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SOME KONOPHONIC LATIN SOIVGS
FROM THE TENTH FASCICLE OF TFE RANUSCRIPT FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA LAURENZIANA, PLUTEUS 29.1.
$i$
A Dissertation
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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 ryythm, some pieces it contains are found in other manuscripts of the time with their rhythm clearly and completely notated. An attemptiis made to identify specifically what can be learned from the evidence given in those manuscripts which indicate riyythm, and to determine if and how this can be applied in assigning rhythrns
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 vaiuable 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 helpîul and productive ideas. The Right Reverend Abbot Rembert Weakland, O.S.B., mas 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 síucy. However, the research necessary for this subject rould not have been possible without the kind cooperation of a number of other libraries. The Wusic Division of the Library of Congress and its excellent staff vere indispensable. Both the 1
music library and the main library of Catholic University-particularly the fine collection of works on medieval history and Iiterature-have been heavily drawn upon. Several European Ilbraries 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 lioraries included the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the British Museum; Cambridge University Library; and the Bayerische Stantsbibliothek, 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.

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INTRODUCTION

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

[^0]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 1181.1 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 IHistoire 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 (1203-1314). Deiisle outlined the later history of the manuscript: it had been in the possession of Piero de' Medici (1)16-1469), father of Lorenzo il Magnifico (as a note on f. 4761 attests: Liber Petri de Medicis Cos[mae] Fil[ii]), 3 and from the

[^1]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. 1 It was he who made the exciting discovery that it corresponded very closely to a music manuscript described by an anonymous thirteenti-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. ${ }^{3}$

[^2]3 Meyer, 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. 1 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-mand that in spite of the fact that it is unfinished and lacks both an index and a table of contents. Iudwig 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 betrreen 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 mamscript. 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. Ir. 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

[^3]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 sumarized in Heinrich Husmann's more recent article about the manuscript in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. ${ }^{2}$ Both of these writers distinguish between sections of the mamscript 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 folloved. 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 (norgana") are arranged according to the sequence of the liturgical year, with works for the Mass and the Office in separate series. Husmann has

IWilli Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music (4th ed. revised; Cambridge, Mass: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 200.
${ }^{2}$ Heinrich Husmann, "Codex Bibl. Laurenziana plut. 29.1," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, IV (1955), cols. 405-415. .
recently show 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. ${ }^{1}$

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 rord.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 tro voices in $F$ are very numerous. They

[^4]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 out, 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.

SOIE RONOPHONIC LATIN SONGS
FROM THE TENTH FASCICLE OF THE MANUSCRIPT FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA LAURENZIANA, PLUTEUS 29.1.

## CHAPTER I

COMPOSERS OF THE POEIRY 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 accomparied by the name of its author. Likerrise, 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; $\mathbb{R} m \mathrm{~m}$. 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 lume. Rokseth thinks. 3
$1_{\text {Coussemaker, Scriptorum, }}$ I, 324.
ZYvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle: le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Medecine de Montpellier ( 4 vols.; Paris: Editions de Iloiseau Lyre, 1935-1939), IV, 50-51.
${ }^{3}$ Hans Tischler, "The Dates of Perotin, ${ }^{\text {n Journal of the American }}$ Nusicological Society, XVI (1963), 240-2lin.

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 momumental 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 poens,for many of them can be attributed. A muber of them-thirty-six of the eighty-three-are asuribed in other sources to Philip, chancellor of the cathedral of Paris (d. 1236). Ludwig devotes several pages to Philip, and the following paragraphs will sumnarize his comments in the light of subsequent scholarship. I

MS 2777 of Darmstadt contains; on folios 3-41, a group of poems, twenty-six in all, preceded by the note "Ista sunt dicta cancelarii Parisiensis. ${ }^{n 2}$ 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 mamuscript

[^5]appear set to music in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$, often with more strophes. However, Karl Strecker proved that one of them, "Dum medium silentium tenerent," ( $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-\mathrm{l} 5$ ) 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 Hemry's service to join the faction of Thomas a 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-nBeata viscera" ( $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-\mathrm{H}_{4}$ ) and "In hoc ortus occidente" ( $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-5$ )--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 styiistic reasons for his opinions; another reason is that "Quid ultra tibi facere" and "Beata viscera" are found in a Charleville

[^6]manuscript which is of the late trelfth century--too early for Philip. ${ }^{I}$
Handschin shares Wilmart's skepticism concerning the attributions of the Darmstadt mamuscript.? 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 a.s another poem, "Dum medium silentium componit," which comes inmediately after it in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ and in another manuscript, Oxford, Rawlinson, C 510. If, as Ludwig suggested, the Darmstadt and Florence marmscripts 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 rorks which follow are ndicta 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ which are in the first

[^7]section of LO $B$ could be added to the list of works definitely attributed to Philip. I

Dreves interpreted this ascription more broadly. In Volume 20 of Analecta Hymnica ${ }^{2}$ (published in 1895) he said that the pieces in LO B before f. 42 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ and the Darmstadt manuscript, in all but its first line. 4 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

[^8]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 mamscript-which remains doubtful-but also fifty-two poems from the eleventh fascicle (Dreves calls it the thirteenin) 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 gemuine works by Philip. Spanke has pointed out, for instance, that Latin rondeaux from F-XI surround "Ve mundo a scandalis" ( $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-27$, 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 ouite different from theat of poems definitely known to be by Philip.

[^9]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, HHomo quani sit pura michi de cura." . . . Likewise, he made a melody for another poem, also by the chancellor, "Crux de te volo conqueri., ${ }^{2}$

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

[^10]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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$, nexceptivam actionem, ${ }^{(1)}(\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-67$ ) is ascribed in the manuscript Douai 385 to Alan of Lille. Though often called Alams ab Insulis (through a confusion of "de Iille" 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 cíteaux, in 1202. Alan's best known works are Anticlaudiams, 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ 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

[^11]those for which attributions can now be found. 1 His characteristic modes of thought and expression are met with everywhere in this fascicle; hence it seems appropriate nuw 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 betwreen the two men. ${ }^{2}$ A summary of Meylan's thesis was published, 3 and Yvonne Rokseth refers to it, 4 although the facts she gives are in some respects quite different from Meylan's. Tischler cites both Rokseth and Keylan, but uses Rokseth's information. 5 M. M. Davy also draws on Heylan'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

[^12]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 wien the university at Paris mas 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

[^13]Paris had been placed under ecclesiastical authority in 1200 by Philip Augustus. I 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-whe 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 bul1 of 1219 forbade such excommuications and called for the inmediate 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

[^14]on behalf of masters and students. 1
Around 122l, 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 commuities. 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. 4 The

[^15]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. ${ }^{1}$

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 Orleans on the vigil of Easter to the students about their departure from Paris.1) 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

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { : Idinsay, 72-3. } \\
& \text { 2Davy, 126, 167f. }
\end{aligned}
$$

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 murse 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 studentsParis, not Orléans-who is more deeply concerned about her child'sthe studentsi--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. 1 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 winile 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

1 Davy, 126.
${ }^{2}$ Aubry, Mommenta Cermaniae 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 Cantimpre, the Bomm 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 Summa theologicarum quaestionum, or De bono. 2 Gilson reports a description of it as "the first treatise on the transcendental properties of being: the one, the true, and the good. ${ }^{3} 3$ He stresses the use Philip makes of Aristotle and the Islamic philosophers, and describes the Summa as directed against Manichaeism. 4 (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 contimpré is quoted by Paul Meyer, Romania, I (1872), 194-5.

2J. de Chellinck, S. J., I, 92.
$3_{\text {Etienne Gilson, History of Christian Philosophy in the }}$ Kiddle Ages (New York: Random House, 1955), 251.

4Ibid., 657.

Philip's Surma 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 Suma. ${ }^{1}$. Lottin found that for about trelve 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. 2 (Philip's relationships with the Franciscans were friendly, and at his own request he was buried in a Franciscan chapel.3) 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. 4 His contributions to the concepts of conscience and synderesis were particularly significant. 5

Except for the Quaestiones de anima published by Leo W.

[^16]Keeler in 1937 (K\#nster i. W.: Aschendorff), Philip's Sumna remains unpublished. Daunou, writing in 1835, regarded it as a very ordinary compilation; ${ }^{1}$ Hauréau, in 1868, felt that al.though 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 Ghellinck appear to regard it as quite an important work.

Philip was a prolific writer of semons. 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 mumber; according to Daunou, they were printed twice: By 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 boừn oí tinese works remain unpublished.
M. M. Davy published three of Philipis sermons in her collection of university sermons. 4 A passage from a fourth sermon is quoted by Hauréau; in it Prilip chides the learned men of the university for spending too much time in disputations and not enough on saving souls.

[^17]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, "Glory has an enormous spur." . . .l
l $_{\text {Hauréau, }}$ 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 pugne gallorum? Pueri facti sumus, qui nihil aliud facimus nisi pugnam gallorm. Unde ridiculum facti sumus laicorm. Gallus insurgit contra gallum et cristatur contra eum, et sibi commenducant 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, Imensum gloria calcar habet. . . .

There is no reference in the brief published summary of Meylan's thesis to the poems ascribed to Philip in the Darmstadt mamuscript 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 ( $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-3$ ), one character asks another, "Quid Romae faciam? Mentiri nescio." (what am I to do at Rome? I don't know how to lie. ${ }^{n}$ ) 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 Piladi."

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. ${ }^{1}$ In a study of the poetic texts of the musical interpolations in the Roman de Fauvel, Emilie Dahnk has attempted to answer this question. 2 The
$1_{\text {Rokseth, }}$ Polyphonies, IV, 68.
${ }^{2}$ Emilie Dahnk, L'rérésie 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 vriters 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 Fialter 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. 1 The symbols Philip uses are from the comon fund of poets and preachers of his day, ${ }^{2}$ but in his hands they seem particularly evocative.

[^18]
## 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 moden can have two meanings in connection with this music-denoting either a rhythmic pattern or a scale typewhen it is necessary to avoid confusion, the word "tonen 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 synomym for "modality; $!$ and only to avoid confusion between scalar modes and riythmic modes.

A suggestion of the difficulties confroning 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. ${ }^{1}$ However, later on in this same introduction, Beck himself classifies the chansons of the manuscript in terms of final and ambitus. ${ }^{2}$ Incidentally, accidentals are used a great deal in the Chansonnier Cange; often the seventh degree of the scale is raised by a written accidental to become a leading tone. 3 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

[^19]and minor scales?
Lowinsky observes that, from 1100 on, composers of Gregorian chants used the Ionian mode in place of the Iydian. 1 Reese calls the Marian antiphon "Alma redemptoris mater" an example of major mode and the Kyrie of Mass XI one of minor mode. ${ }^{2}$. Both of these works derive their modern tonalities from the consistent use of B-flat, the only accidental permitted in the notation of Cregorian 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$.

Pierre Aubry believed that the innovations of musica ficta (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\#, CH, and G\# came into being.

[^20]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. 1

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 Gennrich ${ }^{2}$ 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 maniscripts.
l $_{\text {Pierre Aubry, }}$ Trouvères et troubadours (Paris: Alcan, 1909),
${ }^{2}$ Friedrich cennrich, Troubadours, Trouvères, Minnesang and Meistergesang, translated by Rodney G. Dennis ("Anthology of Iusic," 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 trourons ces licences artistiques appelées musica falsa par les théoriciens. ${ }^{1}$

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 umistakably in the modern major scale. 3

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 polyphong or vernacular monophonic song. 4 His ideas about leading tones, insofar as they go beyond those accidentals found in the manuscripts, are purely his own. 5
$1_{\text {Beck, Chansonnier Cangé, }}$ II, 70.
${ }^{2}$ Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 216.
3J. A. Westrup, Medieval Song, ${ }^{n}$ New Oxford History of Music, II (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 229-231.

4Aubry, 179.
${ }^{5}$ Ibid., 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 vill be discussed later. Tro 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 Clayettel F-X-45 is found as a monophonic vork written in mensural notation and with the stanzas which are two and three in the Florence mamu-
$1_{\text {Paris, }}$ Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 13521.
script in the opposite order. ${ }^{I}$. 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 mamscript and a monophonic conductus in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$, 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 Faivel ${ }^{3}$, 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.

[^21]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 $B-f l a t$ often, and thus they sound much like modern major. They are $F-X-40,56,71$, and 72. Two of them, $F-X-71$ and 72, use B-flat throughout and no other accidentals. There are some E-flats in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-40$, and all its B's are flat. In $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-56$ 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 mamscript, 25 reach the final note from above and 39 reach it from below. In all but one of the 39 , the note inmediately 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 $\mathrm{F}-X$. 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 Ais. (Una nota supra la semper est canendum fa.) And, by a reversal of the principle, the idea of the subsemitonium took shape and aiteration was applied at the lower end of the hexachord as well, so that an $F$ between tro $G$ 's was sharped. ${ }^{1}$

In $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{x}-50$, FH 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, FEFG. 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-53$ 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.

[^22]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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-55$; the others will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

In $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-50$, FH 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 $\mathbf{G}$-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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-53$, 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 minch 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 mich I am afflicted, see the nails by which I am pierced.

The $\mathrm{F} \#$ in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-60$, on the wrord "ultione" (vengeance), is difficult to interpret because of what fóllows 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" imnediately following this cadence sounds chromaticif 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\#t'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 $F \neq$ serves as leading tone to $\mathrm{G}^{1}$


In $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-47$ the phrases end on the notes of the G-major triad: G, G, D, D, B, D, G, D, G. F $\mathrm{F}_{\pi}^{\mu}$ 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 off ${ }^{2}$ 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.
$I_{\text {Sister Mary Lourdes Mackey called attention to this passage }}$ in her Ph.D. dissertation "The Evolution of the Leading Tone in Western European Music to circa 1600 A. D. ${ }^{(1)}$ (Catholic University of America, 1962), 77-78.
${ }^{2}$ The 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

I Henri Potiron, $^{\text {L'Analyse modale du chant grégorien (Paris: }}$ Desclée et Cie., 1948), B4.

RReese, 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 gaudian ( $F-X-4 山$ ) 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. ${ }^{1}$


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.

[^23]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 rith 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 signatrere, 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 $A^{\prime}$ '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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-20$. 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 noighbor (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 unt,il 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. Kedieval music theory recognized the importance of the relationship betrreen the fifth of a scale and its tonic, but it did not recognize the major or minor third. Hence, the great inportance 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.

ca-the-dran pes-ti-. len - ti- as be- a - tus qui non se-qui - tur nec turbaint mentis proe- li-a be- a - tus qui se no-ve - rit
 do-no coe-les-tis gra-ti- ae neque ven-to su - per - bi-ae
 $\begin{array}{llll}\text { nec am-bit nec am-plec-ti-tur } & \text { in-stinc-tu va-naeglo-iri-ae } \\ \text { su-pra se rap -tus fu -e - rit } & \text { si-bi post- ponens om-ni-a }\end{array}$

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 floscuilum; 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. 1 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 whori 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.
$I_{\text {Psalm 1:1. Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, }}$ 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 riythm of these melodies is a different natter 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, ${ }^{1}$ 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
$\perp_{\text {Ednond de Coussemaker, Scriptorum de musica medil aevi ( } 4 \text {-mols.; } ; ~}^{\text {m }}$ Paris: A. Durand, 1864). Better editions of some of these treatises are found in Simon M. Cserba, Der Musiktraktat des Hieronymus Moravia 0.P. (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1935). A few are avallable in English; see Janet Knapp, "Two Thirteenth-century Treatises on Modal Rhythm and the Discant," Journal of kusic Theory, 6 (1962), 200215, and Iuther Dittmer, Anormmous IV (Brooklyn: Institute of Lediaeval Kusic, 1959).
rhythmic mode of a passage, music in syllabic style (such as the songs in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ ) cannot make use of its conventions. Hence the notation of the pieces in F-X offers practically no information (the exceptions rill be discussed later) about their rhytmn.

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, ${ }^{1}$ 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 somehor be reflected in the musical rhythm of the conductus, as it is in the motet. -In 1905 he published a transcription of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-51$ which begins like this: ${ }^{2}$

[^24]

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. ${ }^{1}$ The ribythm 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. Funge 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

[^25]are intended to fall on accented beats of the measure; but because both the first and third lines begin with trochees and end with iambs, his meter does not fit those lines until after the shift of stress between the second and third feet. (Aubry handled this problem by allorring his measures to be of unequal length.)


Riemann advanced his theory of "Vierhebigkeitn in 1897. For a long time it was regarded with extremeskepticism. Reese mentions it only in a footnote, saying that it has been "severely attacked." ${ }^{\text {I }}$ 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

[^26]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. I 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 manuscript ${ }^{2}$ and the Latin songs in fascicle XI of F seem to bear out Riemann's theory of symmetrical phrasing. Nme. Rokseth comments that no matter what the rhythnic 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 $\quad$ 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 ryythms for a pair of lines of which the first is seven syllables with rising ending, the second, six syllables rith falling ending= (This is one of the most popular patterns for

[^27]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

Mini est propositum / in taberna mori
-wIn the public-house to die / is ny resolution. "I)

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 appreciated.

Most recent transcriptions of monophonic conducti have followed either Breves' practice-see, for example, Anglès ${ }^{12}$ 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.

[^28]Indications in the Florence manuscript
The notation of the monophonic conducti in the tenth fascicle of the mamuscript Florence Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 does contain some indications of ryythm. These indications are of two types: broadened notes and modal grouping of ligatures in the melismatic sections. Further indications of ryythm for some of these compositions may be found in other manuscripts which transmit them in mensural notation; among them are the Roman de Fauvel ${ }^{1}$ and the Las Huelgas manuscript. ${ }^{2}$ The mamuscript 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 mamuscripts were written at about the same time. It 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

[^29]conducti in $W_{I} I$ and $F$. They are most frequently found as notae simplices and as the first element in the ascending binary ligature. It is this form which the author of the Discantus positio vilgaris 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: $\mathrm{I}^{2}$ 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 Discantus positio vulgaris in the long text preceding his transcriptions of Leonin's Magmus liber, the does not seem to give this special ligature consistent treatment. A comparison of the notation of WI with his transcriptions reveals that sometimes these unusual binary ligatures are transcribed $\underbrace{8!}$ and sometimes $\underbrace{\text {. d. A few instances are given }}$ below so that the reader may compare for himself.

[^30]Transcriptions to d

| WI <br> Folio and line | Word | Page in. Waite's <br> Transcription |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| XVII 1, 1 | descendit | 5 |
| XX, I | fuit | 28 |
| XXX, end of page | alleluia | 114. |
| 34, end of page | fuisti | 148 |
| 47,4 | nativitas | 197 |

Transcriptions to d. .

| 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-rritten 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 lover. These two notes are written in the manuscripts as an ordinary binaria and are transcribed as an eighth note and quarter note. ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1 \text { Ibid. }} 126$.

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 ligantore with the first note thickened must have originated . . . during the time of the third Notre-Dame generation . . . (1220-1250). $\mathrm{n}^{1}$

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, $\boldsymbol{N} \boldsymbol{d}$. 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 WI 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

[^31]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 appoggiature and presented them with his revised transcriptions. One of the examples he selected involves one of the umsual 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 WI on f . XXII', line 3, middle, "perfecte."

Ethel Thurston made extensive comparisons between mensurallynotated and modally-notated versions of a mumber 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. 1 When a note is thus extended

[^32]to perfection, the note which would othervise 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 tro possible interpretations of the sentence in the Discantus positio vulgaris. One is that it means that the ligature is to be interpreted long, breve-ma meaning opposite to that of the ordinary ligature. This interpretation has been adopted by Machabeyl 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 WI and $F$ are often lacking in the notation of the same Works in the mamscripts Nadrid, Bibl. Nac. 20486 and Wolfenbuttel 1206; there is disagreement even among the modally-notated manuscripts. 3

In a treatise published by Hans MHller in 1886 to which the name Dietricus is attached, the umsual 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:

[^33]> If on the contrary two puncta in a ligature have the shape, the second, one. In the same way, if a single note is written thus
> Reese places Dietricus at "ca. it is worth two longs. 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. 370'. 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; Wolfenbtttel 1206, 34'-36.) ${ }^{5}$ "Anima: iugi"

[^34]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 WI 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, carr, 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? Housman 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-45$ 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 ci 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. ${ }^{1}$

Husmann pointed out that his interpretation ran contrary to the faster note values indicated in the notation of the cauda in Wh. Iudrrig and subsequent writers have regarded WI 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 materialis from "Relegentur," the mode was probably deliberately changed, and hence this need not call WI'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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ 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
$I_{\text {Schrade, Speculum, }} 30$ (1955), 404-LI2.
${ }^{2}$ Ibid., 407.
notation used in the melismatic passages indicates the proper riythm for the corresponding syliabic section as well. 1 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 rhytmic 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 ADel 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, winich center on the rintmaic 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

[^35]passages in the monophonic conducti in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ is rather rare. One instance where this is found is in "Beata nobis gaudia" ( $F-X-44$ ), 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:
d. गग गा ग गम है।
(i.e., in third mode), but for the rest of the piece, after the opening melisma, he uses fifth mode. ${ }^{l}$ 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 adnits 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 $d \cdot d d$ and $d . d d$. He has chosen sixth mode for this melisma because it is often used 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

[^36]shorter notes for the long and short values of the basic pattern. In other words, Husmann here attaches more importance ot the meter of the text than to possible indications of rhythric 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ more frequently than any of the other modes. The following works in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ 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, ${ }^{1}$ but its application in syllabic sections of a conductus entails difficulties. Kost accentual Latin poetry moves in alternating accented and unaccented syllables forming pairstrochaic and iambic poetic feet-and the result of imposing the threenote pattern of third mode ( $d . d$ ) 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 fusmann took the ryytmic mode indicated by the ligature groupings of the opening melisma as the riythmic 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 fer traces of regular ligature

[^37]groupings in the melismatic portions of conducti in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$. No instances of melodicidentity 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 philolocy, 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 aspecte of the notation of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ 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. Nost often, it indicates the end of a line of poetry. It moy be represented in the transcription by a coma 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 _wich 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 trice--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, $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ 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 neriy-composed music of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, described in various treatises.) This creates a number of problems, among wich a chief one is the interpretation of the symbols $\|$ and $\downarrow$. In modal notation these are identified as the descending and ascending plica, respectively. ${ }^{2}$ In chant notation, the first of these symbols has been identified as a liquescent virga, 3 a liquescent punctum, 4

[^38]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 rhythrically, 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.
$1_{\text {Ibid., Flexa D } 4 .}$
2Hans Tischler, "Ligatures, Plicae, and Vertical Bars in Premensural Notation, " Revue Belge de Kusicologie, XI (1957), 84.
${ }^{3}$ Coussemaker, 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": op and ad. 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.)"l

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 conflusing. 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, $p$ is transcribed $f$. 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

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Irischler, Revue Belge de Musicologie, XI (1957), \(90 . ~_{\text {M }}\)
\({ }^{2}\) Ibid., 84 .
\(3^{3}\) Ibid., 88.
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to change the shape of the liquescent note; $\boldsymbol{\rho}$ becomes $\boldsymbol{p}$; becomes $\boldsymbol{\sim}$. 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. ${ }^{1}$ 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, of . ${ }^{2}$ This form is not found in F-X; instead these two are: up and ad. 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ ? To take a specific instance, can the symbols - 1 and 9 be interpreted as having the same meaning, or should they be transcribed in different 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 d anded (for
$I_{\text {Bannister }}$ text volume, XL.
${ }^{2}$ Ibid., Tavola VIII, Oriscus C 1.
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 od occurred the first time it is also found the second time, and not $d$. When 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 $p$ or $d$, not op or $\boldsymbol{d}$. 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, therever it occurs. The transcriptions below suggest ways of interpreting passages in wich plicas are found. Since what their tails seem to indicate is a portamento, it is difficult to assign it a note of specific dura= tion. 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.
if. 416, line 7 415', 6 4181, 3 423', $10 \quad$ 425', 2 436, 8


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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-57$, "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 pexfection (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. The 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 mithout affecting the underlying continuous modal rhythm. The manuscript London, British Kuseum 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 La $B$ 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 ray, and hence varied slightly the manner in which descent was made from $C$ to $G$, the note on the folloring 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. If 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 indisated 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 inportance is to be attached. ${ }^{1}$

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 folloving a ligature may not have this meaning, for it is sometimes merely a graphic convenience. ${ }^{2}$ Yet he also comments that in mam-

[^39]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 $W 2$-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 maruscript 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 discuption of the rhythm results.

Since the ryythm 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 dactylic hexameter line. Spondees (or trochees) and dactyls are freely mixed. For instance, all four fourteen-syllable lines have the same pattern, as follows:


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

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~ ~ i ~i ~ ~ ~ ' ~ í
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Tremens paveas de iudicis censura
$1_{\text {AH }} 20,97$.

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 vords.

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 tro 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 tro full perfections. The setting has many melodic repeats and has the over all form of $a b b^{\prime}$.

$$
F-X-57
$$




$\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-57$
0 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 lnow 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 morldly 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
${ }^{1}$ Cucurbita is the word in the Old Latin Bible for the plant which grewr 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 cod 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 iv, for which thou hast not labored, nor made it to gror, which in one nigit 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-62$, "veritas, aequitas." The composition is also found in IO B attributed to Philip the Chancellor.

Apparentiy only the text is by him; the melody has an interesting history of its orm. It is found in other mamscripts with this Latin text, and also with texts in both Provencal and French. Where it is found with the provengal text it is preceded by a rubric indicating that the melody is Mij lais markioln-mpesumably an old melody in the form of the lai to minich various poets mrote nev texts.

Luther Dittmer has recently made a careful analysis of this melody and the three texts with which it is found in thirteenthcentury sources: ${ }^{1}$ 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 ${ }^{n}$ Flours ne glaisn and indicates for the manuscript source of his version Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 12615. It was Jean Beck rho pointed out that this French text is not found actually set to music in either of the two mamuscript sources which

[^40]he and Aubry knew for it. ${ }^{1}$. 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;" "cent," and "Veritas."

Dittmer adds only a fragnentary source to those known to Beck, for of the various fragnents making up the "central source" of his title (i.e., mamscript fragnents in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and a handwritten copy of some manuscript fragnents-now lost, but once owned by Johannes Wolf--preserved in Ludwig's Nachlass at the University Library in Cettingen) the particular leaf which mould 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 mamscript but in Ludvig's copy. However, this fragment apparently did contain the French text set to music.

Although Spanke's research into relationships between medieval Iatin and Provencal 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

[^41]the melody "li lais markiol" was composed. I In 1929, Spanke said that he believed that Philip's poem was superior to its French and Provengal counterparts in content, choice of vords, 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, "If lais marlciol" was originally used for singing a narrative of the Tristansage, its name referring to King Mark.

The melody is called nspielmannsmatssig"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 mitty, 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 accomodate 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

[^42]first part of the melody, Dittmer's transcription has the rhythm
$$
\text { ddddd/d d } 1 d=1
$$

Ludwig's transcription of this phrase is ${ }^{1}$

$$
d \operatorname{ddd} d d d d \|
$$

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:


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.

[^43]In his discussion of this piece in the Adler Handbuch, Iudwig noted that section XIII of the composition had the same melody as section $I$, but that there was an important difforence in the rhytrm. Section I was in the fifth rhythmic mode,

$$
\begin{aligned}
& d . d . \mid d .=1 d, \quad \text { d. } \mid \text { d. }-\mid \\
& \text { ve - ri - tas ae - qui - tas }
\end{aligned}
$$

while section XIII was in first mode:


Iudrrig sair this as an artictic use of riythm, calling it "sehr rirkungs.roll gesteigert." Recently, Husmann has challenged this reading and this judgement on the basis that medieval composers use augmentation rather than dimimution for climactic effects. 1 Fusmann believes that the copyist of Fauv exred, and that both sections should be in first mode. In another article Husmann backs up this opinion rrith 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 Iudirig and Dittner identify Faur as the source

[^44]of the rhythm they present; Iudwig says that the piece is written "in 'mensuraler' den Rhythmus klar wiedergebender Notation."1

Perhaps enough has been said to establish the point that the mensural notation of Fauv is not alrays 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 thirteenthcentury composers related musical rythin 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 comnentary by Higini Angles in 1931. 2 There are many compositions from the liotre Dame repertory in it, and among them are several monophonic conducti. The notation of the Las Huelgas mamuscript (comonly 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

[^45]being aware of the riythmic significance of the never 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 fu are often much more ornamented than the versions given in F. Except for the tro rorks mentioned above which he was able to give-on the basis of their versions in F -in midal riythm, none of the conducti in fu could be made to fit into regular measures. Anglès observes that the scribe of Fu gives the monophonic conducti only fragmentarily (he does not, for instance, mrite 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 mould not recognize the difference between the accentual verse of conductus texts and the Biblical prose of an antiphon. Surely, too, he kner Latin $I_{\text {Ibid., I }}$ I 350-351. ${ }^{2}$ Ibid., 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. Fhat sort of "free riythm" was used in the performance of Gregorian chant at Las Fuelgas 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 mich 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 minch the notation is fairly uncomplicated.

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

167 Si vocatus es stanza 3 of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-10$

1671 In hoc ortus $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-5$.
1671-157 audi pontus
157 Bomum est confidere $F-X-37$
157. Vae mundo F-X-27

158 Veni redemptor
Fontis in rivalum $\quad \mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-6$
libid., II, xvi.

1581-161 Homo natus $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-1$
161 Thesu clementissime
161' Ergo vide stanza 4 of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-10$
The rorks listed above are completely contained on two double leaves, mmbered and folded as in the diagram belor.


It is noteworthy, but probably not significant, that stanzas three and four of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-10$, 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 fur clearly thought of them as separate works. It is only on these tro double leaves that monophonic conducti from $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ are found in Hu .

The conventions of mensural notation may be stated briefly as follows. ${ }^{1}$ A normal binary ligature looks like this: if , and has the value of breve, long. The appearance of the first note can be modified by the addition or removal of a tail. if This makes the ligature "writhout propriety" and changes the value of the first note to long: The ligature can be given nopposite proprietyn through the addition of an ascending tail: in . 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: f . Semibreves may also be indicated by diamond-shaped notes • , and the scribe of Las Huelgas uses this form umsually often. If a

[^46]ligature has more than two notes, all notes in betrreen the first and last are breves (unless the ligature has opposite propriety, in which case the second note nill be a semibreve like the first.)

The long plica and breve plica, as described by Anomymous VII, ${ }^{1}$ 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. ${ }^{2}$ Elsemhere, the tro ligatures "/ and "\% are both transcribed لd. 3

The characteristic patterns of the rhythmic modes are produced in this early mensural notation through the application of the folloring principles: 4

Long (L) followed by breve ( $B$ ) is imperfect:
L followed by $L$ is perfect: $q q=d . d$.
${ }^{1}$ Coussemaker, Scriptorum, I, 380.
${ }^{2}$ Anglès, Huelgas, facsimile f. 1121 brace 6 ("proprium"), transcription $p$. 223.

3Ibid., facsimile f. 112 brace 6 ("Salvatorem"), transcription p. $\overline{2 \Sigma 2}$ facsimile f. 112 brace 5 ( ${ }^{(n o m i m m a}$ ), transcription $p$. 222.

4 Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music, 4h.

L followed by two B's is perfect, but the second of the 2 B 's is altered: q$^{+0}=d . d d$
I followed by three B's is perfect: $9^{*=0}=d . d d d$ The conductus "Vae mundo a scandalis" is found in F , Hu , and In. Although fin gives only its first stanza, a comparison of the notation of the three manuscripts clarifies some aspects of the rhytrm of this piece. For the purposes of the discussion to follor, the notation of the three manuscripts has been copied mith corresponding notes or ligatures in vertical colurans. Each has been given a number for reference.


1. $F$ and $\begin{aligned} & \text { in } \\ & \text { agree. } H a \text { indicates } I S \text { (semibreve) } S ~ L . ~\end{aligned}$
2. All three have the same ligature. Hu's means B B L.
3. F and WI have the seme ligature; Hu indicates S S B L. 4. WI spaces the notes differently from $F$; Fu gives LSS. 5. F has a plica which the other tro lack. Does this mean that its rhythm is basically different here, or that the plica does not require extra tine? Fu's riytrm is L B B.
4. \& 7. All three agree; Hu gives I L.
5. WD and $F$ agree. fu's version is more florid. The first tro notes of Hu's ligature are slightly rhomboid, and are possibly meant to be read as semibreves: S S B B L mith plica. 9. Hu continues to be more florid: B B. The rhythm fu gives for its version of the line is transcribed below:


The fact that there are no new syilables betreen "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 didi in fact choose to group them 133 4. $F$ and $\mathbb{M}$ use modal notation for their polyphonic rorks, and it is precisely the regular grouping of notes into ligatures that provides the graphic expression of the conventions of modal notation. The grouping $133 \ldots$ indicates third mode, according to the conventions of modal notation; if the ligatures of the beginning of this line in $F$ and $F I$ are interpreted in the third rhythmic mode, the following rhytm results:


This is gratifyingly close to the riythm 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 WI ) and mensurally-notated (in Hu ) passages must be linited to melismas in which $F$ or WI shows ligatures of regular léngth; 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 $n_{m o d a l ~ r y y t h m, ~}^{n}$ 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 mill be discussed later. A study of riythm in the polyphonic conducti of Hu reveals that the syllabic portions of some move in alternating longs and brevesin 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 munda" given in WI, $F$, and Hu follows.

10. Notes like this need no further comment.
11. $F:$ double note, ascending plica. M1: ascending binary
ligature with first note broadened. Tu: normal binary ligature:
$B L$. Hence $F$ and $W \mathcal{L}$ agree in attributing length to the first note while Mu gives it to the second. F and F : $d$ tor $d d$, mu dd.
13. HL: SS L.
15. Hu: SS SL.
16. Hus substitutes a descending plica for the second clevis:

BL I plica.
17. Au ornaments the final note of the phrase: B L.


Eu:
d.
dd
d.
nd d. TiT dd do dd

19. Hu: S S L. Groups like this need no further comment. 21. FII remains on $G$; the others go to F. Hu has a plica. 22. in and $H u$ elongate the $F$; the Florence manuscript does not.
24. F and Hu are more florid than M . 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. 价 arranges 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 rysthmic value? WI is here more omate than the others, since it repeats the last $G$ of 29 with 30 and reaches $A$ oilly on the first note of 31. 32. Hu's rhythm is B B. The second breve must be altered because of the long which folloris, and the rhythm is thus the same as it would have been had Hu's copyist written fo.


38. Wn: note plus plica; the others have only the plica. 39. W: clivis; $F$; note plus plica; Hu: descending plica. LI. 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 tro Sis; thus 42 becomes an imperfect long. The prevailing meter in the poem is ismbic, but on "iugor there is a shift of stress, and Hu
accentuates the word correctly, as it would normaliy be spoken.
47. Hu gives L S S L.
48. Hu is less ornate than $F$ and wh.

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

$I_{\text {Ru has }}$ "redditur"; "teritur" is from $F$.
(Iranslation of text: Woe to the rorld because of scandals. Woe to us as headless people whose liberty is crushed. The eye of Rome sleeps vhen 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 tro lines. When Angles transcribed F's version of this piece in modal rhythm ${ }^{1}$ he gave the two lines the same riythm. This certainly makes good sense, and indicates that perhaps Anglès' approach to these monophonic works in Hu is the best one after all. One nagging source of doubt remains: in all three mamscripts there are different riythmic indications for lines two and six. They are as follows:

Ilgature 17 (corresponds to) ligature 43

以1 -
F d
Hu
Ligature 15
Hu

$1_{\text {Anglès, }}$ Huelgas, $I, 351$.

The poem "Vae mundo" is cited in the treatise Ars Rithmica by John of Garland. I John distinguishes between quintitative and risthmic poetry; rhythmic poetry is characterized by lines of the same number of syllables which ryyme and in which long and short syllables are not arranged in the patterns of quantitative poetic feet. 2 According to John, the endings of some lines of ryythmic 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. ${ }^{3}$

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

[^47]He emends "Ve mundo" to "Ve, ve mundoll and offers it as an example of simple iambic rhythm of eight syllables:

Ve, ve mundo a scandalis
Ve nobis ut acephalis
Simple iambic riythm, 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:

0 virgo, perge previa,
nos transfer ad celestia
que mundum emundasti 3
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 analyring "Ve mundon gave an interpretation of the endings of its first tro lines which is completely different from the musical rhyth chosen by the composer. John's interpretation might be represented thus:


The composer's rhythm is:

$I_{\text {In the }}$ quotations from John of Garland, the medieval Iatin orthography used by Mari is preserved. Elsewhere in this dissertation Classical Latin spelling, as is found in Analecta Hymica, is used.

2rami, 410.
3Ibid., 426. 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 a 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 mamuscript Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, n. acq. fr. 24541 (anc. soissons, grand séminaire).

Chailley's edition is very useful, for he has amranged 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 mamscript. 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 rhythn indicated for various pieces in the Soissons mamuscript and for the same morks in other measured manuscripts reveals that there was not, apparentiy, a well-fixed rhythric tradition for the rorks of gautier as a rhole, and especially not for the melodies which Geutier borrored from the vernacular

IJacques Chailley, Les Chansons a la Vierge de Gautier de coinci ( Y Publications de la société Fransaise de liusicologie, " Première série: Tome XV; Paris: Heugel et Cie., 1959).

2Ibid., 84.
repertoire. ${ }^{I}$ Nevertheless the rhythms indicated conform in general to the rlytlmic 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. 2 This is significant because in mode five (rinich 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: $\Lambda$ line in first mode with feminine ending mill usually end with two longs (as does "o mens cogita, "
 rupted by measures of first or second mode.

Grutier seems to have made little use of melodies from $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$. One of his rorks bears a strong resemblance to "Beata viscera" ( $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-14$ ), but there are mary melodic variants. $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-75$, although found in the Soissons manuscript with a French text, is not included in Chailley's edition because the text is not by deutier. (The composition has been published by Husmam 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 cautier's works is the same as that of $F-X-58$. Apparently neither Chailley nor Spanke wras 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 mamscript; the $F$ version is below wịith its own text.

[^48]

Still other versions of the melody may be found presented with admirable clarity and precision in chailley's edition.
(Iranslation of the Latin text: 0 Nary, 0 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 riythm may be seen in this piece. It begins in fifth mode, rith each syllable receiving a full perfection. The perfection is undivided, or it may be divided intis $2(d d), 3(d d d)$, 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 mabers 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 mubers of measures: 4 plus 8,4 plus 8, 6 plus 3, 4, 7. This irregularity in the length of the musical phrases is notemorting.

The Soissons manuscript uses a single breve for an isolated. short syilable. This notational device:is not found in the notation of the monophonic conducti of the Las Huelgas mamuscript. In general, however, Chailley's transcription of the Soissons version of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-58$ shows strong similarity to the transcription of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-27$ (from Hu) presented eariier, 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. 保thout the Soissons version of this melody one might easily have chosen the following rhythm for the first line:

although it is awkuard 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 mamuscript 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 riythmic values to text accent may be misdirected.

Husmann tries to distinguish betreen pieces in fifth mode and pieces thich 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. I 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. fusmann found no

[^49]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 riythm of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-58$ and some other pieces. The first two lines are set to the same music and end the same way ( $\sim \sim \sim$ ), but the accentuation within the first line is irregular, and the meter is not really established until the second line. ${ }^{1}$ Consequently, a musical riythm which is independent of word rivthm is more suitable for this text. There is no mis-accentuation of words; one sings


The usefulness of the Soissons reading of the melady 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 wher he wished. Since he did so only in a ferr 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

[^50]in the following examples, there is no doubt concerning the composer's intent.


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

When unambiguous indications of ryythm are not present in the manuscript, the ravthmic mode of a piece must be determined in other Hays. It was shown long ago by Ludwigl 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 mamscripts like fu and parts of Fanv where no syllable is set to a single breve, the question of mhether 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-58$.

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

[^51]notation the normal binary ligature has the value breve, long, Chailley usually transcribes it $d d$ when it fills a complete perfection. At the end of the first and next-to-last phrases, it is
 Iigatures are fitted into a single perfection, Chailley uses the ribythm dd. Thus he divides the measure into both 2 plus $I$ 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-78$ attempts to reproduce the rhythmic style of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-58$, although the rhythmi $d$ ' has been used where Chailley prefers $d d z$.












$\pm$


$$
T-X-78
$$

1. 0 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 morld marvel at his marvelous firminess, 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 flover 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 hinself 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 rejojce at such a great prelate; nay more let the islands rejoice, phose glory through him continues unbroken. In humility let the clergy bor their heads to the orders of so great a doctor. Let them offer their hands and minds to his role, realizing that they are fortunate to have such a great prelate.

## CHAPTER IV

＂DOGMATM SALSAS SPECIES＂（ 1 － $\mathrm{X}-55$ ）：
A SPECIAL STUDY OF RHYTHmIC AND MODAL PROBLEMS

The text of＂Dognatum falsas species＂is given in Analecta Eymnica（21，149），in three four－line stanzas．Each of these stanzas is composed of an eight－syllable line with rising ending（ $\dot{\sim} \sim \dot{\sim}$ ） followed by a seven－syllable line with falling ending（ $\dot{\sim} \sim$ ），and a repetition of these trio line patterns．The rhyme scheme is $a b c b$ cbab eff．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
dds did dId' did did dld.|d?

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 $F$ 年 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 io．On the next to last syllable of line 6 there are four notes，and on the：
corresponding syliable of line 10 there are only three, so the endings agree.


The technique of giving a melody a new rhytho on its repotition 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 Nontpellier mamuscript. Bukofzer found instances of it in the polyphonic conductus as well. 1 However, giving line 10 the riythmic 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 syjlable. He based his remarks on several sources quoted by Thurot. One of them is a twelfth-century treatise entitled cpusculum de accentibus found beginning on $f .42$ of Hontpellier $K S$ 322. This mamscript was used by the monks of citeaux. It offers the following instruction

[^52]for the pronunciation of certain unusual words:
All words which end in $b$ ghy $x$ are accented on the last syllable, as Beelzebub, Oreb, Faleg, Magog, Joseph, Booz. And all foreign werds which are not declined are accented on the last syllable, as Cainn, Abel. . . . And all foreign vords which are not fully declined, as Adam, Ade, Abraham, Abrahe, Ihesus, Thesu. 1

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 riythm 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-n) in an otherwise first-mode line. (Iere, as almost everywhere else, the mamuscript leaves very little doubt about mat notes go with the various syllables.)

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

[^53]melodic idea formed by five notes which is repeated inmediately one step higher.


The words which these notes set are as follows (normal accents are ~~ ~~~~~~~
marised): "tui status excidium." If line 9 is set to the riythmic pattern oeing used for the other eight-syllable lines, the notes of the sequence (indicated by the numbers given them in the previous musical example) will receive the rinthmic values indicated below.


Notes 3, 4, and 5 of the sequence fall on a long in its first presentation and on a short in its rapetition. In the mamscript the ligature used for notes 3, 4, and 5 has its first note enlarged both times, and this probably indicates somelengthening of the first note, or perhaps of the whole ligature. If the arbitrary decision is made that here it indicates that the complete ligature should occury an entire perfection, and that the first of the three notes shouid be longer than the others, the rinythm $d J$ is obtained. If this is inserted into the regular pattern chosen for the eight-syllable line, the following rhythm results:

$$
|d| d|d \sqrt{\mid}| d|d| d \mid
$$

The note group

and its variants are frequently used to end lines.


In the eight-syllable lines (wich end $\sim \sim \sim$ ), 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 $\sim \sim$, the next-to-last syllable is almoys set to more than one note. The last syllable of lines 7 and 11 is set to tro notes; other than these there is no syllable given a group of notes yane than once. The next-to-last syllables of the odd-mumbered 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 steprise, and the appropriate rhythm for them seems to be F. . In line 7 a nota simplex is followed by a plica beginning on the same pitch. Hischler suggests the transcription $\prod_{3}^{7}$ for this figure when it replaces a breve; however, the transcription $\sqrt{7}$ 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 originalf, beginning a new line vinen 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 arrangenent 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-mthose in changing key signatures as well as those written before the notebefore 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 umsual. That the angular sign used in modern music to indicate a natural, in thir-teenth-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:

[^54]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 this if, as is evident in the following example: ${ }^{1}$


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 tmo signs $b$ and $\emptyset$, which with respect to $b$ fahmi have always indicated a tone and a semitone, indicate this in all other [instances], so that where there is a semitone, through 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 mritten and in writing be preserved for later times. ${ }^{2}$
$I_{\text {Edmond }}$ de Coussemaker, Scriptorum de musica medii aevi ( 4 vols.; Paris: A. Durand, 1864), I, 344 b.

Et scire debemus quod quando volumus quintum facere super 4. mi. oportet facere falsam masicam in $F$ fa ut gravi, et dicere mi, et ponere signom quadratum sic formatum 4 , sicut patet in sequenti exemplo.
${ }^{2}$ Johannes Kolf, "Die Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheo, ${ }^{n}$ Sarmelbande der Internationalen husikgesellschaft, I (1899-1900), 88-89.

Moderni vero propter descriptionem consonantiarum et stantipedum et ductiarum ailiud addiderment, quod falsam musicam vocaverunt. Qui illa duo signa scilicet $b$ et , quae in b fa 4 mi tomm et semitomm designabant, in omnibus aliis faciunt hoc designare, ita quod ubi est semitoms, per 4 ad tonum armpliant, ut bona concordantia vel consonantia fiat. Et similiter, ubi tonus inveniebatur, illud per ad semitomm 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 fourvoiced 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 coment to the effect that the natural sign meant either a modern sharp or, if it followed a previous flat, a modern natural sign. 1 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 14-15 (f. 261), 305 (f. 351), 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 morks in the Montpellier manscript except numbers 14-15 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, $146,148,149.3$ Mestrup says simply, in speaking of troubadour and trouvère music, that "the sharp (represented by the sign now reserved for the natural) is used vherever a note has to be 'raised a senitone (e.g. B-flat to B-natural, or C to C-sharp). ${ }^{14}$

[^55]The F-sharp in the key signature of the first three lines in the mamscript of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-55$ 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 "veritaten), is not clear. The signum quadratum is mritten too low; it looks iike 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 somson 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 reep at the ruin of your state. Fire in the tails of the foxes has burned your harvest. 1

IThe unknown author of this poom 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 rell.


In the preceding transcription, although the eight-syllable lines ended in accentual iambic feet, they vere not set in strictly iambic rhythm. The rhythm for the beginnings of these lines was modified so that the first syilable vould 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: dógmatum, vílpes, quárum, tưi, ignis.

In some poems, accentual iambic meter is fairly contimous. When this happens, there are two possible choices of rhytmnic mode:
d|dd|dd|d d|d and dd |dd idd |dd

The first of these has the advantage of putting the final syilable 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 eariy thirteenth century. occasionally, in some motets, a careful avoiding of the upbeat beginning can be observed. Nevertheless, various transcribers have used the first rhythmic node with upbeat in their transcriptions of monophonic compositions. For example, Husmann's transcription of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-36$ begins

$I_{\text {Heinrich Husmann, }}$ "Las System der modalen Rhythmik," Archiv fur Musilkrissenschaft, XI (1954), 23.

Yvome 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 raktweichsel is frequently found in the inst and second feet, one of two alternate beginnings may be used. Each oi them has been observed in the motet, and they can avoid the mis-accentuation of ponds:
dd and d. dd

I Yvonne Rokseth, manses cléricales du XIII siècle,n Mélanges 1945, III ("Publications de la Faculté de Lettres de I'Université de Strasbourg," Fascicule 106; Paris: Société d'Edition: Les Belles Lettres, 1947), 120-126.

## CHAPTER V

THE USE OF IHSTRU:IENTS

There is igeneral 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 mamuscripts 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 Provengal songs of Bernart de Ventadorn prepared by Egon Wellesz provides each melody mith an instrumental introduction and accompaniment. ${ }^{1}$ Unfortunately Wellesz does not cite the authorities for this practice; he says simply,

Since the troubadours used to accompary 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 Fugo von Montfort. Runge cited a passage from Grocheo as proof of instrumental postludes for monophonic songs, and he reasoned

IMusic of the Troubadours, edited by Egon Wellesz (New York: oxford University Press, 1947).

2Ibid., iii.
that there might have been instrumental preludes and interiudes as well. This is certainiy a plausible interpretation of the sometimes rather long melismatic passages found in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ as well as in the songs Runge studied. Runge then comented 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. 1

There is a graceful poem by the Norman poet Henri dinndeli on the death of Philip the Chancellor. ${ }^{2}$ It is not nearly so abundant in biographical information as one would rish 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, speabing to "Biaus sire Deus"]
Ta chancon chanta bien et lut
pant com il pot, tant com ii lut A ta viele viela . . . (Iines 119-121)

Ludwig knev these passages and comented that in them "vielen and "jugleres" must have been used through poetic license. They

[^56]could not possibly be interpreted as evidence of the use of stringed instruments in the Iiturgy.I

The relationship of Philip's poems to liturgy is temuous 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 vomen-were often poor vagabonds Fho sang songs that others mrote, did tricks with trained bears or such other collaborators, animal or homan, 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.

[^57]Likewise in the course of tine, 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 risdom, 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 cod; 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. ${ }^{n 1}$

So it is not impossible that Philip played and sang his orn songs. Who composed the music for them, and under what conditions they were performed, remain unanswered questions.
$I_{\text {Cronica }}$ fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum, edited by 0. Holder-Egger (nimmenta Germaniae Eistorica, 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 yalens homo in scientia et in cantu et in litteratura et in honesta et sancta vita. Cun autem quadam vice quidam ioculator sonasset viellam coram ipso et peteret aliquid sibi ab eo dari, respondit sibi: "Si vis comedere, tibi dabo anore Dei libenter, pro tuo autem cantu et viella nichil darem, quia ita bene scio cantare et viellam sonare sicut tu."

## CHAPTER VI

## MUSICAL FORR AND STYLE

The metars 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 mong 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, strictiy strophic poems may be set to music in sequence form ( $a, b, b, c c$, . .). 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-cios") of the first melodic unit. This melodic unit usualiy 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 norks 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 al):

11, 14, 20, $26,37,54,55,60,76,81$
In these works there is an introduction followed by (a a) or (a al) repetition:
$44,68,73$
In some works, repetition is more extensively used. Among these the two Iatin 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 mich at least a single phrase within the piece is repeated rather exactly; undoubtedly nore careful analysis would reveal many more. Among them are
$4,9,10,27,30,31,34,36,40,43,45,52,52,53,54$
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 "melisman 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 63 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-maccording to the definition given abovewithin phrases. In 22 rorks such inner melismas are found.

How important to the basic melodic structure of the piece are these melismas? A very thorough stylistic anolysis 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 folloring pages two pieces have been copied fron $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ and one other manuscript. Where the manuscripts give exactly the same reading, the notes have not been copied.

$$
\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-25 \text { and } \mathrm{kI}, \mathrm{f}: 189
$$

pI

de-ci-sis panniculis nostris of - fert 0 -culis ihesus


quando dis- cu-ti-at speluncam la-tro-num quam tre-men-dus




Only the end of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-25$ is found in KI , but there are some suggestive variants in the reading 1 gives for this work. one notices first the much more florid ending in $W 1$, though $F$ is slightly more ornate on non in the third line of the copy. There are not many rixthnic indications in this piece; on scissuram and momilis the manuscripts agree, on latronum and ultionum they do not.
"Bomon est confidere" ( $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{x}-37$ ) 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 vorks in variation form by the English virginalists, in which the melody of each variation is more florid but the underlying dance rinthm contimes in the same tempo and the same basic pattern. If a familiar melody is ornamented, generally the performer rill 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 fu 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 sair themselves as adding to the rork horizontally (making it last longer) as well as vertically (in melody), then they may not have done so, preferming to relish and linger over their interpolations, and performing them in what Anglès calls "free riytim. 1

It may be that there is no way of knowing which of these practices was actually used; perhaps they both mere. : Although the raytimic modes appear to have dominated polyphonic music at the beginning of the thirteenth century, they day 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 yonteverdi's skill as a composer of both dramatic recitative and dance song to see proof of this. And although Dowland often mrote in dance meters, rhen he was setting an irregularly-accented English text it was word accent and almost never meter that he thought of first.

[^58]
## CHAPTER VII

## INTRODUCTION TO THE TRAHSCRIPTIONS

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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-9$, "Divina providentia." Dreves and Delisle agree that the poem is in praise of William of Longchanp, Bishop of Ely, and regent of England during the third crusade. 1 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 Tijlliam chancellor of the kingdom and Bishop of Ely. Milliam became one of the tro justiciars (regents) of England in Harch, 1190.2 In 1192 he was depoged from the chancellorship and allowed to leave
$I_{\text {Analecta Hymnica }} 21,174$.
${ }^{2}$ Austin Lane Poiole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta ("rhe 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. 1 Nevertheless he remained indispensable to Richard; in 1193 he joined him in Normandy and arranged for Richard's ransom and release. 2 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, Killiam of Iongchamp is also known as a patron of the arts. Nigel Fireker's satire, Speculum Stultorum, is dedicated to him, as is another work by Nigel, Contra curiales et officiales clericos. 3 Williiam's praises are sung in the poem, ${ }^{n}$ Nigelli versus ad dominum Gulielmum Eliensem" the verse is metrical, not accentual. 4

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

I Austin Iane Poole, 359.
2Kate Norgate, mpilliam of Longchamp," The Dictionary of National Biography, XII (London: Cxiord University Press, 1893; reprinted 1949), In3.

3John H. Mozley and Robert R. Raymo (eds.), Nigel de Longchamps Speculum Stultorum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 19601. WIIIIam is named in the first line:

Suscipe pauca tibi veteris, Willelme, Nigelii Scripta, minus sapido muper arata stylo.
Thomas Firight (ed.), The Anglo-Latin Satirical poets and Epigramatists of the Twelfth Centiury (2 vols.; "Rerum Britannicarum medir aevi scriptores," 59 [Rolls Series]; Iondon: Lonqman \& Co., 1872). Contra curiales is found in Vol. I, 148-230.

4Ibid., I, 23I-239.
would be amusing if they were not so malicious; when he makes the physical description of his characters customary in biography, Milliam'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 betreen 1189 and 1192. The references in it to Elias and Elisacus appear to be a play on words hinting at "Ely."

The death of Peter the cantor in 1197 is commemorated in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-33$, "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. 3 Jacques de vitry describes the great appeal Peter's semmons had, and refers to him as Mucerna ardens et Iucens. ${ }^{4} 4$

[^59]This figure of speech is strikingly similar to some used in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-33$ : "Radiabat Parisius / Iulgens Cantoris radius," "Dum lucet non sub modio / sublatus sol de medio."

Some of the references to specific persons and events in poems in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ are less obvious than others, and require study for their identification. This is the case with $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-48$, which Norbert Fickermann has showm 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. I 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 Fhilip'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

[^60]$F-X-49$ 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 umade 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). Then Henry died, leaving as his heir a three-year-old son, the election of his successor created a turmoil rhich 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 inmediately aftermards. ${ }^{2}$ The Pope protested in vain, and had to start assembling resources to support his side in the conflict. During these preparations, in Jamary of
$\mathrm{I}_{\text {Ferdinand Schevill, }}$ Kedieval and Renaissance Florence, Vol. I: Medieval Florence ( H Harper Torchbooks, H 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 Prablishing Co.), 96.
${ }^{2}$ Injid. 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-49$; 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, swng 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 mere awarded later in the ritual. ${ }^{2}$

[^61]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 mamscripts 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 rere 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, 4 and 74 were included. In 4 the ryth of Hercules is retold in accentual verse. There are allusions to many different exploits of the hero; it has not been possible to determine vinat version of the nyth was used by the poet. Each stanza of the poem is follorred 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. 1 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.

[^62]The music for both these pieces is noterrorthy. In $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-4 \mathrm{a}$ melodic sequence begins on the words "sed tamen defloruitn 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 mach shorter one, is found on the rords, "vincitur et vincitur, $n$ in the third stanza.

Although the three stanzas of $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-74$ dinfer 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 tro and three. The only other instance of melodic similarity anong the stanzas is found on the rords "tot munera" (stanza tro) and "frons nivea" (stanza three).

In a pair of songs, $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-22$ and 23 , a comnon practice in the composition of medieval Latin poetry can be observed. The second of the tro begins with a familiar Biblical phrase, "Qui seminant in lacrimis. ${ }^{I}$ A mmber of other poems in $F-X$ begin with faniliar lines like this one; among them are "Quomodo cantabimus, $\mathrm{n}^{2}$ and "Bomm est confidere; 13 Sometimes a Biblical phrase requires slight rearrangement to fit a meter, as in uhomo natus ad laborem" (from nHomo nascitur ad laborem"4), "Beatus qui non abiit" (from "Beatus

[^63]vir qui non abiit"l), and "Christus assistens pontifex" (from "Christus autem assistens pontifex."2) The song, wai 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 yord "mumus" (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 mellismas fall on the words "cur" and "qui"; the dramatic rord 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. $\mathrm{P}-\mathrm{X}-21$ 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-78$, 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 $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-48$.

Also serious are $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-24$, 39, and 72. The first tro of these are moralistic in tone, the last reflective and devotional. In 24 ,

1 Ps. $1: 1$.
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 vithin phrases: on the word "vilissimam" (a sixth) and between "per" and Mbona" (an octave).

In 72 the first two lines of masic are similar (again the introductory melisma must be set aside to make the similarity clear). The riythm 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 Kuseum, Arundel 384.2 A comparison of the two poems suggests that they are perhaps tro 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

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]
fides est non ratio cause naturalis.

[^64]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. ${ }^{1}$ The melody of the French song is preserved in the Chansonnier Cange; ${ }^{2}$ 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. 3 He might well have written poems honoring two Franciscans and the leading reformer of an earlier generation.

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

[^65]poem. ${ }^{1}$ 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 Nregalis 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 rere 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 ryytim of works in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$. There are two different types of rhythm associated vith works from this fascicle in other sources, yet some pieces in the fascicle do not seem compatible with either.

The following works from $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ are found in other sources riythmically notated in such a way that in general accented syllables

ILéopold Delisle, "Discours," Anmaire-Bulletin de la Société de I'Histoire de France, XXII (1885), I34.
receive two beats and unaccented, one. The familiar patterns of riythmic modes one and two result.

57, 62, 75, 81, 82
Some works are found ryythmically notated in other sources in such a ray that accented and unaccented syllables have the same duration, for the mest part.

27, 45, 58
Rhythmic settings of one or the other of these types often fit pieces in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ 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 somerhat 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 rorks into measures without creating absurdly complex rhythnic 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 rihich follow are of the first two types described above. Indications of rhytim present in the mamascriptbroadened notes and ligature groupings-are reflected in the note values, although horr 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 rkythmic 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 trielfth- and thirteenth-century monophory-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 mord 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 TRAMSGRIPTIONS






F-X-1
1a. 0 man borm to labor, be willing to consider your state, your 10t. Spare me the irritation of your complaints. Restrain therefore your lamentations. Yretched man, do not reproach your soul because you have sinned miserably, because you suffer.

2b. (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 "y maker; ${ }^{1}$ nothing is done freely in the prison of the flesh. The body brings forth contamination and vice.

2a. (The body:) You lead into the absss of sin, you who carry out rashly mork of the guide conmitted 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 ilatter your senses with illicit concessions.

3a. (The body:) Now give up your name of manima, $n$ because you do not really animate when you destroy me with the rork of death.

3b. (The soul:) I am forced to obey you and to camry on, whether you decide upon a good work or you stumble array from the paths of righteousness.

Dreves prints stanzas 2 a and 3 a , and Zb and 3 b as a single pair because of the content of these stanzas. The musical form indicated in the manuscript suggests the division given above.
$I_{\text {According to one }} l_{\text {egend, }}$ after the flood Prometheus took clay and salive and formed man. Hence he is known as a sculptor and as a areator.



$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ni- hil po-nis me-di = un } \\
& \text { Gi- e -zi par-ti- pi - ces }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { si-que qua- si fa-ve-am } \\
& \text { in pro -mis- sis Pro-the- } i
\end{aligned}
$$


$\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-3$

1a. (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 rins 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 tho 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 alriags to use the simple truth. I grieve to give anyone honor beyond his merits; nor do I annoint heads mith 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 mith 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 poverful. 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 rish 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
42. (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 an wary of the name of flatterer and $I$ have always turned aside from his deceitful artifice.

4b. (Aristippus:) Therefore, live with moderation and be content with a little. Cynicus does not need angthing. If you mish to be a

IGiezi was the servant of Eliseus, the prophet. In IV Kings 5: 20-27 there is an account of how Giezi ran after Nazman and asked him for gifts for the prophet. He kept the gifts for himself and lied to Eliseus about having gone after Naman. He was punished for this by being afflicted mith leprosy.
${ }^{2}$ Proteus could truthfully predict the future. He was also able to change himself into many forms.

3orpheus was a musician who charmed even the gods of the undervorld with his singing. He was killed by a group of Ihracian 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 drellings of the powerful.


vel fu -ga Nes-so du - pli -ci non pro -fu -it
hor-ti cus-to-dem di - vi - tis im -pli -cu -it



u - ter -que for- ma tri-pli- ci non ter-ru - it
a - pro le - o - ne do-ri -tis e-ni -tu - it

quem blan-dis car - ce -rat pu - el -la vin- cu -lis



$$
F-X-4
$$

1a. At one time the labor of Hercules, crushing monsters far and vide 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 Iole, 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 Venlus.

1b. The hydra, whom he made richer through the loss of her heads, ${ }^{1}$ more savage than any pestilence, could not make him anxious, but a girl subdued him. The man who, greater than the gods, held tie sky on his shoulders when Atlas was tired yielded to the yoke of Vemas. 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.

2 b . He yielded to the gentle yoke who trapped the guard of the rich garden with deadly sleep. He gave the horm 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.

[^66]3a. He withstood the combat of Lybian Antheus. He checked the tricks of the sophistical fall when he kept him from falling. ${ }^{1}$ 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 lenown by such great titles of valor whom a girl imprisons mith gentle chains. While she shovers him with kisses, she offers him nectior of vems with her lips. The man weakened by Verus' pleasures alloms the memory and glory of his deeds.to decline. Refrain.

4a. But stronger than Alcides, I take up the battle against Vemus. To subdue her I flee her, for in this battle one fights more bravely and better when one flees. Thus Vemus is conquered: when one flees she is put to flight. Refrain.

4b. I undo the street lenots of Vems and I cpen the locks of the soft prison, moreover, when I an led to other pursuits. 0 Iycorus, farewell, and lenow what I know: I have removed ry troubled spirit from love, Refrain.

[^67]


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F-X-9
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la. In the absence of the king divine providence presented villiam to be in care of you, o England. As regent and author of glory he shows his pomer by the exercise of many graces and varied strengtin.

Ib. The earth readies him for heaven, and heaven envies the earth. It always marks the death of all over whom it presides. If Elias vere alive, he would choose him as Eliseus, in whom he would pour doubly the spirit of his porrer. 1

2a. In the hour of the sacred Canon when he speaks to God alone, he is suffused with such floods of toars and with so much sweat that he is renewed and reborn in a second baptism. And so that the member nay be fittingly united to the Head, he is offered as a living victim winile he consecrates the Host.

2b. Behold our Simeon achieves his desires; knomledge of the reality malkes clear the type of our faith. He enjoys with his own eyes the true presence of Christ. At his prayer the Lord is appeased toward Hoses, peace is preserved for Israel, Amalech is put to flight. ${ }^{2}$

[^68]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.






## $F=X-10$

1. 0 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? viry do you not correct your excesses? why do you not direct your steps in the paths of justice? vhy do you stir up the mrath 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. 0 wretched condition, consider how hard is this life. It is another death which thus changes its state. Ying do you not purge away your fault mithout delay since the hour of your death is unkown. And umilling charity, which does not profit, completely withers and grows wreak, and does not make one blessed.
3. If you are called to the redding feast without a redding garment, you are expelled from the royal court. And if you come to meet the bridegroom vith 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 then He comes.

5. 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.
6. Otroubles of men which the curia looks after, 0 those phose efforts have no end. If he encountered faith of such people, fylades ${ }^{1}$ mould desert Atrides. 2 The one Theseus ${ }^{3}$ would meary of the other where proteus reigns and plays the die of fate.
7. If you have nothing it behooves you to leave the court of the prince. 0 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 vork and his pains, for they all hold literally that he who has gets.
8. 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 ${ }^{n}$ locus"is what Jou seek.

[^69]

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. Koney closes and money opens, amd what it has not sown it reaps in the field of the Iord.
2. Blessed are they who hunger; calling on Simon, they grab mat they want, prebends, for money. He who gives is poverful among all, and because the world chooses the one who gives, why should I hesitate to exclain 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]

4. They who sow in tears ${ }^{l}$ and in the unleavened bread of a sincere conscience ${ }^{2}$ transform the leaven of the old fault and wickedness. These prepare themselves for grace through wich, throwing array the mad of their body, having finished their work, they carry moniples of glory. 3

Refrain: Whatever feelings may arise, determining the right of a matn zealous of the law, dash those little ones against the cornerstone. 4 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 mith 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 me belong to a free head. 7 Refrain.
3. The flesh profiteth nothing of itself, nor doesthe spirit suffice, however strong it may be, unjess they are washed and flow from the beginning with the rater of grace, and--in fullness with the oil of gladness-the living fount rains from heaven the dew of mercy and pardon. Refrain.

[^70]
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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, 0 Thou who hast consideration for labor and freest those who labor.


## $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-33$

As often as it suffers eclipse let the world repeat its sorrovis. Suffering the going dorm 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 morld, 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 exied a happy life.
[Peter the Cantor died in 1197.]



## F-X-39

Since it is necessary that everything which is composed of parts should cease to exist, I do not monder 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.






in
quo vi-ven -di ro-gula monstratsatis inspec - ta

 qua - - si qui vi - am de. - - ce - at
 Za-cheus su-per tec - - - - - tr.

## $F-X-48$

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.











$$
F-x-49
$$

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 iminent; 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 strowd with which I mas [once] girded is tumed 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 Bmperor otto IV; see above, p. 418 .]









$$
F-X-50
$$

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 lingdom, 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 nay 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 vere not $\cdots$. Iacking to pay him honor.



## $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-63$

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 mrapped in the stole of gloryinto the granary of Christ, and receives the fruit of life.
3. PMuitful olive, ointment of charity, fragrant nard, refreshment of salvation, destroy guilt, nourish the seeds of peace.

$\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-72$

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

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F-X-74
$$




$$
F-x-74
$$

1a. Since the gods had traced the face of things from the old globe and the plan of the world, prudent nature unfolded and lenit it together. She had already planned phat she would do.

2a. In her, above all other vorks of the whole creation, the rork of Nature shines forth. She bestowed so many gifts of favor on no one else, but exalted her above all the others.

3a. Ifuch beautified by the work of nature, her snowy forehead, not creased mith wrinkles, vies with the lily. Her innocent eyes shine mith stamy light.

4a. From the confines of both eyes the eminence of her nose ${ }^{1}$ comes forth in beautifully proportioned balance, with a certain moderation: it does not turn up too much, nor is it unduly flattened.

IHere the reading in Carmina Burana, "naris" has been adopted. $F$ has "variis, ${ }^{n}$ 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 1igature in the manuscript.



$$
\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-82
$$

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 hin. 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. bi. Dreves. 53 vols. Leipzig: 0. R. Reisland, 1886-1911.

AngE Anglès, Higini. El Codex musical de Ias Huelgas. 3 vols. Barcelona: Institut drstiois catalans, 193.

AuC Aubry, Pierre. mun chant historique latin du XIIIe siècle," Le Mercure Musical, I (1905); 423-434.

CB. Hilke, Alfons, and Schumann, Otto.(eds.) Carmina Burana. Heidelberg: C. Pinter, 1930-.

Chaic Chailley, Jacques. Les Chansons a la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci. Paris: Heugel et cie., 1959.

DahH Dahnk, Enilie. L'Hérésie de Fauvel. Leipzig: Selbstverlag des Romanischen Seminars, 1935.

Deld Delisle, Léopold. "Discours," Anmaire-Bulletin de la Société de Irfistoire de France, XXII (1885), 82-139.

Dittcs Dittmer, Luther. A Central Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony. Brookiyn: Institute of Mediaeval kusic, 1959.

FicN Fickermann, Norbert. MBin neues Bischofslied Philipps de Grève," Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters: Ehrengabe fir Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931. (DFescen: Baensch, 1931), 37-44.

GennI Gennrich,- Friedrich. "Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien," Zeitschrift fur tusikrissenschaft, XI (1929), 259-296, 321-348.

HAI Historical Anthology of Kusic, Volume I. Edited by Archibald i. Davison and willi Apel. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949.

HusP Husmann, Heinrich. "Das Prinzip der Silbenzahlung im Iied des zentralen Kittelalters, $"$ Die 1susikforschung, VI (1953), 8-23.
. : "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," Archiv fur Musikwissenschaft, XI (1954), 1-38.

Ludg Ludwig, Friedrich. "Die geistliche nichtliturgische, weltliche einstinmige Kusik des Kittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts, " Handbuch der Musikgeschichte (edited by Guido Adler; Berlin: Hax Hesses Verlag, 1930), 127-250.

Jeyen Meyer, milhelm. Mpie Arundel sammung mittellateinischer Lieder, " Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Pifl.-listor. Klasse, N. F., IIr. II (1908-9).

Runf Runge, Paul. Die Iieder des Hugo von Montfort mit den Lelodien des Burk Mangolt. Leipzig: breituopi und HErtel, 1906.

Schrp Schrade, Leo. "Political compositions in French kusic of the 12th and 13th Centuries, ". Annales Musicologiques, I (1953), 9-63.

Schru - unknorm Notets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Hanuscript," Speculum, 30 (1955), 393-412.

Thurc Thurston, Ethel. "The Conductus Compositions in WS. Wolfenbuttel 1206." Ph. D. Dissertation, Department of Music, New York University, 1954. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Kicrofilms, Ko. 22,973.)

| number | Incipit | Poem <br> Published | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Music } \\ & \text { Published } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 74 | A globo veteri | CB 1467 <br> MeyeA, \#4 | * |
| 10 | Ad cor turm convertere | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{AH} \quad 21,104 \\ & \mathrm{CB} \\ & \# 26 \end{aligned}$ | In part: Ange \#158 and \#168 |
| 78 | Ad honores et onera | AH 21, 138 | * |
| 35 | Adulari nesciens | AH 21, 124 |  |
| 50 | Alabaustrum frangitur | AH 27,175 | * |
| 12 | Anglia planctus itera | A 2 2̈, 177 |  |
| 45 | Anima: iugi lacrima | AH 21, 197 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Huss, } 30 \\ & \text { Schru, 411-12 } \end{aligned}$ |
| 65 | Aquae vivae dat fluenta | AH 22.64 |  |
| 3 | Aristippe quamvis sero | AH 21, 152 DanH, 162 | * |
| 80 | Associa tecum in patria | AH 21, 194 |  |
| 60 | Aurelianis civitas | AH 21, 182. |  |
| 75 | Ave gloriosa virginum regina | NHi 10,89 | HusP, 19; see Chaic, 59 |
| 4 | Beata nobis gaudia | AH 21, 176 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Huss, } 22 \\ & \text { SchrP, } 56 \end{aligned}$ |
| 14 | Beata viscera | AH 20, 248 | Ludg, 185 <br> Thurc II, 309 HAM Is \#17 c |
| 20 | Beatus qui non abiit | AH21, 121 | * |
| 37 | Bomm est confidere | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH } 21,122 \\ & \text { CB \#27 } \end{aligned}$ | ange, \#162 |
| 51 | Clavis claro retunditur | AH 21, 169 Daht, 33 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { nuC, } 433 \\ & \text { RunH, } 13 \end{aligned}$ |
| 48 | Christus assistens pontifex | AH 50, 535 DahH; 40 FicN | * |
| 59 | crux de te volo conqueri | AH 21,20 |  |


| 39 | Cum omne quod componitur | $\mathrm{AH} 20,31$ | $*$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9 | Divina providentia | AH 27, 174 | * |
| 55 | Dogmatum falsas species | AH 21, 249 | * |
| 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 27, 172 | * |
| 67 | Exceptivam actionem | AH 20,42 |  |
| 7 | Excuset quae vim intulit | AH 21, 137 |  |
| 26 | Excutere de pulvere | AH 22, 105 |  |
| 24 | Exsurge dormis Domine | AH 50, 535 | * |
| 72 | Fons praeciusus sub torpore | compare <br> Heyed $; 17$ | * |
| 6 | Fontis in ripulum | AH 27, 146 | Ange \#165 |
| 56 | Homo considera | AH 21, 93 | AH 27,218 |
| 68 | Homo cur degeneras | AH 27, 99 |  |
| 69 | Homo cur properas | AH 21, 162 |  |
| 1 | Homo natus ad laborem (tui status) | AH 21, 115 | Ange \#1. |
| 32 | Homo qui semper moreris | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH 21, } 98 \\ & \text { DahH, } 168 \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 73 | Homo qui te scis puilverem |  |  |
| 53 | Homo vide quae pro te patior | AH27, 18 | AH 27,277 |
| 46 | Ierusalem, Ierusalem | AH 27,181 |  |
| 5 | In hoc ortus occidente | AH 20,53 | Ange \$160 |
| 29 | In nova fert animus | AH 20, 32 |  |
| 64 | In paupertatis praedio | AH 22, 68 |  |


| 82 | Minor natu filius | AH27, 296 | * |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 54 | Nitimur in vetitum | AH 21, 106 |  |
| 47 | Non te lusisse pudeat | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{AH} 27,140 \\ & \mathrm{CB} \# 33 \end{aligned}$ | * |
| 21. | 0 curas hominum | AH27, 151 | * |
| 30 | 0 labilis sortis | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH 21, } 97 \\ & \text { Dahil, } 69 \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 58 | 0 Maria o felix puerpera | AH 45b, 52 | *; compare chaic \#14 |
| 71 | O Maria stella maris | : |  |
| 57 | 0 mens cogita | АН 27, 97 <br> Daht, 164 | * |
| \% 77 | 0 mors qui mordes ominia | AH' 21,276 |  |
| 4 | Olim sudor Herculis | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH } 21,154 \\ & C B \# 63 \end{aligned}$ | * |
| 2 | Omnis in lacrimas | AH 21,180 |  |
| 34 | Partus semifèros | AH 21, 129 |  |
| 61 | Pater sancte dictus Lotharius | AH 21, 173 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH 21, } 214 \\ & \text { DittCS, } 265 \end{aligned}$ |
| 23 | Qui seminant in lacrimis | AH 21, 219 | * |
| 22 | Qui seminant in loculis | AH 21,152 | * |
| 17 | Quid ultra tibi facere | AH 27,341 Daht, IVII |  |
| 52 | Quisquis cordis et oculi | AH 21, 714 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH 21, } 276 \\ & \text { GennI, } 322 \end{aligned}$ |
| 28 | Quo me vertam nescio | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH } 21, \frac{143}{\text { DahH, }} 43 \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 31 | Quo vadis quo progrederis | AH 27, 10 ? |  |
| 25 | Quomodo cantabimus | AH 21, 165 |  |


| 49 | Rex et sacerdos praefuit | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH 21, } 173 \\ & \text { DahH, } 53 \end{aligned}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8 | Sede Sion in pulvere | AH 21, 264 |  |
| 70 | Si gloriari libeat |  |  |
| 40 | Si vis vera frui luce | AH 50, 534 |  |
| 83 | Sol eclipsim patitur | AH 21, 179 | AngE I, 356 |
| 13 | Sol oritur in sidere | AH 20, 82 | HABI $\mathrm{I}, \not \approx 17 \mathrm{~d}$ |
| 79 | Stella maris lux ignaris |  |  |
| 63 | Terit Bernardus terrea | AH 21, 65 | * |
| 41 | Turmas arment Christicolae | AH 21,175 |  |
| 27 | Vae mando a scandalis | $\mathrm{AH} 22,148$ DahH, LVI | AngE \#163 |
| 18 | Vanitas vanitatum | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH 21, } 100 \\ & \text { DahH, } 30 \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 43 | Vehemens indignatio | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH } 21, \frac{747}{\text { Dahif, }} 55 \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 76 | Veni sancte spiritus (veni lmen) |  |  |
| 42 | Venit Jesus in propria | AH 21, 164 |  |
| 66 | Veri solis radius | AH 20, 85 |  |
| 62 | Veritas aequitas largitas | AH 27, 127 <br> DahH, 107 | Dittcs, 239 |
| 19 | Veritas veritatum | $\begin{aligned} & \text { AH 27, } 120 \\ & C B \# 2 I \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 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. there 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 Iuseum, Egerton 274
Da Darmstadt, 1 is 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 ${ }^{\text {1 }}$ | Attribution |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Homo natus ad laborem | 415 |  | Da: Philip |
| 2 | Omnis in lacrimas | 4151 | 1181 |  |
| 3 | Aristippe quamvis sero | 416 |  | Da: Philip |
| 4 | Olim sudor Herculis | 417 |  |  |
| 5 | In hoc ortus occidente | 4171 |  | Da: Philip <br> (Walter of C.?) |
| 6 | Fontis in rivulum | 478 |  | Da: Philip |
| 7 | Excuset quae vim intulit | 419 |  |  |
| 8 | Sede sion in pulvere | 419! |  |  |
| 9 | Divina providentia | 420 | 1189 |  |
| 10 | Ad cor tum convertere | 4201 |  | Da: Philip |
| 11 | Vide quo fastu rumperis | 4271 |  | Da: Philip |
| 12 | Anglia planctus itera | 4271 | $\begin{aligned} & 1186 \\ & 1189 \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 13 | Sol oritur in sidere | 422 |  | Da: Philip |
| 14 | Beata viscera | 422 |  | pa: Philip (Walter of c.?) |
| 15 | Dum medium silentium (tenerent) | 4221 | 1174 | Da: Philip <br> (Vialter of c.?) |
| 16 | Dum medium silentium (componit) | 422' |  |  |
| 17 | Quid ultra tibi facere | 423 |  | Da: Philip |
| 18 | Vanitas vanitatum | 423 |  | Da: Philip |
| 19 | Veritas veritatum | 423' |  | Da: Philip |

$I_{\text {These dates are suggested in the following sources: for poem }}$ 2, Deld, 127; 9, above p.146; 12, Deld, 129 and AH 21, 177 (respectively); 15, above p. 11.

| 20 | Beatus quj non abiit | 424 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 21 | 0 curas homimum | 4211 |  |  |
| 22 | Qui seminant in loculis | 424: |  |  |
| 23 | Qui seminant in lacrimis | 425 |  |  |
| 24 | Exsurge dormis Domine | 425: |  | Da: Philip |
| 25 | Quomodo cantabimus | 425: |  | Da: Philip |
| 26 | Excutere de pulvere | 426 |  | Da: Philip |
| 27 | Vae mundo a scandaris | 426 |  | Da: Philip |
| 28 | Quo me vertam nescic | 4261 |  | Da: Philip |
| 29 | In nova fert animus | 4271 |  |  |
| 30 | 0 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 | 429: |  |  |
| 36 | Vitam duxi iucundam | 4291 | - |  |
| 37 | Bomm est confidere | 430 |  | Da: Philip |
| 38 | Ecce mundus moritur | 431 |  | - |
| 39 | cum omne quod componitur | 431 |  | - |
| 40 | Si vis vera frui luce | 4311 |  | Da: Philip |
| 47 | Turmas arment Christicolae | 431: | 1192 |  |
| 42 | venit Jesus in propria | 432 |  | Da: Philip |

$1_{\text {For }}$ the date of poem 33, see Deld, 131; 41, Deld, 132.

| 43 | Vehemens indignatio | 433 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 | Beata nobis gaudia | 4331 | 1223 | Da: Philip |
| 45 | Anima: iugi lacrima | 4331 |  |  |
| 46 | Ierusalem, Ierusalem | 434 | 1198 |  |
| 47 | Mon te lusisse pudeat | 435 |  |  |
| 48 | Christus assistens pontifex | 4351 | 1203 | Da: Philip |
| 49 | Rex et sacerdos praefuit | 4351 | 1210 | Da: Philip |
| 50 | Alabaustrum frangitur | 436 | 1223 |  |
| 51. | Clavis clavo retunditur | 437 | 1233 | Aubry: Philip |
| 52 | Quisquis cordis et oculi | 4371 |  | Io B: Philip; Salimbene: Philip |
| 53 | Homo vide quae pro te patior | 437: |  | Io B: Philip |
| 54 | Nitirur in vetitun | 438 |  | Io B: Philip |
| 55 | Dognatum falsas species | 438 |  |  |
| 56 | Homo considera | 438 |  | Lo B: Philip |
| 57 | 0 mens cogita | 438 |  | Io B: Philip |
| 58 | 0 Haria o felix puerpera | 439 |  |  |
| 59 | Crux de te volo conqueri | 439 |  | salimbene: <br> Philip |
| 60 | Aurelianis civitas | 4391 | 1236 |  |
| 61 | Pater sancte dictus Iotharius | 440 |  | Lo B: Philip |
| 62 | Veritas aequitas largitas | 4401 |  | Io B: Philip |
| 63 | Terit Bernardus terrea | 4421 |  |  |
| For explanations of the dates, see the following sources: |  |  |  |  |
| for poem L山, AH 21, 176 ; 46, Deld, 133; 48, FicN; 49, 50, Deld, 134; 51, DelD, 135; 60, Deld, 136. Salimbene's attributions are quoted in Iudwig, Repertorium 248-9; Aubry's is mentioned in Deld, 135. |  |  |  |  |


| 64 | In paupertatis praedio | 443 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 65 | nquae vivae dat fluenta | 443 |  |  |
| 66 | Veri solis radius | $4{ }_{4}^{41}$ |  |  |
| 67 | Exceptivam actionem | 44 |  | Douai 385: <br> Alan of Lille |
| 68 | Homo cur degeneras | 444 |  |  |
| 69 | Homo cur properas | $44^{1 / 4}$ |  |  |
| 70 | Si gloriari libeat | $4{ }^{45}$ |  |  |
| 71 | 0 Lfaria stella maris | 445 |  |  |
| 72 | Fons praeclusus sub tōrpore | 446 |  |  |
| 73 | Homo qui te scis pulverem | 446 |  |  |
| 74 | - A globo veteri | 4461 |  |  |
| 75 | Ave gloriosa virgimm regina | 447 |  | Lo B: Philip |
| 76 | Veni sancte spiritus | 448 |  |  |
| 77 | 0 mors quae mordes omnia | $448{ }^{\circ}$ | 1223 |  |
| 78 | Md honores et onera | 4 |  |  |
| 79 | Stella maris lux ignaris | 449: |  |  |
| 80 | Associa tecum in patria | 450 |  |  |
| 81. | Veste mptiali. | 4501 |  |  |
| 82 | Minor natu filius | 4501 |  | Lo B: Philip |
| 83 | sol eclipsim patitur | 451 | 1788 |  |

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

INDEX III

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

It has not been possible to make a study of the mumerous manuscript sources thich contain poems from $F-X$ without their music. However, two manscripts minich contain a relatively large number of poems also found in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}$ have their concordances listed in separate columns. Information about these tro manuscripts has been taken from the studies listed below.

Da (Darmstadt, IS 2777): Roth, F. W. E. Msittheilungen...," Romanische Forschungen, VI (1891), 17-56, 429-461.

044 (Oxford, Bodleian Tibrary, Additional A 44 ): Bibliothêque de 1'Ecole des Chartes, 46 (1885), 582-585.

In 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:

Chevaliter, Ulysse. Repertorium Iymnologicum. (Subsidia Hagiographica, 4.) 6 vols.; Lolvain: Inprimerie Lefever, 1892-1920.
Walther, Hans. Initia Carminum ac versuum medii aevi posierioris Latinorum. (Carinina medic aevi postarioris Latina, I.) GUttingen: Vandenhoeck \& Ruprecht, 1959.

Iudwig noticed that a relatively large number of motet and conductus texts from the Notre Dame repertoire vere published in the sixteenth century by Matthias. Flacius (1520-1575).1 One of the sources from which Flacius drew his poems seems to have been Wolfembtittel 1206. What his other sources were has not been definitely determined, and Iudwig 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 vetusti ante 300 annos scripta, quae deplorant inscitiam Evangelii et taxant abusus ceremoniarum, ac quae ostendunt doctrinam hujus temporis non esse novam . . . (pittenberg, 1548.)

Pia quaedam vetustissinaque poemata, partim Antichristum ejusque spirituales filiolos insectantia, partim etiam Christum ejusque beneficium mira spiritus alacritate celebrantia. (Magdeburg, 1552)

Varia doctorum Piorumque virorm, de comupto ecclesiae statu, poemata . . . (Basel, 1557.) (Reprinted in 1754.)

According to Ludrig, the only difference between the second and the third of these books is in their titles; the contents appear to be exactly the same. AIl 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.

[^71]| Number | Chevalier | Walther | Text |  |  | Flacius | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Music } \\ & \text { Concordances } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | O44 | Da | Other |  |  |
| 1 | 7975 | 8391 | * | * |  | * | Hu 158', 1611 |
| 2 | 14129 | 13363 | * |  |  |  |  |
| 3 | 23122 | 1479 | * | * | * | * |  |
| 4 | 31239 | 13179 | * |  | * |  | Ca 300 |
| 5 | 8624 | 8937 |  | * | * | $\#$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Hu 167-1671 } \\ & \text { Ca 2981 } \end{aligned}$ |
| 6 | 26742 | 6754 | * | * |  | * | Hu 158-1581 |
| 7 | 26309 | 6054 | * |  |  | * |  |
| 8 | 33427 | 17467 | * |  |  | * |  |
| 9 | 25645 | 4629 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 | 22342 | 326 |  | * | * | * | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Hu 167, } 1611 \\ & \text { (only part) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 11 | 34509 |  |  | * |  |  | 2Q, EI |
| 12 | 22979 | 1015 |  |  |  | - |  |
| 13 | 19101 | 18383 | * | * |  |  |  |
| 14 | 2356 | . |  | * | * |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { N2, } 1561 \\ & \text { SG, } 274 \end{aligned}$ |
| 15 | 25778 | 4904 | * | $*$ | * |  |  |
| 16 | 25776 |  |  |  | * |  |  |
| 17 | 16680 | 15947 | * | * | * |  |  |
| 18 | 21117 | 20037 | * | * |  | * | Four 4 : |
| 19 | 21432 | 20205 | \% | * | * | * |  |
| 20 | 21720 |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| Number | Chevalier | Walther | . 044 | Da | Other | Flacius | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Music } \\ & \text { Concordances } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 21 | 30337 | 12566 | * |  | * |  |  |
| 22 | 32446 | 15655 | * |  |  |  |  |
| 23 | 3444.5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 24 | 26435 | 6174 |  | * |  |  |  |
| 25 | 32697 | 16336 |  | * | * | * | $\begin{aligned} & \text { W1 } 168 \\ & \text { (only part) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 26 | 26310 |  |  | * |  |  |  |
| 27 | 34297 |  |  | * | * |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Hu 157s-158 } \\ & \text { w工 185-185 } \end{aligned}$ |
| 28 | 32656 | 26221 |  | * |  | * | Fauv 6 |
| 29 | 28089 | 9031 | * |  |  |  |  |
| 30 | 13115 |  |  | * | * |  |  |
| 31 | 16862 |  |  | * |  |  |  |
| 32 | 7980 |  |  | * | \% |  |  |
| 33 | 25965 | 5225 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 34 | 37499 |  |  |  |  |  | . |
| 35 | 22619 | 551 | * |  |  |  | Ca 1 |
| 36 | 34706 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 37 | 2504 | 2220 | * | $\because$ | * | * | Hu 157-1571 |
| 38 | 25917 | 5113 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 39 | 25153 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 40 | 18908. | 18100 |  | * | * |  |  |
| 47 | 20779 |  |  |  |  | . |  |
| 42 | 21291 | 20103 |  | * |  |  |  |
| 43 | 34351 | 20055 | * |  |  |  | Fauv 8 |


| Number | Chevalier | Walther | O44 | Da | Other | Pacius | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Music } \\ & \text { Concordance } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 44 | 24094 |  |  | * | * |  |  |
| 45 | 22990 |  |  |  |  |  | c1. 3701 |
| 46 | 9448 | 9812 | * |  |  |  |  |
| 47 | 28979 | 12193 | * |  | * |  |  |
| 48 | 24555 | 2763 |  | * | * |  | Fauv 6 |
| 49 | 32926 | 16723 |  | * |  |  | Fauv 71 |
| 50 | 22761 | 724 |  |  |  | - |  |
| 5 | 3388 | 2890 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 52 | 16799 | 16158 |  |  | * |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Io B } 24 \text { ' } \\ & \text { P } 8433,45:-46 \end{aligned}$ |
| 53 | 7987 | 8401 |  |  | * |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { IO B } 20 \\ & \text { P } 8433,45 \end{aligned}$ |
| 54 | 11980 | 11813 |  |  | * |  | Lo B 251 |
| '55 | 4804 |  |  |  |  | . |  |
| 56 | 7964 | 8383 |  |  | * |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lo B } 221 \\ & P 8433,45^{\prime} \end{aligned}$ |
| 57 | 13259 |  |  |  |  |  | Lo B 201 <br> Faut 29 |
| 58 | 13210 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 59 | 4014 | 3470 |  |  | * | . |  |
| 60 | 23298 | 1825 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 61 | 14681 | 13814 |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Io B } 261 \\ & \text { EQ D I } \end{aligned}$ |
| 62 | 34462 | 20202 |  |  | * |  | Io B 281 <br> Fauv 22 |
| 63 | 20350 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 64 | 8725 | 9044 |  |  |  |  |  |


| Number | Chevalier | Walther | 044 | Da | Other | Placius | Music <br> Concordances |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 65 | 1256 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 66 | 21424 |  |  |  |  |  | . |
| 67 | 25303 | 6042 | 4 |  | * |  |  |
| 68 | 7969 |  |  |  |  |  | - |
| 69 | 7970 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 70 | 18875 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 71 |  |  |  | . |  |  |  |
| 72 | 6447 | 6739 |  |  |  | . |  |
| 73 | 7981 | 8395 |  |  |  |  | Ars B 14山 |
| 74 |  | 38. |  |  | * |  |  |
| 75 | 1828 |  |  |  | * |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Io B } 3 \\ & \text { Io Ha 7-81 } \\ & \text { FN II, Is } 212 \text {, P. } 90 \\ & \text { II 2(I7), 282 } \\ & \mathrm{P} 2454 \mathrm{I} \end{aligned}$ |
| 76 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 77 | 13286 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 78 | 22382 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 79 | 19454 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 80 | 23149 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 81 | 21451 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 82 | 27554 | 11067 |  |  |  |  | L B 36 |
| 83 | 19091 | 18371 |  |  |  |  |  |

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES WITH RUSIC

Ars B Paris. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. 3517 Contains \#73.

Ca Cambridge, England. University Library. Ff.i.17, Vol. I. Described in: Ludrig, Repertorium, 327-329. Contains \#4, 5, 35.

C1 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Nouv. acq. fr. 13521. (Chansonnier de la Clayette)

Facsimile: Luther Dittmer, Facsimiles, Introduction, Index, and Transcriptions from the Mamscripts Faris Bib1. nat. nouv. acq. fr. 13521 and lat. IIIII. (Brookiyn: Institute of kediaeval Kusic, 1959.)

Described in: Albi Rosenthal, "Le Kanuscrit de La clayette retrouve, ${ }^{n}$ Annales Musicologiques, I (I95j), 205-130.

Leo Schrade, munknown Motets in a Recovered ThirteenthCentury jianuscript," speculum, 30 (1955), 393-412. Contains \#45.

Fauv Paris. Bibliothêque Nationale. F. fr. 146. (Roman de Fauvel) Facsimile: Pierre Aubry, Le Roman de Fauvel (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907).

See also: Friedrich Iudwig, "Die Quellen der kotetten日ltesten Stils," Archiv fur Musikrissenschaft, V (1923), 185-222, 273-315, especially 279.

Emilie Dahnk, L'Hérésie de Fauvel (Leipzig: Selbstverlag des Romanischen. Seminars, 1935.)
contains $; 18,28,30 *, 32 *, 43,48,49,57,62$.
(* indicates that the masic in Fauv is different from that in F.)

FN Florence. Biblioteca nazionale centrale. B. R. 19
(II. I. 212; Kag1. XXXV. 182)

Described in: Bianca Becherini, Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della biblioteca nazionale di frirenze (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1959), 84-85.

Contains \#75.
Hu Burgos, Spain. Las Huelgas (Cistercian Abbey). MS
Facsimile, transcription, and commentary: Higini Anglès: El Codex musical de Las Huelgas (3 vols.; Barcelona: Institut diestudis Catalans, 1931).

Contains \#1, 5, 10, 27, 37.
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Iudwig, Repertorium, 13.
Contains \#75:
Io $B$ London. British hinuseum. Egerton 274.
Described in: Ludwig, Repertorium, 251-263. Contains \#\#2, 53, 54, 56, 57, 61, 62, 75, 82.

Io Ha London. British inuseum. Harley 978.
Described in: Ludrig, Repertorium, 267-278.
Jacques Handschin, "The Sumer Canon and Its Background," Musica Disciplina, III (1949), 55-94.

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P 8433 Paris. Bibliothèque nationale. F. lat. 8433.
Described in: B. Hauréau, "Notice sur le numero 8433 des manuscrits latins de la.Bibliothèque Nationale, ${ }^{n}$ Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 32 Ft. II (1886), 83-106, especially 88-89.

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P 2454 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Nouv. acq. fr. 24542. (Anc. Soissons, Grand Séminaire)

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Contains \#75.
SG

WI Violfenbattel. Herzog August Bibliothek. Helnstedt 677. (OIM 628)

Facsimile: J. H. Baxter, An Old St. Andrews Music Bock (London: Oxford Umiversity Press, 1931). Described in: Ludwig, Repertorium, 7-57, especially 41. Contains part of $\# 25,27$.

W2 Holfenkuttel. Herzog August Bibliothek. Helnstedt 1206. (O1in 1099)

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

Discussed in: Ethel Thurston, "The Conductus Compositions in US. Folfenbuttel 1206 $\mathbf{n}^{\prime \prime}$ (University Microfilms No. 22,973; 1954).

Contains
$2 Q$ Kunich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Gallo-rom. 42. and fragments once in the library of Johannes Folf, extant now only through copies made of them by Iudwig.

Facsimile, transcriptions, and commentary: Luther. Dittmer, A Central Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony (Brooklyn: instizute of Meciaeval Wusic, 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 smailest first.

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




## high F



## Low G




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[^0]:    1. $_{\text {A. M. Bandinus, }}$ Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae ( 4 vols.; Florence, 1774-1777), II, I.

    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 ałi̇quid possunt.

[^1]:    $I_{\text {The persons and dates mere identified by Delisle (see below). }}^{\text {del }}$
    2Iéopold Delisle, nDiscours," Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de 1'Histoire de France, XXII (1885), $82-139$.

    3 There are now only 455 leaves although, because of gaps, the numbering goes higher. For precise information, see:

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[^2]:    IWiIhelm Meyer, "Der Ursprung des Motetts, ${ }^{n}$ first appeared in Nachrichten der k . Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gettingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, IB98, Heit 2; reprinted in Gesammelte Abhandlungen II (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905), 303-341.

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[^3]:    $1_{\text {Repertorium }}$.
    ${ }^{2}$ Friedrich Ludwig, "נber den Entstehungsort der grossen 'Notre Dame-Handschriften'," Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift fur Guido Adler (Vienna: Universal-Edition A. G., 1930), 45-6.

[^4]:    $1_{\text {Heinrich Husmann, "The Origin and Destination of the liagnus }}$ Liber Organi," The Nusical 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.

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    ${ }^{3}$ Ethel 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.

[^5]:    . $\quad I_{\text {Repertorium, }}$ 246-7.
    ${ }^{2}$ F. W. E. Roth, Mfittheilungen zur Literatur des Mittellateins, ${ }^{n}$ Romanische Forschungen, VI (1891), 28. The poems are printed in the same volume of that journal, $4 山 4-458$.

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    Gustav Grober, Gmandriss der romanischen Philologie, II. Band, I. Abteilung (Strassburg: Karl J. Trubner, 1902), 338.

[^6]:    $I_{\text {Norbert Fickermann, "Ein }}$ neues Bischofslied Philipps de Grève, " Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Nittelalters: Ehrengabe fur Karl Strecker zam 4. September 1931, ed. W. Stach and H. Walther (Dresden: Baensch, 1931), 37.
    ${ }^{2}$ F. J. E. Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Widdle Ages (2d ed.; Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1957), II, 190-204. J. de Ghellinck, S. J., Lessor de la littérature latine au XIIe siècle ("nuseum Lessianm - Section Historique," No. 4, 5; Brussels: L'Edition Universelle, 1946.), II, 211.

[^7]:    $1_{\text {A. Wilmart, }}$ "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 fur Musikwissenschaft, XII (1955), 113.

    3Fickermann, 37.
    4The common sighum for this manuscript is Lo B.

[^8]:    $1_{\text {Repertorium, }} 123$.
    ${ }^{2}$ Analecta hymnica medii aevi, edited by C. Blume and G. M. Dreves ( 53 vols.; Leipzig: 0. R: Reisland, 1886-1911), 20, 17. This series is commonly referred to with the abbreviation AH.
    $3 \mathrm{AH} 50,529-531$.
    4 Repertorium, 255.
    5 AH 50, 529.
    $6_{\text {Hans }}$ Spanke, "Das lateinische Rondeau," Zeitschrift fur franzHsische Sprache und Literatur, LIII (1929), II3-118.

[^9]:    IZeitschrift fur franzosische Sprache und Literatur, LIII (1929), 128.

[^10]:    IYvonne Rokseth, "Danses cléricales du XIIIe siècle," Melanges 1945, III ( P Pblications de la Faculté des Lettres de ITUNVersité de Strasbourg," Fascicule 106; Paris: Société d'Edition: Les Belles Lettres, 1947), 106. The transcriptions are in the same publication, 120-126.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cronica Pratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum, ed. 0. Holder-Egger ("Xonmenta Germaniae Historica, " Scriptorm 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 cancelaril similiter, cantum fecit, scilicet crux de te volo onnqueri, et Virgo tioi respondeo.

[^11]:    $1_{\text {Repertorium, }} 246$.
    AKax Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, III (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchianaliung, 1931), 794-5. Einst 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 Europlische Iiteratur und lateinisches Mittelalter, by A. Francke A. G. Verlag, Bern, 1948.)

[^12]:    $I_{\text {AH }} 50,528$.
    ${ }^{2}$ For 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 Greve." 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 carmimm ac versum medii aevi posterioris Latina (GOttingen: Vandenhoeck \& Ruprecht, 1959).
    $3_{\text {Herri Meylan, " Wes }}$ 'Questions' de Philippe le Chancelier," Ecole Nationale des Chartes: positions des thèses soutemues par les elléves de la promotion de 1927 (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1927), 89-94.

    4Polyphonies, IV, 227.
    5Hans Tischler, NNew Historical Aspects of the Parisian Organa," Speculum, XXV (1950); 25.

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

[^13]:    $1_{\text {Stephen }}$ dIrsay, Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours, VOI. I: Hoyen 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. Enden (0xford: At the Clarendon Press, 1936), I, 309-312, 334-341.
    ${ }^{2}$ Thus Meylan, 92. Henri d'Andeli places his death on ml'andemain de Nativité" (Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," Romania, I [1872], 215); Aubry de Trois-Fontaines, "in die nativitatis Domini" (Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium, ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst WIMomenta Cermaniae kistorica, "Scriptorum Tomus XXIII],940, line 25.)

[^14]:    $I_{\text {d'Irsay, }}$ 67. Perhaps the lines NIugeant et studia / suae pacis auctorem" in a poem composed for the funeral of Philip Augustus ( $F-X-50$ ) refer to this event.
    $2_{\text {Achille Luchaire, }}$ Histoire de France, ed. by Ernest Lavisse, III part 1 (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1901), 342.

    3Rashdall, I, 310-311.

[^15]:    $1_{\text {Rashdall, }}$ I, 312.
    2Daunou, "Philippe de Grève, Chancelier de l'Eglise de Paris," Histoire littéraire de la France, XVIII (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Freres, 1835), 186.
    $3^{3}$ Meylan, 92.
    4Rashdall, I, 334.

[^16]:    lateo $_{\text {Leo }}$ Keeler, S. J., "The Dependence of R. Grosseteste's De anima on the Summa of Philip the Chancellor," The New ScholasEicism, XI (1937), 197-219.
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    3Meylan, 91.
    $4_{\text {Lottin, Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, } 2}$ (1930), 325.

    5de Ghellinck, I, 92.

[^17]:    Iflistoire littéraire de la France, XVIII, 190.
    ${ }^{2}$ B. Hauréau, "Quelques lettres d'Honorius III extraites des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale," Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Nationale, 21 Pt. II, 192-3.

    3Daunou, Histoire littéraire de la France, XVIII, 190.
    4Davy, 153-177.

[^18]:    $I_{\text {Especially }}$ "Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik," Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu GUttingen, Phil.-Histor. Klasse, 3. Folge, Nr. I8 (I936).

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

[^19]:    $1_{\text {Jean Beck, }}$ Le Chansonnier Cangé (2 vols.; "Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi: Première série: Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères," Numéro l; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927), II, 31.
    ${ }^{2}$ Inid. $, ~ I I, ~ 70-71 . ~$
    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.

[^20]:    IEdward E. Lowinsky, Tonality and Atonality in SixteenthCentury Husic (Bericeley: University of Calirornia Press, 1961), 37.

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

[^21]:    IHeinrich Husmann, "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," Archiv fur Musikwissenschaft, $\overline{X I}$ (1954), 29-31.
    ${ }^{2}$ Leo Schrade, wunknown Motets in a Recovered ThirteenthCentury Manuscript," Speculum, 30 (1955), 404-412.
    ${ }^{3}$ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 146. Facsimile edition published by Pierre Aubry (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907).

[^22]:    $I_{\text {Reese, }}$ music in the Middle Ages, 381.

[^23]:    $1_{\text {Ieo Schrade, }}$ "political Compositions in French Music of the l2th and l3th centuries," Annales Musicologiques, I (1953), 42, 56. (The transcription above is copied from Schrade's.)

[^24]:    $1_{\text {AH }} 21,214-218$.
    ${ }^{2}$ Pierre Aubry, "Un chant historique latin du XIII ${ }^{\text {e }}$ siècle," Le Mercure Kusical, I (1905), 433.

[^25]:    $I_{\text {Paul Runge, }}$ Die Lieder des Fugo von Montfort mit den Melodien des Burk Mangolt (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag Fon Breitkopf und Histel, 1906), 13.

[^26]:    $\mathrm{I}_{\text {Reese; }}$ KLusic in the Middle Ages, 209.
    $2_{\text {Heinrich Husmann, "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," Archiv }}$ fur Musikrissenschaft, XI (1954), 5.

[^27]:    IJacques Chailley, "quel est l'auteur de la théorie modale dit de Beck-Aubry?, " Archiv fur Musikwissenschaft; X (1953), 221.
    ${ }^{\text {Yivonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle: le manuscrit }}$ H 196 de la Faculté de Medecine de Montpellier (4 vols.; Paris: Editions de I'Oiseau Lyre, 1935-1939).

    3yvonne Rokseth, "Danses cléricales du XIIIe siècle,n Mélanges 1945 ("Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de I'Universite de Strasbourg, "Fascicule 106), 112-113.

    Le vers chanté a quatre accents repond a un voeu de

    - Ia nature humaine, et les hymnes de l'Eglise foumissaient journellement le modėle de semblables coupes.

[^28]:    $I_{\text {The translation }}$ is by John Addington Symonds, Wine, Women and Song (Portland, Maine: Thomas B. Kosher, 1899), 64.
    ${ }^{2}$ Higini Anglès, El Codex musical de Las Huelgas ( 3 vols.; Barcelona: Institut diestudis Catalans, 1931).
    $3_{\text {Luther }}$ Dittmer, A Central Source of Notre Dame Polyphony (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), 265, 268.

[^29]:    $1_{\text {Paris, }}$ Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 146. Facsimile edition by Pierre Aubry (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907).
    ${ }^{2}$ Anglès, Las Huelgas.
    $3_{\text {Léopold Delisle, "Discours," Anmaire-Bulletin de la Société }}$ de I'Histoire de France, XXII (1885), 101.

[^30]:    $I_{\text {This }}$ is the common siglum for manuscript 677 of Wolfenbtttel (formerly Helmst. 628). There is a facsimile edition: J. H. Baxter, An Old St. Andrews Music Book (London: Fublished for St. Andrews University by Humphrey ldilford, Oxford University Press, 1931).
    ${ }^{2}$ Coussemaker, Scriptorum, I; 94b-95a.
    Quecunque due note ligantur in discantu, prima est brevis, secunda longa, nisi prima grossior sit secunda, ut hic: 3

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

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

[^31]:    ${ }^{\text {Sanders, }}$ Journal of the American Musicological Society, XV (1962), 285-6.
    ${ }^{2}$ Manfred F. Bukofzer, Review of The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony, by William G. Waite, Notes, Second Series XII (1955), 232-6.

[^32]:    $1_{\text {Ethel }}$ 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.

[^33]:    $I_{\text {Armand }}$ Machabey, Notations non modales des XIIe et XIII ${ }^{\text {e }}$ siècles (3d ed. revised; Paris: Librairie liusicale E. Ploix-liusique, 1959), 26.
    ${ }^{2}$ Journal of the American Musicological Society, XV (1962), 279.
    3Thurston, "Conductus," I, 213.

[^34]:    $1_{\text {Hans Muller, Eine Abhandlung ther Mensuralmusik in der }}$ Karlsruher Handschrift' St. Peter perganen. 29a (Leipzig: Druck und verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1886), 6.

    Si duo puncta adinvicem ligata sic formentur, $\boldsymbol{m}$, primum eorum valet duas longas, secundum vero unam longam. Eodem modo si nota simplex sic scribatur: ${ }^{(7)}$, valet duas longas.
    ${ }^{2}$ Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 485.
    3Husmann, Archiv fur Musikwissenschaft, XI (1954), 29-31.
    4Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 13521. The commonly used abbreviation for this manuscript is $C l$.

    5Leo Schrade, nunknowm Motets in a Recovered ThirteenthCentury Manuscript, ${ }^{\text {speculum, }} 30$ (1955), 406.

[^35]:    $I_{\text {Manfred Bukofzer, }}$ Rhythm and Meter in the Notre-Dame Conductus," Bulletin of the American Musicological Society, 11-12-13 (1948), 63-65.
    ${ }^{2}$ Carl Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music (New York: Norton, 1957), 92.

    3willi Apel, The Notation of polyphonic Music (4th ed. revised; Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 264.

[^36]:    $1_{\text {Leo }}$ Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and.13th Centuries," Annales Musicologiques, I (1953), 56.

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

[^37]:    $1_{\text {Husmann, Archiv fur Kusikwissenschaft, }}$ XI (1954), 28.

[^38]:    $I_{\text {Thurston, }}$ "Conductus," I, 214-215.
    ${ }^{2}$ Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music, 45 .
    $3^{\text {Henry }}$ H. Bannister, Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latina (2 vols.; "Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi iussu Pii PF.X," Vol. XII; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1913), Tavola IX, Virga C 1.

    4-Ibid., Punctum 27.

[^39]:    $1_{\text {Ludwig, }}$ Repertorium, 260.
    Alles dies zeigt aber nur, dass sowrohl der 1. Schreiber rrie derjenige, der diese Anderungen vornahm, nur mangelhafte Kentnisse besassen. Die auffalligen Erscheinungen der Notation in io B sind Fehler und Inkonsequenzen, denen kein Wert beizulegen ist.
    ${ }^{2}$ Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 230.

[^40]:    $I_{\text {Luther }}$ Dittamer, A Central Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony ("Fublications of Nediaeval Musical kanuscripts, ${ }^{\text {K }}$ No. 3; Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959), 19, 73-78, 239-263.
    ${ }^{2}$ Alfred Jearroy, Louis Brandin, Pierre Aubry, Lais et Déscorts français du XIII ${ }^{e}$ siecle (Miélanges de musicologie critique," III; Paris: H. Welter, 1901), composition no. XVI.

[^41]:    ${ }^{1}$ Jean Beck and Iouiise Beck, Le Mamscrit du Roi: Fonds français no 844 de la Bibliotheque Nationale ("Corpus cantilenarim medif aevi: Fremiere semie: Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouveres," Numéro 2; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938), II, 148.

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

[^42]:    $1_{\text {Hans Spanke, }}$ "Sequenz und Lai," Studi medievali, Nuova serie XI (1938), 55.
    $2_{\text {Hans S Sanke, "Studien zur Geschichte des altfranzosischen }}$ Liedes," Archiv fyr das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Iiteraturen, 156 (1929), 226.

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

[^43]:    $I_{\text {Friedrich Ludwig, }}$ "Die geistliche nichtliturgische, weltliche einstimmige ind die mehrstimmige Izusik does Mittelaliters bus mum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," Handbuch der Kusikgeschichte, ed. Guido Adler (2 vols.; Berlin: Lax fesses Verlag, 1930), I, I85-186.
    ${ }^{2}$ Rembert Heakland, O.S.B., M.The Rhythmic Modes and Medieval Latin Drama," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XIV (1961), 132.

[^44]:    $1_{\text {Heinrich Husmann, }}$ \#Zur Grundlegung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittellateinischen Liedes, " Archiv fur Husikwissenschaft, IX (1952), 8-9.

    2Heinrich husmann, "ple musikalische Behandlung der Versarten im Troubadourgesang der Notre Damë-Zeit," Acta musicologica, XXV (1953), 6-13.

[^45]:    $I_{\text {Iudvig, Ader Handbuch, }} 185$.
    2figini Anglès, El Codex musical de Las Huelgas (3 vols.; Barcelona: Institut d'estudis Catalans, 1931.)

[^46]:    $I_{\text {Parrish, }}$ The Notation of Medieval Music, 112.

[^47]:    $I_{\text {Giovanni Mari, }}$ "I trattati medievali di ritmica latina," Nemorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere; Classe di lettere, scienze storiche e morali, Vol. XX (XI della serie III)
    
    ${ }^{2}$ Ibid., 408.
    Rithmus est consonancia dictionum in fine similium sub certo mmero sine metricis pedibus ordinata.

    3Ibid. 1008.
    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 Hari in this passage is evidently a misprint.]

[^48]:    I Ibid., 88.
    ${ }^{2}$ Ibid., 89.

[^49]:    $I_{\text {Heinrich Husmann, "Das Prinzip der Silbenzthlung im Lied des }}$ zentralen Mittelalters, ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ Die Kusikforschung, VI (1953), 8-23.

[^50]:    $I_{\text {This }}$ is also found in $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{X}-42$, where the lines "Venit Jesus in propria / quem sui non recipiunt" have the same music as "In dei patrimonia / perversae gentes saeviunt."

[^51]:    IJacques Chailley, "Quel est llauteur de la théorie modale dit de Beck-Aubry?," Archiv fur Musikwissenschaft, X (1953), 213-222.

[^52]:    $I_{\text {Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Interrelations between Conductus and }}$ Clausula," Annales tusicologiques, I (1953), 91.

    2Dag Norberg, Introduction a l'étude de la versification latine médiévale (stockholm: Almquist \& Filksell, 1958), 19.

[^53]:    l $_{\text {Charles }}$ Thurot, Notices et extraits de divers mamscrits latins pour servir a l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen Gge. (Motices et extraits des manuscrits de la ERbliotieque Imperiale et autres bibliothéques," 22 Pt. II; Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868), 400.

    Cmnes dictiones; que terminantur in $b \mathbf{g} h \mathbf{y}$, in fine accentantur, ut Beelzebun, Oreb, Faleg, Magog, Joseph, Booz. Et omnes barbare dictiones que non declinantur, in fine accentantur, ut catn, Abel. . . . Et omnes dictiones barbare que non ex toto declinantur, ut Adam, Ade, Abrahem, Abrahe, Thesus, Thesu.

[^54]:    I $_{\text {Hans Tischler, MLigatures, Plicae, and Vertical Bars in }}$ Premensural Notation, $"$ Revue belge de musicologie, XI (1957), 89-90.

[^55]:    $1_{\text {Heinrich Husmann, Die drei-und vierstimmigen Notre Dame }}$ Organa ("publikationen alterer l\&usik, "Vol. II; Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hartel, 1940), xoxiv.
    ${ }^{2}$ Yvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle: le mamuscrit IH 196 de la Faculté de hédecine de Montpellier (4 vols.; Paris: Editions de 1'0iseau Iyre, 1935-1939).

    Infilliam G. Waite, The Rhothm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony (New Haven: Yale University Press; 1954).

    4J. A. Mestrije, medieval Song, "New Oxford History of Music, II (Iondon: Oxford University Press; 1955), 231.

[^56]:     dien des Burk liangolt (Leiprig: Diruck und verlag von Breitkopi wh HAFrtel, 1906), 7-10.
     Romania, I (1872), 210 f.

[^57]:    $I_{\text {Ludwig, }}$ Repertorium, 245.
    ${ }^{2}$ Reese, Mrusic in the Middle Ages, 202-203.

[^58]:    In a passage referred to by Rembert Weakland, 0.S.B., MRyythmic Modes and Medieval Latin Drama, " Journal of the American Musicological Society, XIV (1961), 134.

[^59]:    $I_{\text {Giraldus }}$ Cambrensis, Opera, edited by J. S. Brewer ( 4 vols.; "Remm Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 21 [Rolls Series]; Iondon: Longman \& CO., 1873), IV, 357-431, especially 420 ff.

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

    3yvonne Rokseth, Polyphonies du XIIIe Siècle ( 4 vols.; Paris: Editions de loiseau Iyre, 1935-1939), IV, 49.

    4J. de ohellinck, S. J. L'Essor de la littérature latine au XII ${ }^{e}$ siècle ( 2 vols.; Brussels: LTEdition Universelle, 1946), Is, 225-226.

[^60]:    $I_{\text {Norbert }}$ Fickermann, "gin neues Bischofslied Philipps de Grève, $n$ Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters: Ehrengabe fur Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931 (Edited by W. Stach and H. Walther; Bresden: Baensch, 1931), 39.

    2Ibid., 100.
    3Ibid. ${ }^{42-43 .}$

[^61]:    $1_{\text {Acta }}$ imperii inedita, Zweiter Band. Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des kaiserreicis und des kJingreichs Sicilien in den Jahren $1200-1400$, edited by Eduard winkemann (Imnbiruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen UnIversitats-Buchhandlung, 1885), 676, \$0. 1009.

    Cum dolore referimus et pudore pauca de multis, que ab imperatore recepimus mala pro bonis, nommulis // insultantibus nobis, quod ea merito patiamur, cum eum toto conanime studuerimus ad imperium sublimare, quasi nos fecerimus gladium, de quo graviter volneremur.
    ${ }^{2}$ Achille Iuchaire, Innocent III: La papauté et I'empire (Paris: Iibrairie Hachette et Cie., 1906), 239.

[^62]:    IA. Hilka and 0. Schmann, Carmina Burana ( 2 vols.; Heidelberg: $^{\text {A. }}$ C. Winter, 1930-).

[^63]:    $1_{\text {Ps. }} 125: 5$.
    ${ }^{2}$ Ps. $136: 4$.
    $3_{\text {Ps. }}$ 117:8.
    4Job 5:7.

[^64]:    lufilhelm Meyer, "Die Arundel Sammiung mittellateinischer Lieder," Abhandlungen der Cesellschaft der Kissenschaften 20 Gettingen, Phil.-Histor. Klasse, N. F., irr. 11 (1908-9), poem \#17.

[^65]:    IHans Spanke, "Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Iyrik, "Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu GJttingen, Phil.-Histor. Klasse, 3. Folge, Nr. 18 (1936), 41-42.

    2Jean Beck, Le Chansonnier Cangé ( 2 vols.; Philadelphia: iniversjity of PennsyIvania Press, 1927), II, 245 (Ragn. 390).

    3M. K. Davy, Les Sermons universitaires parisiens de 12301231 (Paris: Vrin, 1931), 127.

[^66]:    $1_{\text {riydra gren }}$ "richer" because eàch time one of her heads was cut off several grev in its place.

[^67]:    $I_{\text {Antheus, }}$ a rrestler, 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.

[^68]:    $l_{\text {plias seemsto }}$ have been brought into the poem partiy as a play on Ely. In the narrative describing Elias' departure into heaven in a wirlwind, Eliseus says to Elias: Obsecro ut fiat in me duplex spiritus tuus. (IV Kings 9:7-8.)

    2I Kings 30:8-20.

[^69]:    $I_{\text {Pylades }}$ was the loyal friend of orestes.
    ${ }^{2}$ Atrides usually refers to Agamemnon, 'Atreus' son. Here it appears to mean Orestes, the grandson of Atreus.

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

[^70]:    IPs. 125:5. 2I corinth. 3:8. 3Ps. 125:6. LIPs. 136:9 5ps. 136:6.

    7The text of this poem, particularly of its second stanga, 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.

[^71]:    $1_{\text {Repertorium, }}$ 222-4.

