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SOME MONOPHONIC LATIN SONGS

FROM THE TENTH FASCICLE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTEGA LAURENZIANA, PLUTEUS 29.1.

A Dissertation

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Ruth Steiner, M.A.

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1963

This dissertation was approved by lenge Inaddeus forus,

Professor of Music, as director and by A.K. Regular

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PREFACE

The music composed for the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries has been the subject of a number of studies. However, these studies have to a large extent been limited to polyphonic compositions, in which the rhythmic innovations of the Notre Dame school of composers may be observed. Monophonic works forming a part of the same repertoire, preserved in the same sources, have received less attention.

This is a study of one group of monophonic songs of the Notre Dame repertoire, the eighty-three songs in the tenth fascicle of the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1. The composer and the poets whose work is known to be represented in the fascicle are discussed. Some observations are made on the use of scalar modes in the music and its relationship to the modal theory of the time.

The rhythm of these songs is of particular interest.

Although the Florence manuscript does not give adequate indications of rhythm, some pieces it contains are found in other manuscripts of the time with their rhythm clearly and completely notated. An attempt is made to identify specifically what can be learned from the evidence given in those manuscripts which indicate rhythm, and to determine if and how this can be applied in assigning rhythms

to works for which no rhythmic sources exist.

Some comments on the possible use of musical instruments in the performance of these songs are followed by a survey of the musical forms and styles found in the fascicle. Transcriptions have been made of selected compositions, and translations of their texts furnished. Indices, a list of manuscript sources, and a thematic index precede the bibliography.

It is a pleasure to record here the names of those who assisted in the preparation of this study. Dr. George T. Jones, Professor of Music at Catholic University, directed the work and suggested many valuable lines of research. The Right Reverend Monsignor Aloysius K. Ziegler, Professor of Medieval Latin Literature and Medieval History, contributed his time very generously, especially to portions of the study which involve medieval history and medieval Latin poetry; and Dr. Allan Garrett, Associate Professor of Music, offered a number of helpful and productive ideas. The Right Reverend Abbot Rembert Weakland, O.S.B., was kind enough to read the finished thesis and to make numerous helpful comments. May this inadequate expression of thanks remind them all of the very real indebtedness felt by the writer.

Thanks are also due the Biblioteca Laurenziana and its
Director, Dr. Irma Merolle Tondi, for giving permission for a part
of one of their most remarkable manuscripts to be the subject of
this study. However, the research necessary for this subject
would not have been possible without the kind cooperation of a
number of other libraries. The Music Division of the Library of
Congress and its excellent staff were indispensable. Both the

music library and the main library of Catholic University—
particularly the fine collection of works on medieval history and
literature—have been heavily drawn upon. Several European libraries were visited in the summer of 1963, and their generosity in
according to the writer the privilege of consulting manuscripts in
their collections is gratefully remembered. These libraries
included the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the British Museum;
Cambridge University Library; and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,
Munich.

Dr. Luther Dittmer was kind enough to answer a letter addressed to him and to give very generous assistance at the beginning of this study. Dr. Ethel Thurston also responded to an inquiry in a very helpful way.

A final expression of thanks should be directed to Wellesley College for providing financial assistance through the Anne Louise Barrett Fellowship for 1962-1963.

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INTRODUCTION

The manuscript of the Biblioteca Laurenziana identified as Pluteus 29.1 contains a large collection of late twelfth— and early thirteenth—century music. Over nine hundred musical compositions are found on its 455 folios. It is beautifully written and very well preserved.

Through the years many persons have studied this manuscript. It was described as follows by Bandini in his catalogue of Latin manuscripts of the Biblioteca Laurenziana:

Antiphons and rhythmic poems, furnished with very carefully executed musical notation, and fitted for the use, as it appears, of some French church, with the feasts as they come in the course of the year and the proper of the seasons, not without frequent pictures, which are varied . . . and certainly worthy of being examined and described by some student of ecclesiastical antiquity. . . . So that, however, it may more easily be learned to what church it belonged, we have selected from here and there certain passages which can be historically useful. 1

¹A. M. Bandinus, Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae (h vols.; Florence, 1774-1777), II, 1.

Antiphonae et Rhythmi, notis musicis accuratissime delineatis distincti, et ad usum ecclesiae, ut videtur, alicuius Gallicanae, iuxta festa per anni circulum occurrentia, et ad opportunitatem temporum adcommodati, non sine picturis variis, quae identidem occurrunt . . . et quidem dignis, quae ab aliquo Ecclesiasticae antiquitatis indagatore diligenter perpenderetur, ac delinearetur. . . . Ut autem facilius dignoscatur ad quam Ecclesiam pertinuerit, loca quaedam hinc inde decerpsimus, quae ad historiam etiam conferre aliquid possunt.

Bandini then published several poems from the manuscript, three of which were from its tenth fascicle. One of them is a poem on the death of a person referred to as "sol Campaniae" and "comes flos comitum"; he has been identified as Henri le Libéral, Count of Champagne, who died in 1181. The second of the three poems is about St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226); the third is a lament on the death of Ferdinand, King of Leon (Spain), which occurred in 1188.

In spite of Bandini's inviting description of the manuscript it seems to have received little attention, and it was not really known to scholars until Delisle saw it and described it in 1885.² He made it the subject of a long address presented to the members of the Société de l'Histoire de France. To his practiced eye the writing and illumination of the manuscript appeared similar to those of manuscripts written in France during the reign of Philip the Fair (1205-1314). Delisle outlined the later history of the manuscript: it had been in the possession of Piero de' Medici (1416-1469), father of Lorenzo il Magnifico (as a note on f. 476' attests: Liber Petri de Medicis Cos[mae] Fil[ii]), and from the

¹ The persons and dates were identified by Delisle (see below).

²Léopold Delisle, "Discours," Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, XXII (1885), 82-139.

³There are now only 455 leaves although, because of gaps, the numbering goes higher. For precise information, see:
Friedrich Ludwig, Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili, Vol. I: Catalogue raisonné der Quellen (Halle: Niemeyer, 1910), 59.

Medici it passed to the Laurenziana. It must have been in Florence in the middle of the fifteenth century, but the exact date and circumstances of its coming to Italy are unknown.

Delisle took pains to identify persons and events referred to in the various poems. The dates he proposes are incorporated into Index II of this dissertation; for works in the tenth fascicle of the manuscript they range from 1181 to 1236.

In 1898 the medieval Latin philologist Wilhelm Meyer published the results of his study of this manuscript. It was he who made the exciting discovery that it corresponded very closely to a music manuscript described by an anonymous thirteenth-century theorist. The theorist, known to musicologists as Anonymous IV from his position in the first volume of Coussemaker's series, 2 said that he had seen the book at Notre Dame. Although close comparison shows that certain things Anonymous IV says of his manuscript are not true of this one, the correspondence is sufficient to suggest very strongly that the manuscript now in Florence originated in Paris. 3

lWilhelm Meyer, "Der Ursprung des Motetts," first appeared in Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1898, Heft 2; reprinted in Gesammelte Abhandlungen II (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905), 303-341.

²Edmond de Coussemaker, Scriptorum de musica medii aevi (4 vols.; Paris: A. Durand, 1864).

³Meyer, 326 f.

Fifty years ago, Friedrich Ludwig made a thorough study of the Florence manuscript and other manuscripts containing the repertory of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Although his primary interest lay in organum and the motet, he included some information about monophonic compositions. Despite the years which have passed since the publication of his book, it is still an indispensable tool—and that in spite of the fact that it is unfinished and lacks both an index and a table of contents. Ludwig did not accept Delisle's dating for the Florence manuscript without question; the authority whose advice he sought gave an opinion which concurred with Delisle's. 2

(The long interval between the apparent date of composition of works in the Florence manuscript and that of the manuscript itself has been explained in various ways. One explanation is that the compositions must have been preserved in the medieval equivalents of performing editions and copied from them into the elegant Florence manuscript. This is borne out by the fact that even now the Florence manuscript shows practically no signs of ever having been used. On the other hand, the Florence manuscript may not have been written as late as the date suggested by Delisle. Dr. Willi Apel asked E. K. Rand for an opinion on the date of the manuscript, and Rand is reported to have judged on the basis of paleographical evidence that it might have been written in the middle

¹Repertorium.

²Friedrich Ludwig, "Wher den Entstehungsort der grossen 'Notre Dame-Handschriften'," Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift für Guido Adler (Vienna: Universal-Edition A. G., 1930), 45-6.

of the thirteenth century. 1)

Ludwig observed that the Florence manuscript is arranged in a methodical way. The contents of the manuscript are described in detail in his book, and they are carefully summarized in Heinrich Husmann's more recent article about the manuscript in <u>Die Musik</u> in <u>Geschichte und Gegenwart.</u>² Both of these writers distinguish between sections of the manuscript where the original plan for arrangement seems to have been carried out and the occasional "appendices" following these sections, where it does not appear to have been followed. Since the purpose of this discussion is to indicate in a general way the context in which the fascicle which is the subject of this dissertation is found, an enumeration of the various appendices is omitted from the survey of the contents of the Florence manuscript which follows.

Three factors determine the position of a piece in the manuscript: liturgical function, number of voices, and musical style. Pieces for four voices come first, followed by works for three and for two voices; monophonic compositions are found at the end. The polyphonic settings of liturgical texts ("organa") are arranged according to the sequence of the liturgical year, with works for the Mass and the Office in separate series. Husmann has

lwilli Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music (4th ed. revised; Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 200.

²Heinrich Husmann, "Codex Bibl. Laurenziana plut. 29.1," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, IV (1955), cols. 405-415.

recently shown that the liturgical compositions found in the Florence manuscript and manuscripts related to it reflect the liturgical practice of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris as it is recorded in liturgical manuscripts known to have originated there and thus there is further evidence that these pieces were composed for that church.

The organa for three and for two voices are followed by a large number of "clausulae." Dr. William Waite has revealed the purpose and the nature of these works, and it is in keeping with the careful arrangement of F that clausulae which represent a modernizing of certain sections of the old organa are kept separate from those which are to be used for shortening these works.²

The compositions which follow the clausulae are called conductus or conducti. (Although the fourth declension plural is classically correct, Dr. Ethel Thurston has pointed out that medieval writers preferred to use second declension endings for this word.³) Their texts are not taken from the liturgy; instead they are newly composed, for the most part in accentual verse. The conducti for three and for two voices in F are very numerous. They

Liber Organi, The Musical Quarterly, XLIX (1963), 311-330.

²For convenience, the manuscript will be referred to by the customary siglum for it, F. Its tenth fascicle will be called F-X, individual works in the fascicle by a number representing the order in which they occur.

William G. Waite, "The Abbreviation of the Magnus Liber," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XIV (1961), 117-158.

³Ethel Thurston, "The Conductus Compositions in MS. Wolfenbuttel 1206," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Music, New York University, 1954. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, No. 22,973), I, i.

are followed by what have been called "conductus motets," compositions where there is a liturgical tenor voice written separately and two upper parts with a single text, different from that of the tenor, which are written in score. At the very end come the monophonic compositions in two groups, occupying the tenth and eleventh fascicles of the manuscript.

The songs, or "monophonic conducti," in the tenth fascicle have for several reasons been selected as the topic for this dissertation. First, it seems important that this manuscript, as a central and comprehensive source, be known in its entirety. This fascicle alone has not been the subject of a recent comprehensive study. Second, the rhythm of the monophonic conducti in modally-notated sources like the Florence manuscript has remained enigmatic while the rhythm of similarly notated polyphonic music has to a large extent been worked cut, because in polyphonic music the fitting together of the parts reduces the number of possible interpretations of each ligature markedly. A number of recent studies on the rhythm of polyphonic music of this period have shed light also on some aspects of the notation of the monophonic conducti. Third, the monophonic conductus is related to a number of other forms. As musical and literary scholars have studied these other forms, or specific common problems, a great deal of information about compositions in the tenth fascicle of this manuscript has been published. Since there is no comprehensive study of the fascicle, this information has remained scattered about--lost, for all practical purposes. It seems a good time to bring together as many of these findings as possible and to summarize the current state of knowledge of these works.

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CHAPTER I

COMPOSERS OF THE POETRY AND MUSIC

Although the poems in the tenth fascicle of the Florence manuscript are rich in allusions to contemporary events and persons, not one of them is accompanied by the name of its author. Likewise, all the music is anonymous. Efforts to discover the composers of these melodies have had little success; the only attribution for any of them which has been found is in the fourth anonymous treatise printed in the first volume of Coussemaker's series. This treatise, thought to have been written by an Englishman who had been a student in Paris, ascribes the melody of the conductus simplex "Beata viscera" to Perotin. 1

Little is known of Perotin; Mme. Yvonne Rokseth collected and published the available information about him.² There is strong evidence that he was already an established composer by 1198; the dates of his birth and death are still the subject of controversy.

Dr. Hans Tischler believes that he was born sometime between 1155 and 1160, or about fifteen years earlier than Mme. Rokseth thinks.³

¹ Coussemaker, Scriptorum, I, 324.

²Yvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle: le mamuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier (4 vols.; Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935-1939), IV, 50-51.

Hans Tischler, "The Dates of Perotin," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XVI (1963), 240-241.

He was not identical with the Petrus succentor mentioned in the records of the Paris cathedral between 1209 and 1238, for such a prominent churchman would hardly have been referred to by a diminutive nickname.

Perotin's fame arises principally from his monumental polyphonic compositions, in which he created both a new sonority and the technical means of controlling it. The single monophonic work ascribed to him appears to be like many other pieces in the tenth fascicle of F; perhaps some of them are by Perotin too.

The situation is quite different with regard to the poems, for many of them can be attributed. A number of them—thirty—six of the eighty—three—are ascribed in other sources to Philip, chancellor of the cathedral of Paris (d. 1236). Ludwig devotes several pages to Philip, and the following paragraphs will summarize his comments in the light of subsequent scholarship.1

MS 2777 of Darmstadt contains, on folios 3-h;, a group of poems, twenty-six in all, preceded by the note "Ista sunt dicta cancelarii Parisiensis." 2 Greber had no hesitation about identifying this chancellor with the Philippus cancellarius to whom other sources ascribe additional poems, 3 and Ludwig accepts this conclusion. All twenty-six of the poems in the Darmstadt manuscript

Repertorium, 246-7.

²F. W. E. Roth, "Mittheilungen zur Literatur des Mittellateins," Romanische Forschungen, VI (1891), 28. The poems are printed in the same volume of that journal, hill-458.

Gustav Gröber, Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, II. Band, 1. Abteilung (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1902), 338.

appear set to music in F-X, often with more strophes. However, Karl Strecker proved that one of them, "Dum medium silentium tenerent," (F-X-15) was part of a longer work beginning "In domino confido" written around 1174 by Walter of Châtillon.1

Walter of Châtillon is best known for an epic poem, Alexandreis, which he composed during the years 1178-1182 and dedicated to Archbishop William of the White Hands of Reims. He was born near Lille around 1135 and studied in Paris and Reims. He may have taught in Paris before becoming head of the school in Laon. While in the chancery of Henry II of England, he knew John of Salisbury, and when John left Henry's service to join the faction of Thomas à Becket, Walter did likewise. He taught at Châtillon before returning to Reims in 1176.2

The correctness of the attribution to "cancellarius Parisiensis" of the other poems in the Darmstadt manuscript was opened to question by Strecker's work. Wilmart believed that two other poems in it were also by Walter—"Beata viscera" (F-X-144) and "In hoc ortus occidente" (F-X-5)—and that one additional poem in the Darmstadt manuscript, "Quid ultra tibi facere" (F-X-17), was perhaps not by Philip and not by Walter, either. Wilmart gives various stylistic reasons for his opinions; another reason is that "Quid ultra tibi facere" and "Beata viscera" are found in a Charleville

Norbert Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied Philipps de Grève," Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters: Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931, ed. W. Stach and H. Walther (Dresden: Baensch, 1931), 37.

²F. J. E. Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages (2d ed.; Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1957), II, 190-204. J. de Ghellinck, S. J., L'Essor de la littérature latine au XII^e siècle ("Museum Lessiamum - Section Historique," No. 4, 5; Brussels: L'Edition Universelle, 1946), II, 2ll.

manuscript which is of the late twelfth century -- too early for Philip. 1

Handschin shares Wilmart's skepticism concerning the attributions of the Darmstadt manuscript.² Still, a plausible explanation has been offerred for the one clear error—the one exposed by
Strecker—which may remove some of the doubt concerning the attribution of the other poems. Norbert Fickermann has pointed out that
"Dum medium silentium tenerent" begins with the same words as another
poem, "Dum medium silentium componit," which comes immediately after
it in F-X and in another manuscript, Oxford, Rawlinson, C 510.

If, as Ludwig suggested, the Darmstadt and Florence manuscripts were
both copied from the same source, one in which the two poems beginning
"Dum medium silentium" were side by side, it would have been easy
for the copyist of the Darmstadt manuscript to take the wrong one as
he compiled his anthology of Philip's poems.³

Another manuscript which attributes poems to Philip is
Egerton manuscript 274 in the British Museum. 4 On f. 3 there is
a comment that the works which follow are "dicta magistri Ph.
quondam cancellarii Parisiensis." This manuscript contains various,
quite different kinds of music, and it is not at all clear how long
this heading is meant to apply. Ludwig felt that on its authority
nine of the monophonic conducti in F-X which are in the first

¹A. Wilmart, "Poèmes de Gautier de Chatillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville," Revue Bénédictine, 49 (1937), 161-2, 164-5, 167, 348.

²Jacques Handschin, "Conductus-Spicilegien," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XII (1955), 113.

³Fickermann, 37.

⁴The common siglum for this manuscript is Lo B.

section of Lo B could be added to the list of works definitely attributed to Philip.1

Dreves interpreted this ascription more broadly. In Volume 20 of Analecta Hymnica² (published in 1895) he said that the pieces in Lo B before f. h2 were surely by Philip, and that works after f. 58 were definitely not his. The ones in between were doubtful. In 1907, when Volume 50 of AH was published, Dreves printed a list of poems which he felt could be attributed to Philip, and he included in this list all the poems in the section which he had earlier called doubtful.³ His reason for changing his opinion lay in a mistake. As Ludwig pointed out, Dreves failed to notice that "Homo natus ad laborem et avis," a poem found in Lo B, differed from "Homo natus ad laborem tui status," found in F-X and the Darmstadt manuscript, in all but its first line.¹⁴ Since he believed his poem was also in the Darmstadt manuscript, he felt it must be attributed to Philip, and with it all the other poems in the formerly doubtful section of Lo B.⁵

Nearly all of the poems in the eleventh fascicle of F are in the form Spanke called the Latin rondeau. 6 Because they were

Repertorium, 123.

²Analecta hymnica medii aevi, edited by C. Blume and G. M. Dreves (53 vols.; Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1886-1911), 20, 17. This series is commonly referred to with the abbreviation AH.

³AH 50, 529-531.

⁴Repertorium, 255.

^{5&}lt;sub>AH</sub> 50, 529.

⁶Hans Spanke, "Das lateinische Rondeau," Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, LIII (1929), 113-148.

so similar in form, Dreves felt that they must all have been written by a single poet. Since one of them is found in the formerly doubtful section of Lo B, Dreves, concluded that they were all by Philip. Hence Dreves! list of 109 works by Philip includes not only poems from the doubtful part of the Egerton manuscript-which remains doubtful--but also fifty-two poems from the eleventh fascicle (Dreves calls it the thirteenth) of F. (It contains sixty-eight poems; eight appear to have been accidentally omitted from the list.) The strongest evidence anyone has been able to marshall to support Philip's authorship of these Latin rondeaux is that they appear in various manuscripts close to genuine works by Philip. Spanke has pointed out, for instance, that Latin rondeaux from F-XI surround "Ve mundo a scandalis (F-X-27, also in the Darmstadt manuscript) in the manuscript Tours 927.1 (All lack ascriptions there.) But Spanke, citing Ludwig's disinclination to regard Philip as the writer of the rondeaux, avoids using the evidence of Tours 927 as proof of Dreves' conclusion, and says only that he wishes to leave the question of authorship open.

Yvonne Rokseth, who published transcriptions of all of the compositions in the eleventh fascicle of F in 1947, concurred with Spanke in wishing to leave the question open. However, she added that often the poems in F-XI are made up only of well-known Biblical quotations loosely strung together—a mode of composition quite different from that of poems definitely known to be by Philip.

lzeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, LIII (1929), 128.

She doubted that Philip could have been their author. 1

Dreves is careful to present the reasons behind the attribution of various poems to Philip. However, some later writers have simply reported the total number of works in the list, without mentioning Dreves! own hesitation about the inclusion of some items.

A third thirteenth-century source in which poems are attributed to Philip is the chronicle of the Franciscan Salimbene. He repeats some attributions found elsewhere and adds one more piece in F-X to the group of attributed works. The style of the attribution which follows is like that of the others.

Brother Henry composed many cantilenae and many sequences. . . . He composed a melody for that text of master Philip the Chancellor of Paris, "Homo quam sit pura michi de cura." . . . Likewise, he made a melody for another poem, also by the chancellor, "Crux de te volo conqueri."

It is significant that here composer and poet are two separate persons, not one as in the case of Machaut and other medieval artists.

In another passage, Henry of Pisa is said to have composed a new melody for a song which in Salimbene's opinion far surpassed the old. For this reason, although Salimbene says that Henry of Pisa

lyvonne Rokseth, "Danses cléricales du XIIIe siècle,"
Melanges 1945, III (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de
I'Université de Strasbourg," Fascicule 106; Paris: Société d'Edition:
Les Belles Lettres, 1947), 106. The transcriptions are in the same
publication, 120-126.

²Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum, ed. 0. Holder-Egger ("Monumenta Germaniae Historica," Scriptorum Tomus XXXII, Partes I-III; Hannover: Hahn, 1905-1913), I, 181.

Multas cantilenas fecit frater Henricus et multas sequentias. . . . Item cantum fecit in illa littera magistri Phylippi cancellarii Parisiensis, scilicet Homo quam sit pura michi de cura. . . . Item in alia littera, que est cancelarii similiter, cantum fecit, scilicet Crux de te volo conqueri, et Virgo tioi respondeo.

set a number of Philip's poems to music, it seems improbable that
his melodies are preserved in F. Ludwig disposes of Salimbene's
attribution of some melodies to Henry of Pisa by saying that
Salimbene gives no information about who composed melodies to
Philip's poems in France, during Philip's lifetime.1

One poem in F-X, "Exceptivam actionem," (F-X-67) is ascribed in the manuscript Douai 385 to Alan of Lille. Though often called Alamus ab Insulis (through a confusion of "de Lille" with "de l'île"), Alan was French. He is thought to have been born in Lille around 1128, and to have studied and later taught in Paris. He died, perhaps at Cîteaux, in 1202. Alan's best known works are Anticlaudiamus, an allegorical poem, and De planctu naturae, a philosophical work in the form of the prosimetrum, in which prose and poetry in several different meters are employed. Boethius' De consolatione philosophiae and Bernard Silvestris' De mundi universitate are earlier works in the same form.²

There are thus three poets and one composer to whom attributions of works in F-X have been preserved. The composer is Perotin; the poets, Walter of Chatillon, Alan of Lille, and Philip the Chancellor. Both Dreves and Ludwig think it probable that Philip composed other poems among the eighty-three in F-X than

¹ Repertorium, 246.

Amax Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, III (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931), 794-5. Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, translated by Willard R. Trask (Bollingen Series XXXVI; New York: Pantheon, 1953), 118. (Originally published in German as Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, by A. Francke A. G. Verlag, Bern, 1948.)

those for which attributions can now be found. His characteristic modes of thought and expression are met with everywhere in this fascicle; hence it seems appropriate now to summarize what is known of his life and his interests.

Since the sixteenth century, this Philip has been identified with his contemporary, Philip de Grève. In a 1927 thesis at the Ecole des Chartes, Henri Meylan proved that the two were not the same, but—perhaps because this dissertation has remained unpublished—scholars have been slow to distinguish between the two men.² A summary of Meylan's thesis was published,³ and Yvonne Rokseth refers to it, lalthough the facts she gives are in some respects quite different from Meylan's. Tischler cites both Rokseth and Heylan, but uses Rokseth's information.⁵ M. M. Davy also draws on Meylan's work in her comments on Philip in a book about university sermons at Paris in 1230-1231; in addition, she publishes several of Philip's sermons.⁶ The histories of the universities by d'Irsay and Rashdall

¹AH 50, 528.

²For example, in the first edition of his History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages (1934), F. J. E. Raby referred to Philip as "de Grève." In the second edition of the same work (1957), this was corrected. On the other hand, Philip is still called "de Grève" by some writers; this is true, for instance, in Hans Walther's Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latina (Gettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959).

Henri Meylan, "Les 'Questions' de Philippe le Chancelier," Ecole Nationale des Chartes: Positions des thèses soutemes par les élèves de la promotion de 1927 (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1927), 89-94.

⁴Polyphonies, IV, 227.

⁵Hans Tischler, "New Historical Aspects of the Parisian Organa," Speculum, XXV (1950), 25.

⁶M. M. Davy, Les Sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231 ("Etudes de philosophie médiévale," XV; Paris: Vrin, 1931), 125-127.

describe several events in which Philip was a principal character. 1

According to Meylan and Davy, Philip de Grève became a canon at Paris in 1182, and around 1200 was teaching in Paris in the Faculté des décrets. Later he was named dean at Sens, where he died sometime between 1220 and 1222. No writings are attributed to him.

Philip the Chancellor was born between 1160 and 1185 and was the illegitimate son of another Philip, an archdeacon at Paris. He was an archdeacon at Noyon in 1211, a canon of Paris in 1217, and chancellor in 1218. He died on December 23, 1236.2

Only a few traces of his activity as archdeacon at Noyon remain: there were conflicts with the commune of St. Quentin, with the sénéchal of Vermandois, and with the canons of Prémontré. In the last of these, 1216-1217, Philip represented the bishops of the province of Reims at Rome.

Philip was chancellor during a period when the university at Paris was growing rapidly and changing from an informal association of students and masters to an organization with the formal and legal nature of the modern university. Because of repeated conflicts between students and secular authority, the university community at

¹Stephen d'Irsay, Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours, Vol. I: Moyen age et renaissance (Paris: Editions Auguste Picard, 1933), 70-73. Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1936), I, 309-312, 334-341.

²Thus Meylan, 92. Henri d'Andeli places his death on "l'andemain de Nativité" (Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chance-lier Philippe," Romania, I [1872], 215); Aubry de Trois-Fontaines, "in die nativitatis Domini" (Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium, ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst ["Monumenta Germaniae Historica," Scriptorum Tomus XXIII],940, line 25.)

Paris had been placed under ecclesiastical authority in 1200 by Philip Augustus. The chancellor of the Cathedral of Notre Dame was the administrator of this authority. On the one hand it was his responsibility to write, seal, and put into effect the acts passed by the Church of Paris; on the other, he represented the Bishop of Paris as director of instruction in the diocese—he supervised schools and conferred the license to teach. As the community of scholars around the cathedral grew, it was expected that the chancellor would continue to exercise the same disciplinary and judiciary power over it which he had over other schools in the diocese. Yet the university wished to govern itself.²

In 1219, the year after Philip became chancellor, the masters of the university were discovered to have made "conspiracies"—in reality, statutes for governing themselves and their students.³ Philip (the Bishop of Paris, Pierre de Nemours, was on a Crusade) excommunicated the offenders. A papal bull of 1219 forbade such excommunications and called for the immediate destruction of the prison which Philip had had constructed for the incarceration of various offenders. The text of a second bull, in 1222, reveals that the students had elected a leader or leaders; this was prohibited pendente lite, as was also the excommunication of any person acting

Id'Irsay, 67. Perhaps the lines "lugeant et studia / suae pacis auctorem" in a poem composed for the funeral of Philip Augustus (F-X-50) refer to this event.

²Achille Luchaire, Histoire de France, ed. by Ernest Lavisse, III part 1 (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1901), 342.

³Rashdall, I, 310-311.

on behalf of masters and students.1

Around 1224, Philip declared war on the mendicant monks who had opened public schools; jealous of his control over education in Paris, he wanted to prevent them from teaching any but their young confreres within their communities. Yet the Dominicans were in great favor at this time. During the first year of his reign, 1227, Pope Gregory IX recommended the preaching and the teaching of the Dominicans. At the same time the Pope supported the canons regular of Ste. Geneviève against an attack by Philip, who wanted to prevent anyone from teaching university-level courses anywhere in Paris but "between the two bridges"—close to and under the control of the cathedral.²

It appears from the preceding that Philip energetically tried to prevent the development of a functional administration within the university which might supplant his own. Whether this reflects a serious flaw in his character, or was simply the straightforward response of a dedicated and vigorous person is impossible to determine. As Meylan says, Philip's character is difficult to judge.3

In 1229, new clashes between students and secular authorities occurred. In one of them several students were killed. The

Rashdall, I. 312.

²Daunou, "Philippe de Grève, Chancelier de l'Eglise de Paris," Histoire littéraire de la France, XVIII (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, 1835), 186.

³ Meylan, 92.

⁴Rashdall, I, 334.

reaction to this was very severe; the masters and students decided to leave Paris. Some went to Toulouse, to Angers, to Orléans, even to England. The loss of its great glory and the revenue which the university provided was a blow to Paris which was felt very strongly by the bishop, William of Auvergne, and he was held responsible for not preventing the break. The concessions which had to be made to the masters and students to induce them to return to Paris (as they did in 1231) constituted a significant advance in the university's progress toward legal and formal independence. The university remained under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but now it was that of the Pope, not the Bishop of Paris. The chancellor took an oath before a committee of masters. He continued to award the license to teach but lost all real authority. I

What did Philip do during this period? In a manuscript at Avranches there is a sermon bearing the following title: "Sermo cancellarii Parisiensis quod fecit Aurelianis ad scholares, de recessu scholarium a Parisiis, quem fecit in vigilia Paschae."

("Sermon of the chancellor of Paris which he delivered at Orléans on the vigil of Easter to the students about their departure from Paris.") The sermon is published in full by M. M. Davy.²

In his sermon, Philip calls Paris the honeycomb and the students the bees. In Paris they make the honey of knowledge and the wax which symbolizes the light of intelligence. Although they

[:] ld'Irsay, 72-3.

²Davy, 126, 167f.

have been driven from their hive, the beekeeper (the Pope) bids them return, for Paris is their true mother, and Orléans is to them as the Egyptian nurse was for Moses, an insufficient substitute. As in the story of the true mother and the pretended mother contending for the infant before Solomon, it is the true mother of the students—Paris, not Orléans—who is more deeply concerned about her child's—the students!—suffering. Thus Philip was among those who worked for reconciliation between the university and Paris, preparing the way for the return.

Opinion had built up gradually against the practice of accumulating benefices, and in 1233 a meeting was held for the purpose of setting limits to the number of benefices a person might hold. Philip, as one who held several, vigorously opposed this goal, and succeeded in preventing the meeting from taking any action. The reputation for greed he thus earned is reflected in the inscription said to be on his tombstone, and quoted by Aubry de Trois-Fontaines.

Wealth and riches—what good did they do me while I lived? If I do not rest in peace, they are of no use. The earth now covers me; it will cover you also. I beg you, pray that I may find rest; may you too at the hour of your death. You who have known me, now know my limbs are buried here. You who can, say it: sic transit gloria mundi.²

¹Davy, 126.

Aubry, Mommenta Germaniae Historica, XXIII, 940.

Census, divitiae viventi quid profuere?

Si caream requie, nil possunt illa valere.

Me modo terra tegit, teget et te, te precor, ora

Ut mihi sit requies, sit et haec tibi mortis in hora.

Qui me novisti, nunc hic scis membra recondi.

Dicere qui poteris: Sic transit gloria mundi.

The epitaph is also quoted by Davy, 127.

In a fascinating but unbelievable narrative by Thomas de Cantimpré, the Bomum universale de apibus, Philip's fate is revealed. William of Auvergne, the bishop of Paris, appealed to Philip in his last hours to renounce all his benefices but one, and Philip refused. A few days after his death, his ghost appeared to William of Auvergne, groaning and lamenting the eternal damnation which had been the result of his greed. The story would be more plausible if Thomas were more accurate in other details of Philip's life—for example, he says that Philip attended a meeting in 1238 and again pled the cause of plurality of benefices. More reliable sources place Philip's death in 1236.1

Sometime around 1230, Philip wrote a <u>Summa theologicarum</u> <u>quaestionum</u>, or <u>De bono.</u>² Gilson reports a description of it as where first treatise on the transcendental properties of being: the one, the true, and the good. He stresses the use Philip makes of Aristotle and the Islamic philosophers, and describes the <u>Summa</u> as directed against Manichaeism. (The early thirteenth century was of course the period of the Albigensians, who had a characteristically Manichaean dualistic concept of the universe.)

¹ The passage from Thomas de Cantimpré is quoted by Paul Meyer, Romania, I (1872), 194-5.

²J. de Ghellinck, S. J., I, 92.

³Etienne Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages (New York: Random House, 1955), 251.

⁴Tbid., 657.

Philip's Summa had considerable influence. Leo W. Keeler has shown that a treatise attributed to Robert Grosseteste, De anima, may in fact simply be Grosseteste's notes on lectures given by Philip at Paris around 1208-1210, lectures which Philip subsequently revised and incorporated into his Summa. O. Lottin found that for about twelve years after Philip's death certain theologians, in discussing matters he had touched on, were apt to use the very words Philip had used. These theologians included the Franciscans John of La Rochelle, Alexander of Hales, and Odo Rigaud. (Philip's relationships with the Franciscans were friendly, and at his own request he was buried in a Franciscan chapel. The writings of the Cistercian John of Limoges reveal the literary influence of Philip, as do works of Albert the Great written before 1246.

The influence of Philip's thought was long-lasting. It is reflected in the works of both St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas. He has contributions to the concepts of conscience and synderesis were particularly significant.

Except for the Quaestiones de anima published by Leo W.

leo W. Keeler, S. J., "The Dependence of R. Grosseteste's De anima on the Summa of Philip the Chancellor," The New Scholasticism, XI (1937), 197-219.

²0. Lottin, "L'Influence littéraire du Chancelier Philippe sur les théologiens préthomistes," Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 2 (1930), 311-326.

³Meylan, 91.

Lottin, Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 2 (1930), 325.

⁵de Ghellinck, I, 92.

Keeler in 1937 (Minster i. W.: Aschendorff), Philip's Summa remains unpublished. Daunou, writing in 1835, regarded it as a very ordinary compilation; Hauréau, in 1868, felt that although it might perhaps not be worth publishing, it certainly deserved to be read. As knowledge of this Summa has increased, so has its reputation; and Gilson and de Chellinck appear to regard it as quite an important work.

Philip was a prolific writer of sermons. Hauréau describes three collections—sermones festivales, sermons on the Psalter, and sermons on the Gospels—and indicates some manuscript sources for them.² The sermons on the Psalter are 336 in number; according to Daunou, they were printed twice: Ry Bade, in Paris, in 1533; and by Marchetti, in Brescia, in 1600.³ Daunou mentions two other works by Philip, a commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and a work on the exhortation and the treatment of the dying. Most of the sermons and both of these works remain unpublished.

M. M. Davy published three of Philip's sermons in her collection of university sermons. A passage from a fourth sermon is quoted by Hauréau; in it Philip chides the learned men of the university for spending too much time in disputations and not enough on saving souls.

l'Histoire littéraire de la France, XVIII, 190.

²B. Hauréau, "Quelques lettres d'Honorius III extraites des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale," Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 21 Pt. II, 192-3.

³Daunou, <u>Histoire littéraire de la France</u>, XVIII, 190. ¹⁴Davy, 153-177.

Just as, therefore, it is said that the song of the cock brings the light of day, so the voice of a preacher brings the light of grace, and more strongly by far: for there the voice of the cock is only a sign; here however it is the voice of the preacher. . . . It is a wonder therefore that so many in Paris are asleep in their sin, for in no country village are there as many cocks as there are preachers and doctors in Paris. But perhaps it happens for this reason: that those who ought to be heralds of the day and awaken the sleeping have become fighting cocks. For what is this contention of doctors if not a cock fight? We have become boys who do nothing apart from cock fighting. Hence we have become the laughing stock of the laymen. Cock rises up against cock and lifts his comb against him, and they peck each others' combs and tear out their vitals and make each other bleed; so today master against master, each gnawing at the other in turn. Cocks fight with two things, beak and spurs: the beak, when they bite each other and tear each other with detractions, the spurs when they are aroused against each other through desire to dominate, for as a certain man said,

1 Hauréau, Notices et extraits, 21 Pt. II, 193. Sicut ergo, ut dictum est, galli cantus adducit diem, ita vox praedicantis gratiae lucem, et multo fortius: ibi enim tantum signum est vox galli; hic autem est vox praedicatoris. . . . Mirum est igitur quod tot dormiunt Parisius in peccatis, quia in nulla villa campestri tot sunt galli quot Parisius praedicatores et doctores. Sed forsitan ex hoc contingit quod qui esse deberent praecones diei et excitare dormientes, facti sunt galli pugnaces. Quid enim est ista contentio doctorum nisi pugna gallorum? Pueri facti sumus, qui nihil aliud facimus nisi pugnam gallorum. Unde ridiculum facti sumus laicorum. Gallus insurgit contra gallum et cristatur contra eum, et sibi commanducant cristas, et effundunt viscera et sese cruentant: sic hodie magister contra magistrum et sese ad invicem corrodunt. Galli pugnant duobus, rostro et calcaribus; rostro, dum se mordent et vellicant per detractiones; calcaribus, dum per ambitionem dominationis contra se incitantur, quia, ut ait quidam, Immensum gloria calcar habet. . . .

Meylan's thesis to the poems ascribed to Philip in the Darmstadt manuscript and Lo B, and by Salimbene. These poems have however received considerable attention from other writers. Their dominant emphasis is on morality. Many poems are addressed to man in general, encouraging the listener to repentance and a better life. Some are contemplative in tone. About a quarter of the poems in F-X which are attributed to Philip in other sources lay particular stress on moral weakness among the clergy. Simony was a favorite target; he whose ghost allegedly lamented the greed that had damned him, in life was his wittiest and most telling in attacks on others' greed.

The harsh language found in his allegations of corruption is startling today. In one poem (F-X-3), one character asks another, "Quid Romae faciam? Mentiri nescio." ("What am I to do at Rome? I don't know how to lie.") Other poems in F-X attain a similar level of caustic wit; one of them is "Veritas, equitas" (F-X-62), which contains the unforgettable line, "Iam prelati sunt Pilati."

It is difficult for a modern reader to understand how poetry like this could be included in a manuscript which contains a great deal of liturgical music and which has been described as entirely devoted to the repertory of the cathedral of Paris. In a study of the poetic texts of the musical interpolations in the Roman de Fauvel, Emilie Dahnk has attempted to answer this question. The

¹Rokseth, Polyphonies, IV, 68.

²Emilie Dahnk, L'Hérésie de Fauvel ("Leipziger romanistische Studien," II. Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe, Heft 4; Leipzig: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars, 1935), XXXVII.

same desire for reform which led on the one hand to the founding of the Franciscan order, and on the other to the Albigensian heresy, found less extreme expression in a genre of poetry called by some "Malcontentendichtung"—poetry of the malcontents. The writers of such poetry were faithful to the Church of Rome; it was their very fidelity which drove them into combat. M. M. Davy's book on university sermons preached at Paris contains a section where various subjects treated in the sermons are briefly discussed. This list is striking, for it includes most of the topics mentioned in Philip's poems, and it shows that his concerns were general concerns among the preachers of his day. Nor was he the only one to express these concerns in satirical verse; Raby's A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages, volume II, contains poems of very similar tone by a number of other poets. One might mention especially Walter of Châtillon and Nigel Wireker, but there are many others.

Philip's most successful poems have a strength derived from economy of words and aptly-chosen imagery. He uses many different stanza forms; this subject was of particular interest to Spanke, who published several articles on it. The symbols Philip uses are from the common fund of poets and preachers of his day, but in his hands they seem particularly evocative.

¹Especially "Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik," Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Histor. Klasse, 3. Folge, Nr. 18 (1936).

²Ethel Thurston identified several commonly-employed symbols in the texts of the polyphonic conducti discussed in her dissertation. (I, 12-26.)

CHAPTER II

MODES, KEY SIGNATURES, AND ACCIDENTALS

An important question which arises early in one's attempts to analyze music of the thirteenth century is the following one: What is the basis for its tonal organization? What resources in the way of scales and modulations do composers of this period have at their disposal, and how are they used?

Because the word "mode" can have two meanings in connection with this music—denoting either a rhythmic pattern or a scale type—when it is necessary to avoid confusion, the word "tone" and its related forms will be used. There is no intent to imply through the use of the word "tonality" that in thirteenth—century music a system of functional relationships among scale degrees, such as is found in later tonality, is present. The term is used as a simple synonym for "modality," and only to avoid confusion between scalar modes and rhythmic modes.

A suggestion of the difficulties confronting the modern scholar who tries to analyze thirteenth-century music can be had from Jean Beck's comments on the tonal systems used in the compositions in the Chansonnier Cangé, an anthology of trouvère melodies. Early in his introduction Beck observes that, according to the theorists of the thirteenth century, secular songs are not subject to the rules.

of the ecclesiastical modes. However, later on in this same introduction, Beck himself classifies the chansons of the manuscript in terms of final and ambitus. Incidentally, accidentals are used a great deal in the Chansonnier Cangé; often the seventh degree of the scale is raised by a written accidental to become a leading tone. When it is not, however, Beck does not alter it himself.

Beck's apparent contradiction—saying that the theorists believe that the rules of the ecclesiastical modes do not apply to secular music, and then using methods of classification which have their origin in chant for secular compositions—points up the basic difficulty. The tonality of non-Gregorian medieval music was not provided with its own system of analysis by the early theorists, and modern scholars have, in general, found it necessary to use the same system of analysis for chant and for music outside the Gregorian repertoire—non-liturgical compositions, secular music, and polyphony.

However, some ideas can be tested and some questions answered through a study of the music itself. One of the most challenging of these is the one raised by Aubry and many others: when did the practice of modifying the ecclesiastical modes with accidentals begin which ultimately resulted in their replacement by the modern major

ljean Beck, Le Chansonnier Cangé (2 vols.; "Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi: Première sèrie: Les Chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères," Numéro l; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927), II, 31.

²<u>Ibid.</u>, II, 70-71.

³The term "leading tone," as it is used here and elsewhere in this discussion, indicates a pitch one-half step below the final of a mode, a composition, or a phrase.

and minor scales?

Lowinsky observes that, from 1100 on, composers of Gregorian chants used the Ionian mode in place of the Lydian. Reese calls the Marian antiphon "Alma redemptoris mater" an example of major mode and the Kyrie of Mass XI one of minor mode. Both of these works derive their modern tonalities from the consistent use of B-flat, the only accidental permitted in the notation of Gregorian chant.

One of the most striking differences between Gregorian chant and later melody is the fact that in chant the final tone is virtually never approached from below by a half-step, even in the modes ending on F. This does happen in some secular monophonic music of the thirteenth century; the accidentals written into manuscripts studied by Aubry and Beck offer abundant examples. However, there are few leading-tone cadences in the monophonic conducti of F-X.

Pierre Aubry believed that the innovations of <u>musica ficta</u> (and unfortunately he does not indicate whether he means accidentals actually written in the manuscripts or accidentals supplied by the performer and transcriber) opened the way to the modern major and minor tonalities during the thirteenth century. He says that the tonic notes of troubadour and trouvère melodies wanted leading tones before them, and no longer a whole tone, and thus F#, C#, and C# came into being.

¹Edward E. Lowinsky, Tonality and Atonality in Sixteenth-Century Music (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 37.

²Gustave Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York: Norton, 1954), 185.

Les toniques des mélodies de troubadours et de trouvères veulent un demi-ton au-dessous d'elles, quand elles terminent la pièce, et non plus un ton entier.

It is true that written sharps are much more frequent in manuscripts of troubadour and trouvère music than in manuscripts of polyphonic music or even non-liturgical monophonic music to Latin words of the same period. However whether sharps not indicated in the manuscripts were to be added in the performance of this music is not clear. Aubry believed that they were. Of the fifteen melodies transcribed in his book only six have their final note approached from below; of these, two apparently had raised leading tones indicated in the manuscripts. Aubry raised the other four.

His practice seems questionable. Other transcribers have been content to indicate only accidentals found in the sources.

Beck and Gennrich² do not appear to have used editorial sharps to add leading tones to otherwise mixolydian or dorian melodies.

(The transcriptions in this dissertation follow this conservative practice.) Although the fact that the sharps (and flats) present in the manuscripts do give some melodies the sound of modern major and minor has been pointed out by several persons, they have also commented that the ecclesiastical modes are frequently used in other compositions in the same manuscripts.

Pierre Aubry, Trouvères et troubadours (Paris: Alcan, 1909), 183.

²Friedrich Gennrich, Troubadours, Trouvères, Minnesang and Meistergesang, translated by Rodney G. Dennis ("Anthology of Music," No. 2; Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1960), 26, 27, 32.

La tonalité, l'ambitus et les finales des Chansons courtoises sont essentiellement basés sur la pratique traditionelle du chant Grégorien et des anciens modes grecs, avec la seule différence que, par ci par là, un musicien, désireux d'obtenir un effet particulier, s'affranchira des règles strictes des modes écclésiastiques. Nous trouvons ces licences artistiques appelées musica falsa par les théoriciens. L

Many melodies lie within one or another of the ecclesiastical modes: the Dorian and Mixolydian appear to have been particularly favored. A large number, also, are in major and minor.²

Subject as they were to the pervading influence of Gregorian chant, the troubadours naturally wrote melodies in the church modes. . . Johannes de Grocheo also makes the point that one does not refer to the modes in discussing musica vulgaris, even if particular examples happen to be modal. In fact a large number of the melodies are urmistakably in the modern major scale.

Aubry admits that there is no basis in theoretical writings of the thirteenth century for his added accidentals; he lists the theorists whose writings might bear on thirteenth-century secular monophony and then observes that never in their writings do these theorists inform the reader about the tonalities used by secular composers, whether of polyphony or vernacular monophonic song. He his ideas about leading tones, insofar as they go beyond those accidentals found in the manuscripts, are purely his own. 5

¹Beck, Chansonnier Cangé, II, 70.

²Reese, <u>Music in the Middle Ages</u>, 216.

³J. A. Westrup, "Medieval Song," New Oxford History of Music, II (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 229-231.

⁴Aubry, 179.

⁵Ibid., 187.

There are several possible ways for a medieval composer to write a piece using a modern major or minor scale. He can write it with a final cadence on C or A. He can make it end on some other note but use a key signature: F, with B-flat, for example. Or he can make passing reference to major or minor in the course of a piece in another mode. These possibilities will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Of the 83 pieces in F-X, 65 end on G. This large group will be discussed later. Two pieces end on C and one on A. Not one of the three is a good example of modern major or minor. The two which end on C are F-X-28 and F-X-57. F-X-28 begins on G and emphasizes G throughout. The last syllable of the text is sung on G, and it is only the short melisma at the very end of the work which ends on C. The melisma does not sound like an integral part of the work, and the cadence on C is not very convincing; the piece really seems to be in mixolydian mode on G.

The other piece ending on C, F-X-57, sounds a B-flat just before its final C. Thus it too is in the mixolydian mode—transposed mixolydian, ending on C. The composition which ends on A is F-X-45, which has three stanzas. Husmann identified the melody of the first stanza as the tenor of the final melisma of a polyphonic conductus, and he pointed out that in the manuscript La Clayette¹ F-X-45 is found as a monophonic work written in mensural notation and with the stanzas which are two and three in the Florence manu-

¹Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 13521.

script in the opposite order. In the Florence manuscript, the three stanzas end on the pitches D, D, and A; in the La Clayette manuscript they end on D, A, and D, which seems like a more logical arrangement.

Leo Schrade, after studying the version of this piece given in the La Clayette manuscript—its notation, its placement on the page, and the context in which it is found—has concluded that it is both a monophonic conductus and a triple motet. He believes that the three stanzas, at least as they are presented in the La Clayette manuscript, are meant to be sung simultaneously. His proof is thorough and persuasive. If he is right, and this piece is indeed a triple motet in the La Clayette manuscript and a monophonic conductus in F-X, then it seems quite a unique work. At any rate, in Schrade's transcription, too, the work ends on D.²

None of the pieces in F-X ends on E. One piece, F-X-30, has a refrain at the end of every stanza which appears in the manuscript to end on B-natural. Unfortunately, the notation for this refrain is written in full only once, and although the text of this work is found in the Roman de Fauvel³, the melcdy there is entirely different. There are no other concordances, and thus there is no external way of proving or disproving the validity of this reading.

Heinrich Husmann, "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XI (1954), 29-31.

²Leo Schrade, "Unknown Motets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," Speculum, 30 (1955), 404-412.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 146. Facsimile edition published by Pierre Aubry (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907).

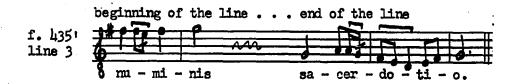
It may be that there was a mistake in the placement of the clef, or a simple error by the scribe in placing the last group or so of notes a third too low. An ending on D would be quite suitable, since many other cadences in this work are on D.

The four compositions which end on F use B-flat often, and thus they sound much like modern major. They are F-X-h0, 56, 71, and 72. Two of them, F-X-71 and 72, use B-flat throughout and no other accidentals. There are some E-flats in F-X-h0, and all its B's are flat. In F-X-56 there are some B-naturals. In all of these pieces the final F is approached by a whole step from above.

Eleven pieces end on D. One piece in F-X is incomplete, but other manuscripts which contain this piece show it ending on G. It thus may be counted among the compositions in F-X which end on G; there are 65 of them.

Of the 64 pieces whose endings on G have been preserved in the Florence manuscript, 25 reach the final note from above and 39 reach it from below. In all but one of the 39, the note immediately preceding the final G (disregarding repetitions of the G) is F. In the other piece it is the D below.

Four pieces in F-X contain written F#'s in their key signatures at some point; these are F-X-47, 50, 55, and 62. The final cadence of F-X-47 goes stepwise up from D to G, and there is no reason to think that the F# of the key signature is not in force, although the F# in the cadence is an octave lower than the accidental in the key signature.



This is the one example of a seventh degree raised by an accidental in a final cadence in F-X. It occurs in an ascending scale, not as a lower neighbor. Hence it cannot be regarded as evidence for the theory of the origin of the leading tone expressed by Reese as follows:

Flattening was applied also to a B between two A's. (Una nota supra la semper est canendum fa.) And, by a reversal of the principle, the idea of the subsemitonium took shape and alteration was applied at the lower end of the hexachord as well, so that an F between two G's was sharped.

In F-X-50, F# is used for two lines in the manuscript at the beginning of the third stanza of the text. It does not appear to be in force at the final cadence, F E F G. In F-X-55, F# and C# are used early in the piece but dropped out later on, and the F preceding the final G appears to be natural. In F-X-62, F# appears in the key signature of only one line. It is no longer in force when the piece ends.

F# is written as an accidental in F-X-53 and 60. It does not affect the final cadence in either of these pieces. Thus of the six pieces in F-X which use F# at one time or another, only one, F-X-47, has an F# in its final cadence.

¹Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 381.

F# is used in various contexts within these compositions, and sometimes at the cadence of a phrase. A special section in this dissertation is devoted to F-X-55; the others will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

In F-X-50, F# clearly serves as leading tone to G.



The "knight" referred to in the text of this poem is Philip Augustus, the King of France for whose funeral in 1223 this piece appears to have been composed. A translation follows:

Denis rejoices, and mother Paris does not begrudge him honor. The martyr has rightfully his knight as guest whom he had made a victor.

The musical setting strongly emphasizes the G-major scale; the melodies of the first and third lines of text end on D, of the fourth on G. There is an awkward interval between the final note of the

introductory melisma, C-natural, and the F# preceding it.

In F-X-53, F# is used in a 7-6-8, or "Landini", cadence at the end of a line on the word "morior." ("I die.") The signum quadratum (in the manuscript, indicating a sharp) is placed between the two F's in measures 4 and 5 of the musical example below and must affect both of them. How long does this accidental remain in force? The question arises because there is no difference in appearance in this manuscript between an accidental and a change of key signature in the course of a line. At the beginning of the line of the manuscript in which this excerpt is found there is a B-flat in the key signature, and there is another at the beginning of the next line of the manuscript, which comes at the beginning of measure 11 below. Thus it must have been in force all along, and the B in measure 8 must be flat, the F in measure 9 an F-natural.



The Egerton manuscript (Lo B) gives a slightly different melody for the first phrase of this passage, as follows:



Here is a translation of the text of the preceding passage:

(Christ speaks:) I who die for you cry to you. See the punishments with which I am afflicted, see the nails by which I am pierced.

The F# in F-X-60, on the word "ultione" (vengeance), is difficult to interpret because of what follows it. If it continues in force through the word "redimitur," it makes a leading-tone cadence on G which sounds quite satisfactory. However, the G F on "quicquid" immediately following this cadence sounds chromatic—if that F is natural so soon after the other F#—and foreign to the style. The F-natural on "quicquid" makes a tritone with the B two notes later, but if it is sharped then it seems necessary to keep it sharp through "gesserit," which is found on the next line of the manuscript without a sharp. There is no suggestion in the manuscript that the B should be flatted.



The poetry here means

The blessed city Paris--if any impious man should sin within her limits, whatever he may have done wickedly is repaid with vengeance.

Two F#'s occur in a single phrase of F-X-62. The phrase is repeated three times, to a different set of words each time, and these repeats are written out in the manuscript. The phrase is as follows; here again F# serves as leading tone to G.1



In F-X-47 the phrases end on the notes of the G-major triad: G, G, D, D, B, D, G, D, G. F# is used at the beginning and at the end of this piece, and the use of F-natural during the middle of it does not seem to affect the general impression the piece gives of G major.

The entire piece is transcribed on the next page; here is a translation of its text.

Do not be ashamed of having enjoyed the pleasures of youth but of not cutting them off² and let reason, teacher of good conduct, show you how to turn the things you rashly played to good in your life so that, worthy of your episcopacy, a gift of God, you may carry on in your priesthood to the praise of God's name.

lSister Mary Lourdes Mackey called attention to this passage in her Ph.D. dissertation "The Evolution of the Leading Tone in Western European Music to circa 1600 A. D." (Catholic University of America, 1962), 77-78.

²The Latin of these opening lines is a paraphrase of a line by Horace (Epistulae I. 14. 36): Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.



Another question which may be raised concerning the modality of thirteenth-century monophonic compositions is the following: Is a given piece likely to be in one mode throughout, or may there be modulations in the course of a work? Potiron has discussed this question in connection with Gregorian chant at some length, and his conclusion is that the mode indicated for a chant—in the Liber Usualis, for example—is the mode only of its final cadence. The composer of a Gregorian chant selected elements from various sources and regrouped them harmoniously, concerning himself not with tonal or modal unity but with oppositions, relationships, lines, designs. 1

In his comments on the modality of Gregorian compositions, Reese says

The fact that an entire melody, even if it wandered, was assigned to one mode, sometimes according to how it began, more often according to the degree upon which it ended, does not mean that medieval musicians completely disregarded the structure of a melody as a whole, whether they judged according to the criterion of a scalar mode or according to earlier standards. Regino paid attention to this structure when he noted that some antiphons and Introits began and ended in different modes, and, as we have seen, one of the ideals of the Cistercian reform was homogenous modality. This ideal, however, did not achieve universal adoption; the Gregorian repertoire is rich in melodies whose gentle flow calmly glides beyond the boundaries such an ideal would have imposed.²

If it is possible for a Gregorian chant to begin in one mode and end in another, or to have some of its phrases in a mode or modes different from the one in which it ends, would this not also

lHenri Potiron, L'Analyse modale du chant grégorien (Paris: Desclée et Cie., 1948), 84.

²Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 162.

happen in conducti? Modulations are often easier to recognize when accidentals are involved, and Schrade has commented on a contrast in tonality between the melisma and the texted portion of "Beata nobis gaudia" (F-X-lil) which is brought about through the use of accidentals. The piece begins with a melisma which quotes a phrase of Gregorian chant. Schrade explains the reason for this quotation in terms of the occasion for which the conductus was composed. After the melisma (and the quotation) end, the composer introduces a key signature of two flats, changing his mode immediately.



The key signature fluctuates in the course of this short piece.

Its final phrase goes lower than any of the others, and Schrade believes that it too is an ornamented quotation of a chant melody.

leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries," Annales Musicologiques, I (1953), 42, 56. (The transcription above is copied from Schrade's.)

The change of modality in "Beata nobis gaudia," from mixolydian in the first phrase to transposed dorian in the second, is accomplished through the use of accidentals. Medieval music theory identified each distinctive scalar mode with a particular tonic; if one wanted to write a piece in the phrygian mode it would ordinarily have to end on E. In practice, however, B-flat was sometimes used as a key signature so that the scale of a particular mode could have a final different from its usual one. With B-flat in the key signature, a transposed dorian scale could run from G to G, a phrygian from A to A. This makes it possible for the composer to change his scale from mixolydian to dorian, as at the beginning of this piece, without changing his tonic note, G.

The E-flats in this piece, found only in sections where B-flats are also being used, are all upper neighbor notes. Their flatting corresponds to the flatting of a B between two A's in a piece in untransposed dorian mode, in accordance with the precept: "Una nota supra la semper est canendum fa."

The same contrast between an opening in mixolydian and a subsequent use of transposed dorian on the same tonic, G, is found in F-X-20. B-flat is introduced toward the end of the fourth line and remains in force through the rest of the piece. E-flat is introduced slightly later and is likewise retained until the end. In this piece E-flat is found as an upper neighbor (four times); it is also used within a descending scale (four times) and even in an ascending scale (once). This freer use of E-flat in a transposed dorian scale makes it identical in sound to the natural minor or

aeolian scale -- a mode which did not attain theoretical recognition until Glareanus but which, as Reese and others have pointed out, is frequently found in secular music and even occasionally in chant (for example, in the Kyrie of Mass IX.)

Despite the change from one mode to another which takes place in this piece, no change of tonic note is felt. The notes on which the lines of poetry end are as follows:

G, four lines; B-flat, five lines; D, three lines; F and A, one line each

Thus, in modern terms, the notes of the tonic triad are used much more frequently for cadence points than are other pitches. Medieval music theory recognized the importance of the relationship between the fifth of a scale and its tonic, but it did not recognize the major or minor third. Hence, the great importance given to B-flat in this work may perhaps be regarded as an instance where practice is foreshadowing theory; at any rate, it suggests a fundamental difference between the conductus and chant as analyzed by Potiron. Potiron watched for characteristic cadential formulas at the ends of phrases and regarded the notes on which they came to rest as tonics; in the conductus characteristic cadential formulas are rarely present, and many phrases do not end on a tonic note, giving rather the impression of, for example, a half cadence or a brief pause on the third degree of the scale.



- 3. Beatus qui in prosperis mentem non exaltaverit, nec se nimis artaverit rebus artatus asperis, vincens in patientia; beatus qui pauperibus sua diffundens animum non clausit erga proximum, se natum credit omnibus insignitum clementia.

 [Refrain]
- 4. Beatus qui contempserit caduca mundi gaudia, adspirans ad coelestia et pati praeelegerit dolores et angustias; beatus cui divinitus infuso rore gratiae faecem fugit luxuriae, magister carnis spiritus

 [Refrain]
- 5. Beatus qui in patriam fixo mentis acumine
 ... mundanam spernit gloriam et marcescentem flosculum; beatus qui transierit ab hac valle miseriae et ad verum iustitiae solem translatus fuerit, vivet enim in saeculum.
 [Refrain]

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1. Blessed is he who does not wander in the counsel of evil men, who does not stand in the way of sinners nor sit in the chair of pestilence. Blessed is the man who does not follow things that pass and know not stay, that are not permanent. He does not seek nor reach out with the desire of vain glory.

Refrain: Happy he, whom the goading of greed does not torture, nor gnaw, nor crush, and whom the fire of envy does not burn.

- 2. Blessed is he whom the heel of penitence does not press.

 Blessed is he whom the sting of conscience does not pierce and whom the battles of the spirit do not unsettle. Blessed is the man who knows himself by a gift of heavenly grace, and does not become exalted above himself by the wind of pride, counting all things secondary to himself. Refrain.
- 3. Blessed is he who in prosperity has not lifted up his mind nor straightened himself too much when hemmed in by adversities, winning through patience. Blessed is he who, pouring out his possessions for the poor, has not closed his heart to his neighbor. He believes himself born for all and graciousness his claim to honor. Refrain.

Psalm 1:1. Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit.

- 4. Blessed is he who despises the perishing joys of the world, longing for celestial things, and chooses to suffer griefs and difficulties. Blessed is he who, endued with grace from above, flees the mire of luxury, his spirit master over his flesh. Refrain.
- 5. Blessed is he who with his mind fixed on the fatherland spurns the glory of the world and its withering flower. Blessed is he who passes from this vale of woe and is carried across to the true sun of justice; he will live forever. Refrain.

CHAPTER III

RHYTHM

The musical notation used in the tenth fascicle of the Florence manuscript is quite unequivocal as regards pitch. Except for a few passages where a note or two have been omitted and rare occasions where the size or position of a note makes its pitch somewhat doubtful, the transcriber can read the pitches of a melody with ease.

The rhythm of these melodies is a different matter entirely. The Florence manuscript is written in modal, or group, notation—a notation in which rhythm is not indicated by the shape of individual notes but by the systematic grouping of notes into ligatures. The interpretation of this notation is explained in several of the treatises published by Coussemaker, but the imprecision of both the notation and the explanations of it have given rise to widely divergent opinions about its transcription. Since group notation depends on the grouping of notes into ligatures to identify the

LEdmond de Coussemaker, Scriptorum de musica medii aevi (1-vols.; Paris: A. Durand, 1861). Better editions of some of these treatises are found in Simon M. Cserba, Der Musiktraktat des Hieronymus Moravia O.P. (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1935). A few are available in English; see Janet Knapp, "Two Thirteenth-Century Treatises on Modal Phythm and the Discant," Journal of Music Theory, 6 (1962), 200-215, and Luther Dittmer, Anonymous IV (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959).

rhythmic mode of a passage, music in syllabic style (such as the songs in F-X) cannot make use of its conventions. Hence the notation of the pieces in F-X offers practically no information (the exceptions will be discussed later) about their rhythm.

Scholars who have transcribed these melodies have chosen one of two alternatives: to transcribe them into some form of modern notation which does not specify rhythm, or to investigate all available evidence about musical rhythm during the period when this music was written (especially as it was related to word accent) and then to use the results of that investigation in creating a rhythm for each piece.

A few early attempts along these lines may be mentioned. Dreves, in his transcriptions in Analecta Hymnica, preferred to use a notation which did not specify rhythm. On the other hand, Aubry had made considerable study of the motet before he attempted to transcribe monophonic conducti, and he felt that the meter of these pieces must be ternary, and that word accent must somehow be reflected in the musical rhythm of the conductus, as it is in the motet. In 1905 he published a transcription of F-X-51 which begins like this:²

^{1&}lt;sub>AH</sub> 21, 214-218.

²Pierre Aubry, "Un chant historique latin du XIII^e siècle," Le Mercure Musical, I (1905), 433.



The irregular rhythms and imprecisely notated grace-notes make this transcription rather unattractive. Aubry commented that the melody lacked the grace and spontaneity of trouvère melodies, but this dod not prompt him to revise his transcription. He put accented syllables on the first beat of the measure and assigned to each note or ligature its "valeur propre," as he understood it then.

In 1906 Paul Runge published another transcription of the same piece. The rhythm he used was dictated by the theories of Riemann (to whom his book is dedicated); it does not correspond to any known thirteenth-century theories, but it is clear and direct and for that reason appealing. Runge recognized that the first melisma in the piece is really an introduction to it; if it is set apart then the musical similarity of the first and third lines of the poem becomes evident. In his transcription, accented syllables

Paul Runge, Die Lieder des Hugo von Montfort mit den Melodien des Burk Mangolt (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf und Härtel, 1906), 13.

are intended to fall on accented beats of the measure; but because both the first and third lines begin with trochees and end with lambs, his meter does not fit those lines until after the shift of stress between the second and third feet. (Aubry handled this problem by allowing his measures to be of unequal length.)



Riemann advanced his theory of "Vierhebigkeit" in 1897. For a long time it was regarded with extreme skepticism. Reese mentions it only in a footnote, saying that it has been "severely attacked." Recently and unexpectedly this theory has been revived. Husmann speaks of Riemann as having grasped the basic principle of modal notation, that the key to the rhythm of a piece lies in its text.² One of the most controversial aspects of the theory was the extension of certain

¹Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 209.

²Heinrich Husmann, "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XI (1954), 5.

notes to make the various phrases of a work symmetrical; Husmann believes that Ludwig borrowed exactly this idea from Riemann, expressing it in a letter to Aubry. Riemann's error, according to Husmann, was his failure to realize that the long consisted of three, rather than two, tempora.

Even more unexpected than Husmann's acknowledgement of Riemann's contribution is that of Yvonne Rokseth. To be sure, she does not specifically mention Riemann and his theories; but the results of her analysis of the phrase structure of both the two-part motets in fascicle VI of the Montpellier manuscript² and the Latin songs in fascicle XI of F seem to bear out Riemann's theory of symmetrical phrasing. Mme. Rokseth comments that no matter what the rhythmic mode of a song is, the number of ternary measures in a phrase or line is very often four or eight.³ When the number of syllables varies from line to line, one note or another will be lengthened or shortened to keep the phrases uniform in length. As an example she offers the following choice of rhythms for a pair of lines of which the first is seven syllables with rising ending, the second, six syllables with falling ending. (This is one of the most popular patterns for

lJacques Chailley, "Quel est l'auteur de la théorie modale dit de Beck-Aubry?," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, X (1953), 221.

²Yvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle: le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier (4 vols.; Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935-1939).

³Yvonne Rokseth, "Danses cléricales du XIII^e siècle," Mélanges 1945 ("Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg," Fascicule 106), 112-113.

Le vers chanté à quatre accents repond à un voeu de la nature humaine, et les hymnes de l'Eglise fournissaient journellement le modèle de semblables coupes.

a pair of lines in medieval Latin accentual verse; it is the basic element in the Goliardic stanza. Perhaps the most famous pair of lines in this meter is

Mihi est propositum / in taberna mori
--"In the public-house to die / is my resolution."1)

appreciated.

This is not, after all, very far from Riemann's solution for this line pattern:

Riemann's failure to realize that the long had three tempora seems to have caused some valid parts of his theory to be too little

Most recent transcriptions of monophonic conducti have followed either Dreves' practice—see, for example, Anglès'² transcriptions or Dittmer's³—or the theory of Ludwig, Aubry, and others that the rhythmic modes hold the key to conductus rhythm. Efforts to formulate more precisely the relationships of particular metrical schemes for poetry with particular schemes of musical rhythm have been occupying a number of musicologists in recent years, with results to be discussed in the following sections.

¹ The translation is by John Addington Symonds, Wine, Women and Song (Portland, Maine: Thomas B. Mosher, 1899), 64.

Higini Anglès, El Codex musical de Las Huelgas (3 vols.; Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1931).

³Luther Dittmer, A Central Source of Notre Dame Polyphony (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), 265, 268.

Indications in the Florence manuscript

The notation of the monophonic conducti in the tenth fascicle of the manuscript Florence Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 does contain some indications of rhythm. These indications are of two types: broadened notes and modal grouping of ligatures in the melismatic sections. Further indications of rhythm for some of these compositions may be found in other manuscripts which transmit them in mensural notation; among them are the Roman de Fauvelland the Las Huelgas manuscript. 2 The manuscript of the Roman de Fauvel with musical interpolations is thought to have been copied in 1316, the Las Huelgas manuscript around 1325. These sources were thus written a hundred years after the composition of some of the works in F-X. It is important to remember in this connection that F itself was said by Delisle to have been copied during the reign of Philip the Fair, who died in 1314.3 If Delisle's dating is correct, then the three manuscripts were written at about the same time. may well be that one of them contains a tradition which is more authentic, but that must be established on grounds other than age.

Broadened notes are found in the notation of monophonic

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 146. Facsimile edition by Pierre Aubry (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907).

²Anglès, Las Huelgas.

³Léopold Delisle, "Discours," Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, XXII (1885), 101.

conducti in Wl¹ and F. They are most frequently found as <u>notae</u>

<u>simplices</u> and as the first element in the ascending binary ligature.

It is this form which the author of the <u>Discantus positio vulgaris</u> explains as follows:

Whenever two notes are bound into a ligature in discant, the first is a breve, the second a long, unless the first is larger than the second, like this: 2.2

Unfortunately, this tells only how this ligature is not to be interpreted. According to Ernest H. Sanders, this is the only source which describes this particular notational device; 3 there is however another—see below.

Although William Waite quotes this excerpt from the <u>Discantus</u> positio vulgaris in the long text preceding his transcriptions of Leonin's <u>Magnus liber</u>, the does not seem to give this special ligature consistent treatment. A comparison of the notation of W1 with his transcriptions reveals that sometimes these unusual binary ligatures are transcribed and sometimes . . . A few instances are given below so that the reader may compare for himself.

This is the common siglum for manuscript 677 of Wolfenbuttel (formerly Helmst. 628). There is a facsimile edition: J. H. Baxter, An Old St. Andrews Music Book (London: Published for St. Andrews University by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931).

²Coussemaker, Scriptorum, I, 9hb-95a.

Quecunque due note ligantur in discantu, prima est brevis, secunda longa, nisi prima grossior sit secunda, ut hic: 3.

³Ernest H. Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XV (1962), 279.

William G. Waite, The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony ("Yale Studies in the History of Music," II; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), 61.

Transcriptions to

Wl Folio and line	Word	Page in Waite's Transcription
XVII', 1	descendit	5
XX, 1	fuit	28
XXX, end of page	alleluia	114.
34, end of page	fuisti	148
47, 4	nativitas	197
Transcriptions to	<u>J. J.</u>	
XIX, 2	non	19
XXIX, 2	surge	102
XXXI, end of page	est	131
34, 1	alleluia*	145
41, 4	propter	189

All the examples except the one starred are stepwise ascending ligatures. They are most frequently found in polyphony as the first or last ligature of a piece or section. Normally-written ascending binary ligatures are also often used in such places, and of the practice in general Waite wrote as follows:

One final characteristic of organum style is the use of an appoggiatura on the first and last notes, as well as on the first notes of new syllables. Instead of a single note forming one of the accepted consonances with the tenor, the note is frequently preceded by a tone a second higher or lower. These two notes are written in the manuscripts as an ordinary binaria and are transcribed as an eighth note and quarter note. I

¹Ibid., 126.

Reference to the special form of the binaria often used in this context seems an unfortunate omission.

Incidentally the presence of these unusual binary ligatures in the notation of what Waite identifies as Leonin's Magnus liber, composed around 1160-1170, must be regarded as evidence against Sanders' suggestion that "the transitional device of a binary ligature with the first note thickened must have originated . . . during the time of the third Notre-Dame generation . . . (1220-1250)."

In the first 125 pages of Waite's transcription there are countless normally-written binary ascending ligatures, and all of them but one are transcribed in the normal rhythm for this ligature, . The one exception comes in a short figure which is written once with a normal binary ligature and the next time with the unusual form of the ligature. Waite gives both presentations the same rhythm, that suggested by the special ligature form. (The passage is found in W1 on f. XXVIII', at the bottom, and in the transcription on page 100, lines 1 and 2.)



In a review of Waite's book, 2 Manfred Bukofzer made special

¹ Sanders, Journal of the American Musicological Society, XV (1962), 285-6.

²Manfred F. Bukofzer, Review of The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony, by William G. Waite, Notes, Second Series XII (1955), 232-6.

comment on the subject of these "appoggiature." He felt that they were "optical illusions," because at the beginning of a piece the tenor would not enter until the second note of the ligature was sung, and at the end of the piece the first note of the ligature would be performed as an upbeat to the final note. According to Bukofzer, this interpretation is supported by a comparison of such passages with their notation in other clausulae which are musically the same but which have the division of syllables indicated differently.

Bukofzer singled out several instances of the so-called apprograture and presented them with his revised transcriptions. One of the examples he selected involves one of the unusual binary ligatures, but he makes no mention of the fact and gives it no special interpretation. However, in the binaria in question the lower note is only slightly larger than the upper. (The example is given in Bukofzer's review on page 235; in Waite's transcription on page 51; and in Wl on f. XXII', line 3, middle, "perfecte.")

Ethel Thurston made extensive comparisons between mensurallynotated and modally-notated versions of a number of polyphonic conducti, and she found that double notes, notes followed by plicas on
the same pitch and syllable, broadened notes (alone, in ligature, or
with plica), and all ligatures of three or more notes (except
occasionally for the conjunctura of three notes) were extended to
perfection in the measured sources. When a note is thus extended

lethel Thurston, "The Conductus Compositions in MS. Wolfenbuttel 1206," Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Music, New York University, 1954 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, No. 22,973), I, 181-183.

to perfection, the note which would otherwise have filled the same perfection is also made perfect. This observation applied to the binaria with elongated first note would result in the second transcription method used by Waite.

There are two possible interpretations of the sentence in the <u>Discantus positio vulgaris</u>. One is that it means that the ligature is to be interpreted long, breve--a meaning opposite to that of the ordinary ligature. This interpretation has been adopted by Machabey¹ and Sanders.² The other possibility, occasionally used by Waite and established through Ethel Thurston's comparison of measured and non-measured sources, is long, long. In this connection it is significant that, according to Dr. Thurston, signs of length given in W1 and F are often lacking in the notation of the same works in the manuscripts Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 20486 and Wolfenbüttel 1206; there is disagreement even among the modally-rotated manuscripts.³

In a treatise published by Hans Müller in 1886 to which the name Dietricus is attached, the unusual binary ligatures are discussed. After explaining that ordinary binary ligatures have the rhythm breve, long, and how these values are affected by indications modifying the propriety of the ligature, Dietricus says:

¹Armand Machabey, Notations non modales des XII^e et XIII^e siècles (3d ed. revised; Paris: Librairie Musicale E. Ploix-Musique, 1959), 26.

²Journal of the American Musicological Society, XV (1962), 279.

³Thurston, "Conductus," I, 213.

If on the contrary two puncta in a ligature have the shape _ , _ , the first of them is worth two longs, the second, one. In the same way, if a single note is written thus _ , it is worth two longs.1

Reese places Dietricus at "ca. 1225"; ² it can be seen that his discussion of the unusual binary ligatures comes in the course of an explanation of the symbols used in Franconian notation. Hence his values for them are not perhaps to be applied strictly when these ligatures are found in passages where the surrounding notation is earlier than Franconian.

Husmann found a second meaning for broadened notes.³ One of the conducti in F-X, "Anima: iugi lacrima" (F-X-45), is also found in the mensurally-notated La Clayette manuscript, on f. 3701. 4

Husmann recognized the melody of this piece as the lower voice of a two-voiced final melisma on the syllable "complanatur" from the conductus "Clausus in testa." (Schrade has subsequently pointed out that this polyphonic conductus really begins with the words, "Relegentur ab area." It is found in three manuscripts, as follows:

W1, 87:-89; F, 287:-288; Wolfenbüttel 1206, 34:-36.)⁵ "Anima: iugi"

Hans Müller, Eine Abhandlung über Mensuralmusik in der Karlsruher Handschrift St. Peter pergamen. 29a (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1886), 6.

Si duo puncta adinvicem ligata sic formentur, primum eorum valet duas longas, secundum vero unam longam. Eodem modo si nota simplex sic scribatur: , valet duas longas.

²Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 485.

³Husmann, Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XI (1954), 29-31.

⁴Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 13521. The commonly used abbreviation for this manuscript is Cl.

⁵Leo Schrade, "Unknown Motets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," Speculum, 30 (1955), 406.

is written in the third mode in mensural notation in Cl; but the melisma of the polyphonic conductus is written in F in the first and fifth mode, in Wl in diminution, as it were, in the sixth and first mode.

The monophonic conductus "Anima: iugi" is notated in F with broadened notes now and then; they are found on the following syllables: iugi, caro, pium. Although other broadened notes are found, these three are especially significant because they occur on the strong syllable of a word with falling accent—that is, in a position where a long note would normally occur without special indication.

Does this indicate a double extension—to the value of a maxima? Husmann thinks it does, and in his transcription of "Anima: iugi" almost every syllable has at least the value of a perfect long. The broadened notes are double longs, and this interpretation is supported in the cauda of the polyphonic work; they must be interpreted thus for the vertical combinations to work out satisfactorily.

The sequence of stanzas two and three of F-X-45 is reversed in Cl. Husmann makes a number of other observations concerning this composition; he derives much of the melodies of stanzas two and three from the upper voice of the cauda.

Schrade also transcribed this piece; in his transcription the three stanzas of the poem are sung simultaneously. Schrade thought that the triple motet thus produced represented a reworking of the cauda of the polyphonic conductus, "Relegentur." The music for "Anima: iugi" is its lower voice; that for "Lis haec" (in F the third stanza, in Cl the second) is adapted from its upper voice; and that

for "Caro: spiritui" (the remaining stanza) is a free reworking of material from the first stanza of the conductus. The note values in Schrade's transcription are similar to those Husmann used.

Husmann pointed out that his interpretation ran contrary to the faster note values indicated in the notation of the cauda in W1. Ludwig and subsequent writers have regarded W1 as containing the oldest and best tradition, but this is one instance, Husmann feels, where it does not. Schrade on the other hand thinks that since "Anima: iugi" is a rather free reworking of materials from "Relegentur," the mode was probably deliberately changed, and hence this need not call W1's authority into question at all.²

The possible interpretations of broadened notes are thus as follows: the binary ascending ligature with broadened first note is either long, long or—less probably—long, short; single broadened notes may indicate double longs in works where the basic value has been extended to the perfect long. Other symbols suggesting length, such as the single note followed by a plica on the same pitch, or the broadened note in a ternary ligature, should presumably receive similar interpretations.

The second type of rhythmic indication in F-X is the grouping into ligatures of the notes in melismatic portions of conducti. It was Bukofzer who pointed out that in some conducti music from syllabic sections is found elsewhere in melismatic passages. The modal

¹Schrade, Speculum, 30 (1955), 404-412.

²Ibid., 407.

notation used in the melismatic passages indicates the proper rhythm for the corresponding syllabic section as well. He used this discovery as an argument against isochronous transcriptions, in which every syllable has the same length. He also noticed that the relationship between the text and the rhythmic mode used for it was not as close as some scholars had thought; the rhythmic patterns seem to be applied flexibly, and sometimes one syllable will take up two feet of the pattern.

Carl Parrish calls Bukofzer's findings an "almost irrefutable" case for modal interpretation.² Willi Apel calls it an "obvious conclusion" that when there are musical correspondences between syllabic and melismatic passages, the syllabic passages must be in modal rhythm.³ He subsequently states his objections to the theory of modal interpretation of conducti, which center on the rhythmic complexity of some transcriptions using this principle.

A question arises: when there is no close melodic similarity between melismatic and syllabic passages, is the rhythmic mode indicated in the melismatic passages still to be applied to the syllabic sections? Or is this an unwarranted extension of Bukofzer's principle? Regular grouping of notes into ligatures in melismatic

¹Manfred Bukofzer, "Rhythm and Meter in the Notre-Dame Conductus," Bulletin of the American Musicological Society, 11-12-13 (1948), 63-65.

²Carl Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music (New York: Norton, 1957), 92.

Willi Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music (4th ed. revised; Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 264.

passages in the monophonic conducti in F-X is rather rare. One instance where this is found is in "Beata nobis gaudia" (F-X-hh), which begins with what might almost be a textbook example of the ligature groupings of third mode. A nota simplex is followed by three ternary ligatures and a rest. This composition has been transcribed by both Husmann and Schrade. Schrade transcribes these ligatures as follows:

(i.e., in third mode), but for the rest of the piece, after the opening melisma, he uses fifth mode. Each syllable is allowed a full perfection, as in isochronous transcriptions.

Heinrich Husmann calls Schrade's transcription "completely unsuccessful" and gives a transcription of the same melisma as if it were in sixth mode (i.e., as if the first nota simplex had been incorporated into the following ternary ligature):

The rest of the piece is in first mode with some extensions.² He admits in his commentary that the ligatures could be interpreted as what he calls dactyllic first or dactyllic second mode, which he in another place identifies as the rhythms dead and dead with first mode which is broken up, as it is when he applies it to the texted part of this conductus, by the substitution of several

Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries," Annales Musicologiques, I (1953), 56.

²Husmann, Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XI (1954), 21-22.

shorter notes for the long and short values of the basic pattern. In other words, Husmann here attaches more importance of the meter of the text than to possible indications of rhythmic mode through the conventions of modal notation in the cauda, even for the cauda itself.

As in "Beata nobis gaudia," the third mode is occasionally suggested by ternary ligatures in opening melismas of pieces in F-X-more frequently than any of the other modes. The following works in F-X contain a relative preponderance of notae simplices and ternary ligatures in their opening melismas: F-X-8, 9, 28, 29, 40, 48, 65, 70, 74.

Third mode is called the principal rhythm of the Notre Dame epoch by Husmann, but its application in syllabic sections of a conductus entails difficulties. Most accentual Latin poetry moves in alternating accented and unaccented syllables forming pairs—trochaic and iambic poetic feet—and the result of imposing the three-note pattern of third mode ()) on poetic feet of two syllables is that in one foot the longest value of third mode will fall on an accented syllable, in the next on an unaccented syllable. At any rate, neither Schrade nor Husmann took the rhythmic mode indicated by the ligature groupings of the opening melisma as the rhythmic mode for the texted portion of "Beata nobis gaudia."

Aside from the tendency to group notes in some opening melismas into ternary ligatures, there are very few traces of regular ligature

¹ Husmann, Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XI (1954), 28.

groupings in the melismatic portions of conducti in F-X. No instances of melodic identity between melismatic and syllabic sections of these pieces have been found. In general, new ligatures in melismatic passages are begun when necessary—when there is a repeated note or a change of direction that it would be awkward to include—and only then. There are, however, rather often notes written singly which from the purely graphic point of view could have been included in a ligature, and this may indicate something about their rhythm.

In the light of this generally negative report on the possibility of modal interpretations of the ligature-groupings of the melismatic portions of these conducti, one positive thing may be said. It is that although the interpretation in third mode may not fit the text perfectly, it may nevertheless be the right one. Some texts have irregular accents (in medieval Latin philology, the replacement of a trochaic foot by an iamb, for example, is referred to as "Taktwechsel," and is a common phenomenon), and third mode fits some of them quite well.

Some aspects of the notation of F-X call for special comment. The most important of these are the vertical stroke and the plica.

The vertical stroke generally crosses only one or two lines of the staff. It is used for several purposes. Most often, it indicates the end of a line of poetry. It may be represented in the transcription by a comma above the staff, indicating an articulation, or by a rest. The context determines which of these possibilities is chosen. Less often, the vertical stroke may indicate the end of a phrase.

The words of the songs were apparently written into the manuscript before the music was added. There are hints of this here and there, but the most prominent is found in F-X-75, for which all the words but only a small part of the music is present. Sometimes when the music is very florid not enough space was left for it, and it is crowded in with some notes almost on top of each other. In such a situation, vertical strokes may be used to separate the music belonging to one syllable from that of the next. One instance of this may be seen on f. 421, in the eighth line of music.

Another use of vertical strokes may be observed in works which begin with a melismatic passage. Generally the melismatic passage is set off from the rest of the work by a vertical stroke. (This is true of most melismatic passages of any length, whether at the beginning, middle, or end of a composition.) Sometimes the last note of the introductory passage will be set off with a vertical stroke on either side of it. The notes following it will have text to which they are to be sung, but no syllable is written underneath this note. Perhaps the reason for its being set off with strokes is that the composer intends the first syllable of the poem (which is always written at the very beginning of the piece) to be sung here. The preceding melisma may be intended for instrumental performance, or the composer's intention may have been to have the syllable pronounced twice -- once at the very beginning, and again here on the note thus marked off for it. Ethel Thurston calls these "displaced syllables," and says that the vertical strokes on either side of them

do not indicate rests but only the division of syllables.1

In melismatic passages, the vertical stroke is used to provide articulations between groups of notes or ligatures. Here its function is most like that of our modern rest. Unfortunately, in monophonic music it is very difficult to tell how long a pause is indicated by even these vertical strokes. Although later manuscripts indicate by the number of lines a vertical stroke crosses how long a pause it indicates, F-X does not. It freely mixes vertical strokes whose only function is to indicate the end of a syllable or line with those which seem to indicate rests. The decision of how to interpret each one must be made on the basis of the context in which it is found.

The notation of the monophonic conducti in F-X seems to straddle the dividing line—if one can be said to exist—between square notation (a notation used for Gregorian chant during the same period) and modal notation (a notation used for newly-composed music of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, described in various treatises.) This creates a number of problems, among which a chief one is the interpretation of the symbols and a notation these are identified as the descending and ascending plica, respectively. In chant notation, the first of these symbols has been identified as a liquescent virga, a liquescent punctum, has

¹ Thurston, "Gonductus," I, 214-215.

²Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music, 45.

³Henry M. Bannister, Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latina (2 vols.; "Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi iussu Pii PP.X," Vol. XII; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1913), Tavola IX, Virga C 1.

⁴Tbid., Punctum 27.

or a liquescent clivis.1

These symbols rarely stand alone; they are more often found following single notes or ligatures. What do they mean in this context? Hans Tischler considered them as plicas; his interpretation follows:

A plica signifies melodically a step from the note to which it is attached in the direction indicated by the line, and rhythmically, a fractional value of that note. It also implies a now obscure variety of tone production.²

The special vocal technique indicated by the plica was described by Magister Lambertus in the following way:

The plica, moreover, is vocally performed with a closing of the epiglottis together with a subtle repercussion of the larynx.³

Because plicas are not sung like other notes, it seems appropriate to make them look different from other notes in the transcription. One good way to do this is to make notes indicated by plicas slightly smaller than other notes, and this practice is frequently followed. In music copied by hand, however, it is difficult to preserve uniformity in size, and it may become quite difficult to tell which notes are intentionally smaller than the others, and which accidentally so. Hence another device for indicating plicas is often used, and will be used here. This is to put a small diagonal bar through the stem of the note.

lTbid., Flexa D 4.

²Hans Tischler, "Ligatures, Plicae, and Vertical Bars in Premensural Notation," Revue Belge de Musicologie, XI (1957), 84.

³Coussemaker, Scriptorum, I, 273a, as translated by Tischler.

One idiom in which plicas are often found in F-X is that called by Tischler the "tangendo disiunctim": • and • . He suggests that this indicates "a finesse of singing in which one tone is divided into two enunciations and is then connected to the next tone by way of a gliding sound (a finesse found also in the bel canto.)"

Although the direction of a plica is indicated in its shape, the exact distance the second element should be from the first is not. Magister Lambertus says that the second element may be as far as a fifth from the first.² Tischler, after considering a number of various opinions, concludes that after 1200 "plicae indicate ascending and descending seconds only."³

(It is unfortunate that the common terminology for the plica is inconsistent and confusing. The basic meaning of the symbol called "plica" is two pitches. One is indicated by the body of the note and the other by the tail on the right. For example, \(\beta \) is transcribed \(\beta \). Nonetheless, it is a general habit of speech to refer to only the second note of the transcription as the plica.)

On the other hand, the "plicas" may have a somewhat different meaning. In a study of the notation of a number of manuscripts containing Gregorian chant, Bannister saw that liquescence could be indicated in two ways. The first way of indicating liquescence is

lTischler, Revue Belge de Musicologie, XI (1957), 90.

^{2&}lt;u>Tbid.</u>, 84.

^{3&}lt;sub>Tbid.,</sub> 88.

becomes . The second way to do this is to write the note or ligature normally and to follow it with a special symbol indicating that it should be performed as a liquescent. Performing a note as a liquescent appears to have involved singing on the consonant in a special way or making a portamento between it and the preceding or following note.) The symbol used for this purpose might resemble the virga or the oriscus. Unfortunately, Bannister gives only one example of an oriscus in square notation, and . This form is not found in F-X; instead these two are: and . Can one assume that they are equivalent to the preceding form, and regard Bannister's observations about the two methods of indicating liquescence as relevant to the notation of F-X? To take a specific instance, can the symbols and in the approach of indifferent ways?

There are several things which must be considered in the formulation of an answer to this question. The first is that in F both methods of indicating liquescence are used, sometimes within a single piece. Hence, the composer or the copyist of these pieces had both methods of indicating liquescence at his disposal. Did he care which form he used in a given instance, or did he alternate between them haphazardly? Although in many cases and of (for

lBannister, text volume, XL.

²Ibid., Tavola VIII, Oriscus C l.

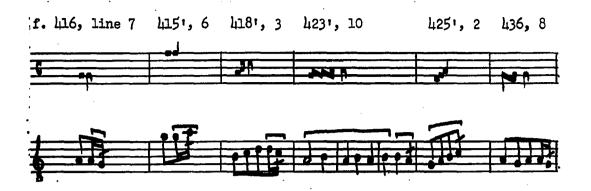
example) would seem equally suitable, there are some situations where one form is clearly preferred over the other.

When the same melody is written twice, if coccurred the first time it is also found the second time, and not commended where a melody is repeated to new words and a syllable where liquescence is possible falls on what was a podatus or clivis before, the new form used is always for communication, not for communication.

The "double" form of the ascending plica is often found followed by a vertical stroke. The single form is most commonly found at the beginning of a word, and it is not used as the last note before a vertical stroke. The broadened form of this plica seems not to be just a conveniently-written version of the double form, for it is found in the same contexts as the single form, and not at the ends of phrases before a vertical stroke.

In view of these facts, it seems advisable to preserve in the transcription the distinction between the plica which begins on the same pitch as the preceding note and the plica which does not. This is done by transcribing both elements of the plica, wherever it occurs.

The transcriptions below suggest ways of interpreting passages in which plicas are found. Since what their tails seem to indicate is a portamento, it is difficult to assign it a note of specific duration. The rhythms suggested below are not intended to be observed precisely. In general, the value of the pitch indicated by the tail of the plica is subtracted from that of the main note.

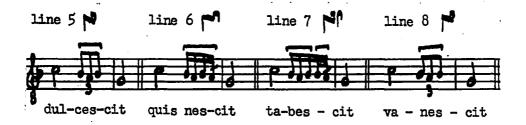


Indications in a manuscript of the Roman de Fauvel

Among the musical interpolations in a manuscript of the Roman de Fauvel (Fauv) at the Bibliothèque Nationale (f. fr. 146) are seven works which are virtually identical in text and melody to pieces in F-X. Of the seven, only two have clear indications of rhythm in Fauv. One of them is F-X-57, "O mens cogita," which occurs as "Fauvel, cogita," with an additional stanza, on f. 29 of the manuscript. The setting is almost completely syllabic; in Fauv it is a regular alternation of longs and breves. Sometimes a ligature with propriety and without perfection (i.e., indicating two breves) will be found replacing an imperfect long. The fourth syllable from the end of most of the lines has this rhythm. second syllable of several lines is set to three diamond-shaped semibreves; the simplest interpretation of these is as triplets. On one occasion, ("litura") an ascending binary ligature without perfection has a tail on the right side of the lower note; this seems to indicate that the ligature should occupy a whole perfection and that the first note is to be a long. Occasionally a descending plica with the tail on the right ("sublimitas," "quanta") replaces

an imperfect long. The regular alternation of long, short is not broken, except at the end of the line, where the feminine ending is regularly set long, long.

The regularity of the rhythm through the entire work makes it seem probable that if minor variants were made in the melody it would be without affecting the underlying continuous modal rhythm. The manuscript London, British Museum Egerton 274 (Lo B), contains this piece on F. 20', and there are some minor melodic variants in its version. For example, the line beginnings "dulcescit," "quis nescit, " "tabescit, " and "vanescit, " all have the same melody and rhythm (long followed by three diamond-shaped semibreves) in Fauv. In Lo B they are as follows: long, ternary ligature; long, ternary ligature of which the last note is bent down into the shape of a descending plica; long, ternary ligature, separately written descending plica; long, ternary ligature. It seems evident that these three different versions of a fundamentally constant ornament would all require the same time for their performance, that of a breve. It would be reasonable for the singer on whose practice the text of the Egerton manuscript (Lo B) was based to have preferred not to begin these four lines in exactly the same way, and hence varied slightly the manner in which descent was made from C to G, the note on the following strong beat. He would hardly have broken the prevailing modal pattern for this purpose. This brings up the question of the meaning of the plica. IT Bannister's observations are applicable to this notation, then the notation of the figure in line 7 has the same meaning as that of line 6. If Tischler's suggestions for interpreting the plica are applied, the different transcription for line 7 indicated below results.



The Egerton manuscript is a difficult one to deal with because it was written at different times in different hands, and at least one later scribe went back to the earlier material and made erasures and corrections. For this reason and because the notation is not consistent, Ludwig felt that one should not attach much importance to the notational peculiarities of this manuscript; as he put it:

All this shows that both the first scribe and the one who made these changes were incompletely informed. The unusual aspects of the notation of Lo B are mistakes and trifles to which no importance is to be attached.

Nevertheless, the use of the plica in the quoted passage seems to deserve some comment. Apel states that the single note followed by a plica indicates a duplex longa, but that the plica following a ligature may not have this meaning, for it is sometimes merely a graphic convenience.² Yet he also comments that in manu-

Ludwig, Repertorium, 260.

Alles dies zeigt aber nur, dass sowohl der 1. Schreiber wie derjenige, der diese Anderungen vornahm, nur mangelhafte Kentnisse besassen. Die auffälligen Erscheinungen der Notation in Lo B sind Fehler und Inkonsequenzen, denen kein Wert beizulegen ist.

²Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 230.

scripts where both methods of indicating a plica with a ligature (i.e., those used in lines 6 and 7 of the Egerton piece) are used—such as F and W2—the first is used when the last note of a ligature is a breve, the second when it is a long. Now it seems clear that in the Egerton manuscript the two forms must require the same total time for their performance; if one is transcribed as a breve and the other as a long, a nonsensical disruption of the rhythm results.

Since the rhythm of this piece is quite clearly notated in Fauv, it may be instructive to compare the meter of the poem with the musical rhythm given. The form of the poem is irregular. In Analecta Hymnical it is printed in eight six-line stanzas and one four-line stanza; but the first, second, and sixth of these stanzas contain more syllables than the others. Perhaps a simpler way to consider the poem is as the musical setting does—half of each of the stanzas is treated as a line. The lines vary in length; they may contain twelve, fourteen, or sixteen syllables. They all have feminine endings; all the lines but 11 and 12 (which end in -ana) end in the dissyllabic rhyme -ura.

The meter seems to be an adaptation for accentual verse of the quantitative dactyllic hexameter line. Sponders (or trochees) and dactyls are freely mixed. For instance, all four fourteen-syllable lines have the same pattern, as follows:

O mens cogita quod praeterit mundi figura

Some of the lines with twelve syllables scan easily as hexameters:

Tremens paveas de iudicis censura

^{1&}lt;sub>AH 20, 97.</sub>

Some do not.

O qualis quam misera mors et quam dura

Each line falls into three parts. The first two of these may rhyme with each other or with the corresponding parts of the following line. The poetry is terse, achieving much of its effect through simple juxtaposition of words.

Spuma gracilis flos sterilis spes vana

The musical rhythm given this piece in Fauv is solidly trochaic and accomodates the longer and shorter lines by adding or omitting one or two measures of first mode rhythm. Musical accent and word accent frequently conflict. Breaking up of the longer or shorter value of the modal pattern into several notes occasionally enlivens the smooth flow of first mode. At the end of the original work (before the stanza added in Fauv), the last accented syllable is extended to occupy two full perfections. The setting has many melodic repeats and has the over all form of a b b.







F-X-57

o mind, remember that the figure of the world passes. It flees away suddenly. It perishes like a picture. It flourishes like a gourd in the dark night. When its short course is ended it swiftly falls. It grows sweet but it introduces many bitter things. Who does not know that its false potion is injurious? It fades, it perishes like a thing blotted out. It vanishes, not to return. Vanity how great, passing sublimity, a fragile shadow, neither stable nor secure. How low is worldly dignity. It is graceful spray, a sterile flower, a vain hope. Oh, what a death, how miserable and how hard, but not about to die as punishment and suffering. Now think of the passing of

locurbita is the word in the Old Latin Bible for the plant which grew up to shelter Jonas. St. Jerome uses hedera. The Hebrew word is ciceion, castor oil plant. Various translations of the Bible have rendered this word as gourd, ivy, plant, or vine. Cucurbita seems to mean gourd.

And the Lord God prepared an ivy, and it came up over the head of Jonas, to be a shadow over his head, and to cover him (for he was fatigued). And Jonas was exceedingly glad of the ivy. But God prepared a worm, when the morning arose on the following day, and it struck the ivy and it withered. . . And the Lord said: Thou art grieved for the ivy, for which thou hast not labored, nor made it to grow, which in one night came up, and in one night perished. (Jonas 4: 6-7, 10)

time. Be solicitous for the failing of your body. Beware of fault and seek pardon. Be in fear and trembling of the censure of the judge.

Another composition from F-X which is found in clearly mensural notation in Fauv is F-X-62, "Veritas, acquitas." The composition is also found in Lo B attributed to Philip the Chancellor.

Apparently only the text is by him; the melody has an interesting history of its own. It is found in other manuscripts with this
Latin text, and also with texts in both Provencel and French. Where
it is found with the Provencel text it is preceded by a rubric indicating that the melody is "li lais markiol"—presumably an old melody
in the form of the lai to which various poets wrote new texts.

Luther Dittmer has recently made a careful analysis of this melody and the three texts with which it is found in thirteenth-century sources. He prints the melody section by section, and under it the three sets of words.

Aubry was the first to publish this melody.² He gives it with the French text "Flours ne glais" and indicates for the manuscript source of his version Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 12615. It was Jean Beck who pointed out that this French text is not found actually set to music in either of the two manuscript sources which

Luther Dittmer, A Central Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony ("Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts," No. 3; Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), 19, 73-78, 239-263.

²Alfred Jeanroy, Louis Brandin, Pierre Aubry, <u>Lais et Déscorts</u> français du XIII^e siècle ("Mélanges de musicologie critique," III; Paris: H. Welter, 1901), composition no. XVI.

he and Aubry knew for it. The manuscripts do make it clear that, as one of them puts it, this is "un lais de nostre dame contre le lai Markiol "2—that this text is to be sung to the melody thus named. But the actual adapting of text to melody was first done by Aubry for his publication; his version of "Flours" has served as the basis for comparisons by various persons of "Flours," "Gent," and "Veritas."

Dittmer adds only a fragmentary source to those known to Beck, for of the various fragments making up the "central source" of his title (i.e., manuscript fragments in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and a handwritten copy of some manuscript fragments—now lost, but once owned by Johannes Wolf—preserved in Ludwig's Nachlass at the University Library in Cottingen) the particular leaf which would have contained the beginning of this composition is missing, and only the end, from the third stanza of group X on, is preserved, and this not in the original manuscript but in Ludwig's copy. However, this fragment apparently did contain the French text set to music.

Although Spanke's research into relationships between medieval Latin and Provençal and early French poetry led him often to the conclusion that Latin poems served as models—with respect to both form and content—for poets who wrote in vernacular languages, he felt that "Veritas, aequitas" was probably not the original text to which

lean Beck and Louise Beck, Le Manuscrit du Roi: Fends français no 8hh de la Bibliothèque Nationale ("Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi: Première serie: Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères," Numéro 2; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938), II, 148.

²Karl Bartsch, "Zwei provenzalische Lais," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, I (1877), 70.

the melody "li lais markiol" was composed. In 1929, Spanke said that he believed that Philip's poem was superior to its French and Provençal counterparts in content, choice of words, and details of form; 2 in 1938 he added that this superiority argued little for the priority of Philip's text, that in fact whenever Philip used another work as a model his result invariably surpassed it. 3 Perhaps, he added, "li lais markiol" was originally used for singing a narrative of the Tristansage, its name referring to King Mark.

The melody is called "spielmannsmissig" by Spanke, and Philip's text seems to have been made for singing—perhaps in an atmosphere of student conviviality. Certainly the caustic sarcasm of the text, though witty, would permit its performance in only the most relaxed surroundings.

The rhythm given for this work in Fauv, despite the authoritative look of various transcriptions of it, is not always clear. Although the melody of almost every section of the piece is repeated note for note three times to accommodate three strophes of the poem, the piece is completely written out in Fauv, Lo B, and F. Unfortunately the rhythm for these melodically note-for-note repetitions is not notated consistently all the time.

For example, at the end of the three stanzas which use the

Hans Spanke, "Sequenz und Lai," Studi medievali, Nuova serie XI (1938), 55.

²Hans Spanke, "Studien zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Liedes," Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 156 (1929), 226.

³Hans Spanke, Studi medievali, Nuova serie XI (1938), 55.

first part of the melody, Dittmer's transcription has the rhythm

Ludwig's transcription of this phrase is 1

The reason for this difference of opinion lies in the manuscript itself, for it gives a different rhythm for each of the three presentations of the melody, though the pitches stay exactly the same:

- 3. " " " " " " " "

Should the melody have, as the manuscript indicates, a different rhythm for each presentation, or the same? If the same, which? In the light of this discrepancy it seems appropriate to quote the following observation:

Whenever a melody is repeated several times with different texts and whenever one findsthat the punctum and virga occur in different places in the repetition of the melody, this can be taken as an indication that the scribe did not give rhythmic significance to these two notes.

Nevertheless scholars have regarded this piece as written in mensural notation; and, indeed, for the most part its notation is consistent.

¹Friedrich Ludwig, "Die geistliche nichtliturgische, weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters bus zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," Handbuch der Musikgeschichte, ed. Guido Adler (2 vols.; Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1930), 1, 185-186.

²Rembert Weakland, O.S.B., "The Rhythmic Modes and Medieval Latin Drama," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XIV (1961), 132.

In his discussion of this piece in the Adler Handbuch, Ludwig noted that section XIII of the composition had the same melody as section I, but that there was an important difference in the rhythm. Section I was in the fifth rhythmic mode,

while section XIII was in first mode:

Ludwig saw this as an artictic use of rhythm, calling it "sehr wirkungsvoll gesteigert." Recently, Husmann has challenged this reading and this judgement on the basis that medieval composers use augmentation rather than diminution for climactic effects. Husmann believes that the copyist of Fauv erred, and that both sections should be in first mode. In another article Husmann backs up this opinion with a metrical analysis of the whole piece. 2

In view of this vigorous and fundamental disagreement it is somewhat surprising to find that in Dittmer's transcription sections I and XIII have the same rhythm, one in which the first six notes are in fifth mode and the rest of the section in first mode.

Ironically enough, both Ludwig and Dittmer identify Fauv as the source

¹Heinrich Husmann, "Zur Grundlegung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittellateinischen Liedes," Archiv für Husikwissenschaft, IX (1952), 8-9.

²Heinrich Kusmann, "Die musikalische Behandlung der Versarten im Troubadourgesang der Notre Dame-Zeit," Acta musicologica, XXV (1953), 6-13.

of the rhythm they present; Ludwig says that the piece is written "in 'mensuraler' den Rhythmus klar wiedergebender Notation."

Perhaps enough has been said to establish the point that the mensural notation of Fauv is not always clear in its indications and perhaps not always correct. It is not the unambiguous evidence that one would want for the cornerstone of a theory about how thirteenth-century composers related musical rhythm to word accent.

Indications in the Las Huelgas manuscript

The early fourteenth-century manuscript in the monastery of Las Huelgas, in Spain, was published in facsimile with transcriptions and commentary by Higini Anglès in 1931.² There are many compositions from the Notre Dame repertory in it, and among them are several monophonic conducti. The notation of the Las Huelgas manuscript (commonly referred to by the siglum Hu) is mensural. Thus it is one more of the very few sources which give music from the Notre Dame repertory in mensural notation. The distinctive ligature forms of mensural notation are found even in the notation of the monophonic conducti in Hu.

In transcribing the monophonic conducti Anglès did not observe the indications of rhythm in their notation. Indeed, some of them are very ambiguous and so irregular as to make one think the scribe may have been merely modernizing the appearance of these works without

¹ Ludwig, Adler Handbuch, 185.

²Higini Anglès, El Codex musical de Las Huelgas (3 vols.; Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1931.)

being aware of the rhythmic significance of the newer ligature forms. In his volume of commentary Anglès transcribed two of the monophonic conducti according to the principles of modal rhythm, but in these transcriptions he used the melodies as they are given in F, not the slightly different versions found in Hu.1

Anglès defends his decision not to use the mensural indications in Hu on aesthetic, rather than practical, grounds. Such compositions as "Beata viscera," transcribed by Ludwig in the Adler Handbuch, gain much, he says, when their florid passages are left to be sung freely. In his opinion, melismatic songs for one voice are too flexible to be fitted into measures. Their beauty can be realized only when they are sung freely in the manner of the alleluias and responsorial chants of the Gregorian repertory. In addition, he observes that the versions of monophonic conducti given in Hu are often much more ornamented than the versions given in F. Except for the two works mentioned above which he was able to give-on the basis of their versions in F-in modal rhythm, none of the conducti in Hu could be made to fit into regular measures. Anglès observes that the scribe of Hu gives the monophonic conducti only fragmentarily (he does not, for instance, write additional stanzas for the songs in the margin), and he may have considered them ordinary antiphons.²

It is hard to believe that the copyist of Hu would not recognize the difference between the accentual verse of conductus texts and the Biblical prose of an antiphon. Surely, too, he knew Latin

¹<u>Ibid.</u>, I, 350-351.

²<u>Ibid.</u>, I, 328.

well enough to realize that a text reading "Romae dormitat oculus / dum sacerdos ut populus / iugo servili premitur" did not belong to an antiphon. What sort of "free rhythm" was used in the performance of Gregorian chant at Las Huelgas in 1325 is a challenging question, and one which still awaits its answer.

The monophonic conducti in Hu are in the same handwriting as the polyphonic works in that manuscript which Anglès successfully transcribed according to the principles of mensural notation.

Hence it seems appropriate, despite Anglès' objections on aesthetic grounds, and despite the irregularity of some of the mensural symbols, to investigate the rhythm indicated for a monophonic conductus in Hu—one for which the notation is fairly uncomplicated.

Anglès noted that the folios in the part of Hu containing monophonic conducti had been bound in the wrong order. If the folios are considered in their original order, the first of them to contain a monophonic conductus found in both F and Hu is 167. The pieces come in this order:

167	Si vocatus es	stanza 3 of F-X-10
•	Omnium in te	;
1671	In hoc ortus	F-X-5
1671-157	Audi pontus	
157	Bomm est confidere	F-X-37
1571	Vae mundo	F-X-27
158	Veni redemptor	
	Fontis in rivulum	F-X-6

libid., II, xvi.

158'-161 Homo natus

F-X-1

161

Thesu clementissime

1611

Ergo vide

stanza 4 of F-X-10

The works listed above are completely contained on two double leaves, numbered and folded as in the diagram below.

It is noteworthy, but probably not significant, that stanzas three and four of F-X-10, although separated by several pages even in the reconstructed manuscript, are really written side by side on the back of one double leaf of parchment. The copyist of Hu clearly thought of them as separate works. It is only on these two double leaves that monophonic conducti from F-X are found in Hu.

The conventions of mensural notation may be stated briefly as follows. A normal binary ligature looks like this: , and has the value of breve, long. The appearance of the first note can be modified by the addition or removal of a tail. This makes the ligature "without propriety" and changes the value of the first note to long. The ligature can be given "opposite propriety" through the addition of an ascending tail: . This makes the value of each of the first two notes of the ligature a semibreve.

The final note of a ligature is normally a long. If the shape or position of the final note is modified, it becomes a breve: • . Semibreves may also be indicated by diamond-shaped notes • • , and the scribe of Las Huelgas uses this form unusually often. If a

Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music, 112.

ligature has more than two notes, all notes in between the first and last are breves (unless the ligature has opposite propriety, in which case the second note will be a semibreve like the first.)

The long plica and breve plica, as described by Anonymous VII, seem not to be distinguished in the notation of Hu. The scribe of Hu sometimes adds tails on the right sides of notes which make them look like descending plicas. His intention may have been to emphasize the fact that such notes are to be read as longs. If this is the case, then these tails are superfluous.

In one case, such a tail is added to the second note of a binary ligature with opposite propriety, , and Anglès transcribes it semibreve-semibreve with no plica, indicating that here he found the tail meaningless.² Elsewhere, the two ligatures and are both transcribed 1.3

The characteristic patterns of the rhythmic modes are produced in this early mensural notation through the application of the following principles: $\frac{l_4}{l_4}$

Long (L) followed by breve (B) is imperfect: q= 2d d

L followed by L is perfect: qq = d. d.

¹Coussemaker, Scriptorum, I, 380.

²Anglès, <u>Huelgas</u>, facsimile f. 112' brace 6 ("proprium"), transcription p. 223.

³Ibid., facsimile f. 112 brace 6 ("Salvatorem"), transcription p. 222; facsimile f. 112 brace 5 ("hominum"), transcription p. 222.

hParrish, The Notation of Medieval Music, hh.

- L followed by two B's is perfect, but the second of the 2 B's is altered: ? • J J
- L followed by three B's is perfect: 7 3 111

The conductus "Vae mundo a scandalis" is found in F, Hu, and W1. Although Hu gives only its first stanza, a comparison of the notation of the three manuscripts clarifies some aspects of the rhythm of this piece. For the purposes of the discussion to follow, the notation of the three manuscripts has been copied with corresponding notes or ligatures in vertical columns. Each has been given a number for reference.



- 1. F and W1 agree. Hu indicates L S (semibreve) S L.
- 2. All three have the same ligature. Hu's means B B L.
- 3. F and W1 have the same ligature; Hu indicates S S B L.
- 4. W1 spaces the notes differently from F; Hu gives L S S.
- 5. F has a plica which the other two lack. Does this mean that its rhythm is basically different here, or that the plica does not require extra time? Hu's rhythm is L B B.

- 6. & 7. All three agree; Hu gives L L.
- 8. Whand F agree. Hu's version is more florid. The first two notes of Hu's ligature are slightly rhomboid, and are possibly meant to be read as semibreves: S S B B L with plica.
- 9. Hu continues to be more florid: B B.

The rhythm Hu gives for its version of the line is transcribed below:



The fact that there are no new syllables between "Vae" and "mun-", eleven notes later, means that the composer could group the notes of the intervening melisma into ligatures in any way he chose. He did in fact choose to group them 1 3 3 4. F and VI use modal notation for their polyphonic works, and it is precisely the regular grouping of notes into ligatures that provides the graphic expression of the conventions of modal notation. The grouping 1 3 3 ... indicates third mode, according to the conventions of modal notation; if the ligatures of the beginning of this line in F and VI are interpreted in the third rhythmic mode, the following rhythm results:



This is gratifyingly close to the rhythm Hu appears to indicate; the only real difference is produced by the upward tail indicating opposite propriety in Hu's first ligature.

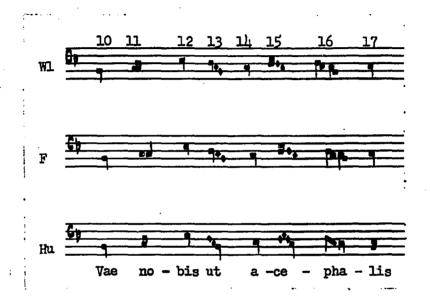
Since the conventions of modal notation fail when considerations other than rhythmic mode dictate grouping of notes into ligatures (for example, frequent change of syllable), a comparison of modally-notated (in F and Wl) and mensurally-notated (in Hu) passages must be limited to melismas in which F or Wl shows ligatures of regular length; unfortunately, this is the only piece in both F and Hu in which one occurs.

After the melisma ends, in Hu each syllable is given at least the duration of a perfect long, as follows:

Although this rhythm does not move in the alternating longs and breves of first or second mode, and hence does not reflect the usual concept of "modal rhythm," it is not unique. The transcriptions of F-X-45 by Husmann and Schrade mentioned earlier (p. 64-66) use this sort of rhythm, and another instance of it will be discussed later. A study of rhythm in the polyphonic conducti of Hu reveals that the syllabic portions of some move in alternating longs and breves—in first or second mode—and the syllabic portions of others move in a succession of perfect longs. Often some lines will be set in one style, others in the other. Thus polyphonic conducti do not appear to differ from monophonic works which have the type of rhythm found in "Vae mundo" in a fundamental way, but only perhaps in the relative

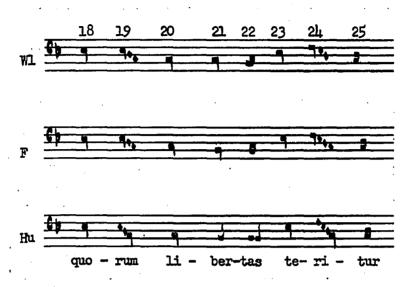
prominence they give to first and second modes, on the one hand, and fifth mode, on the other.

A commentary on the rest of the stanza of "Vae mundo" given in Wl, F, and Hu follows.



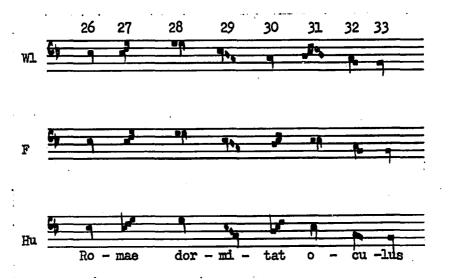
- 10. Notes like this need no further comment.
- ll. F: double note, ascending plica. W1: ascending binary ligature with first note broadened. Hu: normal binary ligature:
- B L. Hence F and W1 agree in attributing length to the first note while Hu gives it to the second. F and W1: df or dl, Hu ld.
- 13. Hu: SSL.
- 15. Hu: SSSL.
- 16. Hu substitutes a descending plica for the second clivis: B L L plica.
- 17. Hu ornaments the final note of the phrase: B L.

W1, F: d. d, II d. Md d. Hu: d. 11 d. Md d.



- 19. Hu: S S L. Groups like this need no further comment.
- 21. Wil remains on G; the others go to F. Hu has a plica.
- 22. W1 and Hu elongate the F; the Florence manuscript does not.
- 24. F and Hu are more florid than W1. Hu: S S S L.
- 25. Hu gives B L.



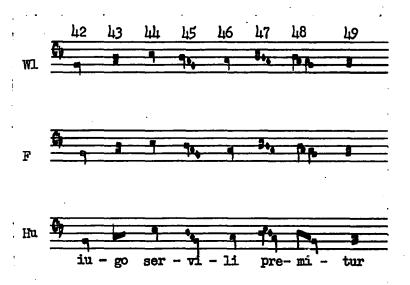


- 27. Hu gives S S B.
- 28. Hu has no plica; the others do.
- 30. & 31. Wharranges the syllables differently. The plica in Hu becomes a single note plus plica in F, and two currentes in Wh. Do these three notations have the same rhythmic value? Whis here more ornate than the others, since it repeats the last G of 29 with 30 and reaches A only on the first note of 31. 32. Hu's rhythm is B B. The second breve must be altered because of the long which follows, and the rhythm is thus the same as it would have been had Hu's copyist written .





- 38. W1: note plus plica; the others have only the plica.
- 39. W1: clivis; F: note plus plica; Hu: descending plica.
- lil. Hu's version has the same meaning as the form in 36.



42. & 43. are the only syllables in Hu's version which have values of less than a perfect long. 43 is two S's; thus 42 becomes an imperfect long. The prevailing meter in the poem is iambic, but on "iugo" there is a shift of stress, and Hu

accentuates the word correctly, as it would normally be spoken.

47. Hu gives L S S L.

48. Hu is less ornate than F and W1.

The melody of the entire stanza, as it is given in Hu, follows:



Hu has "redditur"; "teritur" is from F.

(Translation of text: Woe to the world because of scandals. Woe to us as headless people whose liberty is crushed. The eye of Rome sleeps when the priest as the people is pressed under a servile yoke.)

One may not recognize from the preceding transcription that lines two and six of the poem are set to the same melody, for the rhythm is different for the two lines. When Angles transcribed F's version of this piece in modal rhythm he gave the two lines the same rhythm. This certainly makes good sense, and indicates that perhaps Angles' approach to these monophonic works in Hu is the best one after all. One nagging source of doubt remains: in all three manuscripts there are different rhythmic indications for lines two and six. They are as follows:

ligature ll	(corresponds to)	ligature 43
Y/1 🕹		3
F J		. 1
Hu 3		/
ligature 15		ligature 47
Hu •••	:	14

langlès, Huelgas, I, 351.

The poem "Vae mundo" is cited in the treatise Ars Rithmica by John of Garland. John distinguishes between quantitative and rhythmic poetry; rhythmic poetry is characterized by lines of the same number of syllables which rhyme and in which long and short syllables are not arranged in the patterns of quantitative poetic feet. According to John, the endings of some lines of rhythmic verse are like iambic feet; others are like spondees. In this context, "iambic" refers to a line of which the next to last syllable is unaccented, since an iambic foot in quantitative verse is composed of a short syllable followed by a long. The spondaic ending resembles a spondaic foot.

John distinguishes between simple rhythm and composite by saying that in simple rhythm all parts are the same; in composite, some may be spondees, others iambs. (However, the examples he offers show that John is classifying only the endings of lines, not the accentual feet within them.)

Mari in this passage is evidently a misprint.]

¹Giovanni Mari, "I trattati medievali di ritmica latina,"
Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere; Classe di lettere, scienze storiche e morali, Vol. XX (XI della serie III) (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1899), 410.

²Ibid., 108.

Rithmus est consonancia dictionum in fine similium sub certo numero sine metricis pedibus ordinata.

Quidam vero rithmus cadit quasi metricum iambicum, quidam quasi metrum spondaicum. Iambus in hoc loco intellegitur dictio cuius penultima corripitur; iambus enim constat ex brevi et longa. Spondeus hic dicitur dictio stans ad modum spondei. [The "intellagitur" in

He emends "Ve mundo" to "Ve, ve mundo" and offers it as an example of simple iambic rhythm of eight syllables:

Ve, ve mundo a scandalis Ve nobis ut acephalis

Simple iambic rhythm, he says, can also be found in seven-syllable lines:

Ave, plena gratia ave, culpe venia2

In contrast, the following stanza is iambic with a spondaic ending in the third line:

O virgo, perge previa, nos transfer ad celestia que mundum emundasti³

John's treatise is of fundamental importance, and it cannot be fully discussed here. It has been mentioned simply to show that a contemporary poet analyzing "Ve mundo" gave an interpretation of the endings of its first two lines which is completely different from the musical rhythm chosen by the composer. John's interpretation might be represented thus:

scan-da-lis a-ce-pha-lis

The composer's rhythm is:

J. J.J. J. J.J. J. scan-da-lis a-ce-pha-lis

Mari, 410.

ln the quotations from John of Garland, the medieval Latin orthography used by Mari is preserved. Elsewhere in this dissertation Classical Latin spelling, as is found in Analecta Hymnica, is used.

Tbid., 416. The stanza is introduced as follows:

Tres vero simplices iambici recipiunt spondaicam differentiam in tercio, in quarto, in quinto. In tercio hoc modo:

Indications in a manuscript of works by Gautier de Coinci

Jacques Chailley has recently published the "Chansons à la Vierge" of Gautier de Coinci. 1 Gautier wrote sacred words in French to older melodies, and a collection of his songs exists in mensural notation. It is in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n. acq. fr. 24541 (anc. Soissons, grand Séminaire).

Chailley's edition is very useful, for he has arranged various readings of each melody one above the other so that comparing them is easy. He has also reproduced the notation of the Soissons manuscript above his transcription of it.

Inconsistencies similar to those already observed in the notation in the Roman de Fauvel are found in the Soissons mamuscript. A single phrase copied several times may be in a slightly different form each time. Chailley believes that in some cases this shows that the various notational devices employed have the same meaning; at other times there are incompatibilities which seem to result from uncertainty or error on the part of the notator.²

A comparison of the rhythm indicated for various pieces in the Soissons manuscript and for the same works in other measured manuscripts reveals that there was not, apparently, a well-fixed rhythmic tradition for the works of Gautier as a whole, and especially not for the melodies which Gautier borrowed from the vernacular

lacques Chailley, Les Chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci ("Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie,"
Première série, Tome XV; Paris: Heugel et Cie., 1959).

²Ibid., 84.

repertoire. Nevertheless the rhythms indicated conform in general to the rhythmic modes. Although modes one and two have been favored by musicologists in transcriptions of music from non-measured sources, in the Soissons manuscript mode five is preferred. This is significant because in mode five (which consists entirely of perfect longs) accented and unaccented syllables have the same duration.

The rhythmic modes are found applied with considerable flexibility in the Soissons manuscript. A line in first mode with feminine ending will usually end with two longs (as does "O mens cogita,"

F-X-57 and Fauv f. 29: fi-gu-ra); fifth mode may frequently be interrupted by measures of first or second mode.

Gautier seems to have made little use of melodies from F-X.

One of his works bears a strong resemblance to "Beata viscera"

(F-X-lh), but there are many melodic variants. F-X-75, although
found in the Soissons manuscript with a French text, is not included
in Chailley's edition because the text is not by Gautier. (The composition has been published by Husmann with an analysis in Die Musikforschung, 6 [1953], 19.)

However, Chailley mentions Spanke's observation that the metrical scheme of composition No. 14 in his edition of Gautier's works is the same as that of F-X-58. Apparently neither Chailley nor Spanke was able to compare the melodies of the two works. They are in fact virtually identical, as can be seen from the transcription which follows. Chailley's version is above, with the rhythm he transcribed from the Soissons manuscript; the F version is below with its own text.

¹ Ibid., 88.

²Ibid., 89.



Still other versions of the melody may be found presented with admirable clarity and precision in Chailley's edition.

(Translation of the Latin text: O Mary, o happy bearer of a son, loving mother, at whose breast he who created the stars was nourished, sweet bounties flow from you, chalice of the Holy Spirit.)

Certain practices which Chailley notes in his general comments on rhythm may be seen in this piece. It begins in fifth mode, with each syllable receiving a full perfection. The perfection is undivided, or it may be divided into 2 (3), 3 (3), or more parts. In the third line of the poem some measures in first mode appear:

The last line of the poem is entirely in fifth mode.

The five lines of the poem are unequal in length, being of the following numbers of syllables: 4 plus 7, 4 plus 7, 7 plus 3, 7, 8. The French poem has only seven syllables in its last line. These lines occupy varying numbers of measures: 4 plus 8, 4 plus 8, 6 plus 3, 4, 7. This irregularity in the length of the musical phrases is noteworthy.

The Soissons manuscript uses a single breve for an isolated short syllable. This notational device is not found in the notation of the monophonic conducti of the Las Huelgas manuscript. In general, however, Chailley's transcription of the Soissons version of F-X-58 shows strong similarity to the transcription of F-X-27 (from Hu) presented earlier, and in general it seems to substantiate the correctness of that version.

Change from fifth to first mode in the preceding piece does not seem to follow any rule, or to reflect changing qualities of the text in any way. All that can be said is that fifth mode is used at the beginning and the end of the piece and first mode in the middle. Without the Soissons version of this melody one might easily have chosen the following rhythm for the first line:

although it is awkward when the shift of stress occurs in the word "felix."

Chailley's observations on the use of fifth mode in the Soissons manuscript and the evidence in the Las Huelgas manuscript seem to suggest that the practice of giving each syllable of a conductus text equal duration was fairly widespread, and that attempts to make a more precise formulation of the relationship of alternating short and long rhythmic values to text accent may be misdirected.

Husmann tries to distinguish between pieces in fifth mode and pieces which move in an unorganized succession of longs. When two lines having the same number of syllables have opposite (masculine and feminine) endings, and they are set to the same melody, then neither line can be in a rhythmic mode. Both must be set with each syllable receiving equal time and equal stress. In fifth mode, on the other hand, movement is in units of two perfections, like spondees, with an accent on the first note of each pair. Husmann found no

lHeinrich Husmann, "Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters," Die Musikforschung, VI (1953), 8-23.

instances of melodic identity between lines of equal length with opposite endings in the conductus, and concluded that this type of rhythm was not found there.

However, this does seem to be the principle utilized in the rhythm of F-X-58 and some other pieces. The first two lines are set to the same music and end the same way ($\stackrel{\prime}{\sim}\sim$), but the accentuation within the first line is irregular, and the meter is not really established until the second line. Consequently, a musical rhythm which is independent of word rhythm is more suitable for this text. There is no mis-accentuation of words; one sings

The usefulness of the Soissons reading of the melody of F-X-58 lies in that some syllables are set to single breves. One knows from this that the notator had this device at his disposal and could use it when he wished. Since he did so only in a few places, it seems safe to conclude that in most of the piece there is to be at least one perfection (a unit of three, corresponding to a measure in the transcription) per syllable. On the other hand, the lack of single breves in the notation of the monophonic conducti in the Las Huelgas manuscript, and the fact that they are used very inconsistently if at all in the notation of all but two of the monophonic conducti in the Roman de Fauvel are good reasons for hesitating to rely on the readings of these manuscripts. When one sees rhythm notated as it is

This is also found in F-X-42, where the lines "Venit Jesus in propria / quem sui non recipiunt" have the same music as "In dei patrimonia / perversae gentes saeviunt."

in the following examples, there is no doubt concerning the composer's intent.

Soissons: Diex de-ve-nir non

Fauv: 0 mens co - gi - ta

Lo B: Qui re - ces - se - rat

However, such clarity is extremely rare. Of the eighty-three pieces in F-X, only four are found in any manuscript with the rhythm that clearly indicated; they are F-X-57, 58, 62, and part of 82.

When unambiguous indications of rhythm are not present in the manuscript, the rhythmic mode of a piece must be determined in other ways. It was shown long ago by Ludwig¹ that a piece written all in longs may in fact be intended to sound in first or second mode, and this fact underlies all the theoretical discussions of how to apply the rhythmic modes. In the transcription of monophonic works in manuscripts like Hu and parts of Fauv where no syllable is set to a single breve, the question of whether the mode is given (all longs) or to be supplied (modes one, two, or three) must be met; the rhythm may ultimately be shown to be in more than one mode, as is the case in F-X-58.

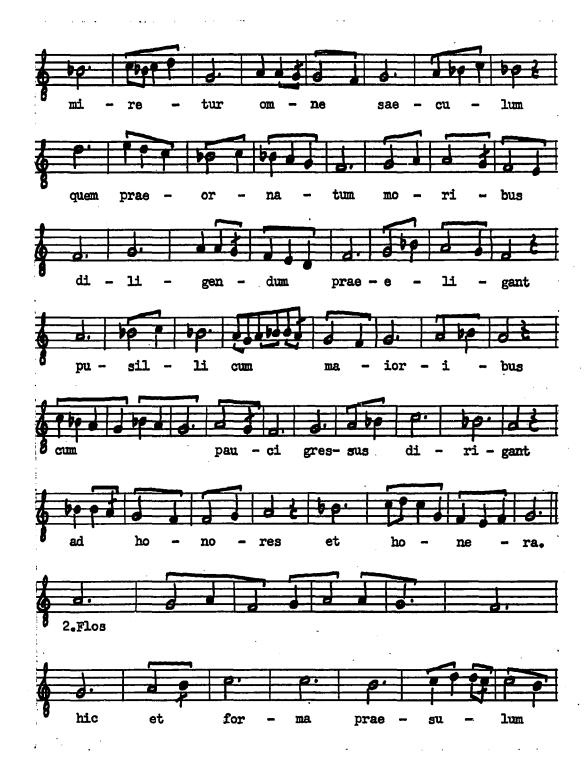
In Chailley's transcription of this piece, when the perfection is filled not by a single note but by a melisma, it can be divided in various ways. Despite the fact that in both modal and mensural

¹Jacques Chailley, "Quel est l'auteur de la théorie modale dit de Beck-Aubry?," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, X (1953), 213-222.

notation the normal binary ligature has the value breve, long, Chailley usually transcribes it when it fills a complete perfection. At the end of the first and next-to-last phrases, it is in the line "vont jadis" it is d. d. When two of these ligatures are fitted into a single perfection, Chailley uses the rhythm d. Thus he divides the measure into both 2 plus 1 and 1 plus 2. This is in keeping with his observation reported earlier that the distinction between the modes seems to be stricter in theory than in practice.

The following transcription of F-X-78 attempts to reproduce the rhythmic style of F-X-58, although the rhythm \checkmark has been used where Chailley prefers \checkmark .











- 1. O people, consider a prelate ready in heart and body for honors and responsibilities, protected by the strength of his virtue.

 Leading a sober life he is a mirror of uprightness. Let all the world marvel at his marvelous firmness, whom the little and the great choose to be loved, adorned as he is with his good conduct, because few direct their steps toward honors and responsibilities.
- 2. This flower and beauty of prelates is a member like his Head.

 Carrying his rod and his staff, he is lovingly put over his subjects;

 for he is a prelate and not elated with pride, he considers himself
 a minister and not a master. And he, that he may be a good patron,
 desires more to help others than to be over them. Thus, wherever he
 goes he follows the lamb step by step, this man the flower and beauty
 of prelates.
- 3. Let the happy city rejoice at such a great prelate; nay more let the islands rejoice, whose glory through him continues unbroken. In humility let the clergy bow their heads to the orders of so great a doctor. Let them offer their hands and minds to his rule, realizing that they are fortunate to have such a great prelate.

CHAPTER IV

"DOGMATUM FALSAS SPECIES" (F-X-55): A SPECIAL STUDY OF RHYTHMIC AND MODAL FROBLEMS

The text of "Dogmatum falsas species" is given in Analecta Hymnica (21, 149), in three four-line stanzas. Each of these stanzas is composed of an eight-syllable line with rising ending ($\angle \sim \angle$) followed by a seven-syllable line with falling ending ($\angle \sim$), and a repetition of these two line patterns. The rhyme scheme is abob chab efef. In the notation of F, the end of each line of the poem is indicated with a vertical stroke, except for lines 9 and 11. The rhythm which seems to fit these lines best is

Some melodic ideas recur; lines 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, and 11 begin with a stepwise ascending third. Line 1 and line 3 have the same melody, and lines 2 and 4 are alike up to the third syllable from the end. Line 6 has the same melody as line 10, except that line 6 has one extra note—an F# at the beginning. If the two lines are set to the same rhythmic pattern, this extra note causes the pitches which are short in line 6 to be long in line 10, and the pitches which are long in line 6 to be short in line 10. On the next to last syllable of line 6 there are four notes, and on the

corresponding syllable of line 10 there are only three, so the endings agree.



The technique of giving a melody a new rhythm on its repetition is a familiar one in thirteenth-century music. It is used in motet tenors, and can be seen in many of the compositions in the Montpellier manuscript. Bukofzer found instances of it in the polyphonic conductus as well. However, giving line 10 the rhythmic pattern chosen for the rest of the piece conceals its melodic similarity to line 6. It also results in an unfortunate emphasis on the weak syllables of "Sion" and "flere."

In his study of the accentuation of medieval Latin, Norberg commented that some foreign words were stressed on the last syllable. He based his remarks on several sources quoted by Thurot. One of them is a twelfth-century treatise entitled Opusculum de accentibus found beginning on f. 42 of Montpellier MS 322. This manuscript was used by the monks of Citeaux. It offers the following instruction

¹Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula," Annales Musicologiques, I (1953), 91.

²Dag Norberg, Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1958), 19.

for the pronunciation of certain unusual words:

All words which end in b g h y x are accented on the last syllable, as Beelzebub, Oreb, Faleg, Magog, Joseph, Booz. And all foreign words which are not declined are accented on the last syllable, as Cain, Abel. . . . And all foreign words which are not fully declined, as Adam, Ade, Abraham, Abrahe, Thesus, Thesu.

Thus "Sion" cannot be considered as wrongly accented in this setting. However, the combined weight of a single incorrectly accented word and the melodic similarity of lines 6 and 10 lead one to consider an alternate reading for line 10:



This rhythm has the disadvantage of being unlike the rhythm used for all the other seven-syllable lines and of inserting a measure in second mode ("non ces-") in an otherwise first-mode line. (Here, as almost everywhere else, the manuscript leaves very little doubt about what notes go with the various syllables.)

A somewhat similar problem is found in line 9. It contains a

lcharles Thurot, Notices et extraits de divers mamuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen age. ("Notices et extraits des mamuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques," 22 Pt. II; Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868), hoo.

Commes dictiones, que terminantur in b g h y x, in fine accentantur, ut Beelzebun, Oreb, Faleg, Magog, Joseph, Booz. Et omnes barbare dictiones que non declinantur, in fine accentantur, ut Cain, Abel. . . . Et omnes dictiones barbare que non ex toto declinantur, ut Adam, Ade, Abraham, Abrahe, Thesus, Thesu.

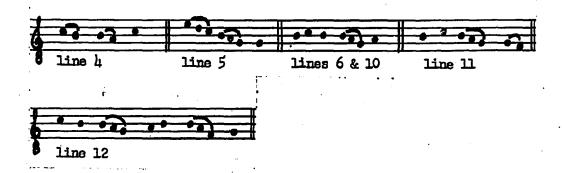
melodic idea formed by five notes which is repeated immediately one step higher.



The note group



and its variants are frequently used to end lines.



In the eight-syllable lines (which end $\sim \sim 1$), the syllable third from the end in every line but one has several notes. The following syllable is set to a group of notes in four of the six eight-syllable lines. In the seven-syllable lines, which end $\sim \sim 1$, the next-to-last syllable is always set to more than one note. The last syllable of lines 7 and 11 is set to two notes; other than these there is no syllable given a group of notes more than once.

The next-to-last syllables of the odd-numbered lines have the duration of an ordinary breve, and in lines 5, 7, and 11 they have three notes each. In lines 5 and 11 the notes descend stepwise, and the appropriate rhythm for them seems to be . In line 7 a nota simplex is followed by a plica beginning on the same pitch. Tischler suggests the transcription for this figure when it replaces a breve; however, the transcription seems clearer

and less likely to cause difficulty in performance. 1

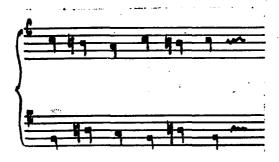
When a key signature remains constant throughout a piece, it can easily be kept as the key signature for the transcription. However, changes in key signature occur often in the works in F-X.

Unless the transcription follows the arrangement on the page of the original, beginning a new line when the source does, it is difficult to make clear what key signature is in force at every moment throughout the work. Unfortunately, modern music notation requires more space than medieval notation; in addition it seems better to use the arrangement on the page of the transcription to clarify aspects of form. Hence in pieces where the key signature changes, it has been necessary to indicate accidentals in the original—those in changing key signatures as well as those written before the note—before the note to which they apply. They remain in force for the rest of the measure. Accidentals suggested by the transcriber have been placed above the notes.

The use of sharps in this piece is umusual. That the angular sign used in modern music to indicate a natural, in thirteenth-century manuscripts indicates (when it is used before an F or a C) a sharp, is evident for several reasons. Anonymous III explains the use of this sign as follows:

lans Tischler, "Ligatures, Plicae, and Vertical Bars in Premensural Notation," Revue belge de musicologie, XI (1957), 89-90.

And we ought to know that when we wish to make a perfect fifth above the [lowest] B-natural, it is necessary to make musica falsa on low F, and to say mi, and to place the four-sided sign formed thus 4, as is evident in the following example:



Grocheo discusses it as follows:

But the moderns for the purpose of writing down the consonances of both stantipedes and ductiae have added something which they call musica falsa. They make the two signs b and b, which with respect to b falmi have always indicated a tone and a semitone, indicate this in all other [instances], so that where there is a semitone, through b they enlarge it to a tone, so that there is a good concord or consonance. And likewise, where there was a tone, they compress it to a semitone through the b. From these it can generally be seen how a song can be written and in writing be preserved for later times.²

lEdmond de Coussemaker, Scriptorum de musica medii aevi (4 vols.; Paris: A. Durand, 1864), I, 324 b.

Et scire debemus quod quando volumus quintum facere super i mi, oportet facere falsam musicam in F fa ut gravi, et dicere mi, et ponere sigmum quadratum sic formatum i , sicut patet in sequenti exemplo.

²Johannes Wolf, "Die Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheo," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, I (1899-1900), 88-89.

Moderni vero propter descriptionem consonantiarum et stantipedum et ductiarum aliud addiderunt, quod falsam musicam vocaverunt. Qui illa duo signa scilicet de et quae in b fa qui tonum et semitonum designabant, in omnibus aliis faciunt hoc designare, ita quod ubi est semitonus, per quad ad tonum ampliant, ut bona concordantia vel consonantia fiat. Et similiter, ubi tonus inveniebatur, illud per de ad semitonum restringunt. Ex his itaque universaliter apparere potest, qualiter cantus potest scribi et in scriptis postea reservari.

The practice of modern editors with regard to accidentals has not been consistent. In his edition of the three- and four-voiced Notre Dame organa, Husmann simply reproduced the accidentals found in the manuscript and included among a few brief notes facing the first page of his transcriptions a comment to the effect that the natural sign meant either a modern sharp or, if it followed a previous flat, a modern natural sign. Yvonne Rokseth transcribed the signum quadratum, when used before F or C, as a sharp; F-sharps are found in the Montpellier manuscript in the pieces numbered lh-15 (f. 161), 305 (f. 3511), and 310 (f. 357). There is a C-sharp in number 311 (f. 357). It is in the tenor, and thus represents a chromatic alteration of a Gregorian melody. All of these works in the Montpellier manuscript except numbers lh-15 are from the eighth fascicle—therefore after 1250.2

Waite transcribes the signa quadrata used before F's as sharps; instances of this are found in his transcriptions on pages 24, 25, 146, 148, 149. Westrup says simply, in speaking of troubadour and trouvère music, that "the sharp (represented by the sign now reserved for the natural) is used wherever a note has to be raised a semitone (e.g. B-flat to B-natural, or C to C-sharp). "

lHeinrich Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre Dame Organa ("Publikationen alterer Musik," Vol. 11; Leipzig; Breitkopf und Hartel, 1910), xxxiv.

²Yvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle: le mamuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier (4 vols.; Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935-1939).

³william G. Waite, The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954).

⁴J. A. Westrup, "Medieval Song," New Oxford History of Music, II (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 231.

The F-sharp in the key signature of the first three lines in the manuscript of F-X-55 is clear. Unfortunately the C-sharp, which may or may not appear in the key signature of the second line (thus affecting the C's between the last syllable of "species" and the first syllable of "veritate"), is not clear. The sigmum quadratum is written too low; it looks like a B-natural. It has been interpreted it as C-sharp for two reasons. First, there are no B's in this line of music, and unnecessary key signatures are rarely used. Second, there is an awkward tritone between C-natural and F-sharp within the phrase. Making the C-natural a C-sharp moves the tritone to between phrases, where it is not so conspicuous.

The bizarre accidentals in this piece may reflect the composer's desire to dramatize its text:

The foxes of Samson howl out their false teachings with profane novelty, abandoning the truth. Under the pretext of feigned virtue they deceive. Their faces are varied, but they are all tied together by their tails. Sion, do not cease to weep at the ruin of your state. Fire in the tails of the foxes has burned your harvest.

The unknown author of this poem compares heretical teachers to the foxes Samson drove out to destroy the harvest of the Phillistines. The event is described in Judges 15: 4-5.

So Samson left and caught three hundred foxes. Turning them tail to tail, he tied between each pair of tails one of the torches he had at hand. He then kindled the torches and set the foxes loose in the standing grain of the Phillistines, thus burning both the shocks and the standing grain, and the vineyards and olive orchards as well.

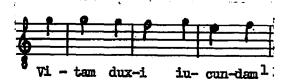


In the preceding transcription, although the eight-syllable lines ended in accentual iambic feet, they were not set in strictly iambic rhythm. The rhythm for the beginnings of these lines was modified so that the first syllable would come on the strong part of the measure, rather than the second; this was done because in general the second syllables of these lines would be unaccented in ordinary speech: dogmatum, vulpes, quarum, tui, ignis.

In some poems, accentual iambic meter is fairly continuous.

When this happens, there are two possible choices of rhythmic mode:

I define and define the final syllable and define the final syllable of the line on a strong part of the measure (at the beginning of a perfection, in medieval terminology), but there is some question of whether upbeat beginnings were part of the musical vocabulary of the early thirteenth century. Occasionally, in some motets, a careful avoiding of the upbeat beginning can be observed. Nevertheless, various transcribers have used the first rhythmic mode with upbeat in their transcriptions of monophonic compositions. For example, Husmann's transcription of F-X-36 begins



lHeinrich Husmann, "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XI (1954), 23.

Yvonne Rokseth, who gave careful consideration to word-setting • in the motet before she began to transcribe monophonic songs, used upbeat beginnings for ten of the sixty pieces she transcribed from F-XI.1

In cases where the iambic meter of a poem, and where Taktwechsel is frequently found in the first and second feet, one of two alternate beginnings may be used. Each of them has been observed in the motet, and they can avoid the mis-accentuation of words:

ال له اله and اله اله اله

lyvonne Rokseth, "Danses cléricales du XIII^e siècle," Mélanges 1945, III ("Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg," Fascicule 106; Paris: Société d'Edition: Les Belles Lettres, 1947), 120-126.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF INSTRUMENTS

There is general agreement that instruments were often used in the performance of medieval music. Exactly how and when they were used is an unresolved question, for medieval music manuscripts do not indicate orchestration. It seems likely that portions of the monophonic conducti in the Florence manuscript were intended to be played as well as sung.

A rather recent (1947) edition for performers of six Provençal songs of Bernart de Ventadorn prepared by Egon Wellesz provides each melody with an instrumental introduction and accompaniment. Unfortunately Wellesz does not cite the authorities for this practice; he says simply,

Since the troubadours used to accompany their songs with an instrument, usually a viol, I have added an accompaniment which can be performed on a violin or viol.²

In this Wellesz echoes an opinion of Paul Runge, who made a study in 1906 of the songs of the late fourteenth-century poet Hugo von Montfort. Runge cited a passage from Grocheo as proof of instrumental postludes for monophonic songs, and he reasoned

¹Music of the Troubadours, edited by Egon Wellesz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947).

²Ibid., iii.

that there might have been instrumental preludes and interludes as well. This is certainly a plausible interpretation of the sometimes rather long melismatic passages found in F-X as well as in the songs Runge studied. Runge then commented that if there were indeed instrumental preludes, interludes, and postludes, that the instrument was not silent during the sung part of the piece, that it played along, ornamenting the melody here and there. \(\frac{1}{2} \)

There is a graceful poem by the Norman poet Henri d'Andeli on the death of Philip the Chancellor.² It is not nearly so abundant in biographical information as one would wish it to be, but it does add a little to what is known about Philip. In two passages in it Philip is portrayed as a musician—a player of the viol.

[Philip on his death bed:]
Dex, tes jugleres ai esté
Toz tens, et yver[s] et esté.
De ma viele seront rotes
En ceste muit les cordes totes,
Et ma chancons dou tout faudra (lines 45-49)

[The poet, speaking to "Biaus sire Deus"]
Ta chançon chanta bien et lut
Tant com il pot, tant com li lut
A ta viele viela . . . (lines 119-121)

Ludwig knew these passages and commented that in them "viele" and "jugleres" must have been used through poetic license. They

Paul Runge, Die Lieder des Hugo von Montfort mit den Melodien des Burk Mangolt (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf und Hartel, 1906), 7-10.

²Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le chancelier Philippe," Romania, I (1872), 210 f.

could not possibly be interpreted as evidence of the use of stringed instruments in the liturgy.1

The relationship of Philip's poems to liturgy is tenuous at best. It seems far more probable that practices employed in the performance of monophonic songs with vernacular texts were used in their performance.

Another question arises as one thinks of these lines from
Henri d'Andeli. Would a prominent churchman of the early thirteenth
century who could play the viol and sing admit it? Would he be
proud of it? Even if he were, would he have applied the term
"jongleur" to himself? Often this term seems to have connoted a
musician of the very lowest class of society; Reese says

These men—and women—were often poor vagabonds who sang songs that others wrote, did tricks with trained bears or such other collaborators, animal or human, as might be at hand, found themselves especially in demand to enliven less elegant wedding festivities, behaved scandalously, and were in general the despair of the clergy.²

True though that may have been, there was in fact at least one prominent clergyman in the thirteenth century who prided himself on his skill in singing and playing the viol. Salimbene tells about him in his report of the year 1249.

Ludwig, Repertorium, 245.

²Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 202-203.

Likewise in the course of time, that is to say, in my days, the archbishop of this region became a cardinal in the Roman curia; he was a worthy man in wisdom, in singing, in letters, and in an honest and holy life. Once when a jongleur had played the viol before him and asked for something to be given him, he said: "If you want something to eat, I shall give it to you freely for the love of God; but I will give you nothing for your singing and your viol, for I know how to sing and play the viol just as well as you."

So it is not impossible that Philip played and sang his own songs. Who composed the music for them, and under what conditions they were performed, remain unanswered questions.

¹ Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum, edited by 0. Holder-Egger ("Mommenta Germaniae Historica," Scriptorum Tomus XXXII, Partes I-III; Hannover: Hahn, 1905-1913), I, 323.

Item processu temporis, scilicet diebus meis, archiepiscopus istius terre factus fuit Romanae curie cardinalis; et fuit valens homo in scientia et in cantu et in litteratura et in honesta et sancta vita. Cum autem quadam vice quidam ioculator sonasset viellam coram ipso et peteret aliquid sibi ab eo dari, respondit sibi: "Si vis comedere, tibi dabo amore Dei libenter, pro tuo autem cantu et viella nichil darem, quia ita bene scio cantare et viellam sonare sicut tu."

CHAPTER VI

MUSICAL FORM AND STYLE

The meters and forms of the poems in the tenth fascicle of the Florence manuscript have been studied to a considerable extent by such scholars as Wilhelm Meyer and Hans Spanke. There is considerable variety among them, as there is among the musical forms with which they are allied. And as Spanke remarked, often the composer seems to have made a particular effort to avoid having the form of his music correspond to the form of the poem.

As a result, strictly strophic poems may be set to music in sequence form (a a, b b, c c, . . .). This is true of pieces numbers 1, 5, 7, and 8. They may have music which is through-composed; 12, 40, 49, 50, 51, 55, 66, and 77 do. Of course, the music for many of them does follow the ordinary strophic pattern; this is true of 11, 13, 14, 15, 16-23, 25, 26, 31, 32, 34-36.

One type of purely musical form which is commonly used in F-X involves the repetition, either exact or with a varied second ending ("ouvert-clos") of the first melodic unit. This melodic unit usually sets the first two lines of the poem; sometimes it is preceded by a melisma which is not part of the repeated material. The following works have exact repetition of the first melodic unit (a a) and no introduction:

2, 15, 17, 24, 31, 38, 42, 56, 58, 61, 79, 80

Of those pieces, some also have a second melodic unit which is repeated more or less exactly:

15, 61, 80

In the following pieces the repetition of the first melodic unit is not exact (a a'):

11, 14, 20, 26, 37, 54, 55, 60, 76, 81

In these works there is an introduction followed by (a a) or (a a') repetition:

44, 68, 73

In some works, repetition is more extensively used. Among these the two Latin lais should be counted—62 and 75. In other works repetition is used a great deal but more freely than in the lais; this is true of 56 and 57 and, to a lesser extent, of 80 and 82.

A survey of pieces in the fascicle has uncovered a number of works in which at least a single phrase within the piece is repeated rather exactly; undoubtedly more careful analysis would reveal many more. Among them are

4, 9, 10, 27, 30, 31, 34, 36, 40, 43, 45, 51, 52, 53, 54

In many conducti, melismatic sections (possibly intended to be played on instruments) are found as introductions, interludes, and postludes to the passages which set the text in more or less syllabic style. The figures below may give a general idea of how frequently this occurs. (An arbitrary definition of "melisma" was made for the purpose of this count; it is used for any group of six

or more notes on a single syllable.) Of the 83 compositions in the fascicle,

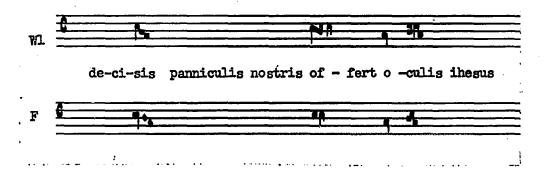
38 have introductory melismas
27 end with melismas
sections within 20 begin with melismas
sections within 8 end with melismas.

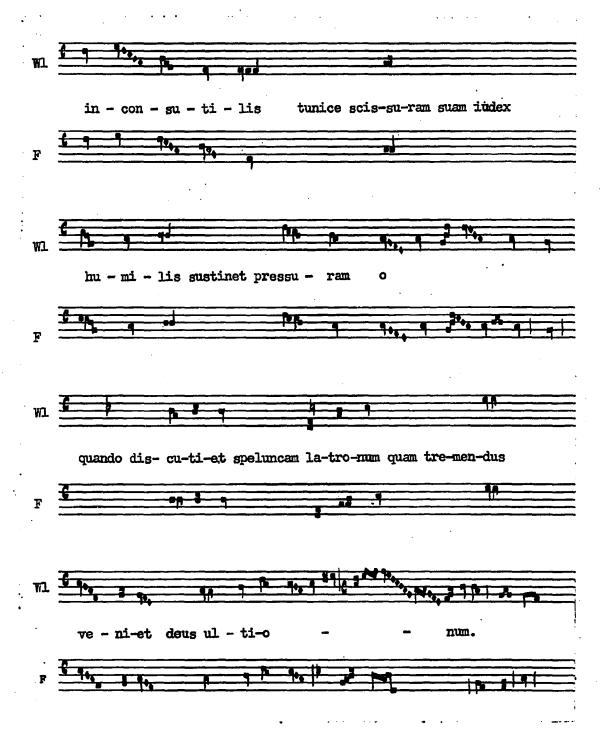
In some pieces a generally florid style (which is especially likely to be found in the laments on the deaths of important persons) may produce melismas—according to the definition given above—within phrases. In 22 works such inner melismas are found.

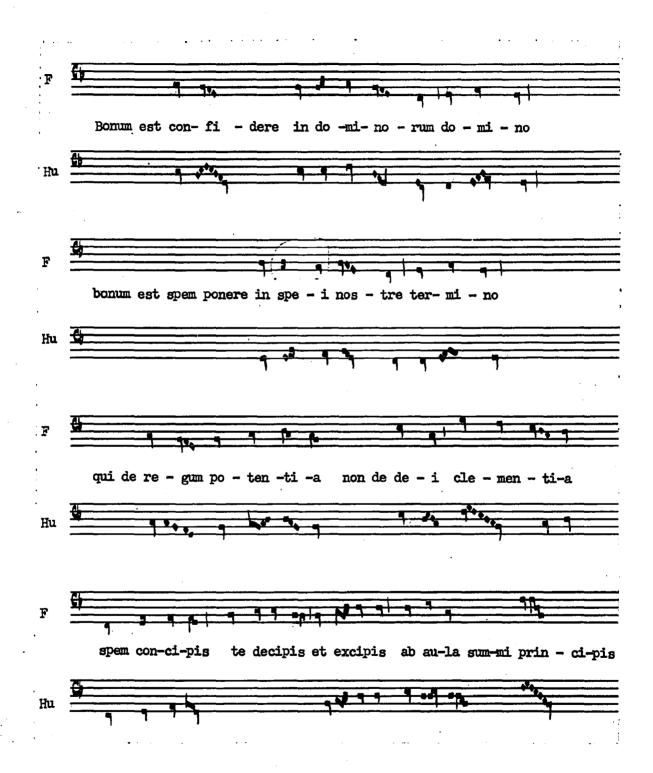
How important to the basic melodic structure of the piece are these melismas? A very thorough stylistic analysis would probably produce conclusions on this subject, but one indication may be found in comparing the versions different manuscripts give of various works.

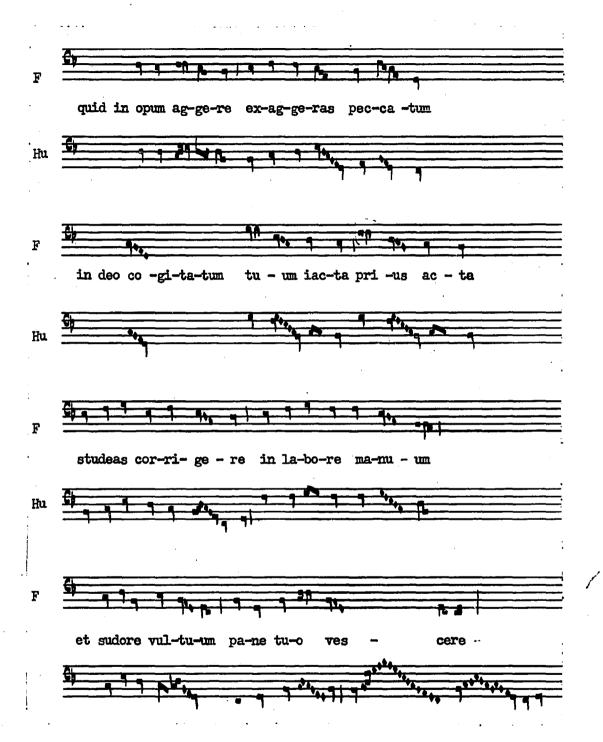
On the following pages two pieces have been copied from F-X and one other manuscript. Where the manuscripts give exactly the same reading, the notes have not been copied.

F-X-25 and W1, f. 189









Only the end of F-X-25 is found in W1, but there are some suggestive variants in the reading W1 gives for this work. One notices first the much more florid ending in W1, though F is slightly more ornate on "O" in the third line of the copy. There are not many rhythmic indications in this piece; on scissuram and humilis the manuscripts agree, on latronum and ultionum they do not.

"Bomum est confidere" (F-X-37) is found in Hu. Its reading there is more florid than F's to a striking extent. The flamboyant melisma Hu gives at the end is but one instance of this. Yet there is no doubt that the same melody underlies both versions.

In some types of florid music—performances of Gregorian chant which follow the Solesmes practice, or some vocal or instrumental cadenzas—there is no effort to organize the melody through accents and groupings into a recurring metrical pattern. Time stands still. In other types of florid music, this is not the case. Here one thinks of such music as, for example, the works in variation form by the English virginalists, in which the melody of each variation is more florid but the underlying dance rhythm continues in the same tempo and the same basic pattern. If a familiar melody is ornamented, generally the performer will plan to fit his ornaments into a regular meter and tempo; for if he fails to do this, the essential line of the melody will be lost.

If the singers who performed conducti in the versions given by Hu thought of themselves as simply ornamenting well-known works (and one is irresistibly led to think of the flamenco style of ornamentation—which, by the way, is used in pieces that are danced to), then it seems possible that these long florid passages may have been sung quite quickly, without interrupting the metrical pulse. If, on the other hand, they saw themselves as adding to the work horizontally (making it last longer) as well as vertically (in melody), then they may not have done so, preferring to relish and linger over their interpolations, and performing them in what Anglès calls "free rhythm."

It may be that there is no way of knowing which of these practices was actually used; perhaps they both were. Although the rhythmic modes appear to have dominated polyphonic music at the beginning of the thirteenth century, they may well not have been equally prominent in monophonic music. Grocheo seems to suggest this, 1 and so does the music itself.

Fundamentally different attitudes toward meter have co-existed in other periods of music history. One need think only of Monteverdi's skill as a composer of both dramatic recitative and dance song to see proof of this. And although Dowland often wrote in dance meters, when he was setting an irregularly-accented English text it was word accent and almost never meter that he thought of first.

lIn a passage referred to by Rembert Weakland, O.S.B., "Rhythmic Modes and Medieval Latin Drama," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XIV (1961), 134.

CHAPTER VII

INTRODUCTION TO THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

The songs transcribed in this thesis were selected for various reasons. Some compositions have been chosen because of distinctive characteristics in their music or text, but there has been an effort to balance these with other selections to make the group fairly representative of the fascicle as a whole.

Among the compositions which were included because of their particularly interesting historical connections is F-X-9, "Divina providentia." Dreves and Delisle agree that the poem is in praise of William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and regent of England during the third crusade. In the poem, William is depicted as an extremely spiritual person living a rather austere life. The unalloyed praise given by the poet contrasts sharply with other accounts of William.

In 1189, when Richard the Lion-Hearted became King of England, he named William chancellor of the kingdom and Bishop of Ely. William became one of the two justiciars (regents) of England in March, 1190.²
In 1192 he was deposed from the chancellorship and allowed to leave

lAnalecta Hymnica 21, 174.

²Austin Lane Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta ("The Oxford History of England," 3; Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1951), 351.

England, but in the same year he offered a bribe to John, brother of the absent king, to be restored to his office. Nevertheless he remained indispensable to Richard; in 1193 he joined him in Normandy and arranged for Richard's ransom and release. In 1194 he negotiated a truce between England and France. His death came in 1197.

A figure of primary importance in the political life of his time, William of Longchamp is also known as a patron of the arts.

Nigel Wireker's satire, Speculum Stultorum, is dedicated to him, as is another work by Nigel, Contra curiales et officiales clericos. William's praises are sung in the poem, "Nigelli versus ad dominum Gulielmum Eliensem"; the verse is metrical, not accentual.

If Nigel's praise of William seems at times somewhat perfunctory, the scorn and abuse heaped on William by Giraldus Cambrensis also appear occasionally to lack justification. In Giraldus' life of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, William of Longchamp is depicted as an evil monster who plotted against the hero. Giraldus' excesses

¹ Austin Lane Poole, 359.

²Kate Norgate, "William of Longchamp," The Dictionary of National Biography, XII (London: Oxford University Press, 1893, reprinted 1949), 113.

³John H. Mozley and Robert R. Raymo (eds.), Nigel de Longchamps Speculum Stultorum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960). William is named in the first line:

Suscipe pauca tibi veteris, Willelme, Nigelli Scripta, minus sapido muper arata stylo.

Thomas Wright (ed.), The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century (2 vols.; "Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores," 59 [Rolls Series]; London: Longman & Co., 1872). Contra curiales is found in Vol. I, 118-230.

⁴Tbid., I, 231-239.

would be amusing if they were not so malicious; when he makes the physical description of his characters customary in biography, William's reads like a parody: he has a dog-like face, enormous feet, etc.1

Powicke speaks of William as follows:

His considerable ability and foresight were disregarded by men who, stirred by political annoyance and social prejudice, saw in him only an ugly distorted foreigner of servile origin and bad manners.²

Since the poem in F-X refers to William only as rector of England, and makes no allusions to his subsequent activities, it seems probably that it was written between 1189 and 1192. The references in it to Elias and Elisaeus appear to be a play on words hinting at "Ely."

The death of Peter the Cantor in 1197 is commemorated in F-X-33, "Eclipsim passus totiens." Famous as a preacher, Peter was cantor at Notre Dame 1184-1191. Subsequently he was elected Bishop of Tournai (1191) and of Paris (1195), although the opposition of the Archbishop of Longpont prevented him from being installed in the second of these posts. Jacques de Vitry describes the great appeal Peter's sermons had, and refers to him as "lucerna ardens et lucens."

lGiraldus Cambrensis, Opera, edited by J. S. Brewer (4 vols.; "Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores," 21 [Rolls Series]; London: Longman & Co., 1873), IV, 357-431, especially 420 ff.

²Frederick M. Powicke, "England: Richard I and John," Cambridge Medieval History, VI (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), 208.

³Yvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIII^e Siècle (4 vols.; Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935-1939), IV, 49.

⁴J. de Chellinck, S. J. L'Essor de la littérature latine au XIIe siècle (2 vols.; Brussels: L'Edition Universelle, 1946), I, 225-226.

This figure of speech is strikingly similar to some used in F-X-33:
"Radiabat Parisius / fulgens Cantoris radius," "Dum lucet non
sub modio / sublatus sol de medio."

Some of the references to specific persons and events in poems in F-X are less obvious than others, and require study for their identification. This is the case with F-X-48, which Norbert Fickermann has shown to have been composed in honor of a new Bishop of Paris, Peter of Nemours, in 1208. The poem is attributed to Philip in the Darmstadt manuscript, which, like F, contains only one stanza. Four stanzas are present in the Roman de Fauvel, though a crucial word is missing from the fourth stanza—the name of the place from whence the new bishop comes. Fickermann considers each of the five men who became Bishop of Paris during the period of Philip's activity, and only Peter of Nemours meets the three essential qualifications: he must have enjoyed a high regard at the royal court before his election, he must have come from outside Paris, the name of his place of origin must, in the ablative case, be of four syllables and end in -io.²

Since Peter of Nemours was Philip's uncle, it seems especially fitting for him to have written this poem in his honor. Fickermann suggests that the song may even have been sung at Peter's installation.3

¹Norbert Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied Philipps de Grève," Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters: Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker zum 1. September 1931 (Edited by W. Stach and H. Walther; Eresden: Baensch, 1931), 39.

²Ibid., lo.

^{3&}lt;u>Toid.</u>, 42-43.

F-X-h9 is quite another matter; the vivid dialogue of its second and third stanzas leaves little doubt concerning the identity of its participants. They are Pope Innocent III and Otto IV, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

During the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), the temporal power of the papacy reached its apex.

He made and unmade emperors. . . . He obliged the king of France to take back the wife whom he had repudiated; and he brought the kings of Portugal, Aragon, and England so completely to heel that they made a gift to him of their respective kingdoms and received them back at his hands as papal fiefs. 1

Innocent was determined that Sicily and the Holy Roman Empire should not have a single ruler, as had been the case during the reign of Henry VI (1190-1197). When Henry died, leaving as his heir a three-year-old son, the election of his successor created a turmoil which was resolved only in 1209 when Otto IV was crowned Emperor by the Pope. Before the coronation, Otto had pledged to Innocent that he would not attempt to add Sicily to the empire, but he began making efforts in this direction almost immediately afterwards.² The Pope protested in vain, and had to start assembling resources to support his side in the conflict. During these preparations, in January of

leading Schevill, Medieval and Renaissance Florence, Vol. I: Medieval Florence ("Harper Torchbooks," T B 1090; New York: Harper & Row, 1963; First published in 1936 by Harcourt, Brace and Company under the title History of Florence; revised edition published 1961 by Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.), 96.

²Ibid., 93.

1210, Pope Innocent wrote a letter to Conrad, Bishop of Regensburg, which begins as follows:

With grief and shame we report a few evils of the many which we have received from the emperor in return for good; some have taunted us that we suffer them deservedly, since with every effort we strove to elevate him to the imperial rule. It is as if we had made the sword by which we were seriously wounded. 1

The reference to the sword in this letter is strikingly similar to the reference to the sword in F-X-49; there Innocent says:

Conversus in me gladius Cuius cingebar capulo.

A description of the coronation of Otto IV is given by
Luchaire, and it shows that a sword played an important symbolic role
in the ceremony. Innocent placed a sword in Otto's hands, charging
him to use it to punish the guilty and protect the faithful. Otto,
taking it, swung it in the air above his head and then returned it
to its sheath. Then the pope buckled it on him. The scepter and
the imperial crown were awarded later in the ritual.²

lActa imperii inedita, Zweiter Band. Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des Kaiserreichs und des Königreichs Sicilien in den Jahren 1200-1200, edited by Eduard Winkelmann (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1885), 676, No. 1009.

Cum dolore referimus et pudore pauca de multis, que ab imperatore recepimus mala pro bonis, nonmullis // insultantibus nobis, quod ea merito patiamur, cum eum toto conanime studuerimus ad imperium sublimare, quasi nos fecerimus gladium, de quo graviter vulneremur.

²Achille Luchaire, <u>Innocent III: La papauté et l'empire</u> (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1906), 239.

Other songs were included among the transcriptions in this thesis because they were particularly interesting in their tonality or their use of accidentals. These are 55 (subject of a special chapter), 47, and 20 (discussed in Chapter II). Five were included because the manner in which they are notated in other manuscripts casts light on their rhythm: these are 1, 10, 27, 57, and 82. One was included because a French song with the same melody is found notated mensurally; this is 58.

In general, the other pieces in the selection were chosen to provide balance to make the group representative. As often happens, when these were studied in detail, distinctive characteristics began to appear in almost every one.

As representative of the purely secular poetry in the fascicle, h and 7h were included. In h the myth of Hercules is retold in accentual verse. There are allusions to many different exploits of the hero; it has not been possible to determine what version of the myth was used by the poet. Each stanza of the poem is followed by a moralizing refrain, but in general the tone of the poem is far from serious.

Like 4, 74 is included in the Carmina Burana. It too is a purely secular poem and is a little disappointing in its labored description of a beautiful lady. Whether there is any reason for calling a song with a text like this one a "conductus" is not clear.

la. Hilka and O. Schmann, Carmina Burana (2 vols.; Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1930-).

The music for both these pieces is noteworthy. In F-X-4 a melodic sequence begins on the words "sed tamen defloruit" in the first stanza. The figure is the length of one line of poetry; it starts on C, moves to B-flat for the next line, to A for the next, and has a final repetition beginning on G. Another melodic sequence, a much shorter one, is found on the words, "vincitur et vincitur," in the third stanza.

Although the three stanzas of F-X-7h differ from each other in almost every other respect, they begin with the same melody. If the introductory melisma of the first stanza is set aside, the melody begins A-C-C-C-B-A, as do the melodies of stanzas two and three. The only other instance of melodic similarity among the stanzas is found on the words "tot munera" (stanza two) and "frons nivea" (stanza three).

In a pair of songs, F-X-22 and 23, a common practice in the composition of medieval Latin poetry can be observed. The second of the two begins with a familiar Biblical phrase, "Qui seminant in lacrimis." A number of other poems in F-X begin with familiar lines like this one; among them are "Quomodo cantabimus," and "Bonum est confidere." Sometimes a Biblical phrase requires slight rearrangement to fit a meter, as in "Homo natus ad laborem" (from "Homo nascitur ad laborem"), "Beatus qui non abiit" (from "Beatus

¹Ps. 125:5.

²Ps. 136:4.

^{3&}lt;sub>Ps. 117:8.</sub>

⁴лов 5:7.

vir qui non abiit"), and "Christus assistens pontifex" (from "Christus autem assistens pontifex." 2) The song, "Qui seminant in lacrimis" is serious and moralistic, and its text contains frequent Biblical allusions.

The other poem, "Qui seminant in loculis," is satirical, and its wit is evident in the very first line, in the substitution of "loculis" (purses) for "lacrimis" (tears). It also draws heavily on Biblical passages throughout its first stanza. The musical setting emphasizes the word "nummus" (coin); although the piece is not in general florid, except for a rather long melisma at the end, each time this word appears it is set to a conspicuously long melisma. In the second stanza, these melismas fall on the words "cur" and "qui"; the dramatic word setting is no longer effective.

F-X-3 and 21 are in a similar vein. The dialogue between Aristippus and Diogenes is sharp, although at times Diogenes seems a bit too insistent about his innocence. F-X-21 mingles an attack on simony with allusions to characters of classical mythology. The use of alliteration and assonance in the first line is effective.

Another poetic tour de force is found in F-X-78, a poem in praise of an unidentified prelate, in which the first and last lines of each stanza are alike. The tone here is sober, like that of F-X-48.

Also serious are F-X-24, 39, and 72. The first two of these are moralistic in tone, the last reflective and devotional. In 24,

l_{Ps. l:l.}

²Hebrews 9:11.

the first two lines of music (setting lines 1 and 2, and 3 and 4 of the text) are alike, giving the piece bar form. In 39, the austere movement of text and music is broken by wide leaps within phrases: on the word "vilissimam" (a sixth) and between "per" and "bona" (an octave).

In 72 the first two lines of music are similar (again the introductory melisma must be set aside to make the similarity clear). The rhythm of the poem is appealing, especially because of the change in meter in the fourth and third lines from the end. This poem is very much like one found in a manuscript in the British Museum, Arundel 38h. A comparison of the two poems suggests that they are perhaps two versions by a single author rather than that one is modeled on the other.

Fons preclusus sub torpore

pagine legalis

se fatetur in tepore

gratie vitalis

erupisse novo more

cuius specialis

ortus fuit salvo flore

claustri virginalis

in puerperio

cuius probatio

fides est non ratio

cause naturalis.

Flos preclusus sub torpore

pagine legalis

se fatetur in tepore

gratie vitalis

flos conceptus solo rore

verbi spiritalis

fructum spondet in tumore

partus virginalis

[identical with the other poem from this point on]

lWilhelm Meyer, "Die Arundel Sammlung mittellateinischer Lieder," Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Histor. Klasse, N. F., Nr. 11 (1908-9), poem #17.

Spanke identified the stanza form of the poem Meyer published with one created by Bernart de Ventadorn and one used by an anonymous poet who wrote in old French. The melody of the French song is preserved in the Chansonnier Cangé; it shows no similarity to the melody in F.

F-X-63 was selected for inclusion as one of a group of three pieces honoring leaders of the monastic movement. "Terit Bernardus terrea" is obviously in honor of Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153). It stands in the manuscript immediately before songs praising "Franciscus" and "Antonius"; one assumes that these are St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) and St. Anthony of Padua (1195-1231). These pieces are not attributed, but it may be recalled that the hostility Philip the Chancellor felt toward Dominicans did not extend to Franciscans, and that he asked to be buried in a Franciscan chapel. He might well have written poems honoring two Franciscans and the leading reformer of an earlier generation.

The remaining song in the group, F-X-50, is included not only because of the interesting way F-sharp is used in it but also because it commemorates the death of the French king during whose prosperous reign many of these songs were composed, Philip II Augustus (ruled 1179-1223). Delisle made several observations concerning this

lHans Spanke, "Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik," Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Histor. Klasse, 3. Folge, Nr. 18 (1936), 41-42.

²Jean Beck, Le Chansonnier Cangé (2 vols.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927), II, 245 (Rayn. 390).

³M. M. Davy, Les Sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231 (Paris: Vrin, 1931), 127.

poem. According to him, the comet mentioned in the first stanza of the poem is also mentioned by William the Breton (Philippide, Book XII, 455-472) and in the Chronicle of Tours (Recueil des historiens, XVIII, 303). The reference to St. Denis, patron saint of Paris, is particularly significant because Fhilip Augustus was buried in the abbey of St. Denis. The "regalis dignitas" referred to in the next-to-last line is John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem; "legati sanctitas" refers to Conrad, Bishop of Porto. Both were present at the funeral.

A number of other poems in F-X refer to specific events. The dates of these events have been incorporated into Index II; most of the identifications were made by Delisle, and references to his article and to other studies are given in footnotes in that index.

Assigning rhythms to the melodies transcribed was very difficult. It can be seen from what has been said in earlier chapters that there is no single method for determining the rhythm of works in F-X. There are two different types of rhythm associated with works from this fascicle in other sources, yet some pieces in the fascicle do not seem compatible with either.

The following works from F-X are found in other sources rhythmically notated in such a way that in general accented syllables

l'Histoire de France, XXII (1885), 134.

receive two beats and unaccented, one. The familiar patterns of rhythmic modes one and two result.

57, 62, 75, 81, 82

Some works are found rhythmically notated in other sources in such a way that accented and unaccented syllables have the same duration, for the most part.

27, 45, 58

Rhythmic settings of one or the other of these types often fit pieces in F-X for which no sources in mensural notation exist. In general, pieces in a simple syllabic style can be given the first type of setting, and somewhat more florid pieces the second. Highly ornamented melodies are quite difficult to prescribe precise rhythms for; there are no models—similar pieces in mensural notation—and it seems impossible to fit such works into measures without creating absurdly complex rhythmic relationships. Such works are best left, if not in their original notation, in a form of modern notation which approximates it as closely as possible.

The transcriptions which follow are of the first two types described above. Indications of rhythm present in the manuscript—broadened notes and ligature groupings—are reflected in the note values, although how a broadened note is interpreted must depend to some extent on its context. The ligature groupings in a melismatic introduction or a cauda may appear to indicate a rhythmic mode which does not seem to fit the text of the song at all. In such cases compromises have been made. Ligatures in the manuscript are indicated in the transcriptions by horizontal brackets.

It seems probable that further studies of the notation of twelfth- and thirteenth-century monophony—particularly chant—may cast more light on the notation of the monophonic songs in F. The fact that two melodies in F-X have also been found (one in full, one in part) as the lowest voices of caudae of polyphonic conducti suggests that other such relationships will be uncovered. The aim of this discussion has not been to say the final word on the subject; rather it has been to draw attention to the richness and variety of both the poetry and the music of the tenth fascicle of the Florence manuscript, and suggest some of the problems related to it which still require investigation.

LIST OF TRANSCRIPTIONS

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F-X-1	Homo natus ad laborem	•	•	•	•	160
3	Aristippe quamvis sero	. •	•	•	•	164
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9	Divina providentia .	•	•	•	•	175
10	Ad cor tuum convertere	•	•	•	. •	179
20	Beatus qui non abiit	•	•	•	•	47
21.	0 curas hominum .	•	•	•	•	185
22	Qui seminant in loculis	•	•	•	•	187
23	Qui seminant in lacrimis		•	•	•	189
24	Exsurge dormis Domine	•	•	•		192
27	Vae mundo a scandalis (f	irst	stan	ıza)	•	102
33	Eclipsim passus totiens	•	•	٠	•	194
39	Cum omne quod componitum	•	•	•	•	196
47	Non te lusisse pudeat	•	•	•		42
48	Christus assistens ponti	.fex	•	•	•	199
149	Rex et sacerdos praefuit		•	•	•	201
50	Alabaustrum frangitur	•	•	•	•	205
55	Dogmatum falsas species	•	•	•	•	129
57	0 mens cogita	•	•	•	•	82

F-x-58	O Maria o felix puerpera	•	•	. 108
63	Terit Bernardus terrea .	•	•	. 209
72	Fons praeclusus sub torpore	•	. •	. 212
74	A globo veteri	•	•	. 214
78	Ad honores et onera		•	. 114
82	Ninor natu filius	•	•	. 217







- la. O man born to labor, be willing to consider your state, your lot. Spare me the irritation of your complaints. Restrain therefore your lamentations. Wretched man, do not reproach your soul because you have sinned miserably, because you suffer.
- lb. (The soul speaks:) When God made me clean, the dregs soiled the vessel; unclean, clay corrupted me. I am foolish and I do not know my maker; nothing is done freely in the prison of the flesh. The body brings forth contamination and vice.
- 2a. (The body:) You lead into the abyss of sin, you who carry out rashly work of the guide committed to you. You ruin me when you weigh me down with the burden of sin.
- 2b. (The soul:) You turn the use of reason into an abuse of it, and you deprive yourself of the goods bestowed upon you freely when you flatter your senses with illicit concessions.
- 3a. (The body:) Now give up your name of "anima," because you do not really animate when you destroy me with the work of death.
- 3b. (The soul:) I am forced to obey you and to carry on, whether you decide upon a good work or you stumble away from the paths of righteousness.

Dreves prints stanzas 2a and 3a, and 2b and 3b as a single pair because of the content of these stanzas. The musical form indicated in the manuscript suggests the division given above.

lAccording to one legend, after the flood Prometheus took clay and saliva and formed man. Hence he is known as a sculptor and as a creator.







- la. (Diogenes:) Aristippus, although it is late, I seek nevertheless at last to enjoy your advice. What shall I do at Rome? I do not know how to lie. Flattery wins the favor of the powerful. If I rely on biting truth I shall never be dear to Verres. An actor merits the reward of his skill when he flatters a vice with sweet lying.
- lb. (Aristippus:) Diogenes, what are you bent on? Do you want honors, do you want prebends? You will explain that first. You will displease those who are the rulers over the churches unless you implicate yourself in their vices. You will be loved if you commend faults of life among the prelates. The holy bishops love above all others the accomplices of their sins, the ministers of their crime.
- 2a. (Diogenes:) I have not learned how to applaud the vices of the powerful, nor to seek favor speaking with duplicity of heart;
 I am accustomed always to use the simple truth. I grieve to give anyone honor beyond his merits; nor do I annoint heads with the oil of the sinner.
- 2b. (Aristippus:) If you hesitate to lie, you will be far away in exile. Simple truth has made many exiles; honor our prelates with soft flattery. Do not exasperate them with words, insulting them with their vices, if you wish to enjoy their benefices.

3a. (Diogenes:) Therefore, as you advise, it behooves me to be silent, or, through flattery, to please the sensitive ears of the powerful.

You want me to please them thus—to flatter or be silent. You offer no middle way, and so, as if I were approving, I shall become a participant in another's sin.

3b. (Aristippus:) Do not be afraid to be polluted by participation in guilt; if you wish to enjoy the favor of the powerful, you will participate in their vice. The leaders of the priests rejoice that their friends conform to them in the same way of life as sharers like Giezil in the promises of Protheus, 2 as followers of Orpheus. 3

ha. (Diogenes:) Get thee behind me, Satan, away with your tales!
Whatever you advise, the organs of falsehood, the voices of flatterers,
I curse. I nourish the vice of no man through blandishments, but I
am wary of the name of flatterer and I have always turned aside from
his deceitful artifice.

ub. (Aristippus:) Therefore, live with moderation and be content with a little. Cynicus does not need anything. If you wish to be a

lGiezi was the servant of Eliseus, the prophet. In IV Kings 5: 20-27 there is an account of how Giezi ran after Naaman and asked him for gifts for the prophet. He kept the gifts for himself and lied to Eliseus about having gone after Naaman. He was punished for this by being afflicted with leprosy.

²Proteus could truthfully predict the future. He was also able to change himself into many forms.

³⁰rpheus was a musician who charmed even the gods of the underworld with his singing. He was killed by a group of Thracian women who pursued him and tore him to pieces because he remained faithful to his dead wife.

cynic, then say farewell to the curia and depart. And do not put yourself in a position to applaud vices; you will be bad with the bad if you seek to be agreeable in the dwellings of the powerful.







la. At one time the labor of Hercules, crushing monsters far and wide and removing the plagues of the world, shone afar with famous titles. But the once glorious fame withered, enclosed in the hidden traps of alluring Tole, and Alcides was made captive.

Refrain: Love ruins the value of fame. A lover does not lament lost time, but works brashly to dissipate with Venus.

lb. The hydra, whom he made richer through the loss of her heads, more savage than any pestilence, could not make him anxious, but a girl subdued him. The man who, greater than the gods, held the sky on his shoulders when Atlas was tired yielded to the yoke of Venus. Refrain.

2a. Poisoned breath and vomiting of flames did not help Cacus, nor did flight aid scheming Nessus. Western Geryon and the Stygian doorkeeper, both with their triple forms, did not terrify him; but a girl held him captive with a simple smile. Refrain.

2b. He yielded to the gentle yoke who trapped the guard of the rich garden with deadly sleep. He gave the horn of Achelous' forehead to Copia; after the wild boar and the lion had been subdued he was famous. He filled the Thracian horses with the slaughtered body of his host. Refrain.

lHydra grew "richer" because each time one of her heads was cut off several grew in its place.

3a. He withstood the combat of Lybian Antheus. He checked the tricks of the sophistical fall when he kept him from falling. But he who thus broke the tight holds of combat is bound, and he is bound when he falls to the embrace of Iole. Refrain.

3b. He had been known by such great titles of valor whom a girl imprisons with gentle chains. While she showers him with kisses, she offers him nectar of Venus with her lips. The man weakened by Venus' pleasures allows the memory and glory of his deeds to decline. Refrain.

ha. But stronger than Alcides, I take up the battle against Venus.

To subdue her I flee her, for in this battle one fights more

bravely and better when one flees. Thus Venus is conquered: when

one flees she is put to flight. Refrain.

hb. I undo the sweet knots of Venus and I open the locks of the soft prison, moreover, when I am led to other pursuits. O Lycorus, farewell, and know what I know: I have removed my troubled spirit from love. Refrain.

lantheus, a wrestler, remained strong only so long as he was in contact with his mother, Earth. Hercules defeated him by lifting him up and preventing him from touching the ground.





- la. In the absence of the king divine providence presented William to be in care of you, o England. As regent and author of glory he shows his power by the exercise of many graces and varied strength.
- lb. The earth readies him for heaven, and heaven envies the earth. It always marks the death of all over whom it presides. If Elias were alive, he would choose him as Eliseus, in whom he would pour doubly the spirit of his power.1
- 2a. In the hour of the Sacred Canon when he speaks to God alone, he is suffused with such floods of tears and with so much sweat that he is renewed and reborn in a second baptism. And so that the member may be fittingly united to the Head, he is offered as a living victim while he consecrates the Host.
- 2b. Behold our Simeon achieves his desires; knowledge of the reality makes clear the type of our faith. He enjoys with his own eyes the true presence of Christ. At his prayer the Lord is appeared toward Moses, peace is preserved for Israel, Amalech is put to flight.²

lElias seems to have been brought into the poem partly as a play on Ely. In the narrative describing Elias: departure into heaven in a whirlwind, Eliseus says to Elias: Obsecto ut fiat in me duplex spiritus tuus. (IV Kings 9:7-8.)

^{2&}lt;sub>I</sub> Kings 30:8-20.

- 3a. After the Lord's table he moves to the dinner table. He grants the requests of all his table companions. He refreshes more with his gracious conversation than with costly foods, and thus he gives another seasoning to each course.
- 3b. Dinner over, the period which he gives to leisure is short.

 At one time grave in spirit and in countenance, at another time smiling, he renders service equally to God and to Caesar, and he gives back to each his talent with interest.











- 1. O man of miserable state, look into your heart. Why do you spurn life? Why do you dedicate yourself to vices? Why do you indulge in evils? Why do you not correct your excesses? Why do you not direct your steps in the paths of justice? Why do you stir up the wrath of God against yourself each day? Fear that in you the roots of the barren fig tree will be cut down since you bear no fruit.
- 2. O wretched condition, consider how hard is this life. It is another death which thus changes its state. Why do you not purge away your fault without delay since the hour of your death is unknown. And unwilling charity, which does not profit, completely withers and grows weak, and does not make one blessed.
- 3. If you are called to the wedding feast without a wedding garment, you are expelled from the royal court. And if you come to meet the bridegroom with an empty lamp you are like the foolish virgin.
- 4. Therefore, see that you do not fall asleep, but be watching and open for the Lord when He comes. Blessed is he whom He will find watching when He comes.



3. In lucrum vertitur censurae levitas, fracta securitas danti remittitur, explicas decreta ad libitum, si sonitum dederit moneta; plenis aere sacculis rei poena minuitur, locum dic a loculis unde locus si quaeritur.

- 1. O troubles of men which the curia looks after, O those whose efforts have no end. If he encountered faith of such people, Pylades would desert Atrides.² The one Theseus³ would weary of the other where Proteus reigns and plays the die of fate.
- 2. If you have nothing it behooves you to leave the court of the prince. O slender fortune, you conceive hope in vain; the mind of those men is always bent on gain of all kinds. The man from whom nothing is gleaned wastes his work and his pains, for they all hold literally that he who has gets.
- 3. The lightness of a censure turns on money; breach of the peace is forgiven to the one who gives. You can explain decrees ad lib if money clinks. The penalty of the guilty man is lessened for purses full of money. Derive "locus" [a position] from "loculi" [money bags] if "locus" is what you seek.

¹ Pylades was the loyal friend of Orestes.

²Atrides usually refers to Agamemnon, Atreus' son. Here it appears to mean Orestes, the grandson of Atreus.

³Theseus was the husband of Phaedra, father of Hippolytus.



- 1. Those who put seeds into their purses through frequent giving of loans will rejoice with the maniples of their profits. The god of money never examines the ones that he ordains, for he does not serve God but man. Money closes and money opens, and what it has not sown it reaps in the field of the Lord.
- 2. Blessed are they who hunger; calling on Simon, they grab what they want, prebends, for money. He who gives is powerful among all, and because the world chooses the one who gives, why should I hesitate to exclaim about the man who is filled and rich. Blessed is he who understands.



3. Caro nil per se proficit, nec sufficit, etsi fortis sit spiritus, nisi liquore gratiae perfusi fluant primitus, et penitus cum oleo laetitiae rorem misericordiae et veniae fons vivus pluat coelitus. [Refrain]



1. They who sow in tears and in the unleavened bread of a sincere conscience transform the leaven of the old fault and wickedness. These prepare themselves for grace through which, throwing away the mud of their body, having finished their work, they carry maniples of glory.3

Refrain: Whatever feelings may arise, determining the right of a man zealous of the law, dash those little ones against the cornerstone. And let your tongue not cleave to your throat, but wherever you are come, to be rid of a bad feeling, remember Jerusalem. 5

- 2. It is a mark of man's misery that cockle seed is sown with the grain.⁶ Nor can the hand of the envious devil be fully crushed without his joining something of the vile sowing to the stalks of the tender plant, since he fears that we belong to a free head.⁷ Refrain.
- 3. The flesh profiteth nothing of itself, nor does the spirit suffice, however strong it may be, unless they are washed and flow from the beginning with the water of grace, and—in fullness with the oil of gladness—the living fount rains from heaven the dew of mercy and pardon. Refrain.

¹Ps. 125:5. ²I Corinth. 3:8. ³Ps. 125:6. ¹Ps. 136:9 ⁵Ps. 136:6. ⁶Matt. 13:24-30.

⁷The text of this poem, particularly of its second stanza, appears to be corrupt in F, the only source. Dreves suggests two emendations, but even with them the meaning and even the syntax remain obscure.



F-X-24

Arise; do you sleep, Lord? The powerful do nothing in Thy name today.

Take pity on the misery of the pitiful poor. With the power of Thy

right hand powerfully and quickly crush the instigators of crime,

O Thou who hast consideration for labor and freest those who labor.



As often as it suffers eclipse let the world repeat its sorrows. Suffering the going down of this great light it opens its mourning. Paris shone when the light of the Cantor burned bright. But Death saw him and envied him when he looked after the whole world, when he was sowing the word of life, when his light was shining and not under a bushel. The sun was taken from our midst; he ended a happy life.

[Peter the Cantor died in 1197.]





Since it is necessary that everything which is composed of parts should cease to exist, I do not wonder that our being returns to non-being. But this is remarkable: that we love the corruptible in us, the most vile part of us, more than our soul. Man lives dissolutely, all occupied in caring for his body, as if for his evil deeds one would not be punished after death. But if one gains merit through one's good deeds, one will be punished for one's bad deeds, in heaven or hell in opposite fashions.



F-x-18

Christ as high priest wrote the formula for pontiffs. He put before them one thing, that a bishop be the helper of the poor, a standard of virtues whose rule of life shows clearly that he stands out above the others as one who teaches the way, a Zachaeus above the rooftops.







- 1. As king and priest Christ ruled with double sword. The temporal rule was joined with the priesthood and flourished under him. He mingled the useful and the sweet, and the reason for this uniting lay concealed beneath a figure.
- 2. Otto, how does this concern you? What presumption seizes you? Stop! Already a fall is imminent; the upheaval which drives out a wicked man is near. So that David may replace Saul there will be an annointing.
- 3. Innocent cries out: I am hurt by the staff which I made. The sword with which I was [once] girded is turned against me. The vessel is broken by the fuller; he is stronger than the vessel, therefore the more fragile thing is broken.

[This poem refers to Pope Innocent III and Emperor Otto IV; see above, p. 148.]







- 1. The alabaster is broken and the lamp is extinguished when Philip dies. The oil is poured out, Bethlehem is annointed, Jerusalem breathes again. The comet, presaging the change of the throne of the kingdom, obscures the sun of the world. Sion, this rising prefigures your destruction, and its hair your baldness.
- 2. Be shorn, o daughter; let the church mourn the one who fostered justice. Let the knights mourn, let the students lament the author of their peace. His countenance changed according to the time, now grave, now happy. You may compare none to him, either Charleses or Caesars; he surpassed them all.
- 3. Denis rejoices, and mother Paris does not begrudge him honor. The martyr has rightfully his knight as guest whom he had made a victor. Increased tribute is paid in this funeral to one who honored the Church, for royal dignity and a holy legate were not lacking to pay him honor.



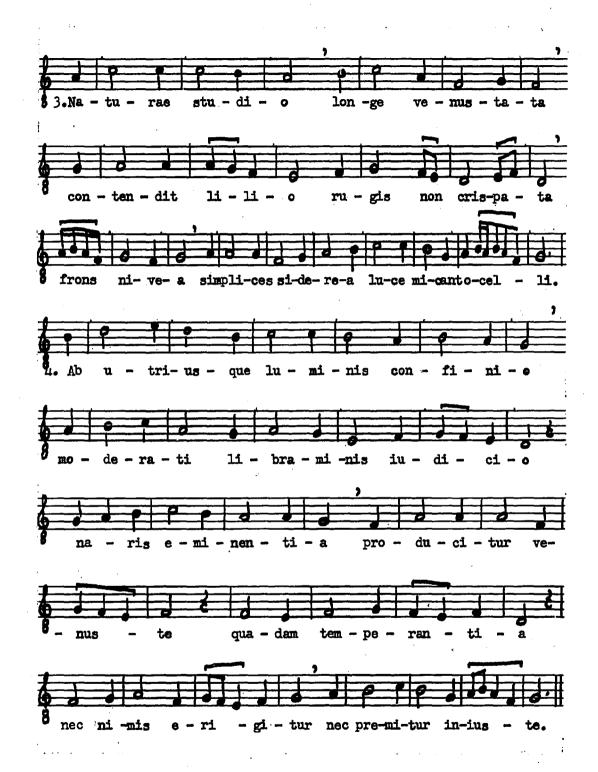


- 1. Bernard treads the earth, rapt in spirit to things above. He resists the battles of the flesh, despising the riches of the world.
- 2. On the threshing floor of the commandments with the flail of penance he pounds out the sheaf of the flesh. He transfers the grain—stripped of its chaff and wrapped in the stole of glory—into the granary of Christ, and receives the fruit of life.
- 3. Fruitful olive, ointment of charity, fragrant nard, refreshment of salvation, destroy guilt, nourish the seeds of peace.



The fount hidden under the torpid page of the law tells that it burst forth in the new law in the warmth of vital grace. The wonder of its rise was in the child-bearing of a virginal cloister, without harm to the flower of virginity; the proof of this is faith and not reasoning from a natural cause.





- la. Since the gods had traced the face of things from the old globe and the plan of the world, prudent nature unfolded and knit it together. She had already planned what she would do.
- 2a. In her, above all other works of the whole creation, the work of Nature shines forth. She bestowed so many gifts of favor on no one else, but exalted her above all the others.
- 3a. Much beautified by the work of nature, her snowy forehead, not creased with wrinkles, vies with the lily. Her innocent eyes shine with starry light.
- ha. From the confines of both eyes the eminence of her nose¹ comes forth in beautifully proportioned balance, with a certain moderation: it does not turn up too much, nor is it unduly flattened.

lHere the reading in Carmina Burana, "naris" has been adopted. F has "variis," which is one syllable longer; hence the first two of these notes must be sung to the first syllable of "naris," though they are not in ligature in the manuscript.





The gentile people is the younger son, blind and unbelieving, a prodigal who had gone away and had dissipated the part which his inheritance had given him. Having become needy he had fled into the desert and fed swine. He had returned penitent. The solicitous father rejoices because his little one had come back to his arms. The lost one who had perished, behold, he is returned. The fatted calf is killed. A ring is placed on his finger. The envious brother grieves; he is smitten with hatred because his younger brother is received with joy by his father.

INDEX I

This index lists the compositions of F-X alphabetically by text incipit and indicates publications where the text and the music for some of them may be found. In order to present the material concisely it was necessary to use abbreviations; they are explained below. Starred works in the index are transcribed in this thesis.

- AH Analecta hymnica medii aevi. Edited by C. Blume and G. M. Dreves. 53 vols. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1886-1911.
- AngE Anglès, Higini. El Codex musical de Las Huelgas. 3 vols.

 Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1931.
- Auc Aubry, Pierre. "Un chant historique latin du XIIIe siècle," Le Mercure Musical, I (1905), 423-434.
- CB Hilka, Alfons, and Schumann, Otto (eds.) Carmina Burana. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1930-.
- ChaiC Chailley, Jacques. Les Chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci. Paris: Heugel et Cie., 1959.
- DahH Dahnk, Emilie. L'Hérésie de Fauvel. Leipzig: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars, 1935.
- DelD Delisle, Léopold. "Discours," Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, XXII (1885), 82-139.
- DittCS Dittmer, Luther. A Central Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony.

 Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959.
- Fick Fickermann, Norbert. "Ein neues Bischofslied Philipps de Grève," Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittel-alters: Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931. (Dresden: Baeusch, 1931), 37-44.
- GennI Gennrich, Friedrich. "Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, XI (1929), 259-296, 321-348.

- HAM Historical Anthology of Music, Volume I. Edited by

 Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel. Cambridge, Mass.:

 Harvard University Press, 1949.
- Husp Husmann, Heinrich. "Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters," Die Musikforschung, VI (1953), 8-23.
- Huss . "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XI (1954), 1-38.
- LudG Ludwig, Friedrich. "Die geistliche nichtliturgische, weltliche einstimmige Musik des Kittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," Handbuch der Musikgeschichte (edited by Guido Adler; Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1930), 127-250.
- Meyer, Wilhelm. "Die Arundel Sammlung mittellateinischer Lieder," Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gettingen, Phil.-Histor. Klasse, N. F., Nr. 11 (1908-9).
- RunH Runge, Paul. Die Lieder des Hugo von Montfort mit den Melodien des Burk Mangolt. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1906.
- SchrP Schrade, Leo. "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries," Annales Musicologiques, I (1953), 9-63.
- SchrU . "Unknown Motets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," Speculum, 30 (1955), 393-412.
- Thurc Thurston, Ethel. "The Conductus Compositions in Ms.
 Wolfenbuttel 1206." Ph. D. Dissertation, Department
 of Music, New York University, 1954. (Ann Arbor, Mich.:
 University Microfilms, No. 22,973.)

Number	Incipit	Poem Published	Music Published
74	A globo veteri	CB #67 MeyeA, #4	*
10	Ad cor tuum convertere		In part: AngE #158 and #168
78	Ad honores et onera	AH 21, 138	#
35	Adulari nesciens	AH 21, 124	· ·
. 50	Alabaustrum frangitur	ÀH 21, 175	*
12	Anglia planctus itera	AH 21, 177	
45	Anima: iugi lacrima	AH 21, 197	Huss, 30 Schru, 411-12.
65	Aquae vivae dat fluenta	AH 21, 64	:
3	Aristippe quamvis sero	AH 21, 152 DahH, 162	*
80	Associa tecum in patria	AH 21, 194	
60	Aurelianis civitas	AH 21, 182	
75	Ave gloriosa virginum regina	лн 10, 89	HusP, 19; see ChaiC, 59
ग्रिम	Beata nobis gaudia	AH 21, 176	Huss, 22 SchrP, 56
14	Beata viscera	AH 20, 148	LudG, 185 Thurc II, 309 HAM I, #17 c
20	Beatus qui non abiit	AH 21, 121	*
37	Bomm est confidere	AH 21, 122 CB #27	AngE, #162
51	Clavis clavo retunditur	AH 21, 169 DahH, 33	
148	Christus assistens pontifex	AH 50, 535 DahH, 40 Ficn	*
59	Crux de te volo conqueri	AH 21, 20	

39	Cum omne quod componitur	AH 20, 31	*
9	Divina providentia	AH 21, 174	*
55	Dogmatum falsas species	AH 21, 149	*
16	Dum medium silentium (componit)	AH 20, 39	
15	Dum medium silentium (tenerent)	AH 20, 38	
38	Ecce mundus moritur	DelD, 131	
33	Eclipsim passus totiens	AH 21, 172	*
67	Exceptivam actionem	AH 20, 42	
7	Excuset quae vim intulit	AH 21, 137	
26	Excutere de pulvere	AH 21, 105	
भ	Exsurge dormis Domine	AH 50, 535	*
72	Fons praeclusus sub torpore	compare MeyeA #17	*
6	Fontis in rivulum	AH 21, 146	AngE #165
56	Homo considera	AH 21, 93	AH 21, 218
68	Homo cur degeneras	AH 21, 99	
69	Homo cur properas	AH 21, 162	
1	Homo natus ad laborem (tui status)	AH 21, 115	* AngE #166
32	Homo qui semper moreris	AH 21, 98 DahH, 168	
73	Homo qui te scis pulverem		
53	Homo vide quae pro te patior	AH 21, 18	AH 21, 217
46	Ierusalem, Ierusalem	AH 21, 181	
5	In hoc ortus occidente	AH 20, 53	AngE #160
29	In nova fert animus	AH 20, 32	
64	In paupertatis praedio	AH 21, 68	

82	Minor natu filius	AH 21, 196	*
54	Nitimur in vetitum	AH 21, 106	
47	Non te lusisse pudeat	АН 21, 140 СВ #33	* .
21.	O curas hominum	лн 21, 151	*
30	O labilis sortis	AH 21, 97 DahH, 69	
58	O Maria o felix puerpera	ан 456, 52	*; compare ChaiC #14
71	O Maria stella maris		
57	O mens cogita	AH 21, 97 DahH, 164	*
77	O mors qui mordes omnia	AH 21, 176	
14	Olim sudor Herculis	AH 21, 154 CB #63	*
2	Omnis in lacrimas	AH 21, 180	
34	Partus semiferos	AH 21, 129	
61	Pater sancte dictus Lotharius	AH 21, 173	AH 21, 214 DittCS, 265
23	Qui seminant in lacrimis	AH 21, 119	*
22	Qui seminant in loculis	AH 21, 152	*
17	Quid ultra tibi facere	AH 21, 141 DahH, LVII	
52	Quisquis cordis et oculi	AH 21, 114	AH 21, 216 GennI, 322
28	Quo me vertam nescio	AH 21, 143 DahH, 43	·
31.	Quo vadis quo progrederis	AH 21, 107	
25	Quomodo cantabimus	AH 21, 165	

149	Rex et sacerdos praefuit	AH 21, 173 DahH, 53	*
8	Sede Sion in pulvere	AH 21, 164	
70	Si gloriari libeat		
140	Si vis vera frui luce	AH 50, 534	
83	Sol edipsim patitur	AH 21, 179	AngE I, 356
13	Sol oritur in sidere	AH 20, 82	HAM I, #17 d
79	Stella maris lux ignaris		
63	Terit Bernardus terrea	AH 21, 65	*
归	Turmas arment Christicolae	AH 21, 175	
27	Vae mundo a scandalis	AH 21, 148 DahH, LVI	AngE #163 *
18	Vanitas vanitatum	AH 21, 100 DahH, 30	
43	Vehemens indignatio	AH 21, 11,7 DahH, 55	
76	Veni sancte spiritus (veni lumen)		
42	Venit Jesus in propria	AH 21, 164	
66	Veri solis radius	лн 20, 85	
62	Veritas aequitas largitas	AH 21, 127 DahH, 107	Dittos, 239
19	Veritas veritatum	AH 21, 120 CB #21	
81	Veste muptiali	AH 21, 200	GennI, 326
11	Vide quo fastu rumperis	AH 21, 159	Dittcs, 268
36	Vitam duxi iucundam	AH 21, 156	Huss, 23

INDEX II

In the following index, the pieces are listed in the order in which they are found in F-X, and folio numbers are given. Where attributions for the poems have been found these are indicated with their sources. Use of the abbreviations identified in the preceding index is continued; in addition, the following manuscripts are referred to by abbreviations:

Lo B London, British Museum, Egerton 274

Da Darmstadt, MS 2777

For a discussion of the poems which have been attributed to both Philip the Chancellor and Walter of Châtillon, see above, p. 10-12.

Number	Incipit	Folio	Date	Attribution
1	Homo natus ad laborem	1415		Da: Philip
2	Omnis in lacrimas	山51	1181	
3	Aristippe quamvis sero	717.6		Da: Philip
4	Olim sudor Herculis	山7		
5	In hoc ortus occidente	14271		Da: Philip (Walter of C.?)
6	Fontis in rivulum	1918		Da: Philip
7	Excuset quae vim intulit	419		
8	Sede Sion in pulvere	419!	r	
9	Divina providentia	1420	1189	
10	Ad cor tuum convertere	1120		Da: Philip
11	Vide quo fastu rumperis	421'		Da: Philip
12	Anglia planctus itera	421	1186 1189	
13	Sol oritur in sidere	422		Da: Philip
14	Beata viscera	422		Da: Philip (Walter of C.?)
15	Dum medium silentium (tenerent)	4221	1174	Da: Philip (Walter of C.?)
16	Dum medium silentium (componit)	4221		• •
17	Quid ultra tibi facere	423		Da: Philip
18	Vanitas vanitatum	423		Da: Philip
19	Veritas veritatum	4231		Da: Philip

lThese dates are suggested in the following sources: for poem 2, DelD, 127; 9, above p.146; 12, DelD, 129 and AH 21, 177 (respectively); 15, above p. 11.

20	Beatus qui non abiit	424			
21.	O curas hominum	4241			
22	Qui seminant in loculis	4241			
23	Qui seminant in lacrimis	425			
24	Exsurge dormis Domine	4251		Da:	Philip
25	Quomodo cantabimus	4251		Da:	Philip
26	Excutere de pulvere	426		Da:	Philip
27	Vae mundo a scandalis	426		Da:	Philip
28	Quo me vertam nescio	4261		Da:	Philip
29	In nova fert animus	4271			
30	O labilis sortis	4271		Da:	Philip
31	Quo vadis quo progrederis	4281		Da:	Philip
32	Homo qui semper moreris	4281		Da:	Philip
33	Eclipsim passus totiens	429	1197		
34	Partus semiferos	429			
35	Adulari nesciens	4291		•	
36	Vitam duxi iucundam	4291	_		
37	Bonum est confidere	430		Da:	Philip
38	Ecce mundus moritur	431			
39	Cum omne quod componitur	431		_	
140	Si vis vera frui luce	431 1		Da:	Philip
141	Turmas arment Christicolae	4311	1192		
42	Venit Jesus in propria	4321		Da:	Philip

lFor the date of poem 33, see DelD, 131; 41, DelD, 132.

43	Vehemens indignatio	433		
141	Beata nobis gaudia	4331	1223	Da: Philip
145	Anima: iugi lacrima	4331		
46	Ierusalem, Ierusalem	434	1198	
47	Non te lusisse pudeat	435		
48	Christus assistens pontifex	4351	1208	Da: Philip
49	Rex et sacerdos praefuit	14351	1210	Da: Philip
50	Alabaustrum frangitur	436	1223	•
51 ·	Clavis clavo retunditur	437	1233	Aubry: Philip
52	Quisquis cordis et oculi	437'		Io B: Philip; Salimbene: Philip
53	Homo vide quae pro te patior	4371		Lo B: Philip
54	Nitimur in vetitum	1438		Io B: Philip
55	Dogmatum falsas species	438		
56	Homo considera	438		Lo B: Philip
57	O mens cogita	438		Lo B: Philip
58	O Maria o felix puerpera	1439		
59	Crux de te volo conqueri	1439		Salimbene: Philip
60	Aurelianis civitas	4391	1236	
61	Pater sancte dictus Lotharius	140		Lo B: Philip
62	Veritas aequitas largitas	7710 4		Lo B: Philip
63	Terit Bernardus terrea	抽21		

For explanations of the dates, see the following sources: for poem hh, AH 21, 176; h6, DelD, 133; h8, FicN; h9, 50, DelD, 134; 51, DelD, 135; 60, DelD, 136. Salimbene's attributions are quoted in Ludwig, Repertorium 2h8-9; Aubry's is mentioned in DelD, 135.

64	In paupertatis praedio	1413		
65	Aquae vivae dat fluenta	1413		
66	Veri solis radius	١٤٠١		
67	Exceptivam actionem	<u> </u>		Douai 385: Alan of Lille
68	Homo cur degeneras	71717		
69	Homo cur properas	<u> </u>		
70	Si gloriari libeat	1451		
71	O Maria stella maris	गिरि		
72	Fons praeclusus sub torpore	746		
73	Homo qui te scis pulverem	1416		
74	· A globo veteri	77161		•
75	Ave gloriosa virgimum regina	447		Lo B: Philip
76	Veni sancte spiritus	1,148		
77	O mors quae mordes omnia	7 ¹ 7 ¹ 8 ¹	1223	
78	Ad honores et onera	रिगिर	•	
79	Stella maris lux ignaris	14191		
80	Associa tecum in patria	450		
81	Veste muptiali	4501		
82	Minor natu filius	4501		Lo B: Philip
83	Sol eclipsim patitur	451	1188	
				··

Dates are given in the following sources: for poem 77, DelD, 137; 83, DelD, 138.

INDEX III

In Index III the relationship of F-X to some other manuscripts is suggested. Manuscripts containing a poem set to essentially the same music as is found in F-X are named in the column on the far right. The abbreviations used for these manuscripts are explained in the section "Sources" which follows this one.

It has not been possible to make a study of the numerous manuscript sources which contain poems from F-X without their music. However, two manuscripts which contain a relatively large number of poems also found in F-X have their concordances listed in separate columns. Information about these two manuscripts has been taken from the studies listed below.

- Da (Darmstadt, MS 2777): Roth, F. W. E. "Mittheilungen...,"
 Romanische Forschungen, VI (1891), 17-56, 429-461.
- 0 44 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Additional A 44): Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 46 (1885), 582-585.

An asterisk in the column "Other" means that the poem is found in manuscripts other than those listed in this index. These other manuscript sources are named in one or both of the following works:

- Chevalier, Ulysse. Repertorium Hymnologicum. (Subsidia Hagiographica, 4.) 6 vols.; Louvain: Imprimerie Lefever, 1892-1920.
- Walther, Hans. Initia Carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum. (Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina, I.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959.

Ludwig noticed that a relatively large number of motet and conductus texts from the Notre Dame repertoire were published in the sixteenth century by Matthias Flacius (1520-1575). One of the sources from which Flacius drew his poems seems to have been Wolfenbuttel 1206. What his other sources were has not been definitely determined, and Ludwig believed that one of them was a manuscript of the Notre Dame school which has disappeared since Flacius' time. Flacius' three anthologies of medieval Latin poetry are listed below.

- Carmina vetusta ante 300 annos scripta, quae deplorant inscitiam Evangelii et taxant abusus ceremoniarum, ac quae ostendunt doctrinam hujus temporis non esse novam . . . (Wittenberg, 1548.)
- Pia quaedam vetustissimaque poemata, partim Antichristum ejusque spirituales filiolos insectantia, partim etiam Christum ejusque beneficium mira spiritus alacritate celebrantia. (Magdeburg, 1552)
- Varia doctorum Piorumque virorum, de corrupto ecclesiae statu, poemata . . . (Basel, 1557.) (Reprinted in 1754.)

According to Ludwig, the only difference between the second and the third of these books is in their titles; the contents appear to be exactly the same. All forty-nine of the poems in the first book are found in the others. In Index III, an asterisk in the column headed "Flacius" indicates that the poem is found in the second and third, and possibly also the first, of Flacius' collections.

Repertorium, 222-4.

				Text	rdanc	es		Music
]	Number	Chevalier	Walther		Da	Other	Flacius	Concordances
	1	7975	8391	*	*	•	*	Hu 1581, 1611
	2	1/129	13363	*				
	3	23122	1479	*	*	. * .	* .	
	4	31239	13179	*		*		Ca 300
	5	8624	8937		*	*	*	Hu 167-167 Ca 298
	6	26742	6754	*	*	•	*	Hu 158-158
	7 .	26309	6054	*			*	
	8	33427	17467	*			*	
	. 9	25645	4629					
	10	22341	326		*	*	*	Hu 167, 161 (only part)
	11	34509			*			ZQ, E l
	12	22979	1015					
	13	19101	18383	*	*			
	14	2356 ·			*	*		W2, 156' SG, 174
	15	25778	4904	*	*	*		
	,16	25776	•			*		•
	17	16680	15941	*	*	*		
	18	21117	20037	*	*		*	Fauv 4:
•	19	21432	20205	¥	*	*	*	
	20	5JT 2 0						

Number	Chevalier	Walther	<u>о лл</u>	Da	Other	Flacius	Music Concordances
21	30337	12566	*	,	*	,	,
22	32446	15655	*				
23	31,11,1,5						
24	26435	6174		*	•		•
25	32697	16336		*	*	*	W1 168 (only part)
26	26310			*		•	
27	34297			*	*		Hu 1574-158 Wl 185-1854
28	32656	16221		*		*	Fauv 6
29	28089	9031	*	•			
30	13115			*	*		
31.	16862	•		*			
32	7980			*	*		
33	25965	5225					
34	311,99						
35	22619	551	*		,	-	Ca 1
36	34706						
37	2504	2220	₩	·*	*	*	Hu 157-157'
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Ars B Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 3517 Contains #73.

Ca Cambridge, England. University Library. Ff.i.17, Vol. I.

Described in: Ludwig, Repertorium, 327-329.

Contains #4, 5, 35.

Cl Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Nouv. acq. fr. 13521. (Chansonnier de La Clayette)

Facsimile: Luther Dittmer, Facsimiles, Introduction, Index, and Transcriptions from the Manuscripts Paris Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. fr. 13521 and lat. 11111. (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959.)

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(* indicates that the music in Fauv is different from that in F.)

FN Florence. Biblioteca nazionale centrale. B. R. 19 (II. I. 212; Magl. XXXV. 182)

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Contains #75.

Lo B London. British Museum. Egerton 274.

Described in: Ludwig, Repertorium, 251-263.

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Lo Ha London. British Museum. Harley 978.

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Jacques Handschin, "The Summer Canon and Its Background," Musica Disciplina, III (1949), 55-94.

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Ludwig, Repertorium, 257.

Contains #52, 53, 56.

P 24541 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Nouv. acq. fr. 24541. (Anc. Soissons, Grand Séminaire)

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Contains #14.

Wl Wolfenbuttel. Herzog August Bibliothek. Helmstedt 677. (Olim 628)

Facsimile: J. H. Baxter, An Old St. Andrews Music Book (London: Oxford University Press, 1931).

Described in: Ludwig, Repertorium, 7-57, especially 41. Contains part of #25, 27.

W2 Wolfenbattel. Herzog August Bibliothek. Helmstedt 1206. (Olim 1099)

Facsimile: Luther Dittmer, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmstedt 1206 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959).

Discussed in: Ethel Thurston, "The Conductus Compositions in MS. Wolfenbuttel 1206" (University Microfilms No. 22,973; 1954).

Contains #14.

ZQ Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Gallo-rom. 12. and fragments once in the library of Johannes Wolf, extant now only through copies made of them by Ludwig.

Facsimile, transcriptions, and commentary: Luther Dittmer, A Central Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959).

Contains #11, 61.

THEMATIC INDEX

In the thematic index, compositions are arranged alphabetically by first note. After the first note the arrangement is no longer alphabetical; rather, it is determined by the direction of the melodic line. First place is given to the repeated note. Then come ascending intervals, the smallest first, and, last, descending intervals, the smallest first.

A number to the left of the clef identifies each composition according to its place in the fascicle. Ligatures are indicated by slurs, plicas by smaller notes.

A Ho-mo vi-de quae pro te [mas] 0 mens co-gi-ta quod [vina] As-so-ci-a te-cum in [glia] [curas] [clipsim] Bonum est con-fi-de-re A-ve glo-ri-o-sa vir-gi-num Ves-te nup-ti-a-li Mi-nor na-tu fi-li-us

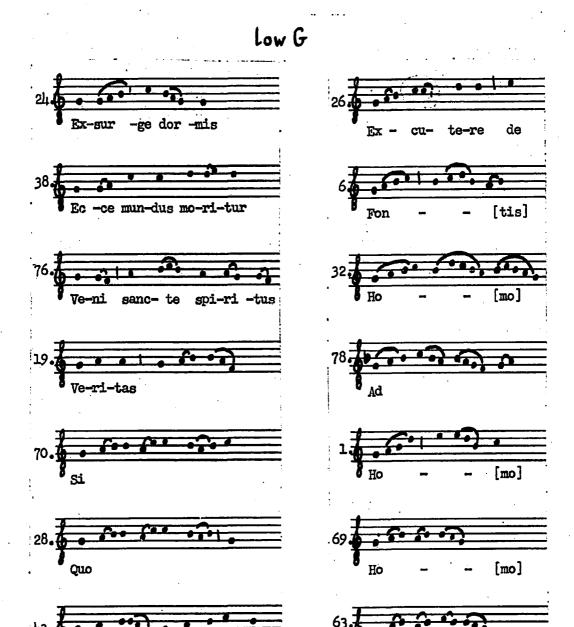








[rit]



in-di-gna-ti-o

low G



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