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# WHO 'MADE' THE *MAGNUS LIBER*?

Without question, one of the most familiar texts to students of medieval music is the often-cited passage in the treatise of Anonymous IV that offers an account of the historical development of the Notre-Dame tradition. I introduce my own discussion of the 'making' of the Parisian *liber organi* with a brief consideration of this famous text.[1]

Every figure in ligature with propriety and perfection is understood thus: the penultimate note is a breve but the final a long; the preceding note or notes, if there be any, are read as equivalent to a long. Secondly, every figure without propriety and [with] perfection is read in the opposite way: the penultimate a long and the final a breve. These rules are used in many books of the *antiqui*, and this from the time of Perotinus Magnus (and in his own time), but they did not know how to formulate them and certain others given below, and similarly from the time of Leo to a certain extent, since at that time two in ligature were used to express breve–long and, in like manner, in many places three in ligature to express long–breve–long, etc. And note that Master Leoninus was an excellent *organista*, so it is said, who made the great book of organum [i.e., *musica mensurabilis*] on the gradual and antiphonary to enrich the Divine Service. It was in use up to the time of Perotinus Magnus, who produced a redaction of it [*abbreviavit eundem*] and made many better clausulae, that is, *puncta*, being an excellent *discantor*, and better [at discant] than Leoninus was. (This, however, is not to be

An early version of this paper was read at Cornell University in 1991 and subsequently at several other institutions. In a more developed form it was presented at a symposium honouring Leo Treitler at the City University of New York in March 1998. I am grateful to Professor Treitler for his comments and suggestions. Both he and I have drawn on an earlier form of this paper for our contributions to the volume *La música en la época del Maestro Mateo: el Códice Calixtino y su tiempo*, ed. J. López-Calo and C. Villanueva (La Coruña, in press). In addition to Leo Treitler I am indebted to Anna Maria Busse Berger, with whom I shared a preliminary draft of this study in 1995, and, most recently, Susan Rankin, David Chadd and David Ganz; all have helped to shape the final state of the text.

[1] The Latin is, with minor adjustments, that of F. Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols. (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4–5; Wiesbaden, 1967), i, pp. 45–6. The translation is my own, but it has benefited from suggestions by Leofranc Holford-Strevens (most important among them, the readings of 'optimus organista' and 'optimus discantor' as 'an excellent *organista*' and 'an excellent *discantor*').



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asserted regarding the subtlety of *organum* [*purum*], etc.) Now, this same Master Perotinus made the best *quadrupla*, such as *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*, with an abundance of musical *colores*; likewise, the noblest *tripla*, such as *Alleluya, Posui adiutorium* and [*Alleluya,*] *Nativitas*, etc. He also made three-voice conductus, such as *Salvatoris hodie*, and two-voice conductus, such as *Dum sigillum summi patris*, and also, among many others, monophonic conductus, such as *Beata viscera*, etc. The book or, rather, books of Master Perotinus were in use up to the time of Master Robertus de Sabilone in the choir of the Paris cathedral of the Blessed Virgin, and from his time up to the present day. And the others [*et ceteri*] in like manner according as Petrus, the best notator, and Johannes, called Primarius, along with certain others in large measure [used to notate] in their books, up to the time of the first Master Franco and the other Master Franco, from Cologne, who to some extent began to notate differently in their books.

(Omnis figura ligata cum proprietate et perfectione sic est intelligenda: paenultima eius brevis est, ultima vero longa; praecedens vel praecedentes, si fuerint, pro longa habentur vel habeantur. Iterato omnis figura sine proprietate et perfectione opposito modo se habet sicut paenultima longa, ultima vero brevis. Istae regulae utuntur in pluribus libris antiquorum, et hoc a tempore et in suo tempore Perotini Magni, sed nesciebant narrare ipsas cum quibusdam aliis postpositis, et similiter a tempore Leonis pro parte, quoniam duae ligatae tunc temporis pro brevi longa ponebantur, et tres ligatae simili modo in pluribus locis pro longa brevi longa etc. Et nota, quod magister Leoninus, secundum quod dicebatur, fuit optimus organista, qui fecit magnum librum organi de gradali et antifonario pro servitio divino multiplicando. Et fuit in usu usque ad tempus Perotini Magni, qui abbreviavit eundem et fecit clausulas sive puncta plurima meliora, quoniam optimus discantor erat, et melior quam Leoninus erat. Sed hoc non [est] dicendum de subtilitate organi etc. Ipse vero magister Perotinus fecit quadrupla optima sicut *Viderunt*, *Sederunt* cum habundantia colorum armonicae artis; similiter et tripla plurima nobilissima sicut *Alleluya Posui adiutorium*, *Nativitas* etc. Fecit etiam triplices conductus ut *Salvatoris hodie* et duplices conductus sicut *Dum sigillum summi patris* ac etiam simplices conductus cum pluribus aliis sicut *Beata viscera* etc. Liber vel libri magistri Perotini erant in usu usque ad tempus magistri Roberti de Sabilone et in coro Beatae Virginis maioris ecclesiae Parisiensis et a suo tempore usque in hodiernum diem. Simili modo etc., prout Petrus notator optimus et Iohannes dictus Primarius cum quibusdam aliis in maiori parte [notabant] usque in tempus magistri Franconis primi et alterius magistri Franconis de Colonia, qui inceperant in suis libris aliter pro parte notare.)

Threading one's way through this passage is not without its challenges. The clumsy if fussy Latin, which seems almost perverse in its search for precision, occasionally introduces more ambiguity than it avoids. Does 'organum' have the same meaning throughout? Modern scholars understand one thing by 'clausula', but what are 'clausulae sive puncta' in the context of this passage? What is the difference between an *organista* and a *discantor*? Why is 'abbreviare' used to mean 'make a redaction', 'edit' or 'compile' when there were more conventional terms available for that



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purpose?[2] And what is the qualitative difference between the *liber* 'made' by Leoninus and the new passages 'made' for it by Perotinus, on the one hand, and, on the other, Perotinus' *abbreviatio* of that *liber,* in which those new passages appeared? Suggestive with regard to the nature of Perotinus' *abbreviatio* (as Anonymous IV thought of it, at least) is the fact that most of the individuals who were involved like Perotinus and perhaps Leoninus ('simili modo etc.') in developing the notational usage of the *liber* are figures whom we associate with the formulation of mensural theory rather than with musical practice as such: 'Petrus notator optimus' (Petrus Picardus? Petrus de Cruce? it is unlikely that this is a reference back to Perotinus Magnus), 'Iohannes dictus Primarius' (in all probability, Johannes de Garlandia), 'magister Franco primus', and Master Franco of Cologne, among others ('cum quibusdam aliis').[3] Furthermore, the frequent use of 'etc.', a trait Anonymous IV shares with much other scholarly writing of the time, suggests that the text as transmitted may not be entirely complete, that in the minds of the author and/or the scribe the thought was to be further developed. Continued how?[4] It should be kept in mind,

[2] Regarding my (evidently still controversial) reading of 'abbreviare', cf. later in the same passage: 'Ea quae dicuntur cum proprietate et sine perfectione, erant primo confuse quoad nomen. Sed per modum aequivocationis accipiebantur, quod quidem modo non est, quoniam in antiquis libris habebant puncta aequivoca nimis, quia simplicia materialia fuerunt aequalia. . . . Sed *abbreviatio erat facta per signa materialia a tempore Perotini Magni et parum ante*, et brevius docebant, et adhuc brevius [a tempore] magistri Roberti de Sabilone, quamvis spatiose docebat'; Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, i, pp. 49–50. 'They [the figures of notation] which are said to be with propriety and without perfection were initially veiled as to their identity. In point of fact, they were interpreted through the method of equivocation, that which is not a method, since [the *antiqui*] had overly equivocal notes in the old books owing to the fact that the signs for single notes were alike. . . . However, *an edition was made in* [*mensuralised*] *notation from the time of Perotinus Magnus and a bit before that*, and they taught [the type of notation used there] concisely, and concisely moreover up to the time of Master Robertus de Sabilone (he, however, taught at length)'. Emphasis added.

[3] Further regarding 'Petrus notator optimus', see Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, i, p. 50 (where Anonymous IV also provides more information on the shadowy Robertus de Sabilone). For the most comprehensive examination of these and related writers, see S. Pinegar, 'Textual and Contextual Relationships among Theoretical Writings on Measurable Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries' (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1991).

[4] In late medieval school texts, 'etc.' usually occurs at the end of a quotation, whether or not the text that follows the quoted passage in the original is relevant to the point being made. In some cases, 'etc.' functions as little more than a full stop. (I am grateful to Martin Camargo for his thoughts on the use of 'etc.') Recovering (in general terms only, of course) the material included in the first 'etc.' in this passage is relatively straightforward, since it surely refers to the other elementary rules of mensural notation, which



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moreover, that the historical narrative presented in this passage does not stand by itself: it is an aside prompted by the theorist's explanation of the basic premises of early mensural notation. That is, it was intended as a kind of rhetorical gesture, a throwaway anecdote that relates the doctrine being presented to something the reader might be expected to know already. Putting this in a more complex light, however, is the fact that Anonymous IV produced the text as we have it in England late in the thirteenth century or early in the fourteenth, a century and more after much of the history he recounts unfolded.[5] What would his audience have been likely to know of this music? How secure was Anonymous IV's own knowledge of it at such a chronological and geographical remove? He himself notes that what he reports is hearsay: 'secundum quod dicebatur' is how he introduces the narrative.[6] This is a thorny document, then; to interpret it properly would

are easily retrievable from other treatises of the period – most importantly, that of Johannes de Garlandia. Some idea of what Anonymous IV may have had in mind by the second 'etc.', regarding the *subtilitas* of organum, can be achieved from elsewhere in the treatise (e.g., Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, i, pp. 78–9 and 85) and from the St Emmeram Anonymous, who alludes to the subtleties of the sustained-note idiom; see *De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram*, ed. and trans. J. Yudkin (Music: Scholarship and Performance; Bloomington, Ind., 1990), pp. 276 and 280. The text describing the contents of Perotinus' *liber* can be fleshed out somewhat from remarks later in the treatise (*Musiktraktat*, i, pp. 82–3). In all these cases, 'etc.' can be expanded to *et cetera*, 'and the remainder'. 'Simili modo etc.' is more ambiguous, since it is not clear whether this refers back to Leoninus' and Perotinus' work of 'making', compiling, revising and editing or to the circulation of the *liber* after Perotinus, 'up to the present day'. Following a suggestion by Professor Camargo I have rendered this 'etc.' as *et ceteri*, 'and the others', since it occurs in a passage linking one group of musicians with another. In the primary manuscript source for the treatise, London, British Library, Royal 12 C. VI, as in most writing of the thirteenth century, there is no palaeographical distinction made between the two forms of the word.

[5] The text dates from after the death of Henry III in 1272; see Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, i, p. 50. This fact alone is sufficient to invalidate the suggestion that the treatise is the work of the scholar and theologian Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253); for this hypothesis see N. van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 57; Leiden, 1995), pp. 200–4. (For an assessment of van Deusen's argument, see esp. the review by J. Ginther and R. Rosenfeld in *The Medieval Review*, on line: 95.06.01.) A hint that the treatise may be later than 1272 by a few decades is provided by Anonymous IV's allusion to a 'semibrevis vel minima', implying some acquaintance at least with theoretical writing of the early fourteenth century; see Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, i, p. 84.

[6] Be that as it may, whatever Anonymous IV's immediate source(s) may have been, his text appears to be a developed version of the treatise of Johannes de Garlandia as presented in the compilation of Jerome of Moravia. This is one of several strands of evidence suggesting a Dominican aspect to the treatise and its transmission that needs further exploration.



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entail considering what sort of a text it is and who, if anyone, its intended audience was to have been (is it a finished treatise, a group of well-organised extracts, or a set of lecture notes, and, if that, made by whom and intended for what use?).[7]

In any event, Anonymous IV has provided an answer to the question posed at the beginning of this paper, at least on one level. Craig Wright has suggested that Leoninus is to be identified with a known historical personage, a canon at Notre-Dame active between the 1150s and 1201.[8] Perotinus has proved to be a more elusive figure, but, assuming as I think we should that he too is a historical figure rather than a legend, we can infer that his career stretched between 1190, at least, to perhaps as late as 1230 or 1240 – early enough for his compositions to have played a role in the liturgical reforms of the Parisian Bishop Eudes de Sully at the end of the twelfth century, and late enough for him to have collaborated with another official of Notre-Dame, the poet Philip the Chancellor.[9] Master Robertus de Sabilone is otherwise unknown. The 'great book' that Leoninus is said to have 'made', the so-called *magnus liber organi*, is, of course, the great collection of liturgical polyphony and monophonic conductus prepared for Notre-Dame, as Anonymous IV seems to say, and circulated throughout Europe in a variety of forms.[10]

[7] Without taking such issues seriously into account, some scholars have questioned the value of Anonymous IV as evidence; see, for example, H. van der Werf, 'Anonymous IV as Chronicler' (Rochester, the Author, 1990), repr. in *Musicology Australia*, 15 (1992), pp. 3–21 (with commentary by this writer and others).

[8] C. Wright, 'Leoninus, Poet and Musician', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), pp. 1–35.

[9] For the most recent reviews of the evidence relating to the career of Perotinus, see C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge Studies in Music; Cambridge, 1989), pp. 288–94; this writer's article on Perotinus in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn; R. Flotzinger, *Perotinus musicus: Wegbereiter abendländischen Komponierens* (Mainz, 2000); and H.-K. Metzger and R. Riehn (eds.), *Perotinus magnus* (Musik-Konzepte, 107; Munich, 2000). On Philip see T. B. Payne II, 'Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School', 5 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991).

[10] Regarding the contents of the *magnus liber*, see *Les Quadrupla et Tripla de Paris*, ed. E. H. Roesner (Musica gallica/Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris, 1; Monaco, 1993), General Preface. That the *liber* was compiled for Notre-Dame itself can scarcely be doubted, whatever the origins of the various states in which the compilation has come down to us, and of the manuscripts that transmit it. Cf., however, N. Losseff, *The Best Concords: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain* (Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities; New York, 1994), §1: 'The Myth of Notre Dame'.



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As we can surmise from the words of Anonymous IV, with their careful distinction between 'facere' and 'abbreviare', the question of 'who' made the *magnus liber* and the question of 'how' it was made are essentially one and the same. *How* this music came into being and circulated is a critical issue. Writing when he did, Anonymous IV in effect reports that the *magnus liber* was still being used in Paris (and elsewhere) more than a century after the earliest parts of its repertory had been created and first collected into a 'great' *liber*. This observation, modest enough on its face, bears witness to one of the most significant developments in the history of medieval music, one matched in importance only by the establishment of Gregorian chant as the central corpus of liturgical song in the Carolingian domains some four centuries earlier. To overstate the matter for emphasis: before the advent of the Parisian tradition in the latter half of the twelfth century, polyphony was ordinarily created *ex tempore* in performance according to a variety of flexible practices, some of which may have been as old as Gregorian chant itself. Most of these creations were not 'compositions' strictly speaking, but rather enhanced, embellished performances of the ritual plainsongs that were their reasons for existence in the first place. Polyphony was seldom written down, and the majority of the written musical sources we do possess seem to preserve not compositions intended *for* performance but rather didactic examples or models of what a performance might be like, perhaps even records *of* performance.[11] It is generally accepted that the Parisian repertory created by Leoninus and Perotinus represents the beginning of polyphonic composition in the modern sense, and indeed of the European polyphonic language itself: the musical material is manipulated and adjusted according to musical criteria first and foremost. Specifically, the music follows a well-defined system of consonance and dissonance, and, inseparable from that usage, evinces a rhythmic language that for the first time in medieval music was communicated by its notation. It is a repertory generally assumed to have been conceived and disseminated in writing, not *ad hoc* in performance, and to have had a stable transmission. This is an epoch-making development.

[11] On the relationship of notation to musical practice in the earlier Middle Ages, see, among others, L. Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), pp. 471–91; and id., 'The "Unwritten" and "Written Transmission" of Chant and the Start-Up of Musical Notation', *Journal of Musicology*, 10 (1992), pp. 131–91.



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Now to state that the Notre-Dame repertory enjoyed a stable transmission is not to say that it circulated without significant variation. Anonymous IV reports that Perotinus 'revised' Leoninus' *liber*, and suggests that other musicians also left their marks on this material as we know it. The manuscript sources, all late, dating from the 1230s to the early fourteenth century, bear eloquent witness to this activity, above all, if in different sorts of ways, in the *organa dupla* and motets, but also to some extent in the *tripla* and *quadrupla*, and in the conductus. Among the organa, there are alternative polyphonic realisations of the same plainchant; or, often, one section was replaced by a different clausula in another source.[12] The 'same' polyphonic line may appear in different notations or systems of notation, suggesting different rhythms or a different approach to rhythm altogether. Intonations and cadential gestures may differ from source to source, independently of the compositions they articulate. And the alignment of the voices can differ from manuscript to manuscript.[13] In a manuscript culture, one expects to find variation, even substantial variation, among different copies of the 'same' text, but the degree of variance exhibited by the organa in particular is without parallel among ostensibly stable musical repertories. And yet, side by side with these examples of fluid variability are numerous passages in both *organum purum* and discant that recur from manuscript to manuscript with virtually no variation. This juxtaposition of stability and instability within the same repertory and even within the same piece is itself remarkable.

The textual situation exhibited by the *magnus liber*, however one interprets it, makes it difficult if not meaningless to attempt to

[12] The most recent catalogue of these alternative settings and clausulae is H. van der Werf, *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, 1989). This supplements, but does not replace, F. Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, vol. i/1 (Halle, 1910), and complete edn, by L. A. Dittmer, 2 vols. in 3 (Institute of Mediaeval Music, Musicological Studies, 7, 17 and 26; New York, 1964–78); and N. E. Smith, 'The *Clausulae* of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial Study', 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1964). See also the commentary sections in vols. 2–7 of *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris* (Monaco and Paris, 1995– ).

[13] See E. H. Roesner, 'The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum', in I. Fenlon (ed.), *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 365–99. Many, but not all, of the sorts of variations mentioned here can be observed in *The Parisian Two-Part Organa: The Complete Comparative Edition*, ed. H. Tischler, 2 vols. (Stuyvesant, NY, 1988); and in *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, vols. 2–7.



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draw a comprehensive picture of the evolution of this repertory based on the premise that this music underwent some sort of progressive linear development. The repertory is dynamic in a different way, yet to be understood. At the very least, any effort to come to terms with it must involve a reassessment, and perhaps a reformulation, of the notions of 'stable transmission', 'conceived and disseminated in writing', and even 'composition in the modern sense' as they apply to the *magnus liber*. In what form was the music in the 'books' 'made' by Leoninus and Perotinus written down? How did singers use the material in those *libri* in the choirs of Notre-Dame and the other ecclesiastical establishments that cultivated the Parisian tradition? And through what process did the variations found in the surviving manuscripts arise? That is, how did the 'making' and 'editing' of the *magnus liber* by the doubtless many musicians who were involved in its creation and transmission contribute to bring about the transformation of musical practice from an essentially extemporised one to one that we would understand as composed?

In this article I shall explore only a few aspects of these questions, and those in only preliminary fashion. Two interrelated hypotheses will emerge over the course of my discussion. One suggests that the act of writing the music down, of copying it, may have been tantamount to the act of composition itself. The other suggests that in fact performance traditions played a significant part in shaping the substance of the music in the *magnus liber*, that performance practices not only served a recreative function but also played a creative role in moulding the musical fabric as it appears in the surviving copies of the repertory. That is, the relationship between the composer, the work, and the performer, between the text and its transmission, may have been a less linear one – or a less compartmentalised one – than we are often wont to suppose. In this regard, the music of Notre-Dame may have more in common with earlier polyphonic idioms and with much of the retrospective and peripheral polyphonic practice contemporaneous with the Parisian tradition than generally thought.[14] To

[14] For an important discussion of the relationship of the Parisian tradition to musical practices at other centres, see the contributions of W. Arlt and F. Reckow to the symposium '"Peripherie" und "Zentrum" in der Geschichte der ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts', *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Berlin 1974*, ed. H. Kühn and P. Nitsche (Kassel, 1980), pp. 15–170.



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launch this discussion, I shall analyse the musical variations found in two groups of works, two sets of *organa dupla*, to see what avenues of enquiry they might open up.

## I

*Alleluya, Adorabo ad templum* (M 12) was sung on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin, 2 February, a feast of duplex rank in Paris (as at other churches, it was also assigned to the Dedication of the Church).[15] *Alleluya, Posui adiutorium* (M 51) is a chant from the Commune sanctorum sung on feasts of a Confessor Bishop, services mostly celebrated at semiduplex rank at Notre-Dame (the

[15] Throughout this article, references to M[ass] and O[ffice] follow the cataloguing system established in Ludwig, *Repertorium*, and maintained in all subsequent literature on this repertory. For the ranking of this and other feasts mentioned in this article, I have used the calendars in the missals Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 1112 and 9441, from the early and mid-thirteenth century respectively. The date on which the Dedication was commemorated at Notre-Dame is uncertain, since it is not indicated in Parisian calendars or in the formularies for the feast included in any liturgical book known to me. H. Husmann pointed out that the high altar of the cathedral was consecrated on 19 May 1182 (in that year, Wednesday within the Octave of Pentecost), and suggested, among other hypotheses, that the Dedication organa could have been used to celebrate the anniversary of that event; see 'The Origin and Destination of the *Magnus liber organi*', *Musical Quarterly*, 49 (1963), pp. 311–30, at pp. 317–18, n. 15. M. Huglo speculates that the Dedication may have been commemorated concurrently with the feast of the Assumption, 15 August; 'Principes de l'ordonnence des répons organisés à Notre-Dame de Paris', *Revue de Musicologie*, 83 (1997), pp. 81–92, at p. 89, n. 2. Wright (*Music and Ceremony*, pp. 127–8), noting that the cathedral was never formally dedicated, hypothesises that a Dedication feast was not actually celebrated. Unlike the situation with regard to the function of *Alleluya, Adorabo*, organum exists that is intended specifically and exclusively for the Dedication; as a consequence, Wright's suggestion implies that the *magnus liber* was conceived as a cycle for the major feasts of the church year from the outset, regardless of whether or not all those feasts were actually observed. Since there are organa not only for the main feast but also for its Octave, and since the organa intended only for the Dedication show signs of having been reworked, none of these hypotheses is entirely convincing. Of the other explanations that come to mind for the presence of Dedication provisions in the Parisian liturgical books and in the *magnus liber*, none is anything other than speculative. (The appearance of Dedication organa in the surviving copies of the *liber* is another matter, of course, since the feast for which they were intended would not be that of Notre-Dame but rather that of the institution for which the manuscript was made. None of the 'Notre-Dame' sources can be shown to have been copied for the cathedral of Paris.) Some additional evidence bearing on this question may be offered by the unique version of the Dedication responsory *Terribilis est locus iste* (O 31; the verse alone survives) preserved in the recently discovered *organum triplum* fragment, Stockholm, Riksarkivet Fr 535 (Wulf Arlt and I are preparing a study of this source and of another manuscript of *ars antiqua* polyphony discovered in the Riksarkivet; I am grateful to Andreas Haug for drawing my attention to it, and to Gunilla Björkvall, Jan Brunius and Anna Wolodarski for facilitating our work with it and for generously sharing their expertise with us.)



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one exception is the feast of St Nicholas, 6 December, which had duplex rank). *Organum duplum* settings of both alleluias are found in all three of the principal 'Notre-Dame' manuscripts, F, $W_1$ and $W_2$.[16] In addition, *Alleluya, Posui* survives in a fourth source, MüA, where, however, it is preserved in so fragmentary a state that we can do little more than mention it here;[17] and a substantial portion of *Alleluya, Adorabo* is found in the Copenhagen fragment, K.[18] The two alleluia chants have nearly identical melodies; typical of organum settings of alleluias, the two-voice Parisian settings of those chants, four versions each of *Alleluya, Adorabo* and *Alleluya, Posui*, are interrelated through a complex network of shared polyphony, summarised in Table 1.[19]

[16] F: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 29.1; facs. in *Antiphonarium seu magnus liber organi de gradali et antiphonario: Color Microfiche Edition of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, pluteus 29.1*, Introduction by E. H. Roesner (Codices illuminati medii aevi, 45; Munich, 1996), and *Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29,1*, ed. L. Dittmer, 2 vols. (Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlichen Musikhandschriften, 10–11; Brooklyn, 1966–[7]). $W_1$: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 628 Helmstad. (Heinemann no. 677); facs. in *Die mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift $W_1$: Vollständige Reproduktion des 'Notre Dame'-Manuskripts der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, ed. M. Staehelin (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 9; Wiesbaden, 1995), and *An Old St. Andrews Music Book (Cod. Helmst. 628)*, ed. J. H. Baxter (St Andrews University Publications, 30; London, 1931). $W_2$: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmstad. (Heinemann no. 1206); facs. in *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1099 (1206)*, ed. L. Dittmer (Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts, 2; Brooklyn, 1960). *Alleluya, Adorabo ad templum*: F, fols. $107^{r}$–$108^{r}$; $W_1$, fols. $30^{r}$–$31^{r}$; $W_2$, fols. $70^{v}$–$71^{r}$. *Alleluya, Posui adiutorium*: F, fols. $139^{r}$–$140^{r}$; $W_1$, fols. $46^{v}$–$47^{r}$; $W_2$, fols. $83^{r}$–$84^{r}$.

[17] MüA: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Musikabteilung 55 MS 14 (*olim* Bibliothek Johannes Wolf, fragm. s.n., long thought to have been destroyed); facs. in L. A. Dittmer, 'The Lost Fragments of a Notre Dame Manuscript in Johannes Wolf's Library', in J. LaRue (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese* (New York, 1966), pp. 122–33, pls. 6–17; and in M. Staehelin, 'Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet, I: Die Notre-Dame-Fragmente aus dem Besitz von Johannes Wolf', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Jg. 1999, no. 6 (Göttingen, 1999), pp. 1–35.

[18] K: Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, MS 1810 $4^{o}$, fol. $3^{r–v}$. See J. Bergsagel, 'The Transmission of Notre Dame Organa in Some Newly-Discovered "Magnus liber organi" Fragments in Copenhagen', in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: transmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale, Bologna, 27 agosto–1 settembre 1987*, ed. A. Pompilio *et al.*, 3 vols. (Turin, 1990), iii, pp. 629–36.

[19] This table does not take notice of independently transmitted clausulae in $W_1$ and F, or of interrelationships with the three-voice setting of *Alleluya, Posui* ascribed to Perotinus by Anonymous IV, found in F, fols. $36^{r}$–$37^{v}$, and in Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196, fols. $16^{v}$–$20^{r}$ (facs. in *Polyphonies du XIII$^{e}$ siècle: le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, ed. Y. Rokseth, 3 vols. in 4 (Paris, 1935–9), i). For the clausulae, see Smith, '*Clausulae*', i; and van der Werf, *Directory*. On the alleluia organa as a group see N. E. Smith, 'Interrelationships among the Alleluias of the *Magnus liber organi*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), pp. 175–202.



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Table 1 Concordances among the settings of *Alleluya, Adorabo ad templum* and *Alleluya, Posui adiutorium*

Italic indicates *organum purum*. 'a', 'b' indicate repeats of the chant melody in the tenor of the setting. * indicates the beginning of the choral ending of the verse. Texts aligned horizontally are set to the same chant melody; manuscripts aligned horizontally have the same polyphonic settings of those texts and chant melodies.

| *Alleluya, Adorabo* | *Alleluya, Posui* |
|---|---|
| Alleluya | Alleluya |
| *$W_1$ F* | |
| *$W_2$ K* | *$W_1$ F $W_2$* |
| | Posui |
| | *$W_1$ F $W_2$* |
| Ado- | adiu- |
| *$W_1$ F $W_2$ K* | *$W_1$ F $W_2$* |
| -rabo | torium |
| *$W_1$ Fa* | |
| Fb | $W_1$ |
| $W_2$ | F |
| K | $W_2$ |
| ad tenplum | super |
| $W_1$ | |
| *F $W_2$ K* | *$W_1$ F $W_2$* |
| sanctum tuum | potentem |
| $W_1$ | |
| F | |
| $W_2$a Ka | $W_1$ Fa $W_2$a |
| $W_2$b Kb | Fb $W_2$b |
| et confitebor | et exaltavi |
| $W_1$ | |
| F | |
| $W_2$ K | F $W_2$ |
| | $W_1$ |
| *nomini | electum |
| *$W_2$* | *F $W_2$ MüA* |
| | *$W_1$* |
| tuo. | *de plebe mea. |
| Alleluya | Alleluya |
| F | |
| | F |



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As this table shows, the $W_1$ version of *Alleluya, Adorabo*, unlike the other seven organa in this extended family of works, is primarily in sustained-note polyphony, *organum purum*. F includes several discant clausulae where $W_1$ has *organum purum*, in addition to some different sustained-note material. $W_2$ also has some different *organum purum*, including a substantially different treatment of the opening 'Alleluya', and still more discant. K, as far as its fragmentary copy goes, is textually close to $W_2$, apart from their individual mensuralisations of the modal notation found in the other manuscripts, the two differing substantially only at '-rabo', where each has its own discant clausula.

Apart from its rhythmic notation, the $W_2$ version of *Alleluya, Adorabo* is virtually identical with the F *Alleluya, Posui* organum. It is also close to $W_2$'s own *Alleluya. Posui*, the two differing only at the discant clausulae on '-rabo' and '-torium', respectively. The state in K provides a link of sorts between the $W_2$ versions of *Alleluya, Adorabo* and *Alleluya, Posui*. Musically identical with $W_2$'s *Alleluya, Adorabo* in most other respects, the K version of this organum presents a clausula on '-rabo' that is the same musically as the $W_2$ clausula on '-torium' in *Alleluya, Posui*. The $W_1$ *Alleluya, Posui*, finally, shares its 'Alleluya' with the other two states of this organum that still preserve it and with the $W_2$ and K versions of *Alleluya, Adorabo*, but not with $W_1$'s own *Alleluya, Adorabo*. It has much of its verse polyphony in common, not with the other *Alleluya, Posui* organa or with its own *Alleluya, Adorabo* music, but instead with the F, $W_2$ and K versions of *Alleluya, Adorabo*. Thus, unlike the states of these works in the other manuscripts, the $W_1$ organa for *Alleluya, Adorabo* and *Alleluya, Posui* have little significant polyphony in common. (One concordance between the two $W_1$ organa, not shown in Table 1, is a brief *organum purum* passage on '-lu-' of 'Alleluya'; this, however, is also shared with the other five surviving versions of this section.) The two $W_1$ organa are largely independent of each other, standing at opposite ends of the long and complex recension through which the texts of these eight organa descended. If Mark Everist is right in his conjecture that $W_1$ was compiled from exemplars originating in Paris near the beginning of the thirteenth century,[20] then these eight

[20] M. Everist, 'From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of *$W_1$*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), pp. 1–42. The presence in $W_1$ of a distinctly local – British – polyphonic repertory (the tropes to the Ordinary of the Mass in fascicles 3 and 8–10,



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organa bear witness to what would seem to have been an extraordinary amount of reworking very early on in the history of the Notre-Dame tradition. In fact, much of that reworking would of necessity have to have been accomplished well before the appearance of what is very likely our earliest source, $W_1$.

Figure 1 summarises the interrelationships within this group of organa in a different way, showing the relative degrees of relatedness among the organa. The versions of the two organa that are musically identical appear within a box. The organa appearing to the left and right of the boxed settings are progressively less closely related musically to them; thus, the $W_1$ setting of *Alleluya, Adorabo* is less closely related to the version in $W_2$ than is the one in F. Manuscripts enclosed in a normal circle share the setting of 'Alleluya'; thus, there are two different polyphonic treatments of this section, one found in two sources, the other in five. Manuscripts enclosed in a broken circle have much of their verse polyphony in common; there are four of them.

Figure 1 assumes that in fact these eight organa are genetically related, that one version derives directly or, more likely, indirectly from one of the others.[21] But neither Figure 1 nor the preceding table takes into consideration the question of direction – of which

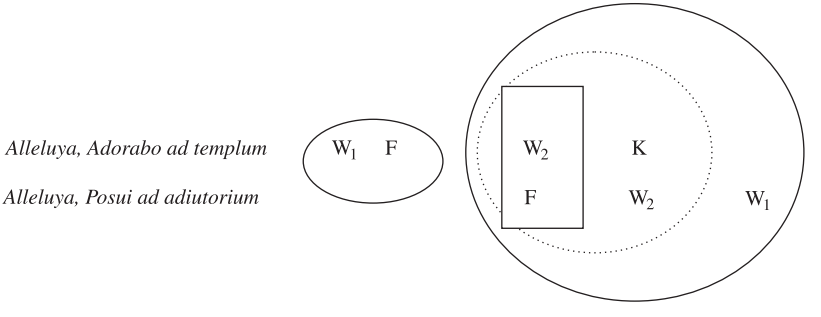



Figure 1 Interrelationships among the settings of *Alleluya, Adorabo* and *Alleluya, Posui*

the locally produced organa included among the Parisian works, the Marian collection in fascicle 11) and of apparently late conductus (e.g., *Crucifigat omnes*) are among the factors that do not strengthen this hypothesis.

[21] This is a reasonable assumption in the case of groups of interrelated alleluias. It may, however, occasionally be problematic when applied to some other groups of organa that share duplum material, especially the verses of responsories based on the same tone; a different process may have been at work in such settings.



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version preceded the other, of which organum, *Alleluya, Adorabo* or *Alleluya, Posui*, came first, and in which of the extant states, if any, this complex of works had its genesis. In theory, at least, any one of the organa in Figure 1 (or MüA, which was left out of consideration because so little of it has survived) could have been the progenitor of the family. It would seem reasonable to speculate, however, that a setting of *Alleluya, Adorabo* came first, since this alleluia is intended for a feast of higher rank than *Alleluya, Posui*, since it was sung on a Marian feast, surely a celebration that would have had priority in a liturgical cycle composed for a cathedral dedicated to the Virgin, and since the feast falls near the beginning of the sanctoral cycle, on 2 February. Furthermore, if one accepts the conventional wisdom that *organum purum* is historically earlier than discant, then the $W_1$ version of *Alleluya, Adorabo*, set primarily in *organum purum*, would be the most likely candidate to be the earliest among these eight pieces. But there are reasons to conclude otherwise.

In the alleluia, the verse ends with a phrase sung by the chorus. Polyphony is not provided for this choral ending in the *magnus liber*; with few exceptions, polyphony is restricted to the solo portions of the chant. The verse of *Alleluya, Posui* concludes with the words 'et exaltavi electum de plebe mea', with the solo portion – and consequently the polyphonic setting – ending with 'electum' (see Table 1, above). The verse of *Alleluya, Adorabo* ends 'et confitebor nomini tuo', with the break between the solo and choral portions falling between 'confitebor' and 'nomini', as the Paris plainchant sources make absolutely clear.[22] The chant melody for 'nomini' in *Alleluya, Adorabo* corresponds with that for 'electum' in *Alleluya, Posui*. That is, the solo–chorus break falls at different points in the melody shared by the two alleluia chants, and consequently the polyphonic settings of the two chants should end at different places in the melody as well. This is exactly what is found in most of the eight organa, as Table 1 shows. $W_2$, however, in its organum setting of *Alleluya, Adorabo*, does not end the verse with 'et confitebor' as it should, but instead carries the polyphony through 'nomini', the first word of the choral ending. The most straightforward expla-

[22] Cf., for example, the two alleluias as transmitted in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 1112, fols. 163$^{r}$ and 213$^{v}$; lat. 15615, fols. 256$^{v}$ and 327$^{r}$; lat. 9441, fols. 125$^{r}$ and 187$^{v}$; and lat. 1337, fols. 233$^{r}$ and 306$^{v}$–307$^{r}$.



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nation for this state of affairs (indeed, the only one that is not hopelessly unwieldy) is that the $W_2$ *Alleluya, Adorabo* is an adaptation, a contrafactum, of an *Alleluya, Posui* organum, and, more specifically, of the version of *Alleluya, Posui* found in F, with which its music is in overall agreement. If this argument is accepted, it follows that the $W_2$ *Alleluya, Adorabo* must represent the earliest extant state of this alleluia organum – and indeed, the original one – in at least some respects, its extensive use of discant notwithstanding. By contrast, $W_1$, the earliest source to transmit *Alleluya, Adorabo* and the one preserving a version set primarily in *organum purum*, must present the state of this alleluia organum that is farthest removed textually from the original. There is no firm evidence to suggest which if any of the known states of *Alleluya, Posui* was the source of the others. It does, in any event, appear likely that some form this organum must have come into existence before the settings of *Alleluya, Adorabo*, and consequently that a work intended for the most part for feasts of lesser rank, in one sense more utilitarian in function, and with less immediate liturgical relevance to Notre-Dame, was created before one of higher rank and presumably great importance to the cathedral. We should be cautious about attempting to reconstruct the chronology of the *magnus liber* using liturgical or stylistic criteria as the basis of our thinking.

There is more to be gleaned from the clausulae on 'nomini' and 'electum'. Example 1 compares the organum tenors and the chant melodies on which they are based. It is evident that the $W_2$ 'nomini' in *Alleluya, Adorabo* is abbreviated, one of the plainchant notes, corresponding to the second *a* in 'electum', having been omitted from the tenor – along with its duplum polyphony (see Example 2, below, and the accompanying discussion). The reason for this truncated setting becomes evident from an examination of the way this material is presented in $W_2$, shown in Figure 2. The scribe of $W_2$ did not have enough room on the staff for the whole 'nomini' clausula. He could not carry it over onto the next staff, since he wanted to begin the following piece flush left at the beginning of the next line, as was his practice.[23] Thus he was obliged to abridge

[23] This is evident throughout the manuscript; see, for example, the very first page of the *organum duplum* collection in $W_2$, fol. $47^r$, and also fols. $84^v$–$85^r$.



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Example 1 'nomini and 'electum' in plainchant and as organum tenors

the end of the 'nomini' clausula to make it fit, in so doing foreshortening it and recomposing the concluding cadential gesture in the duplum. This kind of pragmatic recasting for the sake of page layout is typical of the work of the $W_2$ scribe; it can also be seen in F and other sources, if not to the same degree, and more extensively in the *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France fr. 146.[24] It has nothing to do with the kind of shortening described in most discussions of this repertory, shortening in order to modernise a work by abbreviating or eliminating its ostensibly old-fashioned *organum purum* melismas. Significantly for an understanding of the process of transmission, this abbreviation and the rewriting it entailed must have been decided on at the moment of copying, and the decision must have been made by the scribe himself. Here we have an example of a musically informed scribe shaping the musical text, but not for the reasons we might have expected.

The recast ending of $W_2$'s 'nomini' clausula apart, the four fully extant versions of 'electum' and 'nomini' present an interesting picture of variation and concordance, as can be discerned from the parallel transcriptions in Example 2.[25] All four clausulae agree at points of tenor/duplum congruence, so that the contrapuntal skeleton is the same in virtually all of them. The only exception occurs at the end of $W_2$'s 'nomini', where it would seem that the shortened ending prompted the scribe to take the duplum line up to a different duplum/tenor simultaneity from the one in the other versions (and, presumably, in his exemplar). In their duplum lines,

[24] See, for example, the abbreviated copies of the three-voice setting of the respond of *Descendit de celis, Tanquam sponsus* (O 2) in F, fol. 15$^{v}$, and $W_2$, fol. 9$^{v}$. On the *Fauvel* manuscript, see *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain*, ed. E. H. Roesner, F. Avril and N. Freeman Regalado (New York, 1990), Introduction, *passim*.

[25] The tenor is given in void notes, the duplum in black notes. *Tractus* strokes in the manuscript, whether they connote rests or something else, are rendered as vertical strokes. The rhythmic implications of the notation have been left out of consideration for the sake of clarity.



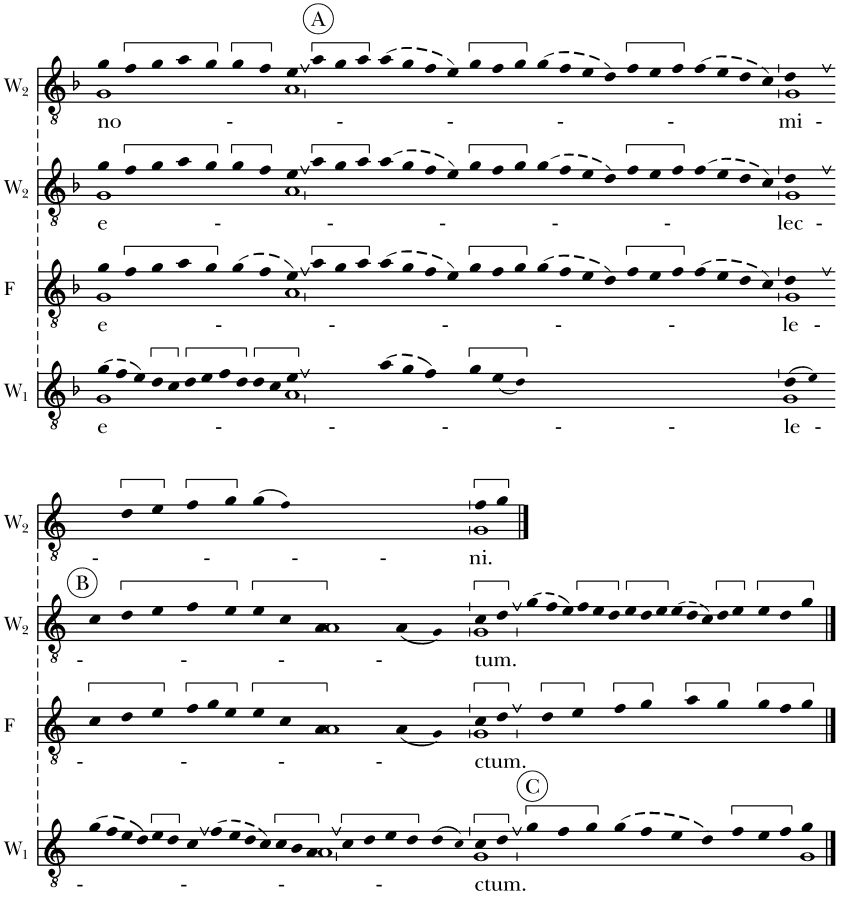
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Figure 2 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmstad. ($W_2$), fol. 71$^r$



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Example 2 Organum settings of 'nomini' and 'electum'

F and the two $W_2$ versions agree up to the final syllable of text, the reworking in $W_2$'s 'nomini' of course excepted. On the cadential flourish over the final syllable that brings the clausula to a close, all three extant versions of 'electum' diverge – a situation typical of such passages in the *organum duplum* repertory.[26] Although $W_1$ presents the same contrapuntal framework as the other clausulae, the duplum in this setting seems to go its own way for the most part. There are nevertheless points of similarity between $W_1$ and the other versions: at letter A in Example 2, the

[26] See Roesner, 'Problem', pp. 375–6.



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second phrase, leading to '-le-' of 'electum', seems in $W_1$ to be an encapsulated form of the more extended line transmitted by the other three clausulae, a kind of summary of the melodic profile that F and the two $W_2$s project through the deployment of one of the most familiar stock melodic formulae, or *colores*, in the whole of the Notre-Dame tradition.[27] (In $W_1$, the three notes of the descending figure *a–g–f* represent the starting points for the three sequential presentations of the *color* in the other sources.) Or, to put it the other way around, $W_1$ offers a less elaborate version of the duplum, one that was not fleshed out and embellished through the introduction of a stock *color*.[28] (In its shortest form, this *color* does turn up in $W_1$, in fact, but used there in a slightly different way and in a different location, at letter C, where it forms part of the cadential flourish at the end of the clausula.)[29] At letter B in

[27] Cf. Anonymous IV's use of this term in the passage quoted at the beginning of this article. Some of these *colores* have been identified by Tischler in the introduction to his *Parisian Two-Part Organa*, but their use has yet to be systematically studied. The most important mention of them in the thirteenth-century literature occurs in the chapters added to the treatise of Johannes de Garlandia in the version of Jerome of Moravia; see E. Reimer, *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, 2 vols. (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 10–11; Wiesbaden, 1972), i, pp. 95–7.

[28] In the present state of our knowledge, it is usually impossible to determine which form of such a passage, the developed one or the briefer one, preceded the other, or even if that is the proper question to ask, the discussion to follow notwithstanding. For another example of a setting that exists in both a simple and a melodically developed state infused with formulaic material, cf. the independent clausula *Ria* in F, fol. 178$^{v}$, syst. 5, with '[Glori]-a' in the doxology of *Cornelius, Cum orasset* (O 14), in F, fol. 74$^{r}$, syst. 6. The independent clausula offers a brief skeletal outline of the polyphony in the organum, the duplum of which fleshes out that outline with a phrase that serves to lay a tonal foundation for what follows, and then with three appearances of a *color*, each cadencing with one of the tenor notes. The skeleton outline moves in duplex-long discant, the expanded version in *organum purum*. The rhythmic language of the two versions appears to be essentially the same, despite the seeming difference in polyphonic idiom; what sets them apart rhythmically may be no more than the constraining power of the steadily moving tenor in the 'discant' version and whatever pre-existing rhythmic profile the *color* may bring with it to the organum setting. Examples such as this one shed suggestive light on the nature of polyphonic idiom that provides a useful counterpoise to the delineations of idiom in the theoretical literature of the period. *Ria* appears in the third cycle of independent clausulae in F, a group of works that R. Flotzinger speculates represents 'eine mehr oder weniger selbstständige Tradition' belonging 'wohl größenteils einem einzigen Überarbeitungsvorgang des Magnus liber und in ihren sonst unbekannten Teilen vielleicht sogar einem einzigen Mann zuzuschrieben'; *Der Discantussatz im Magnus liber und seiner Nachfolge, mit Beiträgen zur Frage der sogennanten Notre-Dame-Handschriften* (Wiener musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, 8; Vienna, 1969), p. 59.

[29] Cf. the use of this figure as a cadential gesture at the close of the respond in *Iudea et Iherusalem, Constantes estote* (O 1) in $W_2$, fol. 47$^{r}$; in slightly varied form as the first part of a cadential gesture on the penultimate syllable of the clausula on 'collaudantes' in *Alleluya, Assumpta est Maria* (M 33) in, amongst others, $W_1$, fol. 39$^{r}$ and $W_2$, fol. 78$^{v}$; and



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Example 2, a similar kind of relationship among the different versions can be seen in the line leading from '-le-' to '-ctum' in 'electum'. Here $W_1$ and the other two extant versions of this passage offer what appear to be two alternative realisations of a single melodic profile – motion to a high note, *f* or *g*, a descent to *a*, and then an ascent leading to *d* on the next syllable. These seem to be two different workings out of the same melodic/harmonic strategy. Worked out by whom, and how? Our second group of examples will provide additional evidence to bring to bear on these questions.

## II

The great responsories *Non conturbetur, Ego rogabo patrem* (O 10) and *Dum complerentur, Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto* (O 11) were sung in Paris at First Vespers, on the liturgically 'adjacent' feasts of Ascension and Pentecost, respectively, the former celebrated at duplex, the latter at *annuale* rank. *Organum duplum* settings of both chants are found in succession in F, $W_1$ and $W_2$.[30] In addition, an incomplete copy of *Dum complerentur* was discovered by Robert Curry in a fourth source, the Polish fragment StS, where it was almost certainly preceded by *Non conturbetur*, as in the other manuscripts.[31] The plainchants on which these two organa are based are closely related melodically – for the most part, in fact, the verses use the same standard mode 3 formula, lightly adjusted to accommodate different numbers of syllables. (There is one crucial distinction among the various settings of the two responsory verses, however: in the case of *Non conturbetur*, the verse chant is pitched on *f* in all three sources, while in *Dum complerentur* it is pitched a fifth higher, on *c*, in two of them, $W_1$ and StS. We shall return to this point briefly in part iii of this article.)[32] As a result, the Gloria

as a *color* that opens the verse of *Alleluya, Nativitas gloriose virginis* (M 38), e.g., in $W_1$, fol. $42^r$.

[30] F, fols. $71^v$–$72^r$ and $72^{r–v}$; $W_1$, fols. $19^r$ and $19^{r–v}$; $W_2$, fols. $49^v$–$50^v$ and $50^v$–$51^r$.

[31] Stary Sącz, Convent of the Blessed Kinga, Gradual d.2, 'fol.' $1^r$; discussed in R. Curry, 'More Notre Dame Two-Part Organa: Newly Discovered Fragments in Stary Sącz, Poland', paper read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, 5 November 1992. I am grateful to Professor Curry for sharing his paper and his colour photographs of the fragments with me.

[32] Like $W_1$ and StS, the Parisian antiphonaries I have consulted pitch both verses high; see, for example, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 15181, fols. $334^r$ and $344^v$,



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patri of *Non conturbetur* in F can also be used for the *Dum complerentur* setting in the same source,[33] while in $W_2$ the same Gloria is copied out twice, once for each organum. Like the chants, the various polyphonic settings are closely related, both among the different states of each responsory and between the two responsories, and there is an elaborate complex of shared material linking the different versions of the two verses and the Gloria patri.[34] For the purposes of the present discussion, I shall consider only the respond sections. The two underlying plainchants are given after the Parisian antiphonary Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 15181 in Example 3, along with the organum tenors as found in the sources transmitting the polyphonic settings. The six extant two-voice settings of the responds, three each of *Non conturbetur* and *Dum complerentur*, are laid out in parallel transcription in Example 4.

It is evident from Example 3 that the solo openings of the two respond plainchants are identical, except that *Dum complerentur* continues with four notes beyond where *Non conturbetur* comes to an end. This distinction is reflected in the organum settings in various ways, as shown in Example 4. F is straightforward, providing music for the four additional tenor notes in *Dum complerentur*. $W_2$, on the other hand, does not include a setting of the four 'extra'

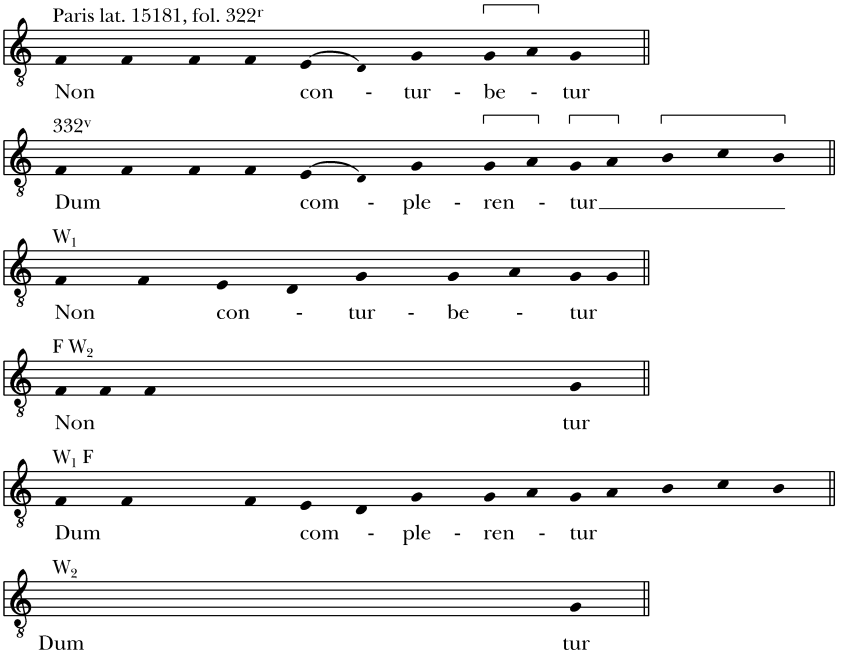
and lat. 10482, fols. 122$^{v}$ and 129$^{v}$. The phenomenon of 'transposition' (if that is what it is) in the organum repertory, whether of the chant being set or of the polyphony, raises important questions, above all regarding the role of literacy and writing in the genesis of this music, that have yet to be adequately considered and that require a full-length study of their own. See, most recently, F. Körndle, *Das zweistimmige Notre-Dame-Organum 'Crucifixum in carne' und sein Weiterleben in Erfurt* (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 49; Tutzing, 1993), pp. 108–17.

[33] This is standard practice in F; cf. the placement of doxologies in the *tripla*, discussed in *Quadrupla et Tripla*, ed. Roesner, pp. lxxxiv and *passim* in the Critical Commentary. In these *organum duplum* settings, the polyphony for the doxology is, like the chant on which it is based, most closely related to the music F and $W_2$ share for the verse of the first of the two organa, *Non conturbetur*, *Ego rogabo patrem*, rather than that for the verse of *Dum complerentur*, *Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto*. It is probably no more than coincidence that doxology organum appears only in those sources in which the verse is pitched low in both settings, F and $W_2$, since $W_1$ does not ordinarily include polyphony for the Gloria in any event, and StS is too fragmentary to permit a determination in this regard, preserving as it does only the end of the verse of *Dum complerentur*.

[34] Mapped in Smith, '*Clausulae*', i, 183–7; and van der Werf, *Directory*, pp. 107–8. Both appeared prior to the discovery of the concordance in StS. The relationships between these works extend further still, to include the verses of other responsory organa as well. Here and elsewhere in the repertory, the interrelationships among the verses to other responsories in the same mode offer important clues to the genesis of this music. These are studied in detail in a forthcoming dissertation by J. L. Roth-Burnette.



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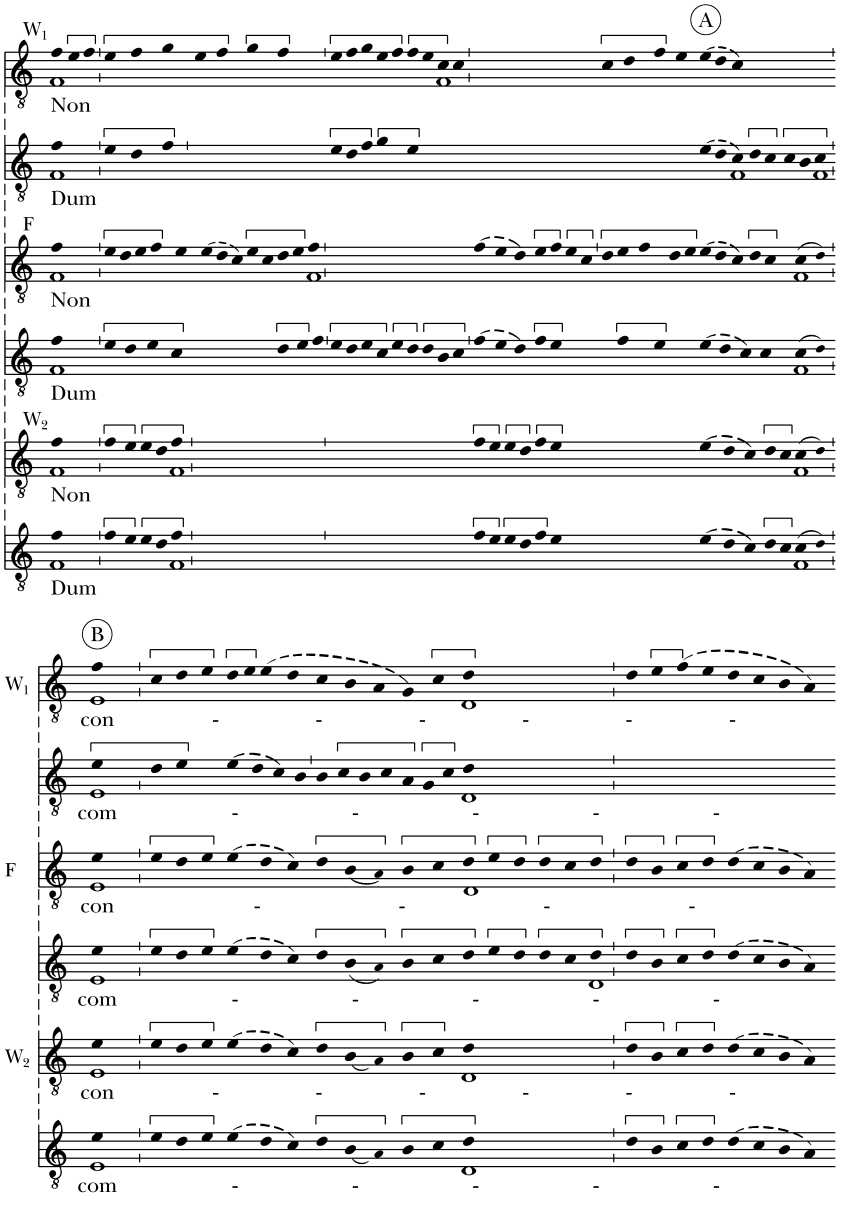

Example 3 The plainchant and organum tenors of *Non conturbetur* and *Dum complerentur*

notes. In fact, the two respond settings in $W_2$ are identical in nearly every respect, suggesting that the organum for *Dum complerentur* is simply a contrafactum of $W_2$'s own *Non conturbetur* setting. This would be typical of $W_2$; its *Alleluya, Adorabo* organum, discussed earlier, is another such example, and still others may be seen in its multiple contrafacta of the three-voice *Alleluya, Nativitas gloriose virginis* attributed to Perotinus by Anonymous IV.[35] The textual situation with regard to the treatment of the last four tenor notes of *Dum complerentur* in $W_1$ is less easy to interpret, but the palaeographical and musical evidence does permit conjecture. There is a striking change of style at the beginning of the duplum setting of the additional tenor notes. Unlike the earlier part of the respond, which moves in the free-flowing, unpatterned ligatures that are typical of $W_1$, the end is uncharacteristically sequential,

[35] $W_2$, fols. 16r–21r (*Alleluya, Nativitas gloriose virginis*; *Alleluya, Sanctissime Iacobe* [M 60]; *Alleluya, Iudicabunt sancti* [M 42]).



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Example 4 Organum settings of *Non conturbetur* and *Dum complerentur*



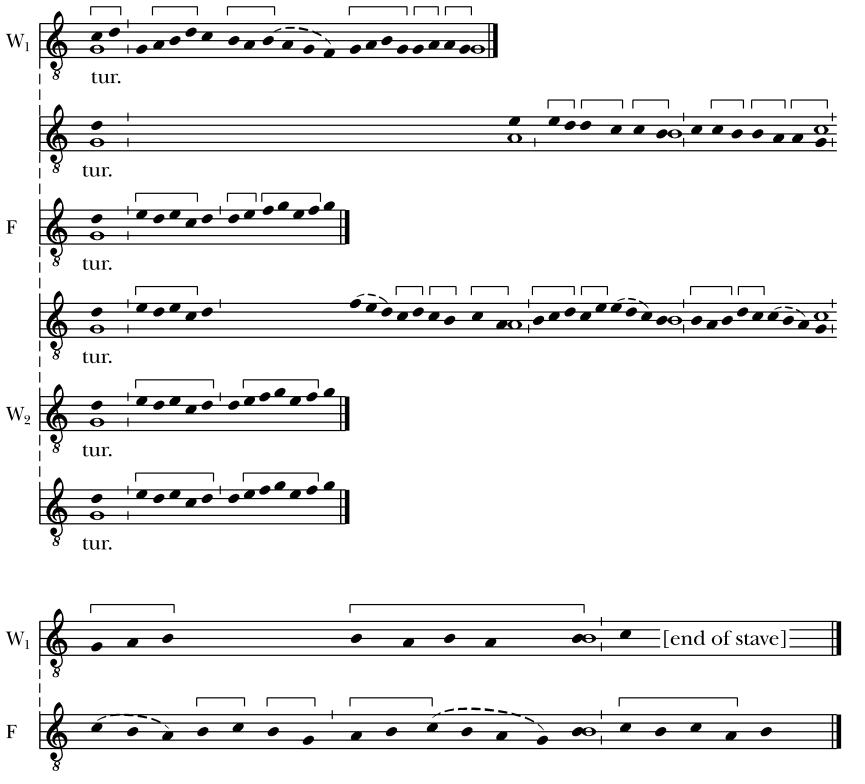
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Example 4 *Continued*



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Example 4 *Continued*

formulaic and rhythmically straightforward. In *organum purum* sections, this kind of duplum writing is frequently to be found in the locally produced organa added to the Scottish manuscript $W_1$ (e.g., the opening of the 'local' version of the gradual *Propter veritatem, Audi filia* [M 37] added at the end of the cycle of Office organa in fascicle 3, fol. 23$^{v}$, and the two-voice Sanctus and Agnus dei tropes at the close of fascicles 3 and 9).[36] It may be that the $W_1$ *Dum complerentur* is itself a contrafactum of a state of *Non conturbetur* now lost, and that the scribe, aware that his adaptation of the respond needed polyphony for four plainchant notes that

[36] For the most recent discussion of the 'local' aspect of $W_1$, see I. Woods Preece, *Our Awin Scottis Use: Music in the Scottish Church up till 1603*, ed. S. Harper (Glasgow and Aberdeen, 2000), *passim*, but esp. ch. 11 (W. Edwards, 'Polyphony in Thirteenth-Century Scotland'). I am grateful to Professor Edwards for sharing his essay with me prior to publication.



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were not set in the *Non conturbetur* organum from which he was working, composed a new ending himself to bring his newly concocted *Dum complerentur* to completion. That the scribe himself may have done this, and done it on the spot, is suggested by the appearance of the passage in $W_1$ (see the facsimile in Figure 3). *Dum complerentur* fills exactly one line in the manuscript, and the end of the duplum spills out well into the margin. The scribe may not have realised the extent of the added material when he laid out the page prior to beginning his copying. Unlike the scribe of $W_2$, who telescoped the end of the 'nomini' clausula to make it fit neatly onto the staff provided for it, the $W_1$ scribe simply continued to enter music out into the margin after he had filled up the staff.[37] But even so he ran out of space, and, instead of writing out a cadential gesture of the sort that would ordinarily bring a work like this to a close, he provided only its first note, *c*, leaving the informed user of the manuscript to supply the rest from his fund of experience (the version in F preserves what may be the music for the missing part of this formula).

Perusal of the six respond settings compared in Example 4 reveals a network of relationships that is not unlike the one discernible in *Alleluya, Adorabo* and *Alleluya, Posui*. The two $W_2$ organa are identical. The two F organa resemble the $W_2$ settings in general terms, apart from the music for the opening tenor *f*s (at the beginning of Example 4, to which we shall return presently), F's considerably shorter approach to the final syllable, '-tur', in *Non conturbetur* (at letter E), and, of course, the treatment of the end of the clausulae, where the two $W_2$ settings agree with F's *Non conturbetur*. The two $W_1$ organa disagree with each other, apart from a few remarkably similar passages, such as the line moving from the penultimate to the final syllable (letter E); and, in turn, they disagree with the other four organa in numerous respects. (In the just-mentioned passage leading from the penultimate to the final syllable, letter E, the two $W_1$ organa offer one group of related gestures, the other four readings constitute a second group.)

On the other hand, there are remarkable coincidences among

[37] Disregard of the boundaries imposed by the writing block is not uncommon in $W_1$; indeed, it happens three other times on the same page, if not to the same extent. What sets the end of *Dum complerentur* apart from these other cases and makes it potentially significant is the change in duplum style at this point.



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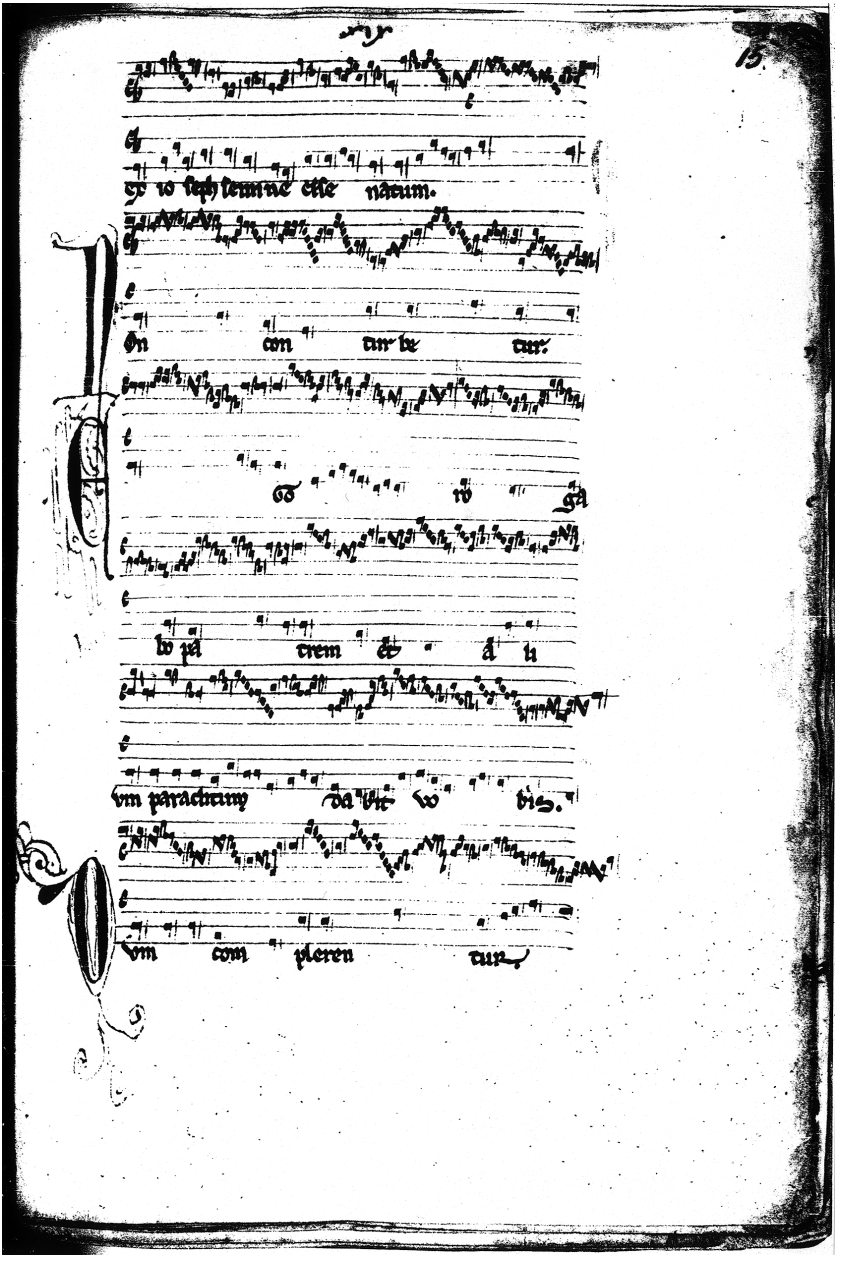


Figure 3 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 628 Helmstad. ($W_1$), fol. 19$^r$



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the six responds. As in *Alleluya, Adorabo* and *Alleluya, Posui*, all of them have the same tenor/duplum simultaneities – except at one place, in the $W_1$ *Dum complerentur*, at '-ple-' (letter C). The explanation for this isolated departure from what is otherwise a shared contrapuntal framework is easily found. For whatever reason, the $W_1$ *Dum complerentur* chooses to omit the duplum phrase leading from the previous simultaneity to the one in question. This would have resulted in uncharacteristically disjunct motion in the duplum line had the original tenor/duplum simultaneity been retained. To avoid this situation, this part of the organum was recomposed, changing the simultaneity to one that would connect more smoothly with what had gone before the omitted phrase.

But the concordances among these six organa are not limited to vertical relationships. For one, certain approaches to structural points recur across the transmission. At letter A, for example, all six organa approach the second syllable of text in the same way, with a three-note descending coniunctura, *edc* (this is followed in all but one of the organa by either a cadential formula that closes the phrase off or a linking figure that leads it to the next simultaneity). For another, the dupla often have identical or similar profiles, differing only in the details of their melodic writing and in the configuration of the ligatures in which they are expressed. A case in point may be seen at letter B, the duplum line over the tenor progression *e–d* on the second syllable of text. (The two F organa stand slightly apart from the others here by including a cadential extension over the tenor *d*.) Another example, at letter C, is the line over tenor *g–g*, setting the third and fourth syllables of text. (All versions agree except the $W_1$ *Dum complerentur*; the latter begins on a different simultaneity and consequently presents a melodic curve that is the opposite of the one in the other organa.) In the following phrase, at letter D, over tenor *g–a*, the two $W_1$ organa would seem at first glance to stand apart from the other four settings, but even here there are points of connection: the *eca* figure used in the F and $W_2$ organa to reach a simultaneity with tenor *a* turns up in the $W_1$ *Dum complerentur*, where however it is used not to approach the tenor *a* but rather to embellish it once the tenor note has entered. Moreover, the lines in the two $W_1$ organa, descending as they do from *e* by way of a coniunctura and a bit of circumlocution to a union with tenor *a*, follow the same



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overall path as the *eca* cadence in the other organa. Similarly, the *eca* figure in the following phrase in the $W_1$ *Dum complerentur*, just mentioned, can be understood as related to the five-note coniunctura with three-note preparation found in three of the other versions at this point.

In these six organa, five different but not dissimilar intonations are to be found at the beginning of the responds, above the repeated tenor *f*s (Example 4, first system). Each organum seems to offer its own solution to the problem of how to establish the *f* sonority that dominates the opening of the piece, and how to project it forward in time and delineate its tonal field vertically. Some of these solutions are well-defined intonation formulae with textual histories of their own in the *magnus liber* that extend far beyond their appearance in one or another of these particular responds.[38] Thus, the opening of the $W_1$ *Non conturbetur* is also found at the beginning of *Alleluya, Nativitas gloriose virginis* in $W_1$ and F (see Example 5a). Similarly, the formula that initiates the F *Non conturbetur* is used at a different pitch level to begin the responsory *Preciosus, Athleta* (O 23), also in F (Example 5b). The openings of the $W_1$ and F *Dum complerentur* organa seem to be varied forms of the *Non conturbetur* formulae used in the same sources. And the two $W_2$ intonations are little more than simple cadential (!) progressions of a type that is ubiquitous in the Notre-Dame repertory, while at the same time resembling the $W_1$ *Dum complerentur*




Example 5a The opening of *Alleluya, Nativitas* ($W_1$, fol. 42$^r$)




Example 5b The opening of *Preciosus* (F, fol. 79$^v$)

[38] Regarding such intonations, see N. E. Smith, 'Interrelationships among the Graduals of the Magnus liber organi', *Acta Musicologica*, 45 (1972), pp. 73–97, at pp. 85–6.



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opening in certain ways.[39] One is tempted to conclude that some *organistae* working with this music chose one stock formula from the repertory of available intonation *colores*, and others chose different ones. Carrying this further, one might speculate whether the intonation was even part of the organum as originally conceived by Leoninus and his contemporaries. The treatment of intonations in other organa adds fuel to such conjecture. In the case of the two-voice organa on *Alleluya, Ascendens Christus* (M 23) and *Alleluya, Iudicabunt sancti*, for example, the verses of these two alleluias are closely related, but each begins with a different stock intonation, the one for *Ascendens Christus* also occurring as an intonation in the verse of *Alleluya, Nativitas gloriose virginis*, among other places, and the one for *Iudicabunt sancti* also found in the responsory *Descendit de celis, Tanquam sponsus*, among numerous other organa.[40] If we suppose that the one alleluia setting was adapted to create the other,[41] as was surely the case with the organa for *Alleluya, Adorabo ad templum* and *Alleluya, Posui adiutorium*, then we can hypothesise that when that adaptation took place, the arranger either chose a different intonation for the new piece from the one used in the original organum or provided one of his own because there was none in his exemplar. But whatever the original conceptions of these alleluias looked like, the intonations in all four of these organa recur essentially unvaried in all the sources transmitting them. Unlike the two responds under discussion, these alleluias exhibit considerable stability once they entered the written transmission.

## III

What would the 'original conception' of works such as *Non conturbetur* or *Dum complerentur* have included? Would there even have been such a thing as an 'original conception'? And, if so, did it

[39] See above, n. 28, for an example of a *color* used variously within the body of a work, as an intonation and as a cadential gesture.

[40] *Alleluya, Ascendens Christus*: F, fols. 115$^{v}$–116$^{r}$; $W_1$, fols. 34$^{v}$–35$^{r}$; $W_2$, fols. 72$^{v}$–73$^{v}$; Si, fols. 4$^{r}$–5$^{v}$ (Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de Monasterio, MS s.n.; facs. in I. Fernández de la Cuesta, 'Fragmento polifónico del "Ars antiqua" en Castilla', *Revista de Musicología*, 7 (1984), pp. 453–66). *Alleluya, Iudicabunt sancti*: F, fols. 132$^{v}$–133$^{v}$; $W_1$, fols. 44$^{r}$–45$^{r}$; $W_2$, fols. 86$^{v}$–87$^{v}$. *Alleluya, Nativitas gloriose virginis*: F, fols. 129$^{v}$–130$^{r}$; $W_1$, fol. 42$^{r-v}$. *Descendit de celis, Tanquam sponsus*, F, fols. 65$^{v}$–66$^{v}$; $W_1$, fols. 17$^{v}$–18$^{r}$.

[41] It is not clear which setting preceded the other.



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take a written form? The evidence offered in the preceding discussion strongly suggests affirmative answers to the last two questions – at least, if by 'written' one is willing to understand not only a text (that is, a 'message', verbal or otherwise) that has been set down on parchment or some other medium, but also a text worked out mentally, without recourse to writing as such, and subsequently committed to memory, whether or not a record of it came ultimately to be made.[42] Without question, this putative 'original conception' included the overall contrapuntal framework as we have it. Throughout the examples considered here, that framework remained intact, unchanged, regardless of how the duplum line was treated, being altered only when external circumstances prompted a change.

It also seems likely that there was an 'original' form of the duplum line as such. This would be self-evident in the case of discant clausulae, which remain essentially unchanged from copy to copy, apart from the variations in cadential treatment that are part and parcel of the Notre-Dame practice;[43] but our examples

[42] On one level, there would seem to be little qualitative difference between these two methods of establishing and preserving a text. To the extent that the content of a text is shaped by its physical appearance on the page, however, the distinction may be more meaningful. In the case of the Notre-Dame tradition, for example, I have argued that the rhythmic modes, and the 'modal rhythm' out of which they emerge, are directly related to the written presentation of the musical material in notation; see 'The Emergence of *Musica mensurabilis*', in E. K. Wolf and E. H. Roesner (eds.), *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue* (Madison, 1990), pp. 41–74. For a somewhat different but not necessarily opposing view of the rhythmic modes, see A. M. Busse Berger, 'Mnemotechnics and Notre Dame Polyphony', *Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996), pp. 263–98. On the function of memory in medieval literacy and culture generally, see esp. M. J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 10; Cambridge, 1990). For different aspects of the question see also J. Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Studies in Literacy, the Family, Culture, and the State; Cambridge, 1987); J. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992); S. Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Studies in Medieval Literature, 27; Cambridge, 1996); and M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1993). On the nature of medieval creative intelligence and the role of 'memory' in it see most recently M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 34; Cambridge, 1998).

[43] For an instructive example, cf. the versions of the clausula on 'et Iherusalem' in *Iudea et Iherusalem, Constantes estote* as transmitted in F, fols. 65$^{r}$ and 147$^{r}$, syst. 3 (organum and independent clausula, respectively; cadential formula 1); and $W_2$, fol. 47$^{r}$ (cadential formula 2). Both formulae end with the same concluding gesture, a figure also used in the preceding independent 'Et Iherusalem' clausula in F, fol. 147$^{r}$, syst. 2 (following cadential formula 3). The clausula on 'et Iherusalem' in the $W_1$ organum on *Iudea et Iherusalem*, fol. 17$^{r}$, is concordant with the first independent clausula in F, but uses



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suggest that it was true of *organum purum* clausulae as well, even of those that, like our examples, sustained extensive variation over the course of their circulation: there are too many instances of shared melodic figures and melodic strategies to support a different conclusion. But, if so, if there was an 'original' form of the *organum purum* line, then that line, unlike the duplum in adjacent discant clausulae, was susceptible to variation and alteration, often not so much in its broad outline as in its extent and in its details, in the choice, positioning and articulation of its melodic gestures.

The clausula on 'omnes' in *Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto*, the verse of *Dum complerentur*, offers additional evidence to support this hypothesis. The sustained-note setting, which has no concordances or parallels in the verse of *Non conturbetur* or the related Gloria patri shared by the two responsories, survives in F, $W_2$ and $W_1$, with the tenor pitched a fifth higher in $W_1$ (see the parallel transcriptions in Example 6). In the preceding part of the verse, 'Repleti sunt', F and $W_2$ offer one setting, $W_1$ another. At 'omnes' the textual situation is much less straightforward. All three states begin with the same two duplum gestures; in $W_1$, however, the duplum is pitched a second higher than in the other sources, while the tenor is a fifth higher, so that instead of moving to a simultaneity on the octave as in F and $W_2$, the $W_1$ duplum moves to one on the fifth. (Despite its being written a step higher, the




Example 6 Organum settings of 'omnes' in *Dum complerentur, Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto*

cadential formula 1 (followed by the concluding gesture found in the other versions). The third independent clausula on 'Et Iherusalem' in F, fol. 147$^r$, syst. 3, a more modest setting, ends with the concluding gesture alone. Formula 2 is identical to the *color* noticed in Example 2, above, at letter C, and cited in n. 29.



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$W_1$ duplum has the same modal identity as the others, as the accidental included in the manuscript confirms.) In the following gesture, the three sources again begin the same, if a second apart, but then finish the phrase differently, so that all three cadence on a fifth. In the next duplum phrase, $W_1$ and F share melodic material, but $W_1$ presents it a fifth higher than F, commensurate now with the higher pitch of its tenor, and in a more extended form; but at the change of syllable $W_1$ again cadences a second above $W_2$, ending on a fifth rather than $W_2$'s octave. (F also cadences on a fifth, but uses a different approach to the simultaneity.) The clausula finishes with $W_1$ and $W_2$ presenting the same cadential gesture but a second apart, while F deploys a different one. For the most part, then, F and $W_2$ agree against $W_1$, but $W_1$ shares their duplum melody, sometimes situating it a second higher, sometimes a fifth. For whatever reason and however it was transmitted, the duplum line associated with the 'omnes' plainchant maintained much of its melodic integrity and modal character independent of pitch level and harmonic context.

All this raises questions both about how much of the duplum line was actually specified in that 'original conception', and about what the musical substance in that line 'meant' – how the reader/singer would have reacted to it.

Thickets of variant readings in *organum purum* such as those in Examples 2, 4 and 6 might remind one of Bernard Cerquiglini's now classic observation that 'medieval writing does not produce variants; it is variance'.[44] Indeed, few of these variants seem to represent deterioration of an 'original' musical text in the conventional sense. But neither do the great majority have the appearance of haphazard or random changes. Taken as a whole, these variants include, among other things, (1) the addition, removal or replacement of cadential gestures that round off the phrase, of linking material that joins the phrase to the following one, and of lead-ins that direct the line to a position of melodic 'weight'; (2) the ornamental reinforcement of important notes, for example emphasising the first note of a coniunctura with melodic turns, repetition and the like; (3) the filling-in of leaps in the melody with stepwise motion, or the reverse; and (4) the addition or

[44] B. Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris, 1989), p. 111: 'Or l'écriture médiévale ne produit pas des variantes, elle est variance.'



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removal of stock *colores*, the expanding or contracting of *colores*, the replacement of one *color* by a different one, and the repositioning of *colores* to different parts of the clausula. All these tactics could be used in flexible combination with one another. Most of them serve to mould underlying melodic substance that seems by nature to be neutral with regard to function, focusing and defining the duplum line so the phrase will behave in one way rather than another.

These different versions of what is essentially the 'same' music bring to mind the early thirteenth-century Vatican organum treatise (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 3025),[45] with its extraordinary collection of 343 examples culled in large measure from standard Notre-Dame melodic practice, as Steven Immel has shown,[46] and systematically arranged according to the underlying contrapuntal progression and the relative elaborateness of the figure.[47] Thus, the first four Vatican examples, shown in transcription in Example 7, demonstrate florid duplum motion over the tenor progression *c–d*, with the duplum moving from a simultaneity on the octave to one on the fifth. The examples grow progressively longer and more wide-ranging, but they all keep what is essentially the same melodic profile in the duplum. Notice that the fourth example expands the duplum internally by inserting a



Example 7 Examples 1–4 from the Vatican treatise
(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. 3025, fol. 46[r])

[45] Facs. and edn in F. Zaminer, *Der vatikanische Organum-Traktat (Ottob. lat. 3025): Organum-Praxis der frühen Notre Dame-Schule und ihre Vorstufen* (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 2; Tutzing, 1959); and in I. Godt and B. Rivera, 'The Vatican Organum Treatise – A Colour Reproduction, Transcription, and Translation', in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) in Memoriam, von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols. (Institute of Mediæval Music, Musicological Studies, 49; Henryville, Pa., 1984), ii, pp. 264–345.

[46] S. Immel, 'The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-examined', in this volume.

[47] Cf. A. M. Busse Berger, 'Die Rolle der Mündlichkeit in der Komposition der "Notre Dame-Polyphonie"', *Das Mittelalter*, 3 (1998), pp. 127–43, esp. pp. 137–8.



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slightly embellished form of the melodic *color* deployed in different ways in Example 2, above (at letter A in F and $W_2$, at C in $W_1$). Situated in different harmonic contexts, this figure recurs in several other Vatican examples, including the one given in Example 8, where the vertical framework is not unlike that of Example 2.



Example 8 Example 211 from the Vatican treatise

Other Vatican examples bear a close resemblance to stock Notre-Dame intonation formulae; for a striking if familiar case in point, compare the opening of the responsory *Descendit de celis, Tanquam sponsus* as found in $W_1$ (Example 9a) with the Vatican melody given in Example 9b. In fact, a significant number of the melodic elements in Examples 2 and 4 can be found in the Vatican treatise, where they seem to be used as raw duplum material that could be taken up, adapted or modified as needed, and combined with other melodic elements for deployment in a variety of functional contexts. As we have just observed, this is precisely the way these sorts of elements are used in the organa of the *magnus liber*.




Example 9a The opening of *Descendit de celis* ($W_1$, fol. 17$^v$)



Example 9b Example 39 from the Vatican treatise

Some of the variations in these organa may be the result of tightening or loosening on the part of the scribe/editor, the work of a copyist with a particular notion of how the music should go, or perhaps the product of the imposition of a certain manuscript 'house style'.[48] The tendency of the readings to group by source

[48] 'House style' in the Parisian manuscripts and its impact on the musical texts they transmit are discussed in Roesner, 'Problem', pp. 386–99.



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certainly does not weaken this possibility. This hypothesis may be valid especially for the readings in $W_2$, with its remarkable consistency of melodic and notational usage, its heavily mensuralised musical orthography, and its striking instances of contrafactum adaptation, and there are traces of scribal intervention in the other sources as well.

But this 'editorial' explanation by itself can hardly account for the sheer number and scope of the variants seen in the preceding examples. This brings the discussion back to the question of what the 'original' duplum line would have been like, and how it would have been utilised by those for whom it was intended. For the variations in the organa are precisely what one would expect to find in different performances of a work within a developed cantorial tradition in which the singer enjoyed wide creative latitude in interpreting the music he was performing. And this brings us back to the Vatican treatise. Leo Treitler has suggested that the Vatican examples arose as 'neu erfundene Konkretisierungen' of material belonging to a primarily oral 'Moment virtuoser Sängerkunst',[49] while Immel proposes that they represent a compendium of Parisian melodic usage methodically excerpted from the written tradition.[50] Whatever their origin and their intended

[49] L. Treitler, "Der vatikanische Organumtraktat und das Organum von Notre Dame de Paris: Perspektiven der Entwicklung einer schriftlichen Musikkultur in Europa', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 7 (1983), pp. 23–31, at pp. 25, 27.

[50] See above, n. 46. Viewed in this way, the collection of 'examples' in the Vatican treatise can be thought of as an alternative form of transmission for the organum repertory: rather then presenting the Notre-Dame corpus as a group of compositions as such, as complete works arranged according to their liturgical function, it may serve as a kind of database of polyphonic elements organised systematically according to a different principle, one based on contrapuntal progression and relative melodic prolixity, that would enable the user to generate however many complete works (or, at least, large *organum purum* clausulae) he chose. In the underlying organisation of its material according to a theoretical principle rather than according to a functional sequence, the Vatican treatise bears a certain resemblance to the tonary, which groups chant material according to mode and melodic character within broad categories, and to a number of other types of medieval literature that compile and reorganise texts, eschewing narrative logic and chronological sequence in favour of ease of access and flexibility of use. The implications of this view of the treatise as a transmission in its own right of the Parisian tradition await exploration; some of them are considered in general terms in my article on the Codex Calixtinus mentioned in the acknowledgements at the beginning of this essay. In a forthcoming publication, Anna Maria Busse Berger examines the role of the tonary in facilitating the learning and memorisation of the chant repertory, and relates it to such medieval literary types as the florilegium and the proverb collection (I am grateful to Professor Busse Berger for sharing a draft version of her paper with me).



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function in the Vatican treatise itself, these examples afford to the modern analyst a glimpse into how the musicians of Notre-Dame would have thought about and reacted to the duplum material in the written documents on which their performances of the organa directly or indirectly depended. Whatever their circumstances of origin and function, the Vatican examples suggest that the singer had a variety of approaches to the individual 'composed' melodic gesture or phrase available to him. It could have been expanded, contracted, closed off with a cadence, led seamlessly into the following phrase, or shaped in any of the other sorts of ways recorded in the organum manuscripts. Or, if the material were well enough known, or stable enough for some other reason, it could have been performed 'straight' – as written, as 'originally conceived'.[51] If the notation in the 'original' duplum line looked anything like the orthography in the Vatican treatise, then it conveyed melodic content first and foremost rather than rhythmic intent. (In this respect it would have differed fundamentally from the versions in all the extant *libri* and from the books Anonymous IV knew.)[52] Steeped in the idiom, the individual singer's personal approach to the Notre-Dame melos, with its distinct but fluid impulse towards rhythmic organisation, may have played not merely an important role, but sometimes even the decisive one in determining how the line would be articulated, how its melodic gestures would be moulded and given rhythmic definition, and how, finally, they would come to be expressed – or re-expressed – in the rhythmically significant musical notation we

See Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 174–85 for the use of florilegia in the recreation of existing texts and the creation of new ones.

[51] The discussion of *colores* in Jerome of Moravia's text of Johannes de Garlandia cites familiarity and recognisability as producing *color*, by means of which the listener could derive pleasure; see Reimer, *Johannes de Garlandia*, i, pp. 95, 97.

[52] To judge from his own words (see the passage quoted at the beginning of this article and Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, i, *passim*), the *magnus liber* familiar to Anonymous IV was written in a strongly mensuralised notation. The surviving manuscripts vary in the degree to which their notation is mensural and in the particular mensural dialect employed, but virtually all of them – at least, all the thirteenth-century copies – use rhythmically significant notation of some sort, at least for the organa. The lone exception is the Vatican treatise, which transmits the components of the Parisian tradition rather than the repertory itself. It is, of course, possible that the rhythmically neutral Vatican notation was 'transcribed' from the kind of notation found in the other sources, and that it was deployed purely for the sake of efficiency, to permit the scribe to pack the maximum amount of material onto the page, rather than because that was the form in which he or his author knew the Notre-Dame repertory.



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know from the surviving manuscripts. In the creative milieu suggested by this hypothesis, composition and improvisation are intermingled, predetermination and *ad hoc* decision-making merge, and there is no clear line separating the written from the oral creation and transmission of musical texts.

Both our analyses of the surviving organa and the remarks of Anonymous IV cited at the beginning of this article suggest the conclusion that written material lay behind the singers' individual performance practices. But we do not know the exact form those written materials took or what the singers did with them – whether the manuscripts were sung from directly or were used in some other way. Some may have contained fully worked-out redactions, 'finished' compositions as we would understand them. It is conceivable that others, or, at any rate, some of their *organum purum* clausulae, transmitted little more than skeleton outlines that included prescriptions for fleshing out the musical substance of the duplum in performance. What form any such prescriptions might have taken is as much a matter for speculation as the possibility of their existence in the first place. Different organa, or organa by different composers, may initially have been written down in different degrees of specificity. This hypothesis would go part way towards explaining why some *organum purum* sections were subject to wide-ranging variation of the sort documented in the examples discussed in this article, while others, the clausula on 'Viderunt' in the two-voice *Viderunt omnes, Notum fecit dominus* (M 1), for example, remained largely unchanged over the course of their transmission (this is so in the case of 'Viderunt' despite the fact that the intonation that begins it shows no such stability in its deployment throughout the repertory).[53] But whatever form

[53] See the copies of *Viderunt omnes* in F, fol. 99$^{r}$, $W_1$, fol. 25$^{r}$, and $W_2$, fol. 63$^{r}$; cf. its intonation with the form assumed by this *color* in, e.g., *Propter veritatem, Audi filia* in F, fols. 128$^{r}$ and 129$^{r}$, $W_1$, fol. 41$^{r}$, and $W_2$, fol. 84$^{r}$. Stability may not necessarily be a sign of an 'original' state of the work, however. Speculation in this regard is invited by a particularly intriguing case, the opening of the very first work in all three of the principal *magnus liber* collections, *Iudea et Iherusalem, Constantes estote* (F, fol. 65$^{r}$, $W_1$, fol. 17$^{r}$, $W_2$, fol. 47$^{r}$). The *organum purum* setting of 'Iudea' is the same in all three sources, apart from differences in notational dialect and a few minor details. This setting is unusual in several respects. It makes no use of the sort of formulaic material characteristic of *organum duplum* intonations; and, related to this, its opening material is not found elsewhere in the repertory (indeed, none of its melodic content occurs elsewhere in the *magnus liber* collections). It does not make use of the florid and wide-ranging melody typical of the sustained-note idiom, instead flowing in strict modal rhythm of a kind that suggests a



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these 'original conceptions' took, they are likely to have served as the points of departure for realisations of the work in performance that could have delineated the duplum line in ways as diverse as those in our examples. It seems reasonable to conjecture that some of these realisations were the direct ancestors of the organa as we have them; they were written down, the very singers who had produced them most likely acting as scribes, in effect recording the singers' individual performance practices. The compilation of the repertory into large *libri* and its written recension by subsequent generations of scribes – a recension that could itself have been interrupted by more rounds of cantorial development – contributed further to the emergence of the musical texts that we now possess. It was in this primarily written facet of the transmission that much of the replacement of one clausula by another, of discant by discant, or *organum purum* by discant, or discant by *organum purum*, would most likely have occurred. This facet of the

secure control of fully developed modal theory as well as modal practice; and the highly patterned duplum line is neatly divided into complementary phrases. These stylistic features resemble the idiom of copula described by Johannes de Garlandia (see Reimer, *Johannes de Garlandia*, i, p. 88); and *Iudea et Iherusalem* is cited as an example of copula by the St Emmeram Anonymous (*De musica mensurata*, ed. Yudkin, p. 276). In all these respects, the clausula on 'Iudea' stands apart from the rest of the organum and from the rest of the repertory. Material used in the clausula is found elsewhere, however: the first phrase is used in the *Ars cantus mensurabilis* of Franco of Cologne, where it serves (without text) as an example of *organum purum*; see *Franconis de Colonia ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. G. Reaney and A. Gilles (Corpus scriptorum de musica, 18; American Institute of Musicology, 1974), p. 81. And nearly the whole of it appears in a Benedicamus domino setting in the early fourteenth-century Spanish manuscript Burgos, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, cód. ix, fols. 24$^{v}$–25$^{r}$, where it opens the work and then leads into a virtuoso melismatic flourish to conclude the *organum purum* clausula on 'Benedicamus'; facs. in *El còdex musical de Las Huelgas (música a veus dels segles XIII–XIV): introducció, facsímil, i transcriptió*, ed. H. Anglès, 3 vols. (Publicacions del Departament de Música del Biblioteca de Catalunya, 6; Barcelona, 1931), ii; and *Códice musical de Las Huelgas Reales de Burgos* (Madrid, 1997). (It is one of several reworkings of earlier material to generate new compositions in the Las Huelgas Benedicamus domino repertory.) These two appearances suggest that the 'Iudea' duplum led a somewhat independent existence, and that it may have been regarded as a *color* in its own right. If so, it was a *color* that stood apart from the normal corpus of Parisian *colores* in terms of style, function and transmission. It may have entered the Parisian tradition late in the history of the repertory; were that to be the case, it would very likely be a replacement for an earlier clausula on 'Iudea', one that would probably have been more conventional in its melodic usage, and that was dropped from the tradition prior to the compilation of any of the surviving manuscripts or their exemplars. With the 'new' 'Iudea' in place, the Parisian organum collection begins with a setting that is a vivid demonstration of modal rhythmic virtuosity (to what extent can be seen in my edition of this work after $W_1$ in vol. 7 of *Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, forthcoming) that draws attention to the power of temporal *mensura* as the defining aspect of the tradition (cf. the opening sentence in the treatise of Johannes de Garlandia; Reimer, *Johannes de Garlandia*, i, p. 35).



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transmission also saw an imposition of manuscript 'house styles'. It was at the end of this recension that the *ad hoc* composition and recasting we have noticed in $W_2$ and possibly $W_1$ took place.

The *magnus liber* may have been in circulation for more than a century, as Anonymous IV implies, but in all likelihood the collection Anonymous IV knew, like the books with which we are familiar today, differed in numerous respects from the *liber* that he says Leoninus had once 'made' and that Perotinus had 'revised'. Who produced the versions of the *magnus liber* that we know from the surviving manuscripts? The *organista*, the singer, the scribe – it would seem that all of them had a hand in it, and that each of them played a role that can be deemed 'creative'. Of the various acts involved in the generation of the organa as we know them, composing, singing, copying, two or even all three may have been performed by the same individual. If we assume nevertheless that these acts are qualitatively different, we can define the roles of the composer, singer and scribe in the creation of the organa in general terms. However, we cannot often do much more than that – we cannot ordinarily determine what the contribution of each may have been to the evolution of any specific passage.

Directly or indirectly, this article has raised more questions than it settles. (For one: why would the *organistae* and singers have treated *organum purum* differently from discant? Was it because the absence of a moving tenor in *organum purum* loosed the constraints on the creative impulses of both of them? Or does sustained-note organum hark back to an earlier, 'freer' practice, a tradition transformed in the new creative milieu of Paris but nevertheless retaining many of its earlier ways? Are these two possibilities actually two sides of the same phenomenon? For another: it is likely that notation played a role in the genesis of this music, but what information did that notation communicate to the reader?) And it has sketched a blurred picture of the 'beginnings of polyphonic composition in the modern sense'. But perhaps it is the kind of picture we should expect when those beginnings are viewed in perspective, within the context of the performance-driven polyphony that was the normal way of doing business in the twelfth century.

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