–422, "Dem Andenken Friedrich Ludwigs, des Grossen, Unvergesslichen." For a summary of Ludwig's stature, see David Hiley's brief article in *The New Grove Dictionary*, XI, 307–308.

² See the obituaries listed in Hiley, "Ludwig," p. 308.

³ The numerous quotations from thirteenth-century treatises given below show that for medieval writers *conductus* was a noun of the second declension; see also Fritz Reckow, "Conductus," *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden, 1973).

syllabic music, notated until the mid-thirteenth century with undifferentiated and rhythmically insignificant note symbols, is more problematic. Those symbols (*virgae*), traditionally associated in the Middle Ages with *musica non mensurata* (Gregorian chant) and, in the Notre Dame period, with *musica ultra mensuram* (Gregorian chant tenors in both organal and discant portions of Leoninian organa), were used in the first half of the thirteenth century for all syllabic music, including the newly invented genre of the motet, all of whose ingredients were precisely and modally measured. Thus, the same symbol came to designate indeterminate as well as exactly and proportionately determined durational events. While the vernacular monophonic repertoires that were so notated have, in the twentieth century, been subject to the imposition of more than one rhythmic system,⁴ most scholars who saw justification in attaching precise values to the ambiguous notation of all syllabic music, including applicable portions of conducti, have favored the *Modaltheorie* because it seemed persuasive to assign to the *virgae* durational values in a manner similar or identical to the procedures required in motets. Many musicologists trained in Germany in the first half of the twentieth century took for granted the applicability, in principle, of modal rhythm to these repertoires. So have their students and, all in all, the students of such German-trained musicologists in this country as Curt Sachs, Willi Apel, Manfred Bukofzer, and, especially, Leo Schrade. To Ludwig's musicological children and grandchildren must be added the name of one prominent indirect descendant, that of the recently and prematurely deceased powerhouse of medieval musical scholarship Gordon A. Anderson, in whose work on the conductus the *Modaltheorie* figures prominently.⁵

Chiefly what gave rise to Ludwig's *Modaltheorie* was the apparent analogy between modal patterns and certain basic metrical schemes of poetry, which could be seen to have some degree of applicability in the motet repertoire of the first half of the thirteenth century. Although this observation seems, by and large, to have led to the doctrine that musical rhythm must be deduced from poetic meter, it

⁴ See Burkhard Kippenberg, *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang: Eine Kritik der literar- und musikhistorischen Forschung mit einer Übersicht über die Musikalischen Quellen*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 3 (Munich, 1962).

⁵ "Mode and Change of Mode in Notre-Dame Conductus," *Acta musicologica*, XL (1968), 92-114; "The Rhythm of *cum littera* Sections of Polyphonic Conductus in Mensural Sources," this *JOURNAL*, XXVI (1973), 288-304; "The Rhythm of the Monophonic Conductus in the Florence Manuscript As Indicated in Parallel Sources in Mensural Notation," this *JOURNAL*, XXXI (1978), 480-89.

was the latter theory (rather than the *Modaltheorie*) that Ludwig articulated first.⁶ His view of modal rhythm (only the first three modes) as a corollary of poetic meter appears for the first time in his letter to Pierre Aubry of 13 April 1907.⁷ Ludwig restated it some three years later, not without conceding that “the application of modal rhythm to the older chansons rests on analogies (*Analogieschlüssen*)” and on “the manifest parallelism of the rhythm (*Rhythmik*) in motets and chansons.”⁸ He also formulated it in his *Repertorium*, where, in addition, he specifically claimed priority for “also [i.e., in addition to the motet repertoire] solving, in principle, the question of the transcription of large portions of the French monophonic repertoire of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the manner of ‘modal interpretation.’ . . .”⁹

Two other circumstances that came to be cited in support of the *Modaltheorie* were (1) the existence of Notre Dame music other than motets in mensural sources, i.e., notated with specific rhythmic symbols,¹⁰ and (2) the melodic identity, in certain conducti, of some syllabic portions with *caudae* written in modal ligature notation.¹¹

In his published writings, Ludwig was cautious about the validity of modal rhythm in Minnelieder and in conducti. In fact, he publicly addressed that problem in the former repertoire only when it con-

⁶ Friedrich Ludwig, “Studien über die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Musik im Mittelalter, II, Die 50 Beispiele Coussemaker’s aus der Handschrift von Montpellier,” *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, V (1904), 184; *idem*, “Die Aufgaben der Forschung auf dem Gebiete der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte,” *Beilage zur [Münchener] Allgemeinen Zeitung*, nos. 13 and 14 (1906), 99 (where Hugo Riemann is credited with the first articulation of this “correct principle”) and 107.

⁷ Published in Jacques Chailley’s “Quel est l’auteur de la ‘théorie modale’ dite de Beck-Aubry?” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, X (1953), 213–22; in a passage on p. 220, Ludwig specifically mentions the role played by poetic meter in the recognition of modal rhythm in motets and, therefore (p. 221), in the monophonic settings of poetry “in the vernacular languages,” as well as in Latin poetry (p. 216).

⁸ “Zur ‘modalen Interpretation’ von Melodien des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XI (1910), 379–82, specifically p. 380.

⁹ *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, I, *Catalogue raisonné der Quellen* (Halle, 1910), 54–56: “Für die prinzipielle Lösung der Frage der Übertragung auch grosser Partien des französischen 12. Repertoires des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts im Sinn der ‘modalen Interpretation’ . . .” (p. 56).

¹⁰ The earliest mention of this fact in this context occurs in Ludwig’s “Die Aufgaben,” pp. 107–108. See also Heinrich Husmann, “Zur Grundlegung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittellateinischen Liedes,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, IX (1952), 3–26.

¹¹ The first to exploit this feature was Manfred F. Bukofzer in his “Rhythm and Meter in the Notre-Dame Conductus,” *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society*, XI–XII–XIII (1948), 63–65, an abstract of a paper read in 1946. But the priority of its observation was Jacques Handschin’s; see his “Zur Frage der Conductus-Rhythmik,” *Acta musicologica*, XXIV (1952), 113. See also Husmann, “Zur Grundlegung.”

fronted him in the context of the survey he had undertaken to write for Guido Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*.¹² His approach to the rhythmic interpretation of Minnelieder was noncommittal.¹³ While, for stated or implicit reasons, he presented the syllabic portions of his examples of monophonic conducti in modal rhythm,¹⁴ he chose not to deal with the problem in his brief discussion of polyphonic conducti,¹⁵ in contrast to some of his successors.¹⁶

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A careful examination of the issue of rhythm in the syllabic portions of conducti and, in particular, of the applicability of modal rhythm must begin by consulting the professionals of the time, so as to extract from their writings the relevant passages concerning the conductus,¹⁷ and to establish in this connection just "quid sit modus," as Johannes de Garlandia put it,¹⁸ and what it is not.

¹² 1st ed. (Frankfurt, 1924); 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1930).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 204 (2nd ed.); cf. Kippenberg, *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang*, p. 135.

¹⁴ Adler, *Handbuch*, pp. 184–87.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 221–24.

¹⁶ For instance, Heinrich Husmann, "Zur Rhythmik des Trouvèregesanges," *Die Musikforschung*, V (1952), 111: "Die modale Rhythmik beherrscht . . . die Kompositionsgattungen des Organums, der Motette und des mittellateinischen Liedes." ("Modal rhythm governs . . . the compositional genres of organum, motet, and medieval Latin song.") A footnote explains that "Lied soll also gleichbedeutend mit Konduktus sein." ("Song is meant to be equivalent to conductus.") Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries: The Coronation of French Kings," *Annales musicologiques*, I (1953), 33–34, put the matter more apodictically than anyone. That all conducti "are subject to modal rhythm," he asserted, "can no longer be doubted." And he continued that "it is also absolutely certain that the modal rhythm pertains to both the melismatic and syllabic passages, whereby conductus must be included that consist of nothing but syllabic composition. . . . All evidence points to the modal rhythm as valid for all types and parts of conductus. . . . This principle is as much alive in conductus of the second half of the 12th century as it is in those of the 13th century. . . ." Two years later, however, he wrote, more cautiously, that the puzzle of conductus rhythm required abstention "from being too categorical. . . ." ("Unknown Motets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies*, XXX [1955], 406, n. 23.) Most recently, Hans Tischler emphatically asserted, as the first of ten theses, that "Conduktus müssen innerhalb des Systems der rhythmischen Modi übertragen werden." ("Conduktus must be transcribed within the system of the rhythmic modes.") ("Versmass und musikalischer Rhythmus in Notre-Dame-Conduktus," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXXVII [1980], 303.)

¹⁷ For a comprehensive treatment of the subject, see Fritz Reckow, "Conduktus," specifically pp. 6–8.

¹⁸ Erich Reimer, ed., *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica, Kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*, I, *Quellenuntersuchungen und Edition*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 10 (Wiesbaden, 1972), 36.

Garlandia mentions the conductus in only two suggestive sentences. The first occurs near the beginning of the second chapter, which deals with the notational representation of durational values, or, as he puts it more precisely, of "longitudo vel brevitās." "Et sciendum quod huiusmodi figura aliquando ponitur sine littera et aliquando cum littera; sine littera ut in caudis et in conductis, cum littera ut in motellis." ("And one needs to know that a note symbol of that sort is sometimes given without text and sometimes with text; without text as in *caudae* and in *conducti*, with text as in *motets*.")¹⁹ Near the end of the short third chapter, in which he presents a general introduction to the rhythmic meaning of ligatures with and without propriety and perfection, Garlandia states, "Et totum hoc intelligitur in conductis vel motellis, quando sumitur sine littera vel cum littera, si proprio modo figurantur." ("And all this [i.e., all general aspects of ligature notation] is seen in *conducti* or *motets*, inasmuch as it is applied without text or with text, if they are properly notated.")²⁰ In the first of these two statements, the motet is solely and specifically associated with notation *cum littera*. The second can well be understood in the same way, unless one were to assume that the term "motellus" meant for Garlandia not only a texted part but also its melismatic model (the upper voice of a *clausula*); his citation of a motetus voice in ligature notation and his labeling of that passage as "In discantu Lonc tans a"²¹ proves, however, that this would be an incorrect assumption. Understandably, modern commentators have restricted Garlandia's association of the conductus with notation *sine littera* to its melismatic *caudae*.²² It is not impossible, however, to understand the first passage literally as applying to the syllabic

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 51. Both passages are cited in accordance with MS Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek, 528. The chapters generally regarded as inauthentic are here left out of account. In any case, the conductus is there mentioned only in connection with ornamentation, including voice exchange.

²¹ The *clausula* presumably quoted by Garlandia (Reimer, *Garlandia*, p. 41) failed to be included in the *clausula* and discant repertoire preserved in the extant Notre Dame sources. In view of its advanced style, which allows it to be dated near 1240 (see Yvonne Rokseth, *Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle: Le Manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, IV, *Etude et commentaires* [Paris, 1939], 140), it may not yet have been available to the scribe of MS F (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1).

²² E.g., Erich Reimer, ed., *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, *Kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*, II, *Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 11 (Wiesbaden, 1972), 14 and 51, n. 30.

portions as well, to the extent that they (particularly the upper voices) are not performed like motets.²³

The older part of the *Discantus positio vulgaris*,²⁴ whose contents must have originated in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, mentions the conductus only in conjunction with ligatures containing more than four notes, which are beyond the pale of measured music: "Quasi regulis non subjacent, sed ad placitum proferuntur; quae etiam ad organum et conductum pertinent singulariter." ("They are not really subject to rules but are performed ad libitum; and they are particularly applicable to organum and conductus.")²⁵

The second part of the treatise, which may date from the 1270s, defines certain polyphonic genres; although seemingly more specific, it is not much more informative with respect to the conductus. "Conductus autem est super unum metrum multiplex consonans cantus, qui etiam secundarias recipit consonantias." ("The conductus, on the other hand, is a vocal polyphonic setting *super unum metrum*, which also admits secondary consonances.")²⁶ The crucial and troublingly ambiguous term here is "metrum."²⁷ The *Novum glossarium mediae latinitatis* lists the following secondary meanings: "mètre poétique [i.e., quantitative meter]; vers, poésie; pièce de vers, poème; mesure de capacité." The main definition is given as "mesure poétique en général"; in fact, in its most general sense, *metrum* is an assimilated Greek synonym for *mensura*. And *mensura* is defined as follows: "mesure, grandeur ou quantité finie susceptible d'évaluation . . . ; mesure du temps, durée; mesure, rythme." Now, in his definition of the motet, with its modal rhythm, as polyphony containing divers (simultaneous) texts, the author of the treatise uses the expression "diversus in prosis multiplex consonans cantus." The term "prosa" also appears in his definitions of discant and of organum, consistent

²³ In quite a few cases such an interpretation would lead to the sort of transcription made plausible, at least for some conducti, by Gilbert Reaney's "A Note on Conductus Rhythm," *Bericht über den siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Köln 1958*, ed. Gerald Abraham et al. (Kassel, 1959), pp. 219-21. See, in this connection, the references to the practice of reduction, p. 449 and n. 52 below.

²⁴ See Ernest H. Sanders, "Consonance and Rhythm in the Organum of the 12th and 13th Centuries," this JOURNAL, XXXIII (1980), 266, n. 2.

²⁵ Simon M. Cserba, ed., *Hieronymus de Moravia, O.P. Tractatus de musica*, Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, ser. 2, (Regensburg, 1935), p. 190; Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi: Novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram*, I (Paris, 1864; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), 95.

²⁶ Cserba, ed., *Hieronymus de Moravia*, p. 193; Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, p. 96.

²⁷ See Jacques Handschin's discussion in "Notizen über die Notre-Dame-Conductus," *Bericht über den I. musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress der deutschen Musikgesellschaft in Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 209.

with the two meanings of *prosa* as prose and rhymed nonquantitative poetry. It seems likely, therefore, that the words "super unum metrum" here are to be understood not as "one poem" but as synonymous with "super unam mensuram," i.e., "using one single unit of poetic [and musical] measurement," which, in contrast to the motet, must therefore be isochronous.

In spite of his garrulity, Anonymous IV provides very little information specifically on the conductus in his treatise (ca. 1275). Two passages relate that Perotinus composed conducti for three voices, as well as for two and one, and that three volumes, respectively, contained conducti for three voices with *caudae*, conducti for two voices with *caudae*, and conducti for four, three, and two voices without *caudae*.²⁸ Elsewhere he observes that, in contrast to discant, whose Gregorian tenors are notated on four-line staves, all voices of conducti are customarily notated on five-line staves.²⁹ In another passage he comments that *organum* is an equivocal term because some people apply it indiscriminately, including "improperly," to conducti, and that the organum called "universal" by the old practitioners (i.e., note-against-note counterpoint) embraced everything except, of course, monophonic conducti.³⁰ The reference to "conducti lagi" remains obscure and quite possibly a scribal error.³¹

In a passage recalling, yet differing significantly from, one of the two quoted sentences in Garlandia's treatise,³² Lambertus (1278 or a couple of years earlier), in discussing note symbols, observes that "hujusmodi figure aliquando ponuntur cum littera, aliquando sine. Cum littera vero, ut in motellis et similibus, sine littera, ut in neumatibus conductorum et similia."³³ Since the conductus differs fundamentally from the motet, it seems unlikely that Lambertus's intention was to include the syllabic portions of conducti in the expression "in motellis et similibus." He may be referring to hockets, which are indeed similar to motets. What is new, however, is his restriction of melismatic (*sine littera*) notation specifically to the *caudae*

²⁸ Fritz Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I, Edition, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 46, 82.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60: "Sed nota, quod organistae utuntur in libris suis quinque regulis, sed in tenoribus discantum quatuor tantum, quia semper tenor solebat sumi ex cantu ecclesiastico notato quatuor regulis etc. Sunt quidam alii . . . [qui] faciunt semper quinque, sive procedunt per modum discantis sive non, ut patet inter conductos. . . ."

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71. I read *universale* for *universales* on p. 71, line 2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82 and 94, n. 42.

³² See p. 443 above.

³³ Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, p. 269.

("neumata") of conducti. Whether this represents a clarification or a reinterpretation of Garlandia's statement remains a moot question.

The two passages pertaining to the conductus in the treatise of Lambertus's respondent, the so-called St.-Emmeram Anonymous, will be discussed later.³⁴

Franco (ca. 1280) is the first writer to describe conductus as a species of discant: "Cum littera et sine fit discantus in conductis. . . ." The only other mention of conductus occurs in the well-known observation that in such pieces both the tenor and the polyphonic superstructure must be invented by the composer.³⁵

Walter Odington (ca. 1300) defines conductus as "quasi plures cantus decori conducti" ("several suitable melodies brought together, as it were"), in contrast to the rondellus, in which several (three) people sing the phrase ingredients of one melody, but at different times.³⁶ Thus, "conducti sunt compositi ex pluribus canticis decoris cognitis vel inventis et in diversis modis ac punctis iteratis in eodem tono vel in diversis. . . ." ("Conducti are composed of a number of suitable melodies, known or invented, and in various modes and with phrases repeated at the same pitch [in the same mode] or others. . . .")³⁷

Odington's contemporary Johannes de Grocheio is the last writer who needs to be considered. After giving conductus and motet as types of polyphony, i.e., mensural music, Grocheio twice paraphrases Franco's observation that in conducti the tenor is newly composed.³⁸ His only other mention of the term is in a paragraph on

³⁴ Heinrich Sowa, *Ein anonymes glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279* (Kassel, 1930). See pp. 448-49 below.

³⁵ Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 18 ([Rome,] 1974), pp. 69, 73-74.

³⁶ Both genres are called species of discant. This inclusive view of discant is specifically Franconian. Those authors of the first half of the fourteenth century who continue to present it all derived it from Franco. In England all discant treatises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries considered discant as elaboration of a cantus planus. See Ernest H. Sanders, "Cantilena and Discant in 14th-Century England," *Musica disciplina*, XIX (1965), 31, n. 74.

³⁷ Walter Odington, *Summa de speculatione musicae*, ed. Frederick F. Hammond, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 14 ([Rome,] 1970), pp. 139-40, 142; Coussemaker, *Scriptorium*, pp. 245, 247.

³⁸ Ernst Rohloff, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo, nach den Quellen neu herausgegeben mit Übersetzung ins Deutsche und Revisionsbericht*, *Media latinitas musica*, 2 (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 47, 56, 57; *idem*, ed., *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo: Im Faksimile herausgegeben nebst Übertragung des Textes und Übersetzung ins Deutsche, dazu Bericht, Literaturschau, Tabellen und Indices* (Leipzig, 1972), pp. 124, 144, 146.

the *cantus coronatus*, which "ab aliquibus simplex conductus dictus est." Such a song, he says, "ex omnibus longis et perfectis efficitur,"³⁹ a statement reminiscent of the expression "unum metrum" in the *Discantus positio vulgaris*.⁴⁰

Before a summary of the evidence presented so far, a brief survey of those passages not already cited that deal with the concepts of *sine littera* and *cum littera* is essential. Apart from the two passages quoted earlier,⁴¹ Garlandia addresses the matter of presence or absence of text only once, in the sixth chapter: "Item omnis figura simplex sumitur secundum suum nomen, si sit cum littera vel sine littera."⁴² ("Further, the meaning of every single note is taken according to its particular nature as a symbol [its cachet], regardless of whether it has text.")⁴³ Garlandia, in effect, states that a *virga*, a *punctus*, and a diamond are long, breve, and semibreve, respectively, and that therefore the durational value of notes is no longer, in the modal way, derived from their contextual position.

Anonymous IV adds nothing further. He reports that notes without text are ligated as much as possible, that "cum litera quandoque sic, quandoque non," i.e., depending on the number of notes allotted to each syllable, that in music *cum littera* the duration of single notes is unambiguous if they are well written, i.e., according to Garlandian precepts, and that therefore, i.e., if the rules of propriety and perfection are observed, "maxima pars dubitationis librorum antiquorum solvitur, et hoc supra literam vel sine litera. . . ." ("Most of the uncertainty of the old books is resolved, both in syllabic and in melismatic polyphony. . . .")⁴⁴

The treatise by Lambertus largely restates information given by his predecessors.

Unde figura est representatio soni secundum suum modum, et secundum equipollentiam sui equipollentis; sed hujusmodi figure aliquando ponuntur cum littera, aliquando sine. Cum littera vero, ut in motellis et similibus; sine littera, ut in neumatibus conductorum et similia. Inter

³⁹ Rohloff, ed., *Der Musiktraktat*, p. 50; and *idem*, ed., *Die Quellenhandschriften*, p. 130. On the *cantus coronatus*, see Hendrik van der Werf, "Cantus coronatus," especially Exkurs 2, *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 7–8.

⁴⁰ See pp. 444–45 above.

⁴¹ See p. 443 above.

⁴² Reimer, *Garlandia*, I, 63.

⁴³ For the applicable meanings of *nomen*, see *Novum glossarium mediae latinitatis ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC*, [VII], ed. Franz Blatt ([Copenhagen], 1967), cols. 133^o–44.

⁴⁴ Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I, 45, 48, 53.

enim figuras que sunt cum littera, vel sine, talis datur differentia: quoniam ille que sunt sine littera, debent prout possunt amplius ad invicem ligari. Sed hujus proprietates aliquando omittitur propter litteram his figuris associatam.⁴⁵

("Hence, a note symbol represents a pitch with respect to its extent and to its agreement with its equivalent [part]. But such symbols are set down sometimes with text and sometimes without; with text, as in motets and similar things, without text, as in *caudae* of conducti and similar things. The difference between note symbols with text and those without is that those without must be ligated as much as possible; but this characteristic notational procedure is sometimes not observed because of text associated with these note symbols.")

Subsequently he maintains repeatedly that ligatures have unequivocal meanings, whether text is associated with them or not.⁴⁶ Like the similar statement of Anonymous IV, this represents a significant break with pre-Garlandian notational concepts.




Lambertus's view of ligatures also crops up repeatedly in examples given by the St.-Emmeram Anonymous.⁴⁷ In other ways, too, the latter's treatise is often derivative, despite its frequently fanciful language. For instance, the quoted excerpt from Lambertus's treatise appears with little change.⁴⁸ One of the two passages dealing with the conductus reports the practice of some scribes and musicians to write perfect binary ligatures at points in motets and texted portions of conducti where properly they should have been imperfect. Although this is incorrect, the author fails to disapprove the practice because it is sanctioned by tradition and because the descending imperfect ligature looks awkward and unsightly.⁴⁹ The second passage⁵⁰ represents an interesting adaptation of formulations by Garlandia and Anonymous IV:⁵¹

⁴⁵ Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, p. 269.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-75.

⁴⁷ Sowa, *Ein anonym*, pp. 60-61, 80, 85.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59. One can imagine the following conversation: "A binaria imperfecta is a ternaria perfecta (e.g., ) from which the last note has been separated. A descending binaria imperfecta is therefore written like this: ." "But that looks like a binaria perfecta. How can one tell the difference?" "The context should make it clear." "But that's just the sort of approach we want to get away from. I propose that it be written as an incomplete porrectus: ." "Oh, but what an unnatural, illegitimate, and ugly note symbol!"

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵¹ See Reimer, *Garlandia*, I, 63 and nn. 7 and 9.

Omnis figura simplex, et hoc propter litteram vel aliquam aliam superabundantiam, quemadmodum in motellis et conductis cum littera et similibus, decet reduci ad figuram compositam in toto vel in parte secundum perfectiones modorum vel imperfectiones. Et hoc est quia modus sive maneries per figuram compositam et nonquam per simplicem cognoscitur et etiam compilatur. . . .⁵²

("Because of text or some other addition, as in motets and in conductus [passages] with text and in similar cases, every single note is properly reduced to [i.e., taken as] a constituent of a ligature in full or in part, in accordance with the perfections and imperfections of the modes. And this is because mode [or manner] is recognized and, in fact, written by means of the ligature and never by means of the single note. . . .")

A summary of the cited passages, taken together with a synopsis of the various accounts of the system of rhythmic modes given by thirteenth-century writers,⁵³ leads to the recognition of several major stages and aspects of the epochal rise and evolution of measured music.

1. Before the codification of the modal system about 1210,⁵⁴ there existed a system of melismatic notation in which binary, ternary, and quaternary ligatures for the first time conveyed rhythmic meaning. The earliest writer to summarize the few necessary rules governing this premodal notation was the author of the older part of the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, in a passage just preceding his mention of the

⁵² See n. 23 above. This notion of "reduction," elaborately described by Anonymous IV (Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I, 48–49, 51), was first reported by Garlandia (Reimer, *Garlandia*, I, 63: "Item omnis figura non ligata debet reduci ad figuram compositam per aequipollentiam"). The anonymous author adds an important qualification, however: "Et ratione diversitatis sillabarum secundum aliquos quilibet punctus absolutus dicitur, prout non reducitur ad figuram ligatam" (Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I, 48). ("But according to some [presumably the older musicians] any single note, because of the separateness of the syllables, is called an independent note, inasmuch as it is not combined with any ligature.") Such a note could not have a value of less than a ternary long.

⁵³ See Wolf Frobenius, "Modus (Rhythmuslehre)," *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden, 1974).

⁵⁴ See Ernest H. Sanders, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," *Festschrift Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel, 1967), p. 243 ff.; and *idem*, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) In Memoriam, von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, Musicological Studies, 39 (Henryville, Pa., 1984), p. 510. The arguments presented in the former article in 1967 evidently have not been challenged or disproved. Nonetheless, the view that the six rhythmic modes were standardized "by Perotin in Paris during the last two decades of the twelfth century" (Hans Tischler, ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, I, *Critical Commentary*, Fascicles 1 and 2, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, 2–3 [Madison, 1978], xxxii) continues to be offered without any

conductus.⁵⁵ Anonymous IV confirms him and links the practice with Perotinus and Leoninus (or Leo),⁵⁶ allowing us to date its rise as far back as the beginning of the last quarter of the twelfth century: "Istae regulae utuntur in pluribus libris antiquorum, et hoc a tempore et in suo tempore Perotini Magni . . . et similiter a tempore Leonis pro parte, quoniam duae ligatae tunc temporis pro brevi longa ponebantur, et tres ligatae . . . pro longa brevi longa etc." And, he remarks elsewhere, the old composers "paucis modis utebantur iuxta diversitates ordinum supradictorum. . . ."⁵⁷ ("They use those rules [those rules are used?] in a good many books of the older generation, i.e., in and from the time of Perotinus Magnus . . . and similarly from the time of Leo, for his part [to some extent?] because at that time two ligated notes stood for a breve and a long, and three . . . for a long, a breve, and a long, etc. . . . [The old composers] used few durations beyond the various above-mentioned arrangements.")

2. The rhythmic modes were also originally and fundamentally a system of melismatic notation that codified the ligature notation of the growing variety of rhythmic patterns. This can be concluded from the circumstances cited by Reimer⁵⁸ and from the fact that all of Garlandia's examples of modal notation are given in ligatures (e.g., "tertius modus sumitur ita per figuram, scilicet prima longa et tres ligatae et tres et tres et tres. . . ."),⁵⁹ including even the motetus voice cited on page 443 above. Likewise Anonymous IV explains modal notation as a system of ligatures.⁶⁰ Particularly conclusive is the

countervailing arguments in support of it. There is no practical or theoretical evidence showing the existence or need of a rhythmic modal taxonomy before some time in the first decade of the thirteenth century, when, evidently, the second mode came into being. At that time, or some time thereafter, the familiar motion in breves came to be called sixth mode, and the pattern *si 3li* began to receive the rhythmic interpretation known as third mode, in contrast to the premodal way it used to be performed, which persisted for some time as a less and less acceptable alternative, an "alternate third mode," as it were. See the two references cited at the end of n. 57 below.

⁵⁵ See p. 444 above.

⁵⁶ See Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I, 98.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 32. The resulting style is briefly described in the *Discantus positio vulgaris*; see Ernest H. Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century," this JOURNAL, XV (1962), 282-83; and *idem*, "Consonance and Rhythm," pp. 266-67 and 276, n. 36.

⁵⁸ *Garlandia*, II, 52, 53.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 54.

⁶⁰ Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I, 22 ff., 43-44.

above-mentioned concept of reduction, as well as the statement of the St.-Emmeram Anonymous that mode is conceived, written, and recognized by means of ligatures and never by means of single notes. The rhythmic modes originated as a conceptual system of configurational notation.

3. Musical rhythm was, thus, primary, and poetic verses were invented, in a manner reminiscent of the prosa, so as to have a sufficient number of syllables, to be adapted to each note of the upper voice(s) of preexisting melismatic discant polyphony (motet).

4. In view of Garlandia's cautionary remark quoted earlier, the assignment of specific durational significance to single notes (*longa*, *duplex longa*, *brevis*, and *semibrevis*) must have been a novelty when he wrote his treatise (presumably in the 1250s).⁶¹ Two decades later, Anonymous IV still finds it noteworthy to observe that "the duration of single notes is unambiguous if they are well written."⁶² It is not long, therefore, before implicit or explicit evidence begins to appear that thinking in terms of individual ingredients replaces what might be called molecular or catenary concepts (patterned phrases). This is most plainly stated by, of all people, the St.-Emmeram Anonymous, in spite of his insistence on the old order. He justifies the sequence of his topics (single notes, ligatures, semibreves, modes, etc.) with the remark that any explanation of a complex system must begin with the smallest element.⁶³ Correspondingly, Dietricus writes his examples of

⁶¹ Cf. Reimer, *Garlandia*, II, 53. Neither W_1 nor F , both written in the 1240s (except for the addenda to the latter), contains differentiated single notes. Although W_1 is usually dated into the last quarter of the thirteenth century—most recently by Hans Tischler, "The Evolution of the *Magnus liber organi*," *The Musical Quarterly*, LXX (1984), 168—the most reliable, reasonable, and authentic date established by Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson, and David Hiley, "Further Observations on W_1 ," *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, IV (1981), 53–80, should no longer be disregarded.

⁶² See p. 447 above. Hence, his well-known remark that in his day one could learn in one hour what used to take seven (Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I, 50).

⁶³ Sowa, *Ein anonym*, p. 73. His ambivalence is strikingly highlighted by the fact that this statement follows his strict description of modes as a ligature notation (see p. 448 above) and is, in turn, followed some pages later by the remark that "quia figura composita in hac arte dignior est et generalior quam sit simplex—nam simplices, ut supra patuit, sunt ad compositas reducende, tamquam pars ad totum—ideo patet ordo" ("because in this practice ligatures clearly rank higher and are more general than single notes—for single notes, as was explained above, have to be reduced to ligatures, as a part to the whole—therefore the arrangement is obvious").

the modes with single notes,⁶⁴ and Lambertus gives first syllabic and then melismatic examples for eight of his nine modes.⁶⁵ Finally, both Franco and Odington relegate the ligature notation of the modes⁶⁶ to a chapter that comes well after their definition.⁶⁷

5. The modal system is specifically applicable to motets and their melismatic models (clausulae, discant sections in organa).⁶⁸

6. It has been claimed that the conductus, like the motet, was consistently regarded by thirteenth-century musicians as a species of discant and that, therefore, both were "among the genres governed by the rhythmic modes."⁶⁹ But the subsumption of the conductus under the heading of discant, in fact, applies only to Franco and some of the many writers he influenced.⁷⁰ That it was not Garlandia's view is borne out by the fact that all but two of his examples of modal notation, other than those he invented for Chapter 11, are taken from Gregorian chant; the two exceptions—examples of imperfect modes—are *dupla*: one being part of a conductus *cauda*, the other part of a *motetus* but also written *sine littera*.⁷¹ The only genres he refers to in his chapter on discant are organum (i.e., portions in discant style) and motet.⁷² In the inauthentic fifteenth chapter, "discantus" is specifical-

⁶⁴ Hans Müller, *Eine Abhandlung über Mensuralmusik in der Karlsruher Handschrift St. Peter pergamen. 29a*, Mittheilungen aus der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek und Münzsammlung, 6 (Leipzig, 1886), p. 5. Characteristically, they are not given as conventional modal phrases but as feet, i.e., as units of imperfect modes (e.g., not LBLBL | but LBLB).

⁶⁵ Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, pp. 279–81. His ninth mode (groups of three semibreves) cannot be ligated.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 238; Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Reaney and Gilles, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 18, pp. 26 ff.

⁶⁷ Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, pp. 244–45; Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Reaney and Gilles, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 18, pp. 60 ff.

⁶⁸ Regarding this statement and some of the foregoing conclusions, also see Ernest H. Sanders, "Continuity in English Music," communication in *Music & Letters*, XLVII (1966), 188–89. For the traditional concept of the *modi motellorum* or *mothetorum*, see Frobenius, "Modus (Rhythmuslehre)," p. 3.

⁶⁹ Janet Knapp, "Conductus," *The New Grove Dictionary*, IV, 653.

⁷⁰ See p. 446 above and n. 35. The author of the later part of the *Discantus positio vulgaris* may or may not be understood to regard conductus as a kind of discant, depending on whether his use of the word *alius* is translated as either "something else" (i.e., "different from [discant]") or "another" (i.e., "another [kind of discant]"). The latter translation is probably preferable. But in any case, the designation of conductus as a kind of discant seems not to have occurred before the 1270s. The older part of the treatise sets organum and conductus apart from discantus. See p. 444 above.

⁷¹ See p. 443 above.

⁷² See Reimer, *Garlandia*, I, 76.

ly juxtaposed with "cantus planus."⁷³ More revealing are the first two sentences of the copula chapter: "Dicto de discantu dicendum est de copula, quae multum valet ad discantum, quia discantus numquam perfecte scitur nisi mediante copula. Unde copula dicitur esse id, quod est inter discantum et organum."⁷⁴ That Anonymous IV also regarded discant as the polyphony resulting from the addition of a countermelody (*discantus*) to a preexistent melody (*cantus planus*, *cantus ecclesiasticus*) is demonstrated by the passage quoted previously.⁷⁵

7. Notwithstanding the possibility that six of the meters of ancient poetry may have been the models for Garlandia's modal taxonomy,⁷⁶ no medieval writer links poetry with the modes, not even Odington, whose elaborately systematic juxtaposition of quantitative poetic meters with perfect and imperfect modes serves only abstract didactic purposes.⁷⁷ He merely says, in effect, that the various rhythmic patterns of these modes are parallel to certain poetic meters, most of which are, in fact, not represented in the poetry of the time. There is, then, no evidence in the treatises that poetic meter served as cue for musical rhythm, modal or otherwise.

Although no medieval authors, with the exception of the St.-Emmeram Anonymous (1279), specifically associate the syllabic portions of conducti with the modal system, their silence (except for the significant expression "super unum metrum" in the second part of the *Discantus positio vulgaris*) does not, by itself, disprove its applicability. Our knowledge of whether and to what extent modal rhythm governed such passages depends, therefore, on two factors: (1) the degree to which the notation in the sources provides incontrovertible proof one way or another and (2) our insight into medieval concepts of versification.

In evaluating the notational evidence, one must keep in mind, first of all, that the datable specimens of conducti show the species to have flourished for at least three quarters of a century.⁷⁸ Moreover, the

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88. For a complete translation of this chapter, see Sanders, "Consonance and Rhythm," p. 283.

⁷⁵ See n. 29 above.

⁷⁶ See Sanders, "Consonance and Rhythm," p. 279, n. 46.

⁷⁷ Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, p. 238; Odington, *Summa de speculatione musicae*, ed. Hammond, *Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 14, p. 131.

⁷⁸ See Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 505 ff.

preservation of some of them in either of two particular sources of the early fourteenth century shows that the conductus repertoire of the "Notre Dame School" was still alive nearly a century and a half after its earliest known specimens were written. The former period may be compared with the time span between, say, Haydn's Op. 17 and Schumann's Op. 41 or between 1826, the year in which Schubert completed his last symphony, and 1895 (?), the time when Mahler undertook to edit and arrange it.⁷⁹ One cannot talk, therefore, about "the rhythm" of "the conductus," especially as momentous changes in the concept of rhythm and its notation occurred in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁸⁰ The rhythms of the full modal system cannot be applied to compositions written earlier than those with which the system was first associated, i.e., before the first decade of the thirteenth century was well along. Moreover, the versions of Notre Dame conducti in such mensural sources as *Heid*, *Sab*, *Da*, *Fauv*, and *Hu*⁸¹ must be viewed with at least the same degree of caution regarding their reliability as, for instance, Czerny's version of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*. In fact, no mensurally notated source of a Notre Dame conductus can be automatically regarded as dependable evidence for its original rhythms (and, at times, melodies). To the example of fourteenth-century perversion of a thirteenth-century conductus (*Crucifigat omnes*) given in a recent article,⁸² can be added a plethora of further instances of inconsistencies and distortions.⁸³

⁷⁹ Peter Andraschke, "Die Retuschen Gustav Mahlers an der 7. Symphonie von Franz Schubert," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXXII (1975), 107-108.

⁸⁰ One might as well equate the harmony of *Fidelio* and *Parsifal*. Handschin had more than once called for consideration of the chronological *Schichtung* of the repertoire, e.g., "Conductus-Spicilegien," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, IX (1952), 107-13.

⁸¹ Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588; Rome, Convento di Santa Sabina, Biblioteca della Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani, XIV L 3; Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 347; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds français, 146; Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas.

⁸² Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 517-18. *Crucifigat omnes* represents a foolproof case, since it is a texted version of the final *cauda* of another conductus.

⁸³ Manifest misunderstanding or—less likely—disregard of pre-Garlandian models occurs, for instance, in *Columbe simplicitas* ("fel horret malicie turturis"), *Quod promisit* ("munda caro"), *Parit preter morem* ("retinens verum dei decorem," "deitatis sue deus honorem," and "qui struit non destruit"), *Flos de spina procreatur* ("stillant montes colles fluunt"), *Nulli beneficium* ("te pastorem"), *O varium fortune* ("lubricum"), *Clavus pungens* (several passages), etc. The one motet in *Sab* exhibits meticulous mensural notation. But to the extent (if any) that the conducti in that source may be said to be mensurally notated, they certainly do not show modal rhythm. All kinds of

There are only three syllabic conducti that require modal reading, namely those pieces that are newly texted versions of *caudae* of other conducti.⁸⁴ For compositions containing syllabic portions melodically identical with melismas, the rhythmic identity of the former passages to the latter has been advocated as self-evident.⁸⁵ Undeniably this is a persuasive argument, yet, even in these cases, a degree of caution is advisable.⁸⁶ Augmentation or diminution occurs not only in the tenors of two remarkable "St.-Victor" clausulae (nos. 25 and 35) as well as of Perotinus's *Alleluia* Ψ *Nativitas (Juda)* but in the conductus *Soli nitorem*, where there is melodic identity between one syllabic passage and two rhythmically different *caudae* (first mode and ternary longs). There is no evidence in the notation of this piece in the pre-Garlandian manuscript *F* that the scribe of *Hu*, the other source preserving this composition, was (or was not) correct in choosing the first mode for the syllabic passage.

But, quite apart from the often enormous problems attendant upon insistence on modal transcriptions of many syllabic conducti or portions of conducti, both Continental and English sources provide concrete evidence that the assumption of modal rhythm for such music is often unjustifiable. *Qui servare puberem*, an early conductus motet of the repertoire, is one of six that appear without tenor, i.e., as conducti, in *W*₁, which is the only Notre Dame manuscript to transmit no motets. A comparison of three versions of the endings of the first and last phrases ("Qui servare puberem / vagam claudere" and, particularly, "novo gaudet veterem / amicum pellere") shows clearly that the scribe of *W*₁ or his predecessor, evidently unaware of or unfriendly to the original nature of this piece as a motet, assigned it nonmodal rhythms, even though the rhythms of all three voices of the motet were originally modal (see Figs. 1-3). The notation of

adjustments to the modal system are necessary to call the rhythms of any of these conducti modal—and Husmann is often inclined to make them. See "Ein Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen auf Texte des Pariser Kanzlers Philipp in einer Dominikanerhandschrift (Rom, Santa Sabina XIV L 3)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XXIV (1967), 1-23.

⁸⁴ In addition to *Crucifigat omnes* they are *Bulla fulminante* and *Minor natu filius. Anima iugi*, somewhat loosely referred to as a newly texted version of the *cauda* of another conductus in Sanders, "Style and Technique," p. 505, is actually a unique case of the conversion of the three successive stanzas of a monophonic conductus into a double motet on a separately texted tenor (see Schrade, "Unknown Motets," pp. 404-12). It is hard to believe that this composition was not conceived *à double emploi* from the outset.

⁸⁵ See n. 11 above.

⁸⁶ Cf. Handschin, "Zur Frage der Conductus-Rhythmik," pp. 113-30.

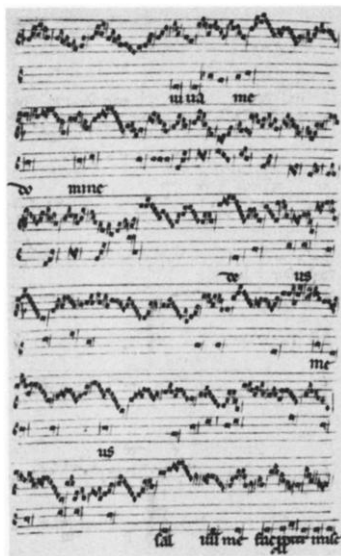


Figure 1. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, fol. 101^v

Figure 2. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, fols. 381^v–82



Figure 3. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 677, fols. 115 (106)–115^v (106^v)

the endings of the first and third phrases (see Ex. 1)—especially the double *virgae*, with or without *plicae*—and the setting of the penultimate syllable in the upper voice exclude the possibility of modal rhythm. The discant section and its motet version, however, begin

Example 1

W₁, fol. 115^{r-v} (106^{r-v})

Qui ser- va- re pu- be- rem va- gam clau- de- re

no- vo gau- det ve- te- rem a- mi- cum pel- le- re.

and end as shown in Example 2. Thus, the transmutation in W_1 of the motet into a conductus involved not only the elimination of the tenor but interpretation of the syllabic notation in accordance with the older traditions prevailing prior to the rise of the motet.

A number of English sources seem to indicate that the traditional nonmodal rhythm of conducti, like that of polyphonic chant settings, maintained itself for quite some time before yielding to the more modern "motetish" declamation involving breves as well as longs. Manuscript *GB-Cjec 1*, which contains several Notre Dame conducti, one apparently insular conductus, as well as one complete and one fragmentary troped chant setting, uses *virga* notation for the syllabic portions of the conducti (as do most other English sources of conducti), but English mensural notation⁸⁷ for the troped chant

Example 2

(a) *F*, fol. 101^v

(b) *F*, fols. 381^v-82^r

a

domine

b

Qui ser-va- re pu- be-rem va- gam clau- de- re

Ne

⁸⁷ See Sanders, "Duple Rhythm," pp. 263 ff.

Ex. 2, cont.

(a)

(b)

no - vo gau- det ve- te- rem a- mi- cum pel- le- re.

settings, the upper voices of which behave like the upper voices of motets. In the English conductus repertoire, the rise of the fast modern declamation can be traced, because of the appearance of rondellus sections with text, in some of the more elaborate compositions, probably written in the third quarter of the century. The most striking example is the conductus *Flos regalis* (see Fig. 4).⁸⁸ Not only does it show rondellus sections to have originated as special types of *caudae*, but it also consistently differentiates between the slow, presumably traditional *virga* notation and rhythm of ordinary passages *cum littera* and the English mensural notation of the texted phrases of the rondelli.

Ultimately the more modern declamation came to be preferred for the syllabic portions of English conducti as well. A particularly intriguing case is that of *In te concipitur*, one of four conductus settings in manuscript *GB-Ob 257*.⁸⁹ In contrast to the other three, it is written

⁸⁸ Transcribed in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, XIV, *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Ernest H. Sanders (Monaco, 1979), 46; commentary on p. 240. For three similar compositions, see pp. 53–60.

⁸⁹ Transcribed *ibid.*, pp. 189–90, 188, 191, 192.



Figure 4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Corpus Christi College 489, no. 22, fol. 1

in English mensural notation, perhaps still something of a novelty for polyphony *cum littera*. A differently remarkable case is *Equitas in curia*,⁹⁰ a conductus written in parts, quite possibly because its advanced declamation and the concomitant English mensural notation made it appear to the scribe like a motet. Other English conducti exhibiting the new advanced declamation and its notation, in part or throughout, are *Quem trina polluit* and *In excelsis gloria*, respectively.⁹¹

That neither accentuation nor versification determined the musical rhythm of a good many polyphonic conducti is proved by numerous compositions preserved in the Notre Dame sources. The prosody is

⁹⁰ Transcribed *ibid.*, pp. 195–97.

⁹¹ Transcribed *ibid.*, pp. 61–63, 66–68. The sources are relevant because (1) there is quite a bit of evidence that Continental and English musicians knew and appropriated each other's repertoire, (2) the notations are similar, and (3) at the time of the appearance of Johannes de Garlandia's notation, English specimens reveal notational details of significance for both conductus traditions.

often irregular, indicating that for purposes of delivery, including, probably, spoken delivery, the syllables of poetry were regarded as neutrally equivalent and therefore subject to basically isochronous setting. This would account for the convention of syllabic treatment⁹² of traditional meters apparently prevalent until at least some time in the thirteenth century.⁹³ Since the regular or irregular stress patterns formed by the words in nonquantitative (and, for that matter, in quantitative) versification were—and are—on the whole not bound to systematic quantification, there was, therefore, no regular prosodic scheme with which neumatic or melismatic ornamentation could interfere; hence, the latter could be applied in conducti wherever the composer saw the purely musical need for it.

The conductus *Deduc Syon* ends with the following quatrain:

scelus hoc ulciscere
 veni iudex gentium
 cathedras vendentium
 columbas evertere.

Such heptasyllabic verses would seem tailor-made for first-mode delivery of their musical setting, as it appears in the Notre Dame sources, even though the pattern of the beginnings of the last two lines disturbs the expected trochaic regularity. As often happens, however, a *cauda* separates the penultimate from the final syllable, which, as in most cases, is allotted to the last note (see the syllable stroke preceding that note in both voices in Figure 5; the text scribe of *F* erroneously omitted the syllable at that point, as is shown by all concordances). If the entire syllabic passage had been intended to be sung in first mode, with each phrase containing four beats, the last two notes preceding the *cauda* would have had to be ligated, as both are allotted to the penultimate syllable. Since they are, in fact, written as single notes (*sine littera*), they must be read as longs. There is probability verging on certainty, therefore, that all four phrases consist of eight beats and that the notes for each syllable are equivalent to one ternary long. A fair number of such cases can be cited, which are particularly persuasive when the final word is proparoxytonic.

⁹² See Heinrich Husmann, "Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters," *Die Musikforschung*, VI (1953), 8–20.

⁹³ It surely was this view of syllables and words as neutral raw material (within a poetic frame) that allowed them to be shaped in motets, regardless of accent or syntax. There was, of course, bound to be a considerable congruence between the rhythmic pattern of the first mode and the most common accent patterns of Latin. But this is no more than a congruence (cf. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," *Gattungen der Musik in*

Figure 6 presents a passage from *Austro terris*. For the phrase “potens datur carceri,” the characteristic lengthening of the penultimate syllable vitiates any attempt at modal reading to accord with the apparently trochaic poetry. The musical setting of “ab erroris via flexus/ patris redit in amplexus” divides this distich into five phrases of eight, four, four, six, and eight beats, blithely separating in the process the last word of the first verse from its remainder—a fine example of medieval *laceramento della poesia* (Ex. 3). In a second excerpt

Example 3
F, fol. 300^r

ab er - ro - ris vi - a fle-

xus, pa - tris red - it in am - ple - xus

from the same conductus, the composer, rather than separating the last word from its verse, has united the first word of the third verse with the entire second verse. Again, as in *Deduc Syon*, the last syllable of the final word of the stanza is delayed for the sake of a long intervening *cauda* (Fig. 7). Here—and in many of the more elaborate

Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade, ed. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn, and Hans Oesch [Bern, 1973], p. 511). Although more frequent in motets of the late thirteenth century, disregard of accentuation—as well as irregular versification—are endemic in the motet from its beginning. It is not surprising that Hugo Riemann's perceptive observation of this feature was roundly criticized by Ludwig; see Hugo Riemann, "Die Beck-Aubry'sche 'modale Interpretation' der Troubadourmelodien," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XI (1909–10), 583; and Friedrich Ludwig, "Zur 'modalen Interpretation' von Melodien des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XI (1910), 379 ff.

conducti—one finds that, as in some of the works of the visual arts of the time, the ornamental impulse all but obscures the substance being ornamented, as if a bucket of music had been poured out over the words. The procedure in the conductus *cum caudis* is comparable to manuscript illumination with its growing profusion of elaborate historiated initials.⁹⁴ All the music of a conductus decorates the words of the text, in conducti *cum caudis* often with such wonderfully indiscriminate luxuriance that the *cauda* seems to be wagging the dog.

Figure 8 presents a different case of the irrelevance of regular versification to the musical setting of the poetry. The verse scheme of the quoted passage from *O felix Bituria* (presumably written in 1209)⁹⁵ is entirely straightforward:

Mundus hic a crimine
vixit et in mundo
honoris a limine
salutavit mundo
corde vixit munere
mundus in profundo
non submersus remige
Christo fuit fundo
tibi preces inclite
pro me funde Christo
ut sub recto tramite
cursu curram isto.

It seems, however, that the particularly artful display of the technique of enjambment caused the composer to articulate the text as prose, perhaps to clarify the syntax.

Mundus hic a crimine vixit
et in mundo, honoris a limine salutavit;
mundo corde vixit, munere mundus;
in profundo non submersus remige Christo fuit;
fundo tibi preces, inclite;
pro me funde Christo,
ut sub recto tramite cursu curram isto.

(This man has lived free from crime
and in this world has paid scant regard to honors;

⁹⁴ For the entirely different role and function of poetry in the motet, see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 528.

⁹⁵ See Sanders, "Style and Technique," p. 510.

Figure 8. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, fol. 210^{r-v}

he has lived with a pure heart, clean in office,
 and, with Christ as oarsman, he was not submerged in the depths;
 I pour out my prayers to you, famous man,
 pour them out for me to Christ,
 so that I may run that course along the right path.)

Instances of the composers' unconcern with verse schemes and accentuations abound in the repertoire. The evidence of theory and practice militates against reading modal reading of such passages, whether they appear in pre-Garlandian manuscripts or, more or less faultily, in mensural sources. Clearly, the convention of syllabic approach to traditional meters⁹⁶ must have been strong and persistent enough to

⁹⁶ For its genesis, see Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Studia latina Stockholmiensia, 5 (Stockholm, 1958), especially pp. 124 ff., 186; Paul Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre* (Darmstadt, 1972), especially pp. 12–13, 19. Particularly significant is Ewald Jammers's "Der Vers der Trobadors und Trouveres und die deutschen Kontrafakten," *Medium aevum vivum: Festschrift für Walther Bulst*, ed. Hans Robert Jauss and Dieter Schaller (Heidelberg, 1960), pp. 147–60. On pp. 148 ff., he deals insightfully with syllabic versification, referring to psalmody as its preliminary state, raised in effect to a heightened poetic level by rhyme with unvarying accent and by numerically regulated syllable content of the verses.

make this treatment of poetry by medieval musicians seem natural. While the introduction of the measured breve in syllabic notation made musical reinforcement of accentual delivery of poetry more feasible and attractive, the many instances of disregard of prosodic proprieties in the polyphony of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show that only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was this attitude replaced gradually by increasing word consciousness and the growth of metrical music.⁹⁷

* * *

Two questions remain to be examined briefly. To what extent and how can the ambiguous pre-Garlandian notation of conducti be interpreted, and what, in the face of the evidence and in view of the often awkward and unmusical results, caused the *Modaltheorie* to hold such largely unchallenged sway?

As it happens, two of the three syllabic conducti made from preexistent *caudae* can be dated (1219 and 1223).⁹⁸ That this technique could have followed the rise of the Latin motet⁹⁹ by about ten years seems quite plausible. Only with the motet did a reliable musical yardstick become available for the measurement and rigid modal

⁹⁷ Modal rhythm is not metrical rhythm; see Ernest H. Sanders, communication, this JOURNAL, XXXIII (1980), 607; as well as Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," nn. 127 and 128. Much of the Latin cantilena polyphony composed in England in the first half of the fourteenth century is exceptional in its metrical regularity. In a recent article by Ritva Jonsson and Leo Treitler, "Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship," *Studies in the History of Music, I, Music and Language* (New York, 1983), 1-23, the authors take exception to the commonly held view that only in the course of the fifteenth century did composers begin to be concerned with the prosodic and semantic values of text. It is clear, however, that all the musicologists (Brown, Blume, Sanders, and Hoppin) singled out for this view (pp. 2-3) made their comments in the context of the singularly important field of polyphonic composition, while Jonsson's and Treitler's article deals with the music-language relationship in early Latin monophony. It is hard to understand how, for instance, a comparison of fundamental features of "music" composed in and after the fifteenth century as against "music" composed earlier—in the communication cited at the beginning of this note—could be seen to pertain to anything other than polyphony, the more so as that communication responded to an article concerned only with medieval polyphonic music. But I wonder, especially in view of the common practice of adaptation, whether even Latin monophony (including chants and tropes) is always capable of the sort of carefully shaped analytical demonstration given in Jonsson's and Treitler's article.

⁹⁸ See Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 516-17.

⁹⁹ See *idem*, "The Question," p. 248.

patterning of poetry that was not based on systematic arrangements of stressed and unstressed syllables but displayed rhyme, with identical accentuation, and number of syllables as the sole fixed elements of versification. "The evidence is quite strong that prior to . . . approximately the second decade of the thirteenth century and probably for some time thereafter most syllables in polyphonic genres other than the motet had the durational value of one perfect long, some more, none less."¹⁰⁰ (This can also serve as a useful guideline for much non-Gregorian monophony.) In that notation, two or more successive ligatures over one syllable should normally be viewed as *sine littera*. Some, at least, of the purely syllabic conducti, on the other hand, might well be suspected of being derived from preexisting melismatic material; even if such suspicions cannot be confirmed, modal reading may be appropriate, although the incidence of modes other than the first and perhaps third (or alternate third) is likely to be quite small.¹⁰¹ It is such cases, doubtless becoming more common in the third quarter of the century, to which the above-quoted (p. 449) passage in the treatise by the St.-Emmeram Anonymous would seem to be particularly applicable.

¹⁰⁰ *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, XIV, xiv; also Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," p. 530, n. 127. Cf. the important remark of Anonymous IV quoted in n. 52 above. Both the theoretical and the practical evidence seem to indicate that the tradition in which the *virgae* were read *absolute* was succeeded by the practice of *reductio*; the latter was, in turn, clarified and ultimately superseded by the use of different symbols for single notes of different duration instituted by Johannes de Garlandia. But the notation of the conducti in the "St.-Victor" manuscript (Paris, B.N., lat. 15139) leaves little doubt that the traditional slow declamation of conductus texts was the rule (with few exceptions) throughout the first half of the thirteenth century.

¹⁰¹ Janet Knapp has recognized the necessity for alternatives to the application of modal rhythm to syllabic portions of conducti. The cases she discusses in "Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus," this *JOURNAL*, XXXII (1979), 386-405, she transcribes isochronously, calling the rhythms those of the fifth mode. The frequent designation by scholars of such declamation as fifth mode is inappropriate, however, since the latter is basically a tenor mode, as Handschin had pointed out on pp. 114-15 and 130 of his 1952 article (see n. 11 above). Less useful is the recurrent use by some modern musicologists of the fourth mode as a rhythmic template to fit the versification of certain conductus poems; Ludwig had excluded it from his modal canon (see p. 440 above). The fourth mode is a purely theoretical construct balancing the third, so as to allow the modal system to be presented as consisting of three pairs of modes. Dietricus observes sensibly and correctly that "tertius [modus constat] ex una longa et sequentibus duabus brevibus. . . . Quartus modus posset esse e converso ex duabus brevibus et sequenti longa, sed non est in usu" (Müller, *Eine Abhandlung*, p. 5). ("The [pattern of the] third mode is made up of one long followed by two breves. . . . The fourth mode, conversely, could exhibit the sequence of two breves and a subsequent long, but it is not in use.")

The *Modaltheorie* was applied first and foremost to the troubadour¹⁰² and trouvère repertoires. Its staunchest proponent, Friedrich Gennrich, was also particularly prominent in proclaiming its validity for the Minnelieder. With respect to the latter, it was laid to rest by Kippenberg¹⁰³ and, with regard to the former, by Kippenberg and Hendrik van der Werf.¹⁰⁴ Its hold on medieval musicology has been extraordinary from the beginning, causing not only a series of heated controversies about its authorship that lasted for decades but even a death by duel and an emigration.¹⁰⁵ It is clear that modal rhythm spread from discant (i.e., discant passages in organa, clausulae, and motets) to gain some influence on the rhythmic facture of specimens of other repertoires; the limits of this influence remain to be explored and, if possible, to be more precisely determined.¹⁰⁶ But the excessive claims established and extended for the *Modaltheorie* can only be adduced to a Cartesian penchant for order and system, anachronistically incompatible with the pre-Franconian evidence and in distressing conflict with the superb scholarly standards of its author.¹⁰⁷ It is

¹⁰² Not by Husmann, however, who saw the prevalence of modal rhythm only beginning in troubadour songs after 1180; see Husmann, "Das Prinzip."

¹⁰³ His book, an exhaustive investigation of the problems of rhythm in vernacular song of the Middle Ages, is a model of intelligent and rigorous scholarship. It clears the air with impeccable impartiality. Only once does the author allow the impression of passion to break through, when he characterizes—understandably enough—a particularly excessive aspect of Gennrich's "Modaldogma" as monstrous (pp. 23–24). For the relevant articles by Gennrich, see Kippenberg's bibliography.

¹⁰⁴ Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères* (Utrecht, 1972), pp. 35–45. There is, of course, no reason to assume that monophony was governed by a rhythmic system; also see Kippenberg, *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang*, pp. 63, 100. Also see the conclusions presented by John Stevens, "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London, 1981), pp. 52–53.

¹⁰⁵ For historical surveys of this eighty-year-old issue, see Heinrich Husmann, "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XI (1954), 2 ff.; Chailley's article cited in n. 7 above; and, most authoritatively, Friedrich Gennrich, "Wer ist der Initiator der Modaltheorie?" *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés* (Barcelona, 1958–61), pp. 315–30. Actually, Aubry died of a wound he received in training for his duel with Jean Beck.

¹⁰⁶ For those purposes Bryan Gillingham's recently published *The Polyphonic Sequences in Codex Wolfenbuettel 677*, *Musicological Studies*, 35 (Henryville, Pa., 1982), should be left out of account.

¹⁰⁷ This is still apparent in the conclusion Husmann reached with a seeming tinge of regret in the course of the last of his series of articles concerning rhythm in music of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ("Das System," p. 31): "Man wird sich also damit

essential to recognize that each musical and notational style—except for electronic music—carries within it its own particular levels of determinacy and indeterminacy. The inability of past medieval musicological scholarship to recognize the persistence of elements of indeterminacy in much of the music of the early High Gothic serves as an eloquent warning against freighting historiography with misleading preconceptions.¹⁰⁸

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abfinden müssen, dass es Konduktus gibt, die eine Rhythmik besitzen, deren Unregelmässigkeit die Grenzen des der Modalnotation Darstellbaren überschreitet." ("Thus, one will have to come to terms with the fact that there are conductus possessing rhythms that transcend the limits of what modal notation could represent [sic].") Cf. Kippenberg, *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang*, pp. 61, 64; William Beare, *Latin Verse and European Song: A Study in Accent and Rhythm* (London, 1957), pp. 102, 287 ff. The latter put it that "most Germans . . . cannot accept the idea that there may be a form of verse which is quite free from alternating rhythm" (p. 102)—a statement that, happily, has been rendered invalid by the work of such men as Jammers and Kippenberg, followed by a degree of reorientation on the part of Husmann ("Deklamation und Akzent in der Vertonung mittellateinischer Dichtung," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XIX/XX [1962/63], 1–8).

¹⁰⁸ My special thanks go to Mr. Stanley Weiss, without whose helpful intercessions this article could not have been completed.