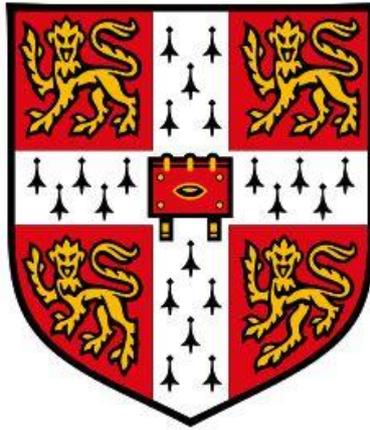


**The Creation of Parisian *Organum Purum*:
Office *Organa Dupla* in the MLO Sources**



Chloë Nicola Allison

Selwyn College

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Supervisor: Professor Susan Rankin

Faculty of Music

University of Cambridge

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

To my family,
especially Grandma and Grandpa,
who started this journey with me
but are not here to see me finish it.

Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit.

Chloë Allison

Cambridge, 19 November 2021

Chloë Allison
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Abstract

This study explores how late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century musicians working in Paris created *organum purum*. *Organum purum* is a way of singing chant in two voices that involves the notes of the chant melody being sustained for many times their usual length underneath long and elaborate melismas sung in a newly-fashioned upper voice. Previous scholars have considered the creation of *organum purum* through the lenses of the medieval *ars memoriae* and Vatican *Organum Treatise* (VOT). In this study, detailed analysis of the *purum* melodies recorded for the extant repertory of thirty-six *organa dupla* on chants for the office collected in W1 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 628 Helmst.), F (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1) and W2 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmst.) provides the basis for a new assessment of creative processes.

The first half of this dissertation present the results of a wide-ranging comparison of the creative procedures evident in all of these upper-voice melodies. They were mostly made in similar ways, indicating that Parisian musicians shared a creative idiom that supported many different aspects of this polyphonic practice. This idiom included, among other things, shared ways of using large intervals and repeated notes, techniques for beginning and ending sections and a set of strategies for developing melodies.

Having outlined this basic creative idiom, I then compare different transmissions of organal settings of individual chants in order to determine what the similarities and differences between them might reveal about how musicians created *organum purum*. Edward Roesner is the only previous scholar to have compared different settings to these ends. In Chapter 4, I engage closely with his suggestion that musicians transmitted models which were not complete, and might sometimes have comprised only consonances and outlined only elements of melodic shape. Singers would then have ‘realised’ these models in different ways, leading to the recording of what might be regarded as the ‘same *organum*’ in different ways in the extant manuscripts. I propose an alternative hypothesis: that there were two processes that led to the same *organum* being recorded in different ways. First, musicians deliberately varied melodies, sometimes singing what was originally the same melody in substantially different ways. Second, sometimes they sang different and unrelated settings of individual passages or whole sections within an *organum*. Any sharing of consonances or melodic detail between such passages is more likely to have been the result of their creation having been supported by the same creative idiom, rather than the two sharing a skeleton model.

Passages that are entirely different settings of the same portion of chant are considered in Chapter 5, where the melodies in the W1, F and W2 collections are compared stylistically. The majority of these melodies were created in similar ways, but there are a significant number of melodies in F and W2 that were formulated differently. This means that, even though the W1 office *dupla* contain the most *unica* material, that *unica* material is not stylistically idiosyncratic. Instead, it is the F and W2 repertoires that contain more idiosyncratic elements: melodies made up of reusable building blocks shared across different *organa* and which involve considerably less repetition and development than the majority of *purum* melodies. This suggests that, despite W1 having been made at St Andrews in Scotland, its repertoire of *organa dupla* for the office was for the most part Parisian, at least from a stylistic point of view.

The last chapter considers the possibility of further distinct creative styles. These are evident in the remaining office *dupla* that are recorded only in W1 or F. These pieces include two sets of three *organa*, which may have been copied from different exemplars from the other pieces in the collections. They contain melodies unlike those found elsewhere in the extant repertory. It is possible that these give a glimpse of creative styles that were developed by singers at other institutions from those whose practice was recorded in the rest of the office *dupla* collections.

The different analyses and detailed comparisons carried out in this dissertation allow fixed, notated *organa dupla* to act as records of creative practices. They make it possible to understand not just how those *organa* which happen to have survived were created but also how various different communities of musicians created *organum purum* more widely. By the time the extant manuscripts were copied, probably at least fifty years after *organum purum* was first sung in Paris, there were most likely particular versions of some of the office *organa* that were sung frequently. Comparing large numbers of the extant *organa* and considering the creative processes to which they bear witness, however, can give a glimpse of all the polyphony that was sung and never notated, or that was notated but which did not survive.

Acknowledgements

This work would not have been possible without the funding of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the invaluable help and guidance of Professor Susan Rankin. Her support and encouragement has taught me to be rigorous, detailed, and clear, and I thank her for challenging me in such a way always as to open up avenues for exploration and new thought. Thank you to Dr Sean Curran who, along with Professor Rankin, inspired my interest in the subject as an undergraduate. Your continued support during my graduate journey has been invaluable.

I am grateful to all the members of the Covent Garden Seminar Group, from whom and with whom I have learnt so much over the last four years. Particular thanks must go to Adam Matthias with whom I enjoyed many stimulating discussions of all things Parisian.

Finally, thank you to Anna-Luise for copious cups of tea, a desk with a view and for listening to my ramblings when they were very much at a developmental stage. I will be forever sad that circumstances did not allow us to finish our theses together in your front room. Thank you to all the friends I co-opted into reading my work along the way, especially Charlie who has been both an academic and emotional rock throughout.

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Abbreviations

AIV	The Theorist Anonymous IV
MLO	Magnus Liber Organi
F	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1
W1	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 628 Helmst.
W2	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmst.
VOT	The Vatican <i>Organum</i> Treatise, in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 3025

Note on Transcriptions and Examples

Example passages from the office *organa dupla* are presented in almost every chapter. These examples are sometimes only a few *ordines* long; sometimes they present a short passage; and in some cases, they give an extended section or whole *organum*.

In all of the transcriptions, both the *duplum* and tenor voices are transcribed in note heads. Plicated notes are transcribed as small notes. The transcriptions of the *duplum* voices show the ligature groupings in the manuscripts. In this way, the rhythmic information given by the manuscript is recorded, but, given the problems discussed above, it is not interpreted. *Ordo* marks in the manuscripts are marked with short vertical lines.

Occasionally, the alignment of the two voices is ambiguous in the manuscripts. Where this is the case, I have considered the fact that, almost always in *organum purum*, except at the beginning of new sections and passages, a new tenor note aligns with the end of the melisma. I have, therefore, aligned the voices in this way, unless there is a good reason not to do so. For instance, where a dissonance would be created if the voices were aligned in this way, or where the scribe seems to have had to adapt what he is copying depending on the spacing in a particular manuscript.

One issue that has been discussed previously regarding the transcription of *organum purum* is the alignment of voices at the start of sections, and occasionally internal passages, where the *duplum* rises onto the opening consonance from one step underneath it. If the two voices sounded at the same time, that would mean that either a fourth or a seventh would sound between them before they reached a fifth or octave consonance. Commentators have debated whether the voices would indeed have sounded at the same time, or whether the tenor would have begun as the *duplum* voice reached the consonance with it.¹ In this study, I have transcribed the two voices in alignment. This is because they are almost always presented in this way in the manuscript. This is not a claim, however, that they would necessarily have sounded simultaneously.

Although the main focus of this study is *organum purum*, sometimes passages of *discant* are transcribed, usually as part of a longer section or whole *organum*. These passages of *discant* are not analysed in detail themselves. They are discussed in order to show how and where they are used in whole *organa* or to show how they are shared between *organa* over different tenor melodies. Where I present a passage of *discant*, both voices are still transcribed as note heads only. The alignment of the two voices is informed both by the formation of consonances and the likely modal interpretation of the passage. The rhythm of these passages is not discussed, and in no case is the alignment of the voices presented as the only way in which they could have been sung. My transcriptions are effective in supporting the investigation undertaken in this study, given that rhythm, *discant* and the alignment of voices are not the focus. They are not small excerpts of something

¹ See Edward H. Roesner, 'The Performance of Parisian Organum', *Early Music*, 7, 1979, 174-89.

intended as an authoritative edition. For editions of the office *dupla* repertory, I direct the reader towards *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, volumes VII (W1), II (F) and VIA-B (W2).²

Numbering of Examples

The figure numbers begin again at 1 at the start of each chapter. They are labelled in the following way:

Chapter Number. Figure Number *Responsory V. Verse* (Ludwig Catalogue Number): Manuscript (*ordines*)

For instance:

Figure 0.1 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): W1 (*ordines* 1-5)

Where the example passage appears in two or more different manuscript versions, I list the different manuscripts and the *ordines* within those manuscripts separately:

Figure 0.2 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): W1 (*ordines* 1-5), F (*ordines* 1-6) and W2 (*ordines* 1-7)

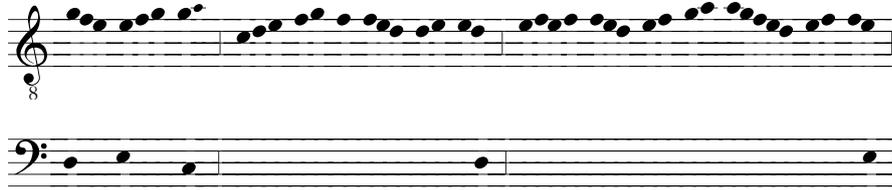
There are often small notational differences and differences between individual pitches or repeated notes in what is essentially the same passage. Where a passage appears in multiple manuscript versions, therefore, it is the first version listed that is the exact version transcribed (in the example above - the W1 version).

To help readers orientate themselves within the *organum* in question, each example includes at least one complete word of the chant text. Syllables of text which would sound during the singing of the music presented are marked in bold. Others are provided for context only, not in bold. Those that either do not sound, or are already sounding before the music starts are presented in square brackets.

² Edward H. Roesner (ed.), *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VII: Les organa et les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, Monaco: Éd. de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 2009. Mark Everist (ed.), *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris II: Les organa à deux voix pour l'office du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1*, Monaco: Éd. de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 2003. Thomas Payne (ed.), *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VIA-B: Les organa à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.*, Monaco: Éd. de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1996.

In this example, the word on which this passage is sung ('vos') begins before the notated music, so it appears in square brackets. It sounds throughout the passage so is marked in bold.

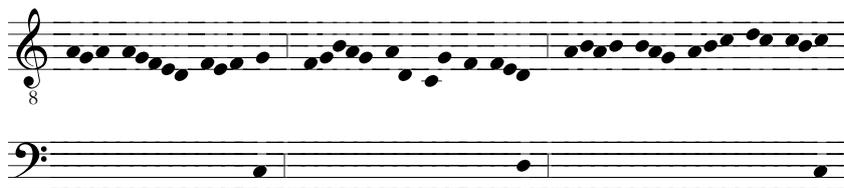
Figure 0.3 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): W1 (*ordines* 73-5)



[vos]

In this example, the passage is sung on the second syllable of the word 'natos'. That syllable is already sounding before the start of the passage, so the word is presented in square brackets. The first syllable does not sound during the example, so is in plain text. The second syllable does sound so is marked in bold.

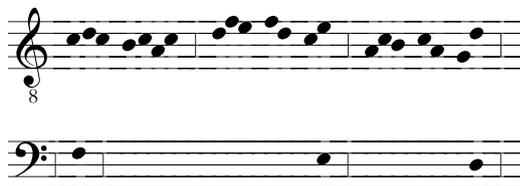
Figure 0.4 *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* (O13): W1 (*ordines* 10-12), W2 (*ordines* 14-6) and F (*ordines* 13-5)



[natos]

In this example, the music is sung to the second syllable of the word 'domini'. The second syllable is the only one that sounds during the passage, so it is marked in bold. The other syllables are shown at the start and end of the passage in square brackets and in plain text.

Figure 0.5 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): W1 (*ordines* 64-5)



[do-]mi-

[ni]

0. Introduction

In the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries, Paris must have been an exciting place to live. As the newly centralised seat of the French royal family and their aristocratic court, it was politically stable and economically prosperous.¹ During this period, the city's infrastructure was greatly improved, supporting, and no doubt also encouraging, rapid population expansion (a rise from about 25,000 in the early twelfth century to 80,000 by the mid thirteenth century).² In 1163, on the Île de la Cité, work began on the new cathedral of Notre-Dame. This monumental project, which would take nearly 170 years to complete, is testament to the cultural and political importance of Paris at this time.

Adjacent to Notre-Dame, on the left bank of the river, schools of theology and the seven liberal arts sprang up and expanded as scholars and students travelled long distances, across many national borders, to what was to become the intellectual centre of Western Europe. This collection of individual schools was officially recognised as a 'university' by Pope Innocent III in 1215.³ With increased numbers of scholastic and ecclesiastical institutions, as well as individual royal and aristocratic patrons, there was both a demand for and the money to support developments in technologies of book-making. Just a few minutes from the cathedral, in the Rue Neuve Notre-Dame, lay one of the first medieval centres of commercial book production.⁴

At this time, Paris also became a leading musical centre. Because of increased economic prosperity and the establishment of the new cathedral, there was the means to employ vocally virtuosic and highly creative musicians from among the greatly expanded pool arriving to study at the university. These musicians, employed at Notre-Dame and most probably at other Parisian churches, sang the plainchants for the celebration of the yearly cycles of the mass and the office, and, on important feast days, polyphonic settings of those plainchants. These musicians developed new and complex ways of singing polyphony, creating not only the most ambitious music of its kind from this period, but also the most widely disseminated, thanks to scholastic migration to and from Paris across Western Europe. Based on both extant manuscripts and fragments and the study of lost sources mentioned in catalogues and inventories, it is known that Parisian

¹ John Baldwin, 'King Philip and His Government', in *Paris, 1200*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010, 94-127.

² Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 235-7; and Baldwin, 'The City and its Bourgeoisie', in *Paris, 1200*, 30-1.

³ For further discussion of the university, its masters and their teaching methods, see Baldwin, 'The Schools', in *Paris, 1200*, 175-213; Ian Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris: Theologians and the University, c. 1110–1330*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012; and Simone Roux, *Paris in the Middle Ages* (trans. J. A. McNamara), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. Christopher Page has discussed how music was taught at the university, noting a silence from the curriculum regarding polyphony, with the liberal arts curriculum instead focusing on Boethius' *De institutione musica* ('The Masters of Organum', in *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300*, London: J.M. Dent, 1989, 137-143).

⁴ The best discussion of the technologies and expansion of Parisian book production at this time is Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500*, London: Harvey Miller, 2000.

polyphonic music made its way to other cities in France (Sens, Beauvais, Avignon), to various cities in Britain (London, Worcester and St Andrews in Scotland), to Spain (Toledo, Santo Domingo de Silos and Burgos), to Rome, to Poland (Stary Sącz, near the Carpathian Mountains) and perhaps even to Sweden (Linköping).⁵

0.1 Before Parisian Polyphony

The first surviving record of polyphonic singing is the anonymous ninth-century treatise *Musica enchiriadis*.⁶ It discusses two different kinds of two-voice polyphony that it calls *organum*. In both kinds, the chant was sung in the top voice and another voice (the *organal* voice) was added below it. The first option was to sing simply in parallel fifths and octaves. The second was to start each phrase with the two voices at a unison, use sustained tones in the *organal* voice until the chant had risen to a fourth above it, then sing most of the phrase in parallel fourths. At the end of the phrase, the *organal* voice would then sing sustained tones again, as the chant would descend to finish the phrase at a unison with it. The largest collection of extant polyphony that uses parallel fourths and sustained tones is in the early eleventh-century Winchester Troper.⁷

By the first part of the twelfth century, polyphonic practice had changed significantly. The two voices had exchanged places and the chant was sung in the lower voice with an *organal* voice added above it. There was also a greater variety of intervals between the two voices and it was no longer entirely note-against-note polyphony. Instead, some notes of the chant were sustained and short melismas (mostly of up to six pitches) were sung above them in the *organal* voice. Polyphony of this kind survives in nine manuscripts recording practical music, as well as two treatise (*Ad organum faciendum* and the St-Martial Treatise) from the early part of the twelfth century. Four transmit mostly polyphonic settings of Latin versus and are linked to Saint-Martial de Limoges (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1139, 3549 and 3719 and London, Brit. Lib. Add. 36881). Another twelfth-century manuscript, containing polyphony in a similar style, is the Codex Calixtinus (London, Brit. Lib. Add. 12213), linked with Santiago di Compostella in Northern Spain.⁸ It contains polyphony for the feast of St James.

⁵ Edward H. Roesner, 'Notre Dame', in M. Everist and T. F. Kelly (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 834-80, at 836. See also Peter Jeffery, 'Notre Dame Polyphony in the Library of Pope Boniface VIII', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32, 1979, 118-24; and Rebecca Baltzer, 'Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found', *Journal of Musicology*, 5, 1987, 380-99.

⁶ For an introduction to *Musica enchiriadis* and other early treatises on polyphony see Sarah Fuller, 'Theoretical Foundations of Early Organum Theory', *Acta Musicologica*, 53, 1981, 52-84.

⁷ For an introduction to Winchester polyphony see Susan Rankin, *The Winchester Troper: Facsimile Edition and Introduction*, Early English Church Music, 50, London: Stainer & Bell, 2007.

⁸ For more on the Aquitanian tradition and Codex Calixtinus see Sarah Fuller, 'Early Polyphony', in R. Crocker and D. Hiley (eds.), *The New Oxford History of Music, II/2: The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, 485-556; and Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, Berkeley (CA): University of California Press, 1992.

0.2 New Ways of Singing Polyphony

What has come to be known as Parisian polyphony also involved the addition of voices above the chant melody. In other ways, however, Parisian polyphony was very new. Most importantly, Parisian musicians were the first to develop a practice and system of measured rhythm, made up of a series of repeating rhythmic patterns. This allowed musicians to coordinate different voices exactly. This meant that polyphony was no longer limited to two voices and note-against-note or sustained tenor styles. Instead, three and four voices could sing together, with musicians able to control the vertical intervals that sounded between them.

Polyphony was assigned to feasts depending strictly on their liturgical class. The more important a feast, the more polyphony was sung.⁹ In the extant manuscripts containing the Parisian repertory, Christmas and Easter, the most important feasts in the church calendar, are provided with the most polyphony.

It is likely that the creation of this new kind of polyphony began in the second half of the twelfth century, after construction of the cathedral started but it is impossible to give an exact date.¹⁰ We do know that complex polyphony was sung at the cathedral by the end of the twelfth century, since two, three and four-voice polyphony was mentioned in an edict made by Odo of Sully, Bishop of Paris, in 1198. In this edict, Sully sought to regulate the celebration of the feast of the circumcision, or the feast of fools, which involved much revelry and parody of the divine service. As well as outlawing the worst excesses, Sully decreed that the Vespers responsory and the *Benedicamus domino*, the third and sixth responsories at Matins, and the Gradual and Alleluia of the mass could be sung in two-, three- or four-voice polyphony.¹¹

It is unclear exactly how long into the thirteenth century polyphony of this kind was sung at Notre-Dame or elsewhere. The earliest of the three main extant manuscript sources containing this polyphony is from the second quarter of the thirteenth century and the latest from the beginning of the second half of the thirteenth century. As will be discussed, however, there is an extent to which the large extant manuscripts are probably late, perhaps retrospective collections, monuments to an important and highly valued musical tradition. Their existence does not necessarily indicate that liturgical polyphony was still being created and sung at the time of their copying in the same way as it was sung at the end of the twelfth century.

Whilst it was the system of measured rhythm that made Parisian polyphony particularly new, the focus of this thesis will be neither the rhythmic parts of the repertory, nor the new three- and four-voice polyphony that it enabled. I will instead explore unmeasured two-voice polyphony, that layer of the repertory that has

⁹ For a discussion of the liturgical use of the extant Parisian repertory, see Wright, 'Gothic Polyphony', in *Music and Ceremony*, 235-72.

¹⁰ Everist discussed the problem of dating the start and end of the composition of Parisian *organum* with any certainty in 'The thirteenth century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 67-86, at 72-3. He pointed out that although the edicts do give some dates with certainty, it is not possible to tell whether the four-voice pieces mentioned came at the end of a period of compositional development, indicating that the composition of Parisian *organa* was completed by the end of the twelfth century, or whether there are elements of the extant, 'Perotinian' repertory that must have been composed after the two datable pieces.

¹¹ This decree was translated and discussed by Wright in *Music and Ceremony*, 239.

been studied the least. There are two kinds of two-voice polyphony.¹² In *discant*, the tenor (the lowest voice) moves quickly and there are mainly two or three notes in the upper voice (*duplum*) per tenor note. The voices are rhythmically measured and both follow a set of repeating patterns so that they align. In *organum purum*, long melismas, without measured rhythm, were sung in the *duplum* over sustained chant notes in the tenor.

Passages of both *discant* and *organum purum* are recorded in the extant sources as part of *organa dupla*. An *organum* is a polyphonic elaboration of those portions of a plainchant usually sung by a soloist. The remaining parts of the chant were sung monophonically. In the case of office responsories (the portion of the repertory that will be considered here), this included the responsory, the verse and often the first half of the Gloria. When an *organum* was sung as part of the liturgy, these passages of polyphony sung by soloists would alternate with passages of chant sung by larger numbers of singers. In *organa dupla*, passages of *purum*, *discant* and plainchant alternate.¹³ Although I will make comment on where and how passages of *discant* are used within the extant *organa*, the main focus of this thesis is *organum purum*, particularly how it was created and recreated.

0.3 The Office *Organa Dupla*

Organum purum is a two-voice polyphonic style. There are no extended passages of *organum purum* in the three- or four-voice pieces.¹⁴ There are passages in *organa* for three and four voices where the notes of the tenor are sustained (as in *organum purum*), but in these cases the upper voices are rhythmicised (unlike in *organum purum*). Sometimes in such situations, the modal rhythmic patterning seems to loosen at cadence points. It is possible that this might be considered closer to *organum purum*. This might not be unlike (as is almost always the case) passages of two-voice *discant* being concluded with a cadence in *organum purum*.

The extant *organa dupla* are contained within three main manuscripts (F, W1 and W2). All three of these contain two separate cycles, one of office *dupla* and one of mass *dupla*. As well as these three, there are a number of other manuscripts which contain individual *organa* or fragments. Altogether, there are fifty-nine *organa* elaborating mass chants, and thirty-six elaborating office chants.

¹² Everist discusses *organum per se* (*organum purum*), *discantus* and a third style *copula* in ‘The thirteenth century’, 72-7. Like *organum purum*, *copula* involves upper-voice melodies being sung over sustained tenor notes, but with those upper-voice melodies exhibiting elements of modal rhythmic patterning. There are certainly such melodies in the office *organa dupla* under examination here. The distinction between *copula* and *organum purum* is often blurred, however, particularly given that the rhythm of *organum purum* is in itself a thorny issue that has been much debated. I will discuss issues related to rhythm and outline my approach to it in this thesis later in this introduction (21-3).

¹³ For an introduction to the different Parisian polyphonic styles, see Roesner ‘Notre Dame’, especially 848-9.

¹⁴ Whilst passages of *organum purum* are not shared between two- and three- or four-voice settings of the same chant, concordances in passages of *discant* between the extant *organa dupla* and the extant *tripula* and *quadrupla* are charted by Norman E. Smith in his PhD dissertation. (*The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School: A Repertorial Study*, PhD. Diss., Yale University, 1964.) The introduction to the catalogue of *clausulae* appears on 159, and the portion on the office pieces is from 167-228.

As I will discuss later, it is clear that *organum purum* melodies were varied, passages within *organa* were substituted, and many different ways of singing these *organa* coexisted.¹⁵ There is an extent to which, therefore, it is chance that these particular *organa dupla* have survived (although of course particular versions of *organa* may have come to have been particularly popular and to have therefore been more widely circulated). In this thesis then, I do not seek to ask only how the extant *dupla* were created, but to explore the processes of creation to which they bear witness and thereby to give an insight into the creative practice that produced many more melodies than those that happen to have survived. For this endeavour, what is needed is an analytical sample, one large enough to be able to give an insight into the creation of *organum purum*, but still of a size where the melodies themselves can be considered in great detail within the scope of this thesis. My sample is the office pieces. In choosing to focus on them, I make no claim that they are in any particular way separate or to be distinguished from the mass *dupla*. It is simply a question of what is possible within the scope of this thesis. A very clear next step will be to explore to what extent the conclusions reached in this study of the office *dupla* can also be applied to the mass *dupla*, and what, if anything, the mass *dupla* have to add to this discussion.

The extant office *dupla* repertory is summarised in **Table 0.1**.¹⁶ There are thirty-four office *organa dupla* in F, eleven of which also appear in W1, and fifteen in W2. There are also three pieces that are found only in W1. Shaded boxes show the *organa* in each manuscript. *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia*, the last piece in the W1 collection, is a mass *organum*. Its appearance alongside the office pieces will be discussed later in this thesis.¹⁷ A two-voice version of the processional *Crucifixum in carne* does appear in W2 but not with the office pieces. Instead it appears at the end of the collection of mass *organa dupla*, out of liturgical order, before a collection of empty staves and then some *Benedicamus domino* settings.

As well as the pieces in this three main manuscripts, there are office *dupla* and fragments of office *dupla* recorded in eight other manuscripts. **Ber** (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Potsdamerstrasse), MS Lat. 4^o 523: 20) contains a setting of the responsory and first two words of the verse of *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos*.¹⁸ **Da** (Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 3471)

¹⁵ This is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁶ The contents of each of the three manuscripts was first catalogued by Ludwig in his *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols., Langen bei Frankfurt: Halle, 1910.

. The more recent editions of the *dupla* repertory are Hans Tischler (ed.), *The Parisian Two-Part Organa: The Complete Comparative Edition*, 2 vols., Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1988; Everist (ed.), *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris II*; Payne (ed.), *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VI A–B*; Edward H. Roesner (ed.) *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VII*.

¹⁷ The W1 *unica* are discussed in Chapter 6 beginning on 272.

¹⁸ Eva Maschke has discussed the *organum* fragments in **Ber** and **K**. They are recorded in a more modern notation than the *organa* in F, W1 and W2. She described the version of O24 in **Ber** as an abridged version of the *organum* recorded in F, W1 and W2. She pointed out that the layout of the Berlin fragments is the same as the main Notre Dame manuscripts and their appearance points to professional book production. Because of their later notational features, however, they cannot be from a first generation Notre-Dame manuscript. She found clearer evidence that the Copenhagen fragments were used to support liturgy and their format differs from the main Notre-Dame manuscripts. They are plain, with limited decoration, and she suggested this indicated they were copied in a monastery or convent, possibly a Franciscan house. (See ‘On Book Collectors and the Circulation of Medieval (Host) Manuscripts: The

contains settings of two *dupla* responsories, *Stryps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix* and *Regnum mundi* V. *Eructavit cor meum*. The first of these is the same as the setting in W2 but the second is a unique setting. **K** (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, MS 1810 4^o) contains a portion of the respond and most of the verse and doxology of *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* and a unique setting of *Dicant nunc Iudei* up to the end of ‘per[diderunt]’. **StS** (Stary Sacz, Klasztor PP. Klarysek, fragments extracted from the binding of the gradual D.2) contains the end of the verse of *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* (from ‘et ceperunt’ onwards), the verse and Gloria of *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* (with some portions lost) and the opening of the verse of *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset* (up to ‘cum orasset’).¹⁹ **Er1** (Erfuhrt, Domarchiv, MS Lit. 6A), **Er2** (Erfuhrt, Domarchiv, MS Lit. 11), **KA** (16 Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS St. Peter Perg. 16) and **MzD** (Mainz, Domchor Archiv (unnumbered)) all contain settings of the processional *Crucifixum in carne*.

This study will be limited to the office *organa dupla* recorded in F, W1 and W2. For the most part, the versions and fragments in these smaller manuscripts are the same as versions in the three main manuscripts. A future project must explore what concordances between these sources and the three main manuscripts might tell us about the spread of polyphony from Paris across Europe. This would involve collating a large amount of codicological and paleographical information about the fragments themselves and about their host manuscripts and their afterlives. There is not space for such a project within the scope of this thesis. The work undertaken here will certainly contribute to such an exploration, however. The project will greatly increase our understanding of Parisian musical practice, by outlining the different ways in which Parisian *organum purum* was created, suggesting how creation and recreation might have been involved in its circulation and how the repertory extant in F, W1 and W2 might have been shaped by different creative traditions. With this knowledge, it will be possible to assess to what extent the versions of the office *dupla* in these other manuscripts might still be considered Parisian and whether they might themselves bear witness to alternative musical traditions, distinct from, but related to that cultivated in Paris.

Copenhagen and Berlin Organum Fragments Revisited’, *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association*, 76, 2020, 535-576.)

¹⁹ Katarzyna Grochowska has suggested that the Franciscan Order was involved in the transmission of the Stary Sacz manuscript and that it possibly originated in the University of Oxford. (See *Tenor Circles and Motet Cycles: A Study of the Stary Sacz Manuscript [PL-Ss Musz 9] and Its Implications for Modes of Repertory Organization in 13th-Century Polyphonic Collections*, PhD. diss., University of Chicago, 2013, 444–52.)

0.4 The Three Main Manuscripts

W1 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 628 Helmst.)

The oldest of the three main manuscripts is W1 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 628 Helmst.). Edward Roesner dated the manuscript to 1326 or a few years earlier, based on a paleographical dating of marginalia by James H. Baxter.²⁰ This date was later disputed by Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson and David Hiley in a composite article. They examined the handwriting, flourished initials, and sequences and mass items respectively, and together suggested that W1 was copied in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.²¹ This earlier dating was refined by Mark Everist, who brought the work of Brown, Patterson and Hiley into dialogue with work on the dating of the breviary Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 12036 by François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann.²² He compared the flourished initials in W1 with those in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 12036, and in doing so showed that W1 was likely datable to approximately 1230, a date later supported by Rebecca Baltzer.²³

W1 was in some way connected with St Andrews in Scotland. This connection was first made by Friedrich Ludwig, the first scholar to catalogue the repertory.²⁴ Not long after, it was supported by Jacques Handschin, who concluded that W1 was likely made for St Andrews because it contains two responsories for the feast of St Andrew at the end of its third fascicle (*Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* and *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut*).²⁵ Neither of these responsories appear in the other manuscripts containing the Parisian repertory. Heinrich Husmann disputed the link with St Andrews, looking further at these two responsories. He argued that they must have been for first and second Vespers of the feast of St Andrew respectively. They must therefore have been written for a rite which used the two responsories in this order for first and second Vespers. Because of this he ruled out most of France, most of England and Scotland, including St Andrews, and argued instead that these pieces were for the Notre-Dame liturgy.²⁶

²⁰ James H. Baxter (ed.), *An Old St Andrews Music Book (Cod. Helmst 628)*, London: Humphrey Milford for Oxford University Press, 1931; also discussed by Roesner in 'The Origins of W1', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 29, 1976, 358-69.

²¹ Julia Brown, David Hiley and Sonia Patterson, 'Further Observations on W1', *Journal of the Plainsong & Medieval Music Society*, 4, 1981, 53-80.

²² François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire, VIIe-XXe siècle, Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987; discussed by Mark Everist in 'From Paris to St Andrews: The Origins of W1', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43, 1990, 1-42.

²³ Rebecca Baltzer, 'The Manuscript Makers of W1: Further Evidence for an Early Date', in D. B. Cannata et al. (eds.), *Quomodo cantabimus canticum?: Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, Miscellanea 7, Middleton: American Institute of Musicology, 2008, 103-20.

²⁴ Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum*.

²⁵ Jacques Handschin, 'Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame', *Acta Musicologica*, 4, 1932, 5-17; and 'A Monument of English Mediaeval Polyphony: The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 677', *The Musical Times*, 74, 1933, 697-704.

²⁶ Heinrich Husmann, 'Saint-Germain und Notre Dame', in B. Hjelmberg and S. Sørensen (eds.), *Natalicia Musicologica Knud Jeppesen*, Copenhagen: W. Hansen, 1962, 31-6; 'The Origin and Destination of the Magnus liber organi', *Musical Quarterly*, 49, 1963, 311-30; and 'The Enlargement of the Magnus liber organi and the Parisian churches St Germain l'Auxerrois and Ste. Geneviève du-Mont', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 16, 1963, 176-203.

Husmann's assessment was not widely accepted. Roesner rejected it on two grounds.²⁷ First, he pointed out that the two responsories for St Andrew were already copied out of liturgical order, since their proper place would be between *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* and *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt*, rather than at the end of the collection. Because of this, he argued that the significance of the order of the two *organa* is greatly reduced. They could therefore have been part of a liturgy related to Salisbury, since the Sarum Rite did use both responsories at Vespers just the other way around, with *Vir iste* V. *Pro eo ut* before *Vir perfecte* V. *Imitator Ihesu Christi*.

Roesner also argued that the two responsories might not both have been sung at Vespers at all; one might have been for Matins, since a number of the *organa* with which they are recorded in W1 were sung at Matins. He noted that this is how they are used in the York and Exeter Rites: *Vir perfecte* V. *Imitator Ihesu Christi* as the first responsory at Vespers and *Vir iste* V. *Pro eo ut* as the ninth responsory of Matins. They could therefore have been related to any number of English or Scottish liturgical centres. Roesner went on to suggest that the Cathedral of St Andrews was the most likely candidate, since these pieces were additions to a complete collection, extra pieces of polyphony for a feast that was particularly special to the institution for which they were written. He supported this claim with a detailed codicological study, particularly of various marginalia that discuss St Andrews, other places in Scotland and various members of the Scottish clergy. There is one marginal marking in particular, an *ex libris* in the 7th fascicle, dated to the start of the fourteenth century, that identifies the book as having belonged to the cathedral at least by that point.

Recently, Katherine Kennedy Steiner made a rather different assessment of the origin of W1.²⁸ Building on the preliminary work of Mark Everist on the same topic,²⁹ she carried out a detailed study of Mauvoisin, Bishop of St Andrews at the start of the thirteenth century, and the ways in which he constructed links between his court in St Andrews and France. Mauvoisin, who was himself of French descent, built up a Francophile community in St Andrews, surrounding himself with French clerics with French University education, and building a new cathedral in the Northern French Gothic style. Kennedy Steiner argued that, because of his links with and love for French culture, Mauvoisin sought to acquire Parisian polyphony when seeking new music befitting the status of the new cathedral. She argued, unlike earlier scholars, however, that he did not intend the polyphony in W1 to be sung by the Augustinian clerics at the Cathedral, but instead by a monastic community in St Andrews, the Céli Dé. When he took over as bishop, the Céli Dé were following an outdated form of Celtic monasticism, and were constantly in conflict with the Augustinian clerics at the cathedral. Instead of abolishing them, Mauvoisin transformed them, filling their important positions with upwardly mobile Franco-Norman clerics, most of whom had received a university education, like those in his household. They became a secular chapter and eventually the royal chapter of

²⁷ Katherine Kennedy Steiner, *Notre Dame in Scotland: W1 and Liturgical Reform at St Andrews*, PhD. diss. Princeton, 2013.

²⁸ Kennedy Steiner, 'A Bishop's Dream: Malvesin at St Andrews Cathedral', in *Notre Dame in Scotland*, 8-66.

²⁹ Everist, 'From Paris to St Andrews'.

St Andrews. It was these clerics, Kennedy Steiner argued, rather than the Augustinians, who sang the music in W1, particularly since the Augustinian reformers were against polyphonic singing of any kind.

She supported her argument by considering W1 alongside the antiphoner Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 12036, which had earlier been considered by Everist in his dating of the manuscript.³⁰ She suggested that, whilst the antiphoner was most likely used in the cathedral, rather than in the Bishop's Chapel, it was most likely not used by the Augustinian canons but by the Céli Dé, since it venerated old, insular saints. She argued that, if Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 12036 was attached to the cathedral, this gives, for the first time, a liturgical manuscript against which W1 could be compared. She found a closer relationship between the office liturgy in W1 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 12036, than with the York and Sarum liturgies with which Roesner compared W1.

W1 contains *organa* for two, three and four voices, as well as collections of *discant clausulae*, *conductus* for two and three voices, and monophonic songs. Although, unlike F and W2, W1 does not contain specific collections of motets, there are a small number of pieces in fascicles 8 and 9 that are motets but presented without their plainchant tenors. Groups of pieces of the same genre for the same number of voices appear together, organised according to the yearly liturgical cycle, beginning with Advent and Christmas pieces. Unlike the other manuscripts, which will be discussed shortly, it also contains polyphonic settings of Ordinary chants in its 11th fascicle.

Two very detailed codicological studies of W1 have been carried out by Roesner and much later Kennedy Steiner.³¹ The two came to different conclusions regarding the process by which it was copied. Roesner proposed that it was copied by three different hands. Based on ink changes, alteration in the grade of script, letter formation and *ductus*, he argued that fascicles 1-5 and 8-10 were copied by one scribe, fascicles 6 and 7 by another, and fascicle 11 by a third.³² Kennedy Steiner disputed this, arguing that, although not all of W1 was copied at the same time, it was all copied by the same scribe. This was because all the quires were pricked in the same way, and because a small number of letters were formed with the same idiosyncratic *ductus* throughout the manuscript. She argued that the sloppy execution of fascicle 7 was the result of the same scribe having to copy three-part music on pages ruled for two-part music, and thus reducing the space available for copying text. She suggested that the differences in shading in fascicle 11 were the result of a different nib size and rougher parchment, rather than evidence that it was the work of a different scribe.³³

Given the disagreement between Roesner's assessment and Kennedy Steiner's, there is clearly further paleographical work to be undertaken on W1. Paleographical questions intersect with my work on creation in two ways: firstly, where I discuss the style of the two responsories for St Andrew and the mass *organum*

³⁰ Everist, 'From Paris to St Andrews', 8-13.

³¹ Edward H. Roesner, *The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of its Origins and of its Eleventh Fascicle*, PhD. diss., New York University, 1974; and Kennedy Steiner, *Notre Dame in Scotland*.

³² See Roesner's introduction to *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VII*, xliiii-lvii.

³³ Kennedy Steiner, *Notre Dame in Scotland*, 78-90.

copied with them at the end of the office *dupla* in fascicle 3, and secondly where I discuss possible stylistic similarities between these three pieces and the elaborations of Ordinary chants in fascicle 11.³⁴ If it were possible definitively to say that these groups of pieces were copied in a different hand from other parts of the manuscript, that would support my argument that they are stylistically contrasting with other portions of the repertory in W1 and that therefore they might give us insight into the way in which musicians at St Andrews appropriated Parisian polyphonic style and made it their own. Whilst that is not possible at this point, the fact that the whole manuscript might have been copied by the same hand does not make it impossible that the add-on fascicle three pieces and those in fascicle 11 were shaped by musicians in St Andrews. The manuscript could have been copied from different exemplars, some of which recorded Parisian polyphony and others of which polyphony fashioned in St Andrews. Both these sets of pieces are after all separated from the rest of the repertory, either at the end of fascicle 3 or at the very end of the manuscript in a fascicle of their own.

Although W1 is ruled in a similar way to the other two manuscripts, and its contents are arranged similarly, it was much less neatly copied. It also used generally lower grade parchment, and includes fairly poor flourishings. In addition, there are large numbers of marginal annotations, and greater signs of wear in W1 than in the other manuscripts. Kennedy Steiner has suggested, therefore, that it was more likely used to support practical musical making in some capacity than the other manuscripts, which are more akin to presentation copies.³⁵

F (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1)

The largest and grandest of the three manuscripts is F (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1). It contains *organa* for two, three and four voices (settings of 59 chants for the Mass, 34 chants for the office and eleven settings of the *Benedicamus domino*). It also contains 462 *discant clausulae, conductus*, monophonic songs and (unlike W1) a whole collection of Latin motets. It is organised like W1 with pieces of the same genre and for the same number of voices copied together.

There has been much less disagreement over the date and provenance of F than of W1. It was copied in Paris around the middle of the thirteenth century. Robert Branner considered the art it contains, and suggested a date after 1236.³⁶ Rebecca Baltzer proposed a date between 1245 and 1255, based on a consideration of the style of the illuminated initials.³⁷ It is possible that it had a royal patron. Mark Everist

³⁴ The W1 *unica* are discussed in Chapter 6 beginning at 272.

³⁵ Kennedy Steiner, *Notre Dame in Scotland*, 110.

³⁶ Robert Branner 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter', *The Art Bulletin*, 54, 1972, 24-30.

³⁷ Rebecca Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25, 1972, 1-18.

argued this based on the presence of gold and azure and the fleurs-de-lys figure in the initial of fol. 1r.³⁸ Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo similarly considered F more likely a royal manuscript, commissioned by Louis IX, than one for use in the cathedral. They suggested, therefore, that it was likely copied in the lead up to the dedication of the Saint-Chapelle on 26 April 1248, and presented as a gift on that occasion.³⁹

It is written on fine grade parchment, and is beautifully and plentifully decorated. F was not a book intended for use by performers in whatever capacity. Instead, it was a collected volume, one intended as a full and detailed record of a prestigious musical tradition. There is considerable evidence that the scribe of F sought to collect as much music as possible, since they copied it from different exemplars, and left folia of ruled but empty staves, perhaps in order to copy extra pieces if they found them, without disrupting the careful organisation of the book.⁴⁰ For these reasons, F has been described by Susan Rankin as a ‘monument’ to the Parisian tradition of polyphonic singing, which was, by the time F was copied, highly valued and widely disseminated.⁴¹ Unlike W1, F is not exclusively a book of music that could be sung as part of the liturgy. It contains other repertoires some of which might possibly have been sung as part of the liturgy, including Latin motets, and some which possibly were not, such as the monophonic refrain songs in fascicle 11.

W2 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmst.)

W2 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmst.) is much smaller than F. It is in two parts. The first six fascicles are arranged in a similar way to W1 and F. They contain *organa* and *conductus* first for four voices, then three and then two. Fascicles 7 to 10 contain motets, *conductus* and *organum prosulas*. W2 contains just one *discant clausula*, a four-voice setting of ‘mors’ from *Allehuya V. Cristus resurgens* (fasc.1, fols. 5r-v.), but it does have four fascicles of motets in both Latin and French. Apart from the first of these, they are, unlike the motets in F, arranged alphabetically.⁴² It is probable that four copyists were responsible for the first six fascicles and another three text scribes and a single music scribe for fascicles 7-10. There is

³⁸ Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities, New York and London: Garland, 1989, 83-6.

³⁹ Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo, ‘*Magnus liber – Maius munus*: Origine et destinée du manuscrit F’, *Revue de Musicologie*, 90, 2004, 193-230.

⁴⁰ There are a number of reasons to suggest that F was copied from multiple exemplars. Firstly, it often contains many different settings of the same chant. For instance, its scribe copied both two- and three-voice versions of tens of office responsories, and there are in some cases tens of equivalent *discant clausulae* in two, three and four voices. Generally, the scribe grouped pieces of the same genre and for the same number of voices together and arranged them according to the liturgical cycle of the mass and the office. Within some groups of pieces, however, there are smaller subgroups also arranged into separate liturgical cycles, which were probably copied from different exemplars. Finally, the scribe, unusually, left pages in the manuscript ruled with stave lines, but without music copied onto them. It is possible that this space was left in order that other pieces could be copied at a later stage from other exemplars. In this way, it would have been possible to copy any additional pieces next to those of the same genre for the same number of voices, office *dupla* with the other office *dupla*, for instance, without disrupting the careful arrangement of the book.

⁴¹ Susan Rankin, ‘The Study of Medieval Music: Some Thoughts on Past, Present, and Future’, in D. Greer (ed.), *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future. Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, London, 1997*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 154-68.

⁴² See Payne’s introduction to *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris V1A–B*, lxiii-xcvii.

consistency across the whole manuscript in the preparation of the parchment for music, however, and it seems therefore that it was intended at least at some stage to comprise a single coherent document.⁴³

Whilst it is much less plentifully decorated than F, the style of the initials is consistent throughout and it is these that have been used to date the manuscript to most probably the middle of the thirteenth century, between circa 1250 and 1270. Baltzer suggested between 1260 and 1275 and Everist between 1240 and 1260.⁴⁴ It was probably copied in Paris but its original owner is unknown. Roesner has suggested that elements of its content and liturgical ordering might link it to the church of Saint-Jaques de la Boucherie.⁴⁵ Thomas Payne has also pointed out some idiosyncratic features of its contents and suggested that they might eventually lead us to a more specific origin or patron. These include the lack of *organa* for a number of important feasts, including the Week and Octave celebrations following Easter, Pentecost and Assumption and for the feasts of Mary Magdelene, the Finding of St Stephen, the Exultation of the Cross, St Denis and the Votive mass of the Holy Trinity.⁴⁶ Payne has suggested that this might have been the result of the church for which W2 was copied bowing to another neighbouring church for the celebration of particular feasts or the fact that it did not follow the Notre-Dame rite for those feasts. He has also pointed out that the idiosyncratic omissions might have been the result of a desire to make the repertory recorded a general one, not specific to any particular liturgical environment. This would, of course, mean that those idiosyncrasies could not be used to determine more specifically the origin of W2.

Broadly speaking, this thesis will be set out in two parts. In the first, I will explore how musicians created *organum purum* melodies and used them as part of *organa dupla*. Chapter 1 will outline the limited ways in which the creation of *organum purum* has been explored by previous scholars. It will then propose a new analytical approach to tackling this question, which will give a more detailed insight into the creative process. Chapter 2 will analyse a large portion of the repertory, considering the strategies and melodic procedures that supported the creation of *organum purum* melodies. Chapter 3 will then focus on how whole *organa dupla* were created, particularly exploring how *organum purum* melodies were used and reused as part of whole *organa*.

The creation of *organum purum* has rarely been discussed in any detail. In the second half of this thesis, however, I will turn to a question on which scholars have spent much more time. Whilst some of the office *organa* are recorded in almost exactly the same way in all three manuscripts, others vary greatly. Sometimes, two versions of an *organum* might be the same apart from one short passage, or they might be almost entirely different apart from one short passage. Many previous scholars sought to explain this variety as the result of various processes of editing and updating. I will not seek to explain it in the same way. Instead, I will

⁴³ See Payne's introduction to *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VLA–B*, lxiv–v.

⁴⁴ Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures', 17; Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, 108.

⁴⁵ Roesner (ed.), *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris I: Les quadrupla et tripla de Paris*, Monaco: Éd. de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993, lxxii.

⁴⁶ See Payne's introduction to *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VLA–B*, lxxii.

explore the processes of creation and recreation to which this variety bears witness, processes that drove and shaped a polyphonic tradition, only a small glimpse of which was recorded in the extant manuscripts. In Chapter 4, I will compare different versions of the same passage within particular *organa*, assessing how they differ from each other, and suggesting what this might tell us about how musicians recreated the melodies they sang. In Chapters 5 and 6, I will explore the possibility that the variety in the extant repertory might show that different groups of musicians, perhaps in different places, had different ways of creating *organum purum* and *organa dupla*.

As well as contributing to discussions about *organum purum* and *organa dupla*, this thesis will also engage with two broader questions about the Parisian repertory more generally. The first is who created Parisian Polyphony and the second how the repertories surviving in the three main manuscripts discussed above relate. I will discuss these questions below before returning to them in the conclusion.

0.5 Who Created Parisian Polyphony?

The question of who created Parisian polyphony occupied scholars throughout the twentieth century. This was largely thanks to the words of one theorist, named Anonymous IV (hereafter AIV), who wrote in the second half of the thirteenth century, most probably in England.⁴⁷ His treatise focused mostly on the workings of modal rhythm, but in a short aside, giving his reader a little historical context, he discussed in detail who created the Parisian repertory and how they did so. He described a ‘*magnus liber organi*’ that was created by Leoninus (the best *organista*) and then updated by Perotinus (who was a better *discantus*) by shortening pieces, replacing *purum* with *discant* and providing better *clausulae*.⁴⁸

Craig Wright completed a detailed investigation of the surviving archival records of Notre-Dame and other institutions in Paris and from them identified a Leonin who was born in 1135, and was a high ranking cleric at the cathedral between 1179 and 1201.⁴⁹ Whilst Leonin has often been associated particularly with *organum duplum* and *organum purum*, AIV simply describes him as the *optimus organista* (the ‘best maker of polyphony’), so it is possible that he created other kinds of polyphony too. Indeed, Roesner suggested that he may also have been responsible for collecting the repertory and committing it to notation.⁵⁰

Wright found Perotin harder to pinpoint historically because this name is so much more common. Polyphony ascribed to him by AIV is, however, mentioned in Sully’s decree of 1198 (and in a second decree a year later). Wright suggested therefore that he was possibly the ‘Petrus’, canon of Notre-Dame, who was

⁴⁷ Everist discussed AIV’s mention of Leonin and Perotin and the compositional work he ascribed to them in ‘The thirteenth century’, 72-3. Rob Wegman discussed AIV the person, his audience, and the nature and style of his treatise in ‘The World According to Anonymous IV’, in A. Zayaruznaya, B. Blackburn and S. Boorman (eds.), *Qui musicam in se habet: Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, Middleton: American Institute of Musicology, 2015, 693-730.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the passage see Roesner, ‘Notre Dame’, 834-6.

⁴⁹ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 288.

⁵⁰ Roesner, ‘Notre Dame’, 834-45.

succentor at the cathedral from 1207-1238.⁵¹ Roesner pointed out that, even if it is not possible to ascertain who Perotin was historically with any certainty, his works do appear at the beginning of collections, showing the esteem with which they were held, and perhaps the important role Perotin played in shaping the repertory.⁵²

As shall be discussed, particularly in Chapter 4, the words of AIV shaped directly and indirectly much of the scholarship on this repertory for most of the twentieth century. Because of his words, the Parisian repertory was viewed by many as something entirely new in musical history. For the first time, composition and performance, and composer and performer were separated. Parisian polyphony was no longer the result of performers elaborating plainchant *ex tempore* in performance, but was the product of composers working in writing prior to performance. Parisian polyphony was the first polyphonic music to be considered ‘art’, and these composers ‘artists’.

More recently this viewpoint has been reconsidered, partly due to questions about the reliability of the words of AIV and how much historical weight can be placed upon them. To begin, he wrote most likely at an historical and geographical remove from the tradition he was describing, probably in England, late in the thirteenth century. The function and purpose of his treatise is also unclear. He might have been a student at the university in Paris and his treatise might have been a version of lecture notes he took there, but this is not certain. Furthermore, he was writing a theoretical treatise, not a historical account, and his words are just a short contextual aside in a longer discussion of modal rhythm. He himself presents them as a historical anecdote, rather than a history, introducing them with ‘secundum quod dicebantur’ (according to what is said). Finally, by the time of his writing, the highly-valued Parisian polyphonic repertory had been collected into large, expensive and beautifully decorated manuscripts. It had also made its way across Western Europe, possibly with students who travelled to Paris to study and wished to return to their homes taking this new and exciting kind of music-making with them. In this context, particularly in just a short historical aside, AIV might have chosen to ascribe the Parisian repertory to two named composers, or at least to overemphasise the role these two musicians played in the shaping of it.

It is now generally acknowledged that the creation of the Parisian repertory was probably a more complicated process, and that, whilst it is possible that Leonin and Perotin (whoever they were) had an important role in shaping the repertory, there were probably a larger number of other composers, singers, and scribes who helped to shape the repertory, before and during performance, as well as in the process of copying from one manuscript to another. A very important step in the reassessment of the repertory was taken by Edward Roesner in his influential article ‘Who “Made” the Magnus Liber?’. Roesner reconsidered ‘the notions of “stable transmission”, “conceived and disseminated in writing”, and even “composition in the modern sense” as they apply to the *magnus liber*’⁵³ and brought to the fore the important role played by

⁵¹ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 294.

⁵² Roesner, ‘Notre Dame’, 834-45.

⁵³ Roesner, ‘Who “Made” the Magnus Liber?’, *Early Music History*, 20, 2001, 227-66, at 234.

both scribes and singers in creating and recreating polyphony. He outlined various ways in which a scribe might have altered their exemplar when copying it, arguing that copying might in some circumstances have been ‘tantamount to the act of composition itself.’⁵⁴ He also suggested that the great variety in the *dupla* repertory was evidence of performer creativity: the marked differences between some versions are what we would expect when a singer ‘enjoyed wide creative latitude in interpreting the music he was performing’.⁵⁵ For Roesner, therefore, this repertory was not a turning point in musical history, but continuous with the ‘improvisatory’ performance practices that had preceded it. I have found the details of Roesner’s arguments immensely valuable as a springboard for my own work and I will return to them at length in Chapter 4.

What we know about Parisian singers and their musical environment certainly supports such a reconsideration. The polyphonic tradition that they inherited was an oral one, in which creation and performance were not necessarily separate processes. Like the singers who had gone before them, singers of Parisian polyphony were accustomed to working orally. They sang the chants for the yearly cycle of the office and the mass from memory, with notated chant books merely reminding them of melodies they already held in their heads. The professionals who sang this polyphony must also have been exceptionally skilled and creative. Every year the singers were required to resign and new appointments were made by the chapter, likely from the pool of musicians studying at the university. As the number of schools in Paris increased and more students arrived, competition for work as a soloist at Notre-Dame must only have increased.⁵⁶ In the words of Christopher Page, Parisian polyphony became ‘tinged with the excitement of student ambition’.⁵⁷ It is very possible that the desire to be employed or re-employed on a yearly basis contributed to the development of a musical creative culture that was increasingly virtuosic and perhaps even ‘avant-garde’.

Having a well-trained memory was not limited to the musical realm. It was the foundation of medieval grammar and rhetoric as taught in the medieval university. Scholars would train their memories so that they could hold large amounts of information in such a way that it might be recalled when composing, for instance, a speech or a sermon.⁵⁸ Parisian singers were therefore part of an intellectual environment in which sophisticated oral creation was a highly sought-after skill and many of the singers themselves will have been students of the *ars memoriae*.

As well as being skilled working orally, it is also likely that singers of Parisian polyphony did not have regular access to notated polyphonic music. The earliest of the three large extant manuscript, W1, was copied probably in the 1230s, some considerable time after new kinds of polyphony were first sung at Notre-Dame. As explored by Craig Wright, there are no earlier sources in any lists of choir books, libraries

⁵⁴ Roesner, ‘Who ‘Made’ the Magnus Liber?’, 234.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 262.

⁵⁶ Page pieces together a picture of the singers at Notre-Dame from scant documentary evidence in ‘The Masters of Organum’, 144-154.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 144.

⁵⁸ See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

catalogues, or the treasury records from the Bishop's Chapel or Chapter House of Notre-Dame.⁵⁹ Baltzer has also explored the existence of seventeen lost sources of Parisian polyphony listed in French and English library collections, but she dates none of them before 1240.⁶⁰

This does not, of course, mean that no Parisian polyphony was notated before this point, only that earlier notated records have not survived. For instance, Gregorio Bevilacqua identified a fragmentary source including the texts of eight *conducti* and two *Benedicamus domino* settings with the music (set to be in two parts) never entered and has dated it to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.⁶¹ There is also evidence within the three main manuscripts themselves to suggest that they were copied from other smaller exemplars. In F, within collections of pieces of the same genre and for the same number of voices, there are sub-collections which were likely copied from different exemplars. For instance, there are a number of sub-series within the larger collections of *clausulae*.

The creation of this polyphony also coincided with the steep growth of the book trade more generally to supply the newly formed and expanding university. It certainly seems possible that this would have been paralleled by an increased interest in the notation of polyphony and the creation of polyphonic manuscripts. Even if oral and literature processes of creation coexisted, however, to begin with at least the processes and products of oral and literate creation probably looked and sounded very similar and much notated polyphony would initially have been written records of polyphony that had been created and also circulated orally. This is because, even where there might have been composition in writing, technologies of writing do not immediately change processes of composition. The composer would most probably still have been making a transcription of a composition created largely in their head; or at least he would have used the same creative strategies and procedures with which he was familiar from creating polyphony orally.

Even if some polyphony was created in writing, there is no evidence to suggest that notated polyphony was used in performance. Certainly F and W2 were not intended for use by musicians but were luxury presentation copies. The layout of F often makes performance from it impossible. For instance, different voices in the same motet, which are not in score format like *organa*, appear on different openings so they cannot be viewed at the same time. The appearance of these manuscripts may have been more the result of the prestige with which this music came to be held and also the rapid expansion of the Parisian book trade in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, rather than an indication that singers were starting to use notated music in performance. Given its less careful presentation and greater wear, it is more likely that W1 was used to support performance, but singers probably used it as an *aide memoire*, reminding them of polyphony they already held in their heads, rather than reading from it during performance itself.

⁵⁹ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 333-4.

⁶⁰ Baltzer, 'Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners', 380-99.

⁶¹ See Gregorio Bevilacqua, 'The Earliest Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony? A New Conductus Fragment from the Early Thirteenth Century', *Music & Letters*, 97, 2016, 1-41.

What we have then is a group of highly skilled and creative singers, competing for employment as soloists at Notre-Dame and other Parisian churches. The polyphonic tradition that they inherited was an oral one and they were themselves skilled at working orally. They had well-trained memories that they employed in the service of singing the chants for the mass and the office. They most likely did not have regular access to notated polyphonic music, and any notated music they did have was not used during performance. Outside of the musical realm, the university, which many of the singers probably attended, was teaching the *ars memoriae* to facilitate the oral composition of speeches and sermons. In this context, the singers at Notre-Dame and elsewhere would certainly have been capable of creating and recreating complex polyphony before and during performance.

Rather than being the work of two named composers, therefore, the repertory of Parisian polyphony was most likely created and recreated by considerably more musicians than two. Many of these musicians would have been both composers and singers. If there were musicians who composed such polyphony in writing, they may well also have sung it. Those who created polyphony orally but outside of performance should be considered both composers and singers, and singers could also have composed and recomposed polyphony in performance. Arguably, therefore, it is artificial to distinguish between composers and singers in this repertory at all. Furthermore, a number of the scribes responsible for compiling the extant manuscripts exhibit an advanced understanding of the polyphony they were copying, which allowed them to arrange it and edit it as they copied. Perhaps, therefore, some of them were also singers and/or composers. This blurring of boundaries between these different categories of creatives makes attempts to distinguish between their creative voices in the extant repertory very difficult and perhaps entirely inappropriate.

For these reasons, I will refer mostly to ‘musicians’ as the creators of *organum purum*, and I will return to this question of ‘who’ created Parisian polyphony in the concluding chapter of this thesis. That chapter will consider whether my analysis of the office *dupla* might shed light on the issue of distinguishing between creation before or during performance, and between the work of a scribe and the work of a singer or composer, or indeed whether it confirms that these distinctions are inappropriate for this polyphony. I will also explore whether this question of ‘who’ might be approached from an entirely different angle.

0.6 The Relationship between the Manuscripts

The second overarching debate to which this study will contribute concerns the relation of the different manuscript collections to the polyphonic tradition cultivated at Notre-Dame and to each other.

Ludwig surmised a chronological relationship, based on the words of AIV. He assumed that later works were likely to have more voices and shorter sections (since they had been shortened by Perotinus). They would also have more *discant*, and tighter and clearer rhythmic patterning within that *discant*, as well as more voice exchange, imitation and sequence. Accordingly, he argued that W1 was close to Leonin's original *Magnus liber*; that F transmitted the activity of Perotin and his generation; and that W2 was drawn from the Perotin tradition but retained much of the material that Perotin replaced.⁶²

Later scholars moved away from considering the relationship of the manuscript collections as wholes. Instead, Heinrich Husmann suggested that it was possible to separate the repertory into layers going across the manuscripts, the earliest written by Leonin and the later by Leonin's successors.⁶³ He suggested that the earliest layer was comprised of the parts of the repertory that are in all three of the main manuscripts, and that these were followed first by those pieces shared only by F and W2, then later by those unique to F and W1. He argued that the original layer was for use in the cathedral of Notre-Dame, and that later pieces were additions to the repertory written for other Parisian ecclesiastical centers, specifically the Augustinian abbeys of St-Victor, and St-Geneviève, and the church of St-Germain-l'Auxerrois. He concluded that, because these later pieces were the work of Perotin, that he was probably part of the clergy at St-Germain-l'Auxerrois, rather than the cathedral. In support of this, he compared the tenor melodies of the various *organa* in the three manuscripts, arguing that the tenors of those pieces he included in the earliest layers corresponded melodically and notationally with chant sources from the cathedral, and that the tenors of those *organa* included in the later layers had variants that corresponded with chant sources from St Geneviève in particular. He proposed therefore that, as the polyphonic repertory made its way to churches other than Notre-Dame, the repertory was enlarged and pieces for other liturgies were added.

Craig Wright engaged closely with Husmann's work, starting by stressing that, if the earliest layer really was those pieces shared by all three manuscripts, then this would mean that there was no polyphony for Pentecost, one of the four most important feasts in the cathedral calendar, as well as for other important feast days.⁶⁴ He reconsidered the relationship between the tenors of the *organa* in the three manuscripts and chant melodies recorded in Northern French sources. He argued that the tenors of all the extant *organa* could be shown to be part of an Augustinian corpus, but that it was not possible to attach them with certainty to Notre-Dame, St-Victor or St-Geneviève. He showed that a comparison of tenors with chant

⁶² Friedrich, *Repertorium organorum*.

⁶³ Husmann, 'Saint-Germain und Notre Dame'; 'The Origin and Destination of the *Magnus liber organi*'; and 'The Enlargement of the *Magnus liber organi*'.

⁶⁴ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 248.

sources is complex and should be undertaken only on an individual basis, and that therefore it was not possible to use such comparison to distinguish clearly between compositional layers or groups of *organa* as Husmann had done.

Wright found liturgy more helpful in thinking about the origin of the Parisian repertoire and was able to show that all but one of the ninety-two compositions in the three main manuscripts could have been part of the liturgy of Notre-Dame. He also stressed that AIV only mentioned polyphony in connection with Notre-Dame; that only liturgical manuscripts connected with Notre-Dame contained rubrics referring to the performance of polyphony; and that only the cathedral archives contain surviving documents referring to polyphony.⁶⁵ He concluded by proposing the opposite theory to Husmann—not one of enlargement, but of deletion. He suggested that since all of the pieces in F were likely intended for the liturgy at Notre-Dame, F preserves the earliest extant version of the MLO, the one closest to that of Leonin, and that as Notre-Dame polyphony spread to other ecclesiastical centres, pieces that were inappropriate for that liturgy were subtracted from the repertory. Those pieces that were particular to Notre-Dame were taken out of W2 in order that its contents could be used in the rites of many different churches. In W1, pieces not used in that liturgy were removed, and pieces specific to St Andrew were also added.⁶⁶

As well as these general theories about how the repertory spread from Paris, and how the extant repertory might be related to the polyphony originally sung at Notre-Dame, scholars have especially puzzled over W1. In particular, they have explored how the repertory recorded in W1 relates to that in F, which is definitely a Parisian manuscript, and W2, which is also likely a Parisian manuscript, asking if, and how, the Parisian repertory might have been appropriated by musicians at St Andrews and recast in their own particular style. This has involved both a consideration of those parts of the W1 repertory that are also recorded in F and/or W2, and a consideration of those pieces unique to W1 (particularly the two *unicum* settings of responsories for Andrew at the end of fascicle 3 and the settings of Ordinary chants in fascicle 11).

To Rudolf Flotzinger, W1 was a thoroughly Parisian manuscript and even the parts others have considered insular were of Parisian origin. He analysed the Alleluia settings in the 11th fascicle and found that six *clausulae* from the Notre-Dame repertory had been incorporated into those pieces. He argued that this borrowing of Notre-Dame *clausulae* showed that even those pieces were also part of the Notre-Dame tradition.⁶⁷ Roesner rejected this idea, since all six of the Notre-Dame *clausulae* identified by Flotzinger in fascicle 11 can be found somewhere else in W1, either in the mass *organa dupla* in fascicle 4 or in the collection of *clausulae* in fascicle 5. He also pointed out that two of the *clausulae* in fascicle 11 share the same ‘corruptions’ as the versions in fascicle 4, as compared to the version in F and W2. This, he argued, showed

⁶⁵ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 257.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 271-3.

⁶⁷ Rudolf Flotzinger, ‘Beobachtungen zur Notre-Dame-Handschrift W1 und ihrem 11. Faszikel’, *Mitteilungen der Kommission für Musikforschung: Anzeiger der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* cv., 19, Vienna: Böhlau in Komm., 1968, 245-62.

that the collections in fascicle 4 and 11 are products of a common tradition, a local tradition in which musicians at St Andrews created polyphony based on Parisian models.⁶⁸

Mark Everist argued similarly that, after polyphony was brought to St Andrews by Mauvoisin, a polyphonic tradition was developed at St Andrews based on Parisian polyphony, a tradition that was later recorded in W1.⁶⁹ Kennedy Steiner has more recently pointed out, however, that if a polyphonic tradition based on the Parisian one had been cultivated at St Andrews for a number of years before W1 was copied, then we would expect ‘much more integration of the music of Notre-Dame origin with the unique polyphony for St Andrews... the house style to have thoroughly permeated the Notre-Dame organum and, at the very least... the responsories for Saint Andrew to have been incorporated into the liturgical cycle.’⁷⁰ The two St Andrews responsories are instead copied out of liturgical order at the end of fascicle 3. She also argued that if the scribe of W1 was replacing worn out exemplars, which had been in use for a number of years, they would have been able to take their time copying W1 and arrange it carefully. Instead, the scribe was often rushed and was not able to arrange the manuscript entirely consistently. The exception to this, she argued, is the repertory in fascicle 11, which combines Notre-Dame *clausulae* with *conductus* style sequences and ordinary tropes. She suggested that these pieces, in a ‘more condensed, improvisatory style’, were probably part of a longer standing performance tradition that was combined with newer Parisian polyphony.⁷¹

Steiner’s work certainly gives us reason to reconsider the extent to which the repertory recorded in W1 is Parisian and how it might have been shaped by musicians at St Andrews. It is perhaps not necessarily the case, however, that if W1 were copied after a polyphonic tradition based on Parisian polyphony had been cultivated at St Andrews for a number of years, we would expect more of the *organa* it contains to reflect what she terms the St Andrews ‘house style’. A scribe, particularly one who was not especially skilled at copying this kind of polyphony, as seems to be the case here, might simply have chosen to copy *organa* from their exemplars without significantly altering them, even if they were performed differently, in a way that did reflect a particular house style. Similarly, whilst it is possible that the scribe might have rearranged pieces to copy them in the correct liturgical order if replacing exemplars that had been around for many years, we have already seen that the scribe of F did not do this. They instead copied pieces from different exemplars in separate liturgical cycles. If these things are considered, the combination in fascicle 11 of Parisian *clausulae* with other polyphony that is very different stylistically is not necessarily surprising, since it could still be the case that W1 was copied at St Andrews sometime after Parisian polyphony had made its way there.

The relationships between the different manuscript collections, and particularly the nature of W1 as a source of Parisian polyphony, will be discussed again in the conclusion, where the work particularly of Chapters 5 and 6 will be brought into dialogue with these existing debates.

⁶⁸ Roesner, ‘The Origins of W1’, 337-380.

⁶⁹ Everist, ‘From Paris to St Andrews’, 26.

⁷⁰ Kennedy Steiner, *Notre Dame in Scotland*, 111.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 112.

0.7 Rhythm in *Organum Purum*

There is one final question that must be considered before this study can begin its exploration of creation. This is the controversial question of the rhythmic performance of *organum purum*. There was ample discussion throughout the twentieth century on this topic. Most of this involved dissecting the words of Johannes de Garlandia, who wrote his treatise on rhythm probably in Paris in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, as well as those of the later thirteenth-century theorists, Franco of Cologne, AIV and St Emmeran Anonymous. Garlandia made a distinction between *modus rectus* and *modus non-rectus*, which many, but not all, commentators took to refer to *discant* and *purum* respectively. He also gave principles of consonance by which the relative lengths of notes were to be determined in *purum*.⁷² It is primarily the interpretation of these principles that caused disagreement on this topic.⁷³

In the 1950s, Willi Apel and William Waite set out positions opposite to each other. Waite argued that the upper voices of Notre-Dame polyphony were always modal and he transcribed the whole of W1 according to modal principles in measured notes.⁷⁴ Apel argued that the rhythm of *purum* was governed by Garlandia's principles of consonance, giving a non-modal result.⁷⁵ He found, however, that he could not transcribe according to these principles because they contained too many ambiguities. He later moved towards the theory earlier proposed by Anselm Hughes,⁷⁶ that in *purum* all the notes were equal.

From this point, commentators tended to adopt a version of one of these two positions. Theodore Karp and Tischler were among those who pursued a basically modal interpretation of *purum*.⁷⁷ Tischler suggested that *organum purum* was all in a modified first mode with some *extensio modi* (longer notes) and *fractio modi* (temporary 6th mode).⁷⁸ Reckow, Flotzinger, Ernest Sanders and Erich Reimer on the other hand argued that *purum* was non-modal and free of measure, like plainsong.⁷⁹

The debate continued, with Leo Treitler and Roesner among the more recent commentators to decide *purum* was rhythmic, though in very different ways. Treitler argued that the rhythm of *purum* was accentual and that where there was modal ambiguity in the ligature patterns, the rhythm should be worked out from

⁷² For a good edition of Johannes de Garlandia's 'De mensurabili musica' see Erich Reimer (ed.), *Johannes de Garlandia, De mensurabili musica: Kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10-11, 2 vols., Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972.

⁷³ A very detailed summary of this debate is given by Jeremy Yudkin in 'The Rhythm of Organum Purum', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 2, 1983, 355-376.

⁷⁴ William Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.

⁷⁵ Willi Apel, 'From St Martial to Notre Dame,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 2, 1949, 145-58. See also Apel and Waite, 'Communications', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 5, 1952, 272-277.

⁷⁶ Anselm Hughes, 'Music in Fixed Rhythm', in *The New Oxford History of Music, II/2: The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, London: Oxford University Press, 1954, 311-52.

⁷⁷ Theodore Karp, 'Towards a Critical Edition of Notre Dame Organa Dupla', *Musical Quarterly*, 52, 1966, 350-67; Tischler, 'A propos a Critical Edition of the Parisian Organa Dupla', *Acta Musicologica*, 40, 1968, 28-43.

⁷⁸ Hans Tischler, 'On Transcribing the "Magnus Liber"', *Revue belge de Musicologie*, 32, 1978, 9-22.

⁷⁹ Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1967; Rudolf Flotzinger, *Der Discantussatz im Magnus Liber und seiner Nachfolge: Mit Beiträgen zur Frage der Sogenannten Notre-Dame-Handschriften*, Wien: Herman Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1969; Ernest Sanders, 'Notre-Dame-Probleme', *Die Musikforschung*, XXV, 1972; Reimer (ed.), *Johannes de Garlandia, De mensurabili musica*.

the melodic and harmonic context. He compared it to accentual poetry with no regular syllable count, just a constant amount of time between stresses with different numbers of notes fitted between them.⁸⁰

Making a detailed exploration of the words of Johannes de Garlandia and AIV, Roesner argued that previously scholars had misunderstood Garlandia's terms *modus rectus* and *modus non rectus* and his principle of consonance. He suggested that this had led some to see *purum* as pre-modal and non-metrical, and helped others to read ambiguous ligature patterns modally.⁸¹ He argued that *modus rectus* and *modus non rectus* were not fundamentally distinct but were simply opposite extremes of the same rhythmic spectrum. *Purum* was not a 'rhythmic style without measure, or with longer and shorter values moving in a loose, non-proportional relationship, or a string of undifferentiated rapidly moving notes'. There was 'rhythm' but it was 'unpatterned, irregular, or non-conventional.'⁸² This 'irregular rhythmically elastic, mode of performance' he equated to AIV's mode seven, described by AIV as 'flexible...embracing all the others', comprising all the ligatures of the other modes.⁸³ In singing *purum*, he argued, rhythm would have been determined by melodic and structural context, stereotyped formulae, periodicity and the principal of *fractio modi*.⁸⁴

Jeremy Yudkin critiqued Roesner's argument, again reassessing the theoretical sources, arguing that the theorists do in fact clearly distinguish between *organum per se* and *discant*.⁸⁵ He argued that that the reason all previous attempts to transcribe according to Johannes' rules of consonance and dissonance had failed is that they relied on a false interpretation of consonance and dissonance in this context. For Yudkin, consonance and dissonance were not polar opposites but two ends of a spectrum. He pointed out that there are the same number of intervals in the octave as Garlandia has rhythmic values—thirteen—and that it is this spectrum that would have governed the rhythm of *purum* with consonant intervals likely to be sung for longer than dissonant ones.

As can be seen, the debate is long-running and complicated, and no particular consensus has been reached. The theoretical sources have been examined in detail on many previous occasions and differing positions have become entrenched. There is not space in this study to contribute to this well-rehearsed debate when the aim is to explore creation, something existing scholarship has, by contrast, barely touched.

For my purpose, it is enough to say that whilst some *purum* melismas may have been organised and notated according to modal rhythmic patterns, they were certainly not all organised or notated in this way. Others may have been sung with some, likely very flexible, rhythmic organisation that was determined by a number of musical factors, including sometimes the vertical sonority of the *duplum* against the tenor, but also the habits and preferences of whoever was singing in that moment.

⁸⁰ Leo Treitler, 'Regarding Meter and Rhythm in the Ars Antiqua', *The Musical Quarterly*, 65, 1979, 524-58.

⁸¹ Edward H. Roesner, 'Johannes de Garlandia on "organum in speciali"', *Early Music History*, 2, 1982, 129-160, at 109.

⁸² Roesner, 'Johannes de Garlandia', 97.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 99.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 102.

⁸⁵ Yudkin, 'The Rhythm of Organum Purum'.

I do not think it necessary to comment further on this issue, firstly because it would be very difficult to do so in a meaningful way. The extant sources, both musical and theoretical, are late compared to when we know this kind of polyphony was first sung at Notre-Dame. The decades either side of the turn of the century saw the rapid expansion of creative ambition, particularly in the rhythmic realm, a development later theorists had to try to understand and codify. It is impossible to know how rhythm in *organum purum* as it is notated and discussed in sources from the second quarter of the thirteenth century onwards might have related to rhythm in *organum purum* in the twelfth century, even if we were able to decipher the rhythmic working of *organum purum* in its later, extant form unambiguously. This is certainly not possible in the *organum purum* melodies in F, W1 and W2, as confirmed by the extent of the debate on this topic.⁸⁶

I would also argue that *organum purum* is a style where melody may be considered without rhythm relatively unproblematically. In *discant*, the rhythm dictates the vertical relationship between the parts, and as such, melody relies on rhythm. Composers played with the creative possibilities this rhythm afforded them melodically, for instance by dividing the same tenor into many different rhythmic configurations or by exploiting opportunities for sequence or upper-voice repetition with particular tenors. In *organum purum*, creativity and virtuosity lies in its melody, rather than in the combination of melody and rhythm and, since *purum* melodies are sung over a sustained tenor, they do not rely on rhythm in the same way.

This thesis therefore proceeds on the premise that it is possible to comment on the ways in which *purum* melodies were generated, for instance, through repetition, development, sequence, mirroring and balancing phrases, without being able to read them rhythmically. The focus of an entire study could be the small notational differences between different versions of the same passage, attempting to determine whether they have rhythmic significance and what that significance might be. That is not the aim of this study, however, and whilst some small differences between versions of the same passage of polyphony could have had rhythmic significance, they might equally be the result of individual scribal habits, or notational styles.

The question of rhythm will therefore be left for another study. The other three broader questions I introduced here will be discussed again in the conclusion. This study will now turn to *organum purum* specifically: asking first how *organum purum* melodies and *organa dupla* were created, and then what the variety in the extant repertory can tell us about the processes of creation and recreation involved in Parisian polyphonic singing.

⁸⁶ In their work of the Basel fragment (Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, MS F.X.37), Wulf Arlt and Max Haas have suggested that it is possible to read the rhythm of *purum* melodies in later sources unambiguously, those written in what they describe as ‘clarified modal notation’. See ‘Pariser modale Mehrstimmigkeit in einem Fragment der Basler Universitätsbibliothek’, *Forum musicologicum*, 1, 1975, 223-72, at 240.

1. Previous Explorations of Creation

As discussed in the introduction, a definite focus for scholars in the first three quarters of the twentieth century was identifying historically the composers named by AIV and ascertaining how the extant repertory reflected the process of revision and updating he ascribed to Perotin and what still reflected Leonin's original compositional layer. Whilst scholars were focusing on *who* created Parisian polyphony, they tended not to ask *how* they did so. Usually only passing comments were made on the style or melodic workings of *organum purum* melodies, mostly in general introductions to Parisian polyphony. For instance, in an introduction to polyphony from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, Ernest Sanders briefly mentioned that *organum purum* melodies contain both 'short 'motivic' units' and longer sections that often function as 'ready-made formulae; familiar building blocks that can serve equally well in a number of circumstances'.¹

The only extended study of *organum purum* from the earlier part of the twentieth century is Fritz Reckow's 'Das Organum'.² Reckow spent considerable time exploring what the term *organum* meant to contemporary theorists, and trying to identify some of the 'abbreviations' ascribed to Perotin by AIV by comparing equivalent passages in different version of the same *organum*. He did also comment, however, on how *organum purum* melodies were created. He noted that *purum* melismas stay within a limited range (a third to a seventh), that they are mostly conjunct with some thirds, and that triads and larger intervals are rare. He pointed out that melismas usually begin ascending and end by moving in contrary motion with the tenor melody. Parallel motion between the two voices in general, he noticed, is rare.³ Thinking about the melismas structurally, he suggested that the first part of a melisma might centre on a consonance with the sounding tenor note and the second part might move towards the 'aim tone', a note which will create a consonance with the next tenor note.⁴ He also commented on the 'pasticciohaften Charakter' of *organa*, noticing that they were mostly made up of isolated passages stuck together ['die größtenteils aus isolierten Abschnitten ihrer Responsorien 'zusammengestellt' worden sind.']⁵

Particularly, he argued that there are lots of similarities between *organum purum* melodies and chant. These include their conjunct motion, their tendency to ascend quickly and descend slowly and their repetition or sequential use of short groups of notes. There are also starting and ending formulas shared between chants and *purum* melodies, as well as other melodic formulae without a particular structural function.⁶ He did

¹ Ernest Sanders, 'Polyphony and Secular Monophony: Ninth Century- c.1300', in F.W. Sternfeld (ed.), *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, London: Weidernfeld & Nicholson, 1973, 89-144, at 100.

² Fritz Reckow, 'Das Organum', in W. Arlt and H. Oesch (eds.), *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, Bern and München: Franke, 1973, 434-96.

³ *Ibid.* 450-1.

⁴ *Ibid.* 452.

⁵ *Ibid.* 472.

⁶ *Ibid.* 450-2.

point out, however, that *purum* melodies cannot be exactly like chant melodies, since one has to consider vertical sonority as well as horizontal movement. This means that *purum* melodies are shaped by needing to reach particular consonances with the tenor and by the need to move in contrary motion with it. It is also not possible to achieve the same kind of modal coherence in *purum* melodies as in chant melodies and that every changing tenor note brought with it the possibility of a new final. There were various options with regard to mode in *purum* melodies, he argued. One was to keep changing it, as determined by the need to make consonances with new tenor notes. Another was to avoid expressing any mode too distinctly. A third was to have shorter melismas over tenor notes that disrupted the mode, allowing the dominant mode to be expressed with more freedom in the *duplum* voice. This might not necessarily be the actual mode of the chant tenor, he pointed out, but the mode that the tenor notes, when greatly extended in length, facilitated in the upper voice.⁷

Reckow's study is a detailed and in many ways illuminating one, but work on the question of creation greatly accelerated when, as discussed in the previous chapter, the words of AIV began to be reconsidered and the surviving polyphonic repertory began to be viewed not as the work of two named individuals in writing, but to reflect the creative voices of many different musicians mostly working orally. This was partly because the workings of oral creation have long fascinated scholars in many different (musical and non-musical) fields. Scholars of Parisian polyphony became particularly interested in how such complex music could have been created orally and what systems might have supported that kind of creation. Furthermore, when the surviving repertory began to be viewed as a record of a number of ways of singing, rather than a collection of individual pieces, those ways of singing, ways of creating, became of greater interest. Earlier polyphonic repertories had long been viewed as records of performance practices, of ways of singing.⁸ As Parisian polyphony began to be considered more similar to that kind of orally created polyphony, the processes by which it was created also became of greater interest.

⁷ Reckow, 'Das Organum', 452-6.

⁸ For instance, Wulf Arlt made a survey of 11th-century sources of *organum* and compared the *organum* in the seven continental sources with those in the Winchester Troper. This involved considering modality, text-setting, structure and vertical sonority. He argued that the continental sources do not show any kind of direct development of the style found in the Troper, since they themselves bear witness to many different ways of singing *organum*. ('Stylistic layers in eleventh-century polyphony: how can the continental sources contribute to our understanding of the Winchester organa?', in S. Rankin and D. Hiley (eds.), *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, 102-41.) Another study of the Winchester Troper was carried out by Michel Huglo, who considered its Alleluia and Responsory series and compared them to those recorded in various other insular and continental sources. He proposed a possible link between the practice recorded in the Winchester Troper and the those of various continental liturgical centres including the Abbeys of St-Denis and Corbie and St-Maur-des-Fossés in Paris. Because of this potential link with a Parisian Abbey, he argued that it gave indirect evidence for the singing of pre-Notre-Dame *organum* in Paris. ('Remarks on the Alleluia and Responsory Series in the Winchester Troper', in S. Rankin and D. Hiley (eds.), *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, 47-58.) In her edition of the Troper, Susan Rankin examined the extent to which the theoretical descriptions of the creation of *organum* found in the *Musica enchiridiadis* and *Scolica enchiridiadis* match the practice reflected in the Winchester Troper, arguing that singers had many more creative options than just those recorded in the theoretical sources (*The Winchester Troper*).

1.1 Orality and the Transmission of Gregorian Chant

To begin with, however, what turned out to be the most influential work on creation in medieval music was carried out not in the polyphonic realm but in chant studies, by Leo Treitler. Later work on polyphonic creation built on foundations he laid, as I do here, and so it is with his significant article comparing the transmission of chant with that of epic poetry that I will start.⁹ The question he tackled was how such a large corpus of Gregorian chant could have been transmitted across a wide geographical area with relative stability, when that process of transmission was oral. It might seem odd to begin this thesis on creation with thoughts on transmission. Treitler argued, however, that the processes of creation and transmission are blurred in oral musical practices. He suggested that we need to rethink what memorizing involves and argued that singers did not just reproduce a chant they had memorized, but that they ‘recreated’ it. In this way, creation was automatically involved in the transmission of chant and the two processes are inseparable.

In this, he built on the work of the psychologist Frederic C. Bartlett, who argued that perception is not a passive process but an active one, in which we organise information according to the patterns and schemata left from our own past experiences.¹⁰ In perceiving, we pick out particularly salient features which serve as signposts in both organising information for storage and, when we recall that information, in activating and reorganising the patterns of our own past experience. In this way, we reconstruct the experience rather than reproduce it.

Treitler combines Bartlett’s theory with an engagement with the theory of formulaic oral creation in classical epic poetry first posited by the oral literary theorist Milman Parry and his student Albert Lord. Parry was the first to argue that Homer’s epics were created and transmitted orally by not just a single man, but by many generations of oral-traditional poets.¹¹ He argued that the many repeating formulas found in the poems were a result of pressure on poets to (re)create verse according to strict metrical patterns in performance. He identified particularly noun-epithet formulae (such as ‘grey-eyed Athena’ or ‘swift-of-foot Achilles’) as repeatable, memorable chunks designed to fit easily in dactylic hexameter, pointing out that the reason Athena remains grey-eyed regardless of whether this is appropriate to the narrative is the result of the oral medium, not some aesthetic choice.

Treitler identified melodic patterns in chant that might have functioned in the same way as these formulae. He also built on Parry and Lord’s concept of themes. These are not a fixed set of words but a typical grouping of ideas which come in a self-contained system. They appear in a prescribed order and the singer-poet can move through them with various degrees of elaboration. One example might be the saddling of a horse. Because this always happens in the same order, singer-poets know how they will proceed through

⁹ Leo Treitler, ‘Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 60, 1974, 333-72.

¹⁰ Frederic C. Bartlett, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932.

¹¹ Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, England, 1960.

that part of the narrative and can therefore ‘stop and fondly dwell on an item without losing a sense of the whole. The style allows comfortably for digression or for enrichment. Once embarked upon a theme, the singer can proceed at his own pace.’¹²

Treitler compared these themes to the ‘formulaic system’ which gives resources for and placed constraints upon a singer’s reconstruction of a chant melody.¹³ His formulaic system includes melodic principles and patterns appropriate to the type of melody and the liturgical moment. It governs ranges, pitch goals and centres, where and how you could use particular formulas, phrase sequences and association, and cadence hierarchies. The formulaic system helped singers (re)compose chant melodies: as a singer became familiar with chant melodies, they learnt the patterns that inform their composition. They then relied on these patterns when recreating melodies that they had learnt and used them to inform their creation of other melodies:

‘He learns one melody and he imitates its pattern in inventing another like it. At some point his inventions do not refer back to the models of concrete melodies but are based on his internalized sense of pattern.’¹⁴

Treitler later extended his comparison to include, not just oral epic poetry, but other orally created musics also. For instance, in his ‘Written music and oral music’, he compared work by the ethnomusicologist Simha Arom on the indigenous music of central African with medieval music.¹⁵ Arom talked about formulae being used at the correct moment within the melody and Treitler paralleled this with each segment of melody realising a particular function. For Arom, musicians working orally always have a mental referent, a model, containing essential features. This means that ‘every realization of a polyphony or a polyrhythm is then nothing other than the incarnation of its model’.¹⁶ Treitler argued that there were similar structures or skeletons that underpinned the oral performance of medieval music and that ‘each member of a chant family embodies the generative principles and surface features of the whole family’.¹⁷

¹² Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 92.

¹³ Treitler, ‘Homer and Gregory’, 352.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 360.

¹⁵ Leo Treitler, ‘Written Music and Oral Music: Improvisation in Medieval Performance’, in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it Was Made*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 39-67.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 63. It would not be possible to explore here all the work on oral creation carried out in the field of ethnomusicology but I have found the ideas of Richard Widdess and Chloe Zadeh on North Indian Classical Music to have particular points of intersection with Treitler’s ideas. Widdess argued that these performers combined many different schemas, which include both relatively fixed melodic patterns and highly flexible, general structures. Such schemas are active on different structural levels and are combined simultaneously (‘Schemas and Improvisation in Indian Music’, in R. Kempson, C. Howes & M. Orwin (eds.), *Language, Music and Interaction*, London: College Publications, 2013, 197-209). Zadeh further refined Widdess’ fixed patterns and flexible structures in her consideration of improvisation in the semi-classical North Indian genre *Thumri*. Zadeh theorises a spectrum of formulae with exact repetition of chunks of ‘stock expressions’ at one end and abstract, generational musical ‘strategies’ at the other, with ‘variable outlines’ and ‘gestures’ somewhere in between (‘Formulas and the Building Blocks of Thumri Style—a Study in “Improvised” Music’, *Analytical Approaches to World Music*, 2, 2012, 1-48.)

1.2 Formulae and Elaborative Strategies in *Discant*

Treitler's suggestion that formulae and formulaic systems underpinned the oral creation and transmission of chant went on to inform lots of work on the creation of polyphony. For instance, the melodic formulae underpinning the creation of *discant* melodies were explored by Hans Tischler in his introduction to his edition of the two-part Parisian *organa*.¹⁸ He provided a list of twenty-seven melodic formulae that appear regularly in many different melodies. Most of them are three or four *ordines* long but he also included a few shorter motives which appear within the repertory of *discant* melodies with particular regularity. It seems likely, given the frequency with which these formulae appear and what we know about the musicians involved in the creation of this polyphony, their skill in the oral realm and their lack of access to notated music, that musicians would have held a number of these formulae and techniques at their fingertips to draw on when creating melodies. Tischler pointed out that his list was not exhaustive because such a list would be impossible to compile given how frequently and in how many different ways these formulae were varied, transposed and manipulated. He did not explore these processes of variation, transposition and manipulation, however, and for a much more detailed study of compositional approaches deployed in the creation of *discant*, I direct the reader towards Adam Matthias' recent PhD thesis.¹⁹

Other work on the creation of modal rhythmic Parisian polyphony has been carried out by Guillaume Gross who explored three- and four-voice pieces.²⁰ Unlike Tischler, his work focused more the processes by which melodies might be elaborated than on underlying structures or formulae. In their treatises, written in the second half of the thirteenth centuries, Johannes of Garlandia and AIV refer to some of ornamental processes involved in the creation of *organa tripla* and *quadrupla*. They describe these as 'colores' and in their discussions of them, they use many of the same words as are used in contemporary discussions of poetry. Building on this parallel drawn by contemporary theorists, Gross explored a number of techniques from the *artes poeticae* and argued that musicians were using these when creating *organa*. In musical terms, this meant sequences, decorative repeated notes and voice exchange.

¹⁸ Hans Tischler (ed.), *The Parisian Two-Part Organa: The Complete Comparative Edition*, 2 vols., Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1988, 28-38.

¹⁹ Adam Mathias, *Creating Clausulae at Notre-Dame-de-Paris: A Study of Compositional Processes and Techniques*, PhD. diss., University of Cambridge. <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.58442>

²⁰ He developed these ideas in his PhD dissertation (*L'organum à Notre-Dame de Paris au treizième siècle. Etude sur les modes d'élaboration d'un genre musical*, 2 vols., PhD. diss., Université François-Rabelais de Tours, 2004.) He then published them in two related articles: 'Organum at Notre-Dame in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Rhetoric in Words and Music', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 15, 2006, 87-108, and 'Chanter en polyphonie à Notre-Dame de Paris sous le règne de Philippe Auguste: un art de la magnificence', *Revue historique*, 2006, 3, 609-34. Gross built on perspectives first developed by Oliver Cullin in his work on earlier twelfth-century practical sources and treatises (*Ad organum faciendum* treatise, Guido d'Arezzo's *Micrologus* and Jean d'Afflighem's *De musica cum tonario*). Cullin drew parallels between the processes involved in the creation of such *organum* and those involved in the medieval art of rhetoric and Quintilian's art of oration. See, for instance, 'La polyphonie au XIIe siècle: entre théorie et pratique', *Revue de Musicologie*, 1995, 1, 25-36.

He also aimed to show how singers used such techniques to allow them to create complex musical textures from memory. In support of this, Gross drew on the work of Mary Carruthers on medieval memory and the art of rhetoric. The art of rhetoric relied on the cultivation of a well-organised memory bank in which to store information which could then be easily recalled when creating a speech or sermon orally.²¹ He argued that the combination of melodic *colores* with metrical patterns would have made them first easy to remember, and then easy to recall from a well-organised memory store when creating melodies *ex tempore*.

A similar comparison of musical with literary creation was carried out by Anna Maria Busse Berger. She also used Carruthers as her starting point and argued that the repeating rhythmic patterns of *discant* were designed specifically so as to help singers remember strings of pitches, in the same way as versifying a text made it easier to memorise.²²

1.3 Skeleton Structures in *Organum purum*

Work on the creation of *discant* is useful to those working on the creation of *organum purum*, since it was, after all, the same musicians singing *discant* and *purum* and they did so as part of the same *organa*. As I will explore, musicians also used repeating patterns as part of their *purum* melodies and used similar techniques

²¹ It is useful here to note Jeff Pressing's work on the cognitive process involved in musical improvisation and similarities between his work and the ideas proposed by Carruthers and built upon by Gross and Busse Berger. He argued that the improviser has a referent (an underlying scheme or structural plan) and then a knowledge base, built into long-term memory, made up of 'materials, excerpts, repertoire, subskills, perceptual strategies, problem-solving routines, hierarchical memory structure and schemas, generalised motor programs and ... the history of composition choices and predilection defining an individual's personal style'. He suggested that this knowledge base should be refined and enriched in order to allow instant and economical (in terms of processing capacity) access to its contents in performance. If you practice material with techniques such as transposition, variation, recombination (within idiomatic limits), you become familiar with the material in intimate detail; forge links between bits of material, aiding the combination of material in performance; give yourself a much more diverse stock of material, and develop a nuanced knowledge of the stylistic properties and possibilities of the underlying formula. When new material and information is incorporated into the knowledge base, a framework already full of prior knowledge, concepts are developed, new connections between elements of the knowledge base are formed and existing ones strengthened, fostering 'future flexibility in the navigation of the knowledge base in performance' ('Physiological Constraint on Improvisational Expertise and Communication', in B. Nettl and M. Russell (eds.), *In the Course of Performance: Studies in the World of Musical Improvisation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, 47-68). The knowledge base organised this way rather than through rote memorisation or verbal explanations is thus organised for spontaneous action rather than mere recall. These ideas can be considered alongside those of Paul Berliner who described how students of jazz go about building up an 'expansive collection of improvisational building blocks by extracting those shapes they perceive as discrete components from the larger solos they have already mastered and practicing them as independent figures' (*Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, 101.) Students also select material by listening to the performances of their idols and eventually they build up a 'storehouse' or 'vocabulary' of musical ideas, 'readily accessible material that meets the demands of composing music in performance' (102). Students first imitate and memorise the solos of more experienced musicians, 'cultivating their vocabulary', then assimilate them (by abstracting techniques and sections of musical material for their knowledge base) and then innovate, use the material in their knowledge base in a novel and experimental way, fusing ideas taken from different performers on different instruments and in different styles, in order to create their own idiosyncratic improvisatory style (120).

²² Anna Maria Busse Berger, 'Mnemotechnics and Notre Dame Polyphony', *The Journal of Musicology*, 14, 1996, 263-98.

of elaboration when creating them. Indeed, Treitler's work on formulae and formulaic systems has underpinned work on the creation of *organum purum* as well as *discant*.

Perhaps the most influential application of Treitler's work to *organum purum* was made by Roesner in his 'Who 'Made' the Magnus Liber?'.²³ It focused on how the transmission of *organum purum*, like the transmission of chant, could have been underpinned by skeleton structures. He considered different versions of 'the same' *organum* as they are recorded in the different extant manuscripts and proposed that they were differing realisations of the same skeleton-model. Singers would realise these incomplete models and the freedom with which they did this led to differences between the extant versions of 'the same' *organum*.

Both Treitler and Roesner blurred the boundary between creation and transmission in similar ways, arguing that they were inseparable, since transmission involved the creative (or recreative) realisation of models that included some details but were not entirely prescriptive. They also both acknowledged the vital (re)creative role played by singers before and during performance of chant and *organum purum*. In other ways, however, their ideas are quite different. Treitler theorised a system, a set of procedures that once internalised might support a singer in recreating a chant melody 'how it ought to go'. Roesner discussed an object, not a system - a set of consonances, a skeleton outline - that was a way of explaining how 'the same' *organum* can have ended up so different. In a way, therefore, they asked opposite questions: Treitler asked what *systems* could have supported the transmission of chant so that melodies ended up so *similar* lots of the time, and Roesner asked what *structures* can have been shared by different versions of 'the same' piece of composed *organum purum* for them to have ended up so *different*.

Treitler's idea of musicians using repeated formulae (or, as I will call them here, patterns) as part of their melodies is a very important one for my work. It is also key that Treitler identifies procedures that went alongside these patterns that told musicians where and how to use them and showed musicians how melodies 'ought to go' at particular structural points. These really are Treitler's ideas, however, and it is not these that Roesner applies to *organum purum*. Because Roesner's focus is on hypothesising the existence of his skeleton model, he does not focus in any particular detail on how singers might have elaborated such skeleton models. This kind of discussion would have been vital to bring into the work carried out in the next two chapters which outline the patterns and systems which supported musicians creating *organum purum*. As it is, however, I will leave a more detailed discussion of Roesner's piece to Chapter 4, where I do as he did, and compare different versions of the same piece, thinking about what the differences between them might tell us about the processes of creation involved in the circulation of passages of *organum purum*. Here I will engage with Roesner's skeleton model in much more detail and will bring his ideas into more

²³ Roesner, 'Who "Made" the Magnus Liber?'

detailed dialogue with Treitler's and my own. For now, my work builds more directly upon Treitler's formulae and formulaic systems.

1.4 The Vatican *Organum* Treatise

There is one body of literature on the creation of *organum purum* that I have so far not mentioned. I have done this because, apart from Roesner's article, other work on creation has been limited to discussions of one particular witness: The Vatican Organum Treatise (VOT). In a study that explores creation by analysing the surviving office *organa dupla* in F, W1 and W2, it might perhaps seem strange to start with the VOT, a completely different source. Work on this manuscript has so dominated discussion, however, that it deserves individual attention.

It is also an important witness to the creation of *organum purum* so it is necessary to explore what it has to say and to bring my analyses of the office *organa dupla* into dialogue with the treatise itself and with work on it. Here I will first introduce the treatise and then explore what it can tell us about the creation of *organum purum*. In doing so, I will engage with previous explorations of creation. In some ways, my work is an expansion of these explorations, looking at creation through records of practical music making rather than through theoretical abstractions of that practice. This fills a gap left by previous scholarship which has mostly focused on the theoretical source and left the practical witnesses aside.

This is not just a convenient gap that my work *can* fill, however. It is a gap that arguably very much needs to be filled, since there are many things about creation that it is not possible to learn about through the VOT and significant ways in which the general approach outlined in the treatise, as well as the melodies themselves, differ from the approaches reflected in and melodies of the extant office *organa dupla* in F, W1 and W2. I will outline some of these later in this chapter and I will return to others in Chapters 2 and 4. In doing so, I will suggest that it cannot necessarily be assumed that the VOT and the *organa dupla* in F, W1 and W2 are two sides of exactly the same coin and that perhaps some caution is needed in using the VOT to learn about the creation of Parisian *organum purum*. Certainly, by bringing the VOT into dialogue with analyses of the office *organa dupla*, I will show that we cannot use the VOT as the only witness to creation and that whilst it might represent one way of creating *organum purum*, there is a great deal more to say on this topic.

An Introduction to the VOT

The VOT is a small treatise, made up of five folios. It is now bound as part of *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Ottob. lat. 3025 (fols. 46-50).²⁴ It focuses on how a singer might sing *organum purum* melodies over a chant tenor. It begins with a short theoretical introduction which discusses those intervals between tenor and *duplum* which may be considered concordant (the perfect fourth, fifth and octave and compounds thereof). It emphasises the importance of supplying, where necessary, a b flat or b natural in the *duplum* to achieve these concordances.

There are then thirty-one rules discussing how the *duplum* should move melodically against the tenor. The first states:

Si cantus ascenderit duas voces et organum incipiat in dupla, descendat organum 3 voces et erit in quinta.

If the chant [voice] ascends through two notes and the *organum* begins at the octave, let the *organum* descend through three notes and it will arrive at a fifth [in relation to the chant voice].

Like this one, the remaining rules also describe the movement of the tenor, the starting consonance, the underlying melodic shape of the *duplum* and then the final consonance. The rules are arranged into alternating groups of ascending and descending tenor progressions. A summary of the progressions is set out in **Figure 1.1**. The rule numbers are given in the manuscript but the group labels (A-G) have been supplied for clarity of presentation. Groups A, C and E have ascending tenors; Groups B, D and F descending tenors. The final group have stationary tenors. Groups A and B begin at an octave consonance, C and D at a fifth, and E and F again at an octave. Groups A-F begin with the tenor moving just a second in either direction, and this is then widened by step until a fifth is reached.

²⁴ Friedrich Zamminer gives a detailed introduction to Codex Ottob. lat. 3025 in his 1959 study of the VOT. See 'Der Codex "Ottob. lat. 3025"', in *Der vatikanische Organum-Traktat (Ottob. Lat. 3025): Organum-Praxis der frühen Notre Dame-Schule und ihrer Vorstufen*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 2, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1959, 18-22. An introduction and facsimile edition of the VOT can be found in Irving Godt and Benito Rivera (eds.), 'The Vatican Organum Treatise—A Colour Reproduction, Transcription, and Translation', in L. A. Dittmer (ed.), *In Memoriam Gordon Athol Anderson*, Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984, 264-345.

Figure 1.1 Summary of Progressions in the VOT²⁵

<p>Group A</p> <p>1 2 3 4</p> 	<p>Group B</p> <p>5 6 7 8 9</p> 	<p>Group C</p> <p>10 11 12 13</p> 
<p>Group D</p> <p>14 15 16 17</p> 	<p>Group E</p> <p>18 19 20 21</p> 	<p>Group F</p> <p>22 23 24 25</p> 
<p>Group G</p> <p>26 27 28 29 30 31</p> 		

The texted rules only prescribe the opening and closing *duplum-tenor* concordances. Information about how the *duplum* might move melodically between the two is supplied by up to sixteen different melismatic examples per rule, which are divided between up to four starting pitches. The melismas for the first pair of tenor notes for rule 1 can be seen in **Figure 1.2**. For each pair of tenor pitches within each rule, the melismatic examples become successively longer and more virtuosic. The first in each group is usually only a handful of notes long, but the last in a group is regularly over twenty.

²⁵ This is a copy of my own table.

Figure 1.2 Rule 1, first pair of tenor notes

The figure displays five musical staves. The first four staves are in treble clef and show a sequence of notes: the first staff has four notes (F, G, A, B); the second staff has five notes (F, G, A, B, C); the third staff has six notes (F, G, A, B, C, D); the fourth staff has seven notes (F, G, A, B, C, D, E). The fifth staff is in bass clef and shows two notes: 'Fa' (F) and 're' (D).

After the rules section, which contains 251 melismas, there are twenty-five further melismas without texted rules (Supplement I) and sixty-seven *duplum* melismas without tenors (Supplement II), giving 343 melismas in total. Finally, there are three complete *organa*, *Allehya V. Hic Martinus*, the alleluia for the feast of St Martin (11 November), *Operibus sanctis V. Voce quippe*, a responsory for the feast of St Nicholas (6 December), and *Petre amas me V. Symon Iohannis*, a responsory for the feast of St Peter (29 June).

There are many reasons why the VOT is important to our understanding of how *organum purum* was created. The tract outlines how acceptable vertical consonances can be created between the tenor and *duplum* melodies and shows how musicians would have approached using semitone alterations to avoid unacceptable tritone sonorities. The rules show that musician were most likely to create *duplum* melodies that moved in contrary motion against the tenor but that within that there were options about how far a *duplum* melody might move up or down and therefore whether it would create a unison, fifth or octave consonance with the next tenor note. The large collection of melodies gives an extensive insight into the workings of *organum purum* melodies. The melodies move mostly by step, with triads and larger intervals used mostly only on particular pitches (for instance descending triads from e). The longer melodies make regular and sometimes very extended use of repetition and sequence and some melodic patterns appear in multiple different melodies.

Here it is important also to point out the distinction between the VOT and other contemporary treatises. Other treatises tend to contain large amounts of texted explanation and only a small number of musical examples, the aim of which is to illustrate the texted discussion. By contrast, the VOT contains only a small amount of theoretical discussion, and hundreds of melodies. Leaving the opening tract aside, the texted

rules tell the reader no more than could very easily be inferred from the musical examples themselves. The VOT therefore seems to have been intended more as an aid to practising singers, those actively involved in creation, rather than as an abstract and academic theoretical explanation of musical practice, perhaps used for teaching in the university. Leo Treitler made this point by comparing the VOT with earlier treatises (*Musica enchiridis* and *Musica disciplina*), which used musical examples only to illustrate written explanations, rather like ‘diagrams in scientific treatises’.²⁶ By comparison, he described the VOT as a ‘practical manual that is oriented entirely to the generative principles of ad hoc organum compositions, and that draws only to a very limited extent on theoretical explanations.’²⁷ Overall, there is a great deal that the VOT can tell us about the creation of *organum purum*, and it has therefore been the starting point for almost all previous studies of creation.

Previous Studies of Creation through the Lens of the VOT

The first detailed study on the VOT was carried out by Friedrich Zaminer. Mostly his focus was codicological and paleographical. Among other things, he suggested a dating for the manuscript (the second quarter of the thirteenth century plus or minus 20 years); he studied the ‘afterlife’ of the manuscript, seeking to ascertain how and when it became bound as part of the codex in which it is currently bound; and he compared the tenors of the three complete *organa* with those contained within Northern French chant sources, seeking to determine where the VOT might have originated. To explore the creative process, he compared the melismas recorded in the rules section with those making up the *purum* melodies in the complete *organa*, finding some overlap but also that the writer of the treatise avoided constructing the complete *organa* mechanically and using the melismas from the rules section as finished or fixed melodic sections: ‘Er wird nicht müde, immer wieder neue Wendungen zu erfinden, das Bekannte in einem neuen Zusammenhang oder in anderer Kombination zu bringen, kurz, in jedem Augenblick sich schöpferisch zu betätigen’. [He never grew tired of finding new turns of phrase, bringing known phrases together in new relationships or other combinations, in short, to be inventive in every moment.]²⁸ It is certainly the case that the relationship between the melismas and the *organa* at the end of the treatise is complicated. The melismas were not used as building blocks without alteration.

More recently, commentators have focused particularly on exploring the processes of creation that might have been supported by the kind of teaching recorded in the VOT. Most have agreed that these would have involved singers memorising a fund of melismas such as that supplied by the VOT, so that they could be drawn on when creating *organum purum* orally before or during performance. Short melismas could then be

²⁶ Leo 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, 23-31.

Republished as ‘The Vatican Organum Treatise and the Organum of Notre Dame of Paris: Perspectives on the Development of a Literate Music Culture in Europe’, in *With Voice and Pen*, 68-83, at 71.

²⁷ Treitler, ‘The Vatican Organum Treatise’, 75.

²⁸ Zaminer, *Der vatikanische Organum-Traktat*, 94.

stitched together depending on the pitches of the tenor melody to create longer melodies. Treitler described the VOT as the ‘earliest composition pedagogy of the Western tradition known to us’,²⁹ saying that singers were intended ‘to internalize from it models for proceeding without notation’.³⁰ Craig Wright similarly saw the treatise as ‘a handbook or manual for an organist who wished to generate polyphony over a given Gregorian Chant’. Once the melismas were memorised ‘virtually any chant could be sung *ex tempore* in two-voice organum without recourse to a written polyphonic manuscript’.³¹

In a more detailed study of the treatise and of the role of memory in the creation of Parisian *organum* more generally, Anna Maria Busse Berger argued that the melismas were intended to be memorised and that the treatise was intended then to support a ‘two-stage compositional process’. The singer would first ‘decide which vertical consonance to choose for the next chant note...’ and then ‘...pick one of the suitable *organal* formulas to move between the two consonances’.³² She compared the opening section of *Operibus sanctis V. Voce quippe* to the melismas in the rules section, finding some similarity, but mostly that formulae were lengthened, shortened, transposed or otherwise altered. She concluded, as Zaminer had done, that the melismas were ‘not meant to be stitched together mechanically’ but were ‘building blocks that [could] be shortened, lengthened and combined with each other in ever new ways’.³³

Busse Berger particularly insisted that the VOT melismas must have been intended to be memorised, because of the way the treatise was arranged. Drawing on the work of Mary Carruther on the *ars memoriae*,³⁴ she compared the VOT to grammar and arithmetic treatises. Such treatises divided material into small sections and arranged it systematically so it could be placed in one’s memory store and easily recalled to support creation. She argued that the VOT was likewise ‘clearly structured, both according to tenor progression and within the melismas themselves’, and so the compiler must have intended it to be memorized and used for composition. Like these *ars memoria* treatises, the VOT contained ‘the same or similar material... presented again and again with a multitude of rules’, instead of ‘a few general rules that can be applied to a variety of cases’.³⁵ It would therefore make no sense as a document unless it was intended to be memorised, because otherwise ‘it would be very tedious reading, indeed’.³⁶

It is perhaps too strong to say that the VOT *must* have been memorised because of the way it was arranged. It might have been memorised, but there is the possibility that its author simply needed a way of organising it and that grouping melismas by tenor progression was the most sensible way of doing that. Busse Berger also supported her argument with the identification of black solmisation syllables in the margins of the rules section, which she characterises as ‘personal mnemonic marks’, made by a user of the VOT to aid

²⁹ Treitler, ‘The Vatican Organum Treatise’, 74.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 73.

³¹ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 336.

³² Busse Berger, ‘The Memorization of Organum, Discant and Counterpoint Treatises’, 121.

³³ Busse Berger, ‘Compositional Process and the Transmission of Notre Dame Polyphony’, in *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 169-173.

³⁴ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*; and *The Craft of Thought*.

³⁵ Busse Berger, ‘The Memorization of Organum, Discant and Counterpoint Treatises’, 119.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 127.

memorisation, since often a sign or a keyword was used to recall an entire passage.³⁷ This contrasts with Irving Godt's perhaps more convincing view that the black letters were to remind the scribe what to write when, having copied the rules in black ink, he came back to complete some initials in red.³⁸ Whether the arrangement of the treatise was designed to support memorisation or not, what is clear is that the VOT does give an important insight into the creation of *organum purum* and it is certainly possible that musicians did weave previously memorised melismas into their *organum purum* melodies.

Because it is an important source, previous studies of creation have focused almost exclusively on the VOT and left the records of practical music making aside. One of the aims of this study is then to fill this gap left by previous scholarship, to explore creation in practice, rather than in theory. There are a number of good reasons to do this. Firstly, whilst the VOT does contain a very large fund of individual melismas, by comparison to the fifty or so surviving office *organa dupla*, the five folios of the VOT are still a very small witness.

There are also many things that the *organa dupla* can tell us about creation that the VOT cannot. For instance, as Sarah Fuller has noted, the writer of the VOT gave 'a collection of stock formulas which appear in vacuo, with no guidance on how they might appropriately be fitted together in composition.'³⁹ For instance, the VOT does not tell us how to begin and end sections, how to sing multiple melismas over the same tenor note or how and where to alternate and join sections of *organum purum* and *discant*. (These things will be explored in Chapter 2.) Its three *organa* can perhaps give clues to these things, but three examples certainly cannot tell us as much as the many more office *dupla* in F, W1 and W2. A large collection of complete *organa* also gives the possibility of mapping how longer sections of *organum purum* are reused both within individual *organa* and across different *organa* (Chapter 3). We can also compare different elaborations of the same chant as they survive in the different manuscripts. This shows different creative possibilities, as well as giving an insight into how creation and recreation were involved in the circulation of *organum purum* and *organa dupla* (Chapter 4). Considering a large number of office *dupla* altogether also reveals different kinds of creation in different portions of the repertory (Chapters 5 and 6), which in turn makes comment on the relationship between the surviving manuscript sources. In these ways, this study is an extension and expansion of work on creation that has focused solely on the VOT and shows that there is a lot more to say about creation if we consider not only the VOT, but the surviving collections of *organa dupla* as well.

This study's analyses of the office *organa dupla* is not just an interesting expansion of work on the VOT, however, but a necessary one. This is because there are reasons why we cannot assume that the VOT and the office *organa dupla* in F, W1 and W2 are definitely two different representations of the same creative tradition, one practical, one theoretical. They are certainly related. They both contain polyphony that involves sustained tenor notes with long and elaborate melismas sung over them. There are also some exact

³⁷ Busse Berger, 'The Memorization of Organum, Discant and Counterpoint Treatises', 127.

³⁸ Godt and Rivera (eds.), 'The Vatican Organum Treatise', 278.

³⁹ Fuller, 'Early Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century', 524.

concordances that have been found between the two.⁴⁰ Some of the same melodic patterns appear in both and the melodies in both tend to move largely by step, using larger intervals in specific and limited ways.⁴¹ There are reasons, however, why we cannot use the VOT as our only witness to the creation of Parisian *organum purum*.

One problem is that the both the date and geographical provenance of the VOT are uncertain. This slightly complicates assessments of the relationship between the tradition represented in the VOT and that recorded in the extant Parisian sources is also uncertain. Dating the VOT has proved complicated, partly because the surviving version is probably a copy. This has meant that there is a chronological gap between datings based on the stylistic analysis of its contents, and paleographic datings of the hand and the musical notation.

Early commentators used a stylistic comparison between the VOT melodies and those recorded in the extant Parisian sources to date the treatise. For instance, Rudolf Ficker considered it stylistically older than the Parisian repertory, calling it ‘vormodale Organumkunst’ [‘premodal *organum*’] from before 1170.⁴² Marius Schneider saw the music in the VOT as representative of an even-earlier, pre-St Martial tradition from the start of the twelfth century.⁴³ Later commentators moved away from such stylistic comparisons and dated the surviving copy paleographically. These scholars tended to give a much later date. With the help of the paleographer Bernhardt Bischoff, Zamminer dated the copy to the second quarter of the thirteenth century plus or minus 20 years,⁴⁴ and Rudolf Flotzinger dated it to about 1230.⁴⁵ Both commentators tentatively suggested that the music in the treatise was stylistically similar to early Parisian *organum purum*. That leaves a gap of at least fifty years between the beginnings of tradition to which the VOT bears witness and the copying of the surviving manuscript.

It has also not been possible to establish clearly the geographical provenance of the VOT either. A number of early commentators gave it a Northern French or English origin on paleographical grounds.⁴⁶ Zamminer suggested a Parisian origin by comparing the tenors of two of the *organa* it contains (*Alleluia V. Hic Martinus* and *Petre amas me V. Symon Iohannis*) with the tenors of equivalent *organa* and *clausulae* in F, W1 and W2. There is a third *organum* in the VOT (*Operibus sanctis V. Voce quippe*) that is not in W1, F or W2, but Zamminer found

⁴⁰ Steven Immel, ‘The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-examined’, *Early Music History*, 20, 2001, 121-72, 155.

⁴¹ These patterns and behaviours are discussed in Chapter 2.

⁴² Rudolf Ficker, ‘Der Organumtraktat der Vatikanischen Bibliothek (Ottob. 3025)’, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 27, 1932, 65-74, at 65.

⁴³ Marius Schneider, *Geschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit: Historische und Phänomenologische Studien, Zweite Teil: Die Anfänge in Europa*, Berlin: Gebrüder Borntraeger, 1934, 97.

⁴⁴ Zamminer, *Der vatikanische Organum-Traktat*, 24.

⁴⁵ Rudolf Flotzinger, ‘Die Organa des Vatikanischen Traktats’, in J. Bergsagel, H. W. Schwab, and O. Kongsted (eds.), *A Due: Musical Essays in Honour of John D. Bergsagel & Heinrich W. Schwab, with the Assistance of Lisbeth Larsen*, Copenhagen: Tusculanum Press, 2008, 148-160, at 148.

⁴⁶ Henry Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani Di Paleografia Musicale Latina: Raccolti Ed Illustrati Da Enrico Marriotti Bannister*, Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1913, 156; Marius Schneider, ‘Kaukasische Parallelen zur mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit’, *Acta Musicologica*, XII, Hafnia: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1940, 52-61, at 55; Ficker, ‘Der Organumtraktat der Vatikanischen Traktats’, 70; and Ewald Jammers, ‘Organa des Codex Ottobonianus’, in *Anfänge der Abendländischen Musik, Sammlung Musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen*, Bd. 31, Strasbourg and Kehl: Librarie Heitz, 1955, 39-47, at 39.

its tenor very close to a version of that chant melody found in the eleventh-century BAV. Reg. 586, originally from Tours or Fleury, supporting a more general Northern French origin for the VOT.⁴⁷ Michel Huglo later pointed out that *Operibus sanctis V. Voce quippe* appears as the Office Responsory for the feast of St Nicholas on the 6th of December at St-Maur-de-Fossées, a Parisian Benedictine Abbey.⁴⁸

Not all commentators have considered the VOT as Northern French or Parisian, however, because the notation of the VOT is in some ways idiosyncratic. Flotzinger described it simply as peripheral.⁴⁹ Jürg Stenzl identified the same notational peculiarities in manuscripts from the first half of the thirteenth century from the diocese of Lausanne on Lake Geneva.⁵⁰ Hartmut Schick compared the VOT to Codex 383 from St-Gallen, finding in both the same long vertical lines across both staves and rising two, three or four-note ligatures that are often slanted and overhanging at the neck.⁵¹

This uncertainty over the date and provenance of the VOT fuelled disagreements about its relationship to the Parisian *organum purum* recorded in W1, F and W2. Various commentators compared the VOT with the Parisian sources notationally and stylistically, coming to very different conclusions. Zamminer pointed out a great deal more variety in ligature patterns and shapes in the VOT than in W1, F and W2. Only about a third of the VOT ligature patterns appear in the Parisian sources, which, he argued, were much more systematic in their deployment of notational shapes than the VOT. In his view, the VOT was therefore a first attempt at writing down *organum purum* and that, by the time the Parisian sources were notated, more efficient systems of notation had been developed.⁵²

Treitler similarly identified ‘a sharpening and greater consistency in the notation’ in the Parisian sources which he saw as paralleled by a greater ‘efficiency...[and] squareness’ of musical form.⁵³ He pointed out the VOT’s highly virtuosic melodic style: particularly its extended strings of repeated notes, drawn out cadential phrases, large ranges and intervals and cascades of notes. He argued that the VOT melismas were ‘far more extravagant than any we find in the Parisian *organa*—especially the later ones’, and that therefore, the VOT must have been contemporary with the beginnings of the Parisian tradition.⁵⁴ By comparison, the ‘Parisian organum manuscripts transmit late and in some sense edited versions’, showing the last, most refined phase in the creation of *organa* and something of its transformation up to the time of their writing down.⁵⁵ In his

⁴⁷ Zamminer, ‘Die Chormelodien der Organum-Stücke’, in *Der vatikanische Organum-Traktat*, 72-83.

⁴⁸ Michael Huglo, ‘Notated Performance Practices in Parisian Chant Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century’, in T.F. Kelly (ed.), *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 32-44, at 32.

⁴⁹ Flotzinger, ‘Die Organa des Vatikanischen Traktats’, 148.

⁵⁰ Jürg Stenzl, ‘Peripherie’ und ‘Zentrum’: Fragen im Hinblick auf die Handschrift SG 383**’, in H. Kühn and P. Nitsche (eds.), *Kongreßbericht Berlin 1974*, Kassel, 1980, 100-18.

⁵¹ Hartmut Schick, ‘Musik wird zum Kunstwerk: Leonin und die Organa des Vatikanischen Organumtraktats’, in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher*, Kassel, Basel, London, New York and Prag: Bärenreiter, 1995, 34-43, at 34.

⁵² Zamminer, *Der vatikanische Organum-Traktat*, 36.

⁵³ Treitler, ‘The Vatican Organum Treatise’, 77-80.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 80.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 81.

view, the VOT taught a wider artistic tradition ‘out of which the Parisian composers refined a highly specialized and elite compositional style.’⁵⁶

Steven Immel, however, reached the opposite conclusion based a different reading of a number of the same stylistic characteristics. He saw the VOT as stylistically late compared to the main flourishing of the Parisian polyphonic style. First, he argued that it recast Parisian material into late ‘copula style’, in effect adding modal rhythm to freely moving Parisian melismas. Second, he noticed in the VOT melismas including atypical melodic gestures and skips, odd adaptations, and the overuse and over-manipulation of formulae. All these things he saw as indicative of a late style.⁵⁷ He also pointed out elements of isoperiodicity characteristic of later genres, particularly the motet.⁵⁸

He also found a number of exact concordances between melodies in the VOT and those in Parisian *organa* and he argued from both these concordances, and from its late style, that ‘the V[O]T author must have had direct access to the Magnus liber in some form’ and that the melismas in the VOT were copied from versions of Parisian *organa* to make a grammar to support written composition of Parisian-style *purum*.⁵⁹ In his view, the melismas were not intended to be used as polyphonic building blocks, but were instead a means whereby a composer might learn how to create idiomatic *organum* (in writing), since it does not just provide melodic material, but is concerned with the function of formulae – whether they are introductory, thematic, transitional or cadential.⁶⁰

The first difficulty with using the VOT to learn about the creation of Parisian *organum purum* (or certainly as the only way to do so) is, therefore, that it has not been possible to pinpoint the date and geographical provenance of the polyphonic practice reflected in the VOT. Different commentators have also assessed the notational and stylistic relationship between the VOT and the Parisian sources in very different ways.

The next thing to consider is that, however practically oriented the VOT was by comparison to other contemporary treatise, it is still a theoretical document, and the ways in which this might have shaped its presentation of the creative process must be considered. Something like this was noted by Flotzinger, who said:

‘hier eine gewissermassen idealisierte Form vorliegt, die der Praxis eben *nicht* völlig entsprach und daher auch nicht in diesem Sinne als Vorbild, geschwiege den als Vorlage (sogennante Vor-Schrift) dienen sollte’ [‘here is a quasi-idealised Form, that is not fully representative of practice, and in this way it should not be considered an example, much less as a model.’]⁶¹

⁵⁶ Treitler, ‘The Vatican Organum Treatise’, 74.

⁵⁷ Immel, ‘The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-examined’, 167.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 123.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 155.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 166.

⁶¹ Flotzinger, ‘Die Organa des Vatikanischen Traktats’, 155.

Indeed, whenever anyone tries to harness a fluid and varied creative process and present it theoretically, simplifications, categorisations and generalisations have to be made in order that the treatise is clear and useful for teaching and learning. The question is how the content and presentation of the VOT may too have been influenced by the need to fulfil a didactic purpose. It cannot necessarily be assumed that the VOT's theoretical presentation of creation was a transparent parallel of practical creation.

For instance, for each rule, the melismas are organised so they gradually increase in length and complexity. Because of this, the longer examples frequently use extended sequences and direct repetition. These are the kinds of melodic characteristics that Treitler and Immel used to distinguish between the VOT and the Parisian sources. These may, however, have been more a result of the way in which the treatise was organised than a reflection of any kind of practice, whatever relationship that may have had to Parisian practice. It is possible that such elaborate melodies came about only because the creator of the treatise sought to record increasingly complex melismas, and so they used long sequences and repetitions more often and in different ways from the way in which they were used in practice.

Because the treatise systematically sets out to move through different sets of progressions, it also includes progressions that are rarely, if ever, found in the office *organa dupla*. These include progressions where the two voices cross over to form a fifth consonance with the *duplum* underneath the tenor. In the *organa dupla*, a D (*duplum*) – a (tenor) is often created in this way, but the VOT includes the same thing on C-G and F-c as well. In the *organa dupla*, if the tenor note repeats, it is unusual to sing a long *duplum* melisma over the repeated note. The VOT, however, includes a large number of (in some cases extremely) long melismas over repeated tenor notes. This might be because these repeated-note progressions appear at the end of the rules section and gave the compiler of the treatise an opportunity to explore the kinds of repetition he had been exploring throughout but in a more extensive (and therefore perhaps more final) way, as a grand finale.

Furthermore, whilst there are many similarities between the melodies in the VOT and the office *organa dupla*, there are also some significant differences. Some of these might be related to the treatise's arrangement (perhaps its tendency to use sequences that are very much longer than those that appear in the office *organa dupla*), but there are many other differences also. For instance, there are some lengthy melismas which stay within a very limited range, often using direct repetition or multiple oscillations around the same pitches in order to do so. At the same time, there are melismas that move through a very wide range within just a few notes. Neither of these things are typical of melodies in the office *organa dupla*. The VOT melismas are less consistent with their use of repeated notes at the tops and bottoms of ascents and descents and large intervals are not so consistently balanced with stepwise movement in the opposite direction.

There is also more direct repetition in the VOT melismas and triads are used a great deal more. Particularly, there are a number of melismas that begin on F (and also E and g) that use a rising triadic pattern more usually associated with chants in mode 5. Rising triads are themselves uncommon in the office *organa dupla* but these particular rising patterns are not used at all. Finally, whilst there are some ending patterns that are shared between the VOT melismas and the melodies in the office *organa dupla*, there are also lots of melismas

that end in ways that would be strange if found in the office *dupla*, for instance with direct falling thirds. I mention these differences here only in the most general of terms and I direct those looking to follow up this point to Godt and Riveras' edition of the treatise.⁶² A detailed comparison of the melodies and creative approaches in the VOT and those in the office *dupla* is not possible within the scope of this thesis. Once this thesis has carried out detailed work on the much larger amounts of *organum purum* in F, W1 and W2, the melodies of the VOT can then be considered in context. It is important briefly to acknowledge these differences at this point, however, because they highlight the fact that we cannot continue to limit explorations of the creation of *organum purum* to studies of the VOT alone.

As well as these differences between the melodies themselves, it is also important to consider whether the approach reflected in the VOT was actually underpinning the creation of the *organum purum* recorded in the office *organa dupla*. That is to say, did musicians think first about what consonances they needed to form with the tenor, then how far the *duplum* had to move to make those consonances and then what melisma, from their memorised stock, they could use to do so. It is certainly a possibility that musicians did use previously memorised melismas as part of their *purum* melodies but it cannot be assumed that this was always the case, or even often the case. It also cannot be assumed that musicians considered vertical consonances before they considered horizontal melody: that their creation of melody was definitely influenced in some way by prior decisions about vertical consonances, as seems to be suggested by the treatise. Bringing the melodies and approaches reflected in the treatise into dialogue with those in the office *organa dupla* is revealing on these points and I will return to the first at the end of Chapter 2 and the second in Chapter 4.⁶³

Overall, this study does two things, therefore. It explores those things about creation which the VOT cannot tell us, simply by virtue of being a large collection of complete *organa dupla*. It also acknowledges, however, there we cannot assume the VOT and the office *organa dupla* were definitely two sides of exactly the same coin: that there are ways in which the practices represented in each differ. To do this, it brings the two practices into dialogue and thereby sheds some light on their relationship, or at least it begins to. There will be more work to be done on this in the wake of the detailed analyses of the office *organa dupla* presented here. The VOT is an important witness to the creation of *organum purum* but it should not be our only witness, both because there is much more to say that the VOT can say about creation, and because there are ways in which the VOT might not necessarily be a straightforward witness to the creation of Parisian *organum purum*.

⁶² Godt and Rivera (eds.), 'The Vatican Organum Treatise'.

⁶³ See Chapter 2 (94) and Chapter 4 (181).

1.5 Other Analyses of Parisian *Organa Dupla*

Before outlining my approach to the question of creation, there is one previous study left to be examined. Whilst previous discussions of the creation of *organum purum* have been dominated by consideration of the VOT, one study that has analysed extant *organa dupla*. In her PhD thesis, Jennifer Roth Burnette argued, as has been argued here, that while there are some similarities between the VOT and the *organa* in the Parisian sources, ‘the praxis transmitted in these sources is considerably more complex and fluid than that presented in the V[O]T or in any other theoretical text’.⁶⁴ Instead of studying the VOT, therefore, she analysed and compared a group of four *organa* in the extant Parisian sources whose tenor melodies are related: *Iudea et Ierusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1, in all three manuscripts), *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset* (O14, only in F), *Solem iusticie* V. *Cenere divinum* (O19, only in F) and *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* (O28, in all three manuscripts).

In her analysis, Roth Burnette made some comments upon which I will build in Chapter 2 when discussing how musicians fashioned their *duplum* melodies. She pointed out that *organa* are divided into passages according to the words of the chant text, with one word in each passage. She drew attention to some melodic patterns which appear regularly at the start and end of sections and passages. She also noticed that *duplum* melodies are generated through repetition and development, as well as sequence, and that they are sometimes symmetrical.

The aim of her analysis was not to explore the creation of *organum purum* on its own terms, however, but to place it more clearly within the surrounding scholastic and ecclesial environment, particularly drawing it alongside literary creation supported by the medieval *ars memoriae*. In this, she builds on the work of Busse Berger, who was the first to appropriate the work of Carruthers on medieval memory and to fashion from it a theory for understanding medieval musical creation.⁶⁵

Like Busse Berger, Roth Burnette suggested that musicians used the same kind of elaboration when creating music as a scholar elaborating a theological topic in a sermon, and she sought to show how different layers of elaboration were built up in the creation of *organa*. To begin with, she discussed how a chant text might have elaborated a biblical verse or theological theme. She then showed how a chant melody might elaborate a chant text and how an *organum* setting of a chant might be seen as an elaboration of that chant.

For the current study, the most interesting part of Roth Burnette’s argument relates to the creation of *organa dupla*. Her argument is based on what she sees as similarities between chant melodies and the *duplum* melodies sung above them:

‘In the creation of the medieval sermon, an authoritative text is set forth and expounded upon, often drawing both from the text itself and from a larger body of sacred and exegetical literature. In organum duplum, an authoritative text (the chant melody) is embellished using a set of melodic figures, some of

⁶⁴ Jennifer Roth Burnette, *Organizing Scripture: Organum Melos, Composition, and Memoria in a Group of Notre-Dame Responsories*, PhD. diss., New York University, 2010, 17-8.

⁶⁵ Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*.

them seemingly drawn directly from the chant tenor (or its source chant) and others drawn from a wider body of chant figures and organal idioms.⁶⁶

In this way, as Reckow had before her, she argued that chant melodies provided a kind of thesaurus, a databank of raw compositional materials for the creation of new *duplum* melodies. Just as words and phrases from a literary thesaurus were combined according to grammatical conventions when composing a speech or sermon, these raw musical materials from chant were combined according to a musical ‘grammar’, which governed conventions of phrase-building, and showed which patterns to use where within the phrase. She also compared repetition and development in *duplum* melodies to rhetorical *varietas*, sequence to *imitation*, and *clausulae* in *organa* to rhetorical *clausulae* or phrases.⁶⁷

Arguably, however, similarity between chant melodies and *duplum* melodies is not necessarily evidence of chant melodies forming a fund of melodic material for the creation of *duplum* melodies. The musicians who created *organa dupla* also sang the chant for the yearly cycle of the office and the mass. (Even scribes or, if they existed, composers who were not singers were likely very familiar with these chant melodies.) The singing of chant was from memory, which meant that singers were intimately familiar with chant melos. It would, therefore, be strange if chant and *duplum* melodies were not similar, and if melodic processes in chant were not also found in *duplum* melodies.

Furthermore, the melodies she included in her database (‘thesaurus’), which she saw as shared between chant and *duplum* melodies, are only very short collections of just three or four pitches.⁶⁸ They are mostly very simple patterns that are not particularly characterful. They include, for instance, a rising three-note scale, and a pattern that oscillates either side of a central pitch. When comparing chant and *duplum* melodies at the level of three or four pitches, it would be strange if there was not overlap, especially given that her patterns are transposable and can contain different configurations of semitones and tones, major and minor thirds, and even intervals. The appearance of these kinds of patterns in both chant and *duplum* melodies is therefore not necessarily the result of musicians consciously using chant as a melodic thesaurus, as Roth Burnette has suggested, but simply the result of their creating melodies that were similar to those with which they were very familiar (chant melodies). Some of the short melodic patterns Roth Burnette identified can also be combined into longer melodic units which are in themselves repeated regularly in different *duplum* melodies. In focusing on the smallest melodic units, therefore, she missed the importance of these longer patterns.

Whilst Roth Burnette did make some important comments on the creation of *organum purum*, it is possible that her attempt to show a parallel between musical creation and literary creation caused her both to overemphasise the closeness of the relationship between chant melodies and *duplum* melodies, and to see

⁶⁶ Roth Burnette, *Organizing Scripture*, 250.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 248-51.

⁶⁸ For the database of short melodic units see *Ibid.* 376-9.

similarities between chant and *duplum* melodies as evidence of a conscious creative process, rather than the result of the musicians simply creating melodies like the ones they sang every day.

This study will leave comparisons between the creation of *purum* and the wider scholastic environment aside, and will focus on the creation of *organum purum* in its own right. That is not to say that my work does not take into account the environment in which this *organum* was sung, who sang it, and how it has been transmitted to us. In fact, in designing an analytical approach, it has been vital to consider those things, as shall shortly be discussed. For Roth Burnette's purposes, analysis of four *organa* was enough to show what she saw as the close relationship between *duplum* melodies and the chant melodies above which they were sung. By analysing all the office *organa dupla* I will be able to give a much more detailed and varied insight into the way in which musicians created *organum purum* melodies. I will be able to make comment on the kinds of creative technique and pattern that recur across the repertory, and in doing so, I will be able to give a deeper insight into the musical culture of which the surviving *organa* are just one product.

1.6 A New Analytical Approach

There are number of things that must be considered by anyone analysing Parisian Polyphony. The first, as noted by Catherine Bradley in the introduction to her recent book *Polyphony in Medieval Paris*, is that the only access we have to the Parisian polyphonic tradition is through fixed, notated texts.⁶⁹ As we have seen, however, this repertory was most likely shaped both orally and in writing, both before and during performance. A close reading of one fixed version of a particular *organum*, *clausula* or motet is therefore to a certain extent at odds with the creative musical practice which we are trying to access through such a reading.

Somehow therefore, we must find ways of allowing these fixed, notated *organa* to speak of a fluid way of creating and recreating *organum*, where 'the same' melody might have been sung differently every time. We must discover in these large literate collections, the creation of which involved careful selection, arrangement and editing, ways to learn about a musical culture which did not rely heavily on notated music, where singers were creative not just reproductive, and where singing and creating *organum* were often synonymous.

This study suggests two ways in which this might be possible for the *organa dupla* repertory. The first informs the analysis undertaken in Chapters 2 and 3. In these chapters, I analyse not individual *organa* but rather the whole repertory, looking across different *organa* for shared ways of creating melodies. My analysis explores, among other things, how musicians started and ended sections, whether they used particularly melodic

⁶⁹ Catherine Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris: The Art of Composing with Plainchant*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, especially 1-9.

patterns and how they did so, and whether they had particular creative techniques for generating melody. In this I build on the work of Treitler who explored the patterns and systems (formula and formulaic systems) involved in the creative transmission of chant, by asking whether similar things might also have supported musicians creating *organum purum*. In this way, it is possible to develop an understanding not just of the versions of these *organa* that happen to have survived, but also of the wider creative practice to which they bear witness. This allows fixed notated *organa* to give an insight into a creative practice that was possibly as much oral as it was written and which regularly involved casting and recasting both before and during performance.

A second way of solving the problem of having to analyse fixed, notated versions to find out about a fluid, largely oral musical practice shapes the analysis carried out in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. In her discussion of the problem of close analysis for medieval musicologists, Bradley argues that the ‘evident medieval desire to preserve and respect the integrity of a musical composition facilitates and encourages its analysis’.⁷⁰ There is certainly such a desire evident in parts of the office *organa dupla* repertory. As shall be seen, there are a number of pieces that are recorded in almost exactly the same way in all three of the main manuscripts. There are also, however, pieces that are recorded with a great deal of variety in the different sources. In fact, the *dupla* repertory is generally more varied than many of the other Parisian repertories, particularly those for three and four voices. The office *dupla* repertory seems to invite us, because it is so varied, to see that variety not as a problem for the analyst, but as an opportunity: an opportunity to learn about polyphonic creation and recreation by analysing the nature of this variety.

This is the invitation accepted in the second half of this study. I look first at the differences between equivalent passages in the same *organa* in order to understand in what ways melodies might have been recreated and varied. I then go on to consider differences between whole *organa* and between different portions of the repertory more generally, exploring the different creative processes which shaped them. I will show that this kind of comparison is vital to developing an understanding of how *organum purum* and *organa dupla* were created.

⁷⁰ Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris*, 4.

2. Creating *Organum purum*: Shared Approaches

This chapter begins to explore how musicians crafted *organum purum* melodies and sang them over chant tenors. In order to do this, I will analyse the extant office *dupla* repertory widely, looking across lots of different *organa* and asking how the *purum* melodies they contain seem to have been created.

My analysis will be in four sections. In the first, I will discuss how musicians used tenor melodies as the basis for their polyphonic elaborations; in the next, I will explore how their upper-voice melodies moved through melodic space; in the third, I will consider how musicians generated melodic material through repetition and development of various kinds; and in the final section, I will ask how they used repeating patterns as part of their melodies, particularly at the beginnings and endings of sections and passages.

Before doing so, it is important first to define some of the labels I will be using in my melodic analysis. The first term that is important to discuss at this point is melodic ‘strategy’. In this thesis, strategies are established ways of creating melodies. For a way of making melody to become a strategy, therefore, it has to appear lots of times in lots of different melodies. For instance, there are many sections that begin in the same way and so it seems that musicians shared particular strategies for beginning sections. Similarly, where the *duplum* voice crosses underneath the tenor, it most often does so in particular ways and in particular places so it seems musicians had strategies for doing this too.

The next term to be defined is ‘pattern’. There are two different kinds of melodic unit for which I use the word ‘pattern’ in this thesis. The first is a melodic unit that is repeated a number of times in one passage of melody. It might appear on the same or different pitches and it might appear repeated exactly or with a certain amount of variation: for instance, individual pitches might be altered, intervals expanded or repeated notes added or removed. The two iterations might also begin in the same way and then be elongated.

Here it is right to question what qualifies melodic units that vary in this way to be considered ‘the same’.¹ For them to be considered the same pattern in this thesis, melodic units need to share either the same (or very nearly the same) pattern of intervals with individual pitch differences or additions of repeated notes or the same shape and number of notes with the intervals expanded. If two melodic units begin in the same way, but the second is an elongated version of the other, I would term the second a developed version of the same pattern. I have chosen these definitions because when melodic units are repeated in *purum*

¹ In this chapter, it is patterns that are considered the same or different. I will return to definitions of ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ in Chapter 3, which deals with the reuse of longer melodies within the same *organum* and across different *organa*, and Chapter 4, which compares different versions of equivalent passages within the same *organum*. There I will consider what ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ means in the context of whole passage and whole sections of polyphony.

melodies they are rarely repeated exactly, but expanded or elongated or altered in some other way. If only melodic units that are exactly the same were termed the same pattern, the importance of spinning out a melody through the repetition of or through the repetition and development of short melodic units would be obscured.

The other kind of pattern is repeated not as part of the same passage but many times across the repertory as a whole. The repetition of patterns of this kind comes about as the result of the use of the same melodic strategies and here the line between the use of the same melodic strategy and the use of the same melodic pattern becomes blurred. For instance, in *organum purum* melodies there is a tendency to finish passages with repeated notes and this means that there are a number of different repeated-note patterns that appear at the end of lots of different melodies. This is the repetition of a melodic strategy (a way of ending) which leads to the repetition of melodic patterns. All cadential repeated-note patterns are related as a consequence of being a manifestation of the same melodic strategy but within this general melodic strategy, there are also more specific strategies – such as the use of pairs of repeated notes, oscillations and the combination of repeated notes with a rising fourth. The repetition of the same one of these more specific strategies sometimes leads to the repetition of something I would consider either the same melodic pattern (if the pitch or intervallic content were the same or almost the same) or different versions of the same pattern (if one were an elongated or decorated version of the other).

Generally, my ‘patterns’ map onto to Treitler’s ‘formulae’ and my ‘strategies’ onto his ‘formulaic system’. In my work, however, pattern and strategy are not always separable. In fact, they probably sit at either end of a spectrum. Sometimes, it is very definitely a pattern that is being repeated and the melodies end up very similar. Sometimes it is very definitely an idea, a strategy that is being repeated, and so the melodies might end up generally similar but without overlap of melodic detail. At other times, the use of a fairly specific strategy might have led to the use of similar patterns. In some cases, it is impossible to determine whether a musician has used the same strategy and that has led to the use of the same pattern, or whether they have simply used the same pattern.

2.1 The Tenor Melody as a Basis for Polyphonic Elaboration

My analysis will begin by considering the three ways in which musicians’ creative choices might have been informed by the tenor melodies over which they were singing *organum purum*.

Firstly, tenor melodies determined how sections of *dupla* polyphony would be structured. Almost without exception, these *organa* are made up of a number of short passages, the lengths of which are determined by the tenor melody. Beginnings and endings of passages are marked in three ways: by a move from *purum* to *discant*, or vice versa; by the use of a typical ending pattern;² or by the appearance of two consonances

² These beginning and ending patterns are discussed in the section starting on page 84.

consecutively. In *organum purum*, tenor notes coincide with the end of a melisma, apart from where a tenor note appears at the start of the first melisma in a new passage. This means that where there is a move from one passage to the next, a tenor note appears at the end of one passage and then immediately again at the start of the next.

An example of this can be seen in **Figure 2.1** from *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* in W1. Excluding the first tenor note, each tenor note on the word ‘dominus’ appears at the end of a melisma. There is then a new tenor note at the beginning of the first melisma on the word ‘procedens’. This means that there are two consonances consecutively (marked ‘A’), at the end of passage on ‘dominus’ and at the start of the passage on ‘procedens’.

Figure 2.1 *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2): W1 (*ordines* 33-41)³

do- mi- nus

pro- [cedens]

³ In this chapter, I have selected examples to represent phenomena that appear many times in lots of different *organum purum* melodies in the office *organa dupla*. For now, it is not important in which pieces, or in which versions of those pieces, these examples are to be found. Here I am treating the extant repertory simply as a large collection of melodies, and seeking to show the extent to which the same set of creative procedures appear many times across that collection. In this chapter, therefore, where I present a passage that appears differently in another version of the same *organum*, I do not seek to compare those different versions. Such comparison reveals a great deal about the processes of creation to which the extant repertory bears witness and Chapters 4 and 5 will be dedicated to it. Figure 2.1 is selected simply in order to show how the *dupla* and tenor voices tend to relate in all *organum purum* melodies when a new word of the chant starts. A comparison of this passage with the equivalent passage in the version of this *organum* that appears in F is reserved for Chapter 5.

As noted by Hans Tischler, the short passages out of which *organa dupla* were made usually contained one or two words of the chant in each.⁴ (This applies particularly to passages of *organum purum*. Passages of *discant* occasionally elaborate longer portions of the chant melody with more words.) An example of this can be seen in **Figure 2.2**, which shows the text of the polyphonic portion of the responsory and the verse of *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* as it is arranged in W1. A space between words denotes the start of a new passage. Each passage contains just one or two words.

Figure 2.2 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): W1 (Text of the responsory and verse)

Responsory:	Iudea	et Iherusalem			
Verse:	Constantes	estote	videbitis	auxilium	domini
	super vos				

As well as determining the structure of *organa*, the tenor melody also influenced the pitches of the *duplum* melody in a number of ways. Firstly, whenever a tenor note changed, a unison, fifth or octave consonance was formed with it. There are some individual exceptions to this, more often found in passages of *discant* than of *organum purum*. It would be possible to find individual exceptions to this within the *purum* melodies in the *organa dupla* but there would be no more than a handful across the whole repertory.⁵ More specifically than this, particular tenor notes were likely to have particular consonances sung above them at the start and end of main sections. Approximately 80% of final sections ended with an octave consonance, regardless of the final pitch in the tenor. About 75% of sections also began with an octave consonance, 20% with a fifth and only a small number with an octave. The most likely opening consonance also varied depending on the pitch of the first tenor note. More than 90% of sections that started with a C or D in the tenor begin with an octave consonance. Approximately 70% of sections than begin with an F in the tenor start with an octave consonance. Almost all of the others start with a fifth. Fifth consonances were most likely to appear when the first tenor note was an a. 65% of sections with a tenor a start with a fifth (or a third rising immediately to a fifth, as will be discussed later).⁶ The remainder are divided fairly equally between unisons and fifths. Unison consonances at the start of sections are the rarest. Almost all of them appear where the tenor note is an a.

As well as influencing the exact pitches of the *duplum* in these ways, the tenor melody more generally determined the range in which the *duplum* sat, since the two voices stayed mostly within an octave of each other and almost always inside a tenth.⁷ For instance, there are just three instances in the whole of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10) in F where the *duplum* moves more than an octave above the tenor (up

⁴ Hans Tischler, 'The Structure of Notre-Dame Organa', *Acta Musicologica*, 49, 1977, 193-9.

⁵ The exception to this is the use of a-c thirds at the start of sections. This will be discussed on pages 86-7.

⁶ This will be discussed on pages 86-7.

⁷ It is possible that this is due to limitations of vocal range, rather than purely a creative choice.

in one case to a tenth). These are just one or two pitches in each case. This is typical of all the office *duplum* melodies. The voices did sometimes cross over, typically no more than once or twice in an *organum* and often not at all. This is always only for a short series of notes, two *ordines* at most, and the most frequently formed consonance with the *duplum* underneath the tenor is a D (*duplum*)- a (tenor) fifth.⁸

The relationships between *duplum* melodies and the tenor melodies over which they were sung are very consistent across the repertory. It seems therefore that musicians shared ways of using tenor melodies as a basis for their creation of *organum purum*. There is, however, only a very limited number of ways in which tenor melodies actually shaped the *duplum* melodies sung above them. The words of the chant determined where passages began and ended, and the pitches of the tenor melody informed the choice of consonances, particularly at the start and end of main sections, and had a general influence on the range of the *duplum* melody.

This limited influence might be largely due to the nature of the relationship between the *duplum* and tenor voices in *organum purum*. *Purum* melismas are long. They are rarely shorter than seven or eight notes and often they are considerable longer. There are some individual melismas which are up to fifty notes long. This means that the creation of *purum* melodies is not limited by the need to create regular consonances with the tenor. In fact, in longer melismas particularly, the melody can be for the most part entirely unaffected by the need to end up at a consonance with the tenor. The *duplum* need only move towards a consonance in the last few pitches of the melisma, and since the *duplum* might eventually form a unison, fifth or octave with the tenor, a consonance is never far away melodically.

Because they had relatively little influence on the *duplum* melodies sung above them, there will be little discussion of tenor melodies or pitches in the rest of this chapter. Discussion will focus instead on the ways in which musicians crafted the *duplum* melodies they sang above them.

⁸ A particularly frequently occurring example of part crossing appears in one of the passages discussed in Chapter 3 (section beginning on page 128). In one of the processional *organa* in F, the two voices relate in a very different way. This is discussed in Chapter 6 (section beginning on page 247).

2.2 Characterizing *Organum purum* Melodies

2.2.1 Moving through Melodic Space

I will begin by characterising generally how *duplum* melodies move, as well as assessing how larger intervals and repeated notes appear within them.

Duplum melodies are mostly conjunct with some thirds. They stay within a limited range, and they move through that range slowly, balancing movement up and down. There are rarely long scales in either direction. Instead, melodies oscillate up and down and use repeated notes, moving only slowly in one direction or the other. This kind of movement can be seen in **Figure 2.3**, the end of the verse of *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* in W1. The melody moves only by step or in thirds and it never moves more than a fifth in one direction at once. The first three *ordines* ('A') stay, apart from one note, within the fifth g-c. The melody moves down and up through that range a number of times before finally cadencing on a c-c unison. The second half of the passage ('B') begins in a lower range, gradually ascending back up to g where the passage began. This ascent balances the generally descending shape of the first half. In the whole of the *duplum* melody of this *organum*, there are four intervals larger than a third. Two of these are at the start and end of passages and another is a rising fourth at a cadence.⁹ This is typical of all the *duplum* melodies. The only reason many more large intervals would appear in an *organum* would be if larger intervals were a feature that were being deliberately exploited melodically.¹⁰

Figure 2.3 *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* (O11): W1 (50-6)

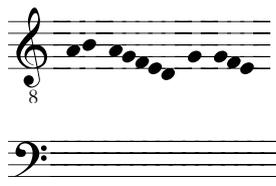
The figure displays two systems of musical notation for a *duplum* melody. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with notes and rests, while the bass staff contains a lower line with notes and rests. The first system, labeled 'A', shows a melodic line that moves within a narrow range, primarily between G and C. The second system, labeled 'B', shows a melodic line that begins in a lower range and gradually ascends back up to G. The word 'qui' is written below the second system.

⁹ Rising fourths appear regularly in cadence patterns as will be discussed on page 90.

¹⁰ This kind of use of larger intervals will be discussed on pages 58-9.

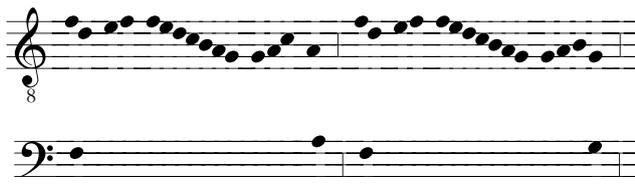
As well as being used to move the *duplum* into a new range and thereby to open up new melodic space, large ascending intervals are also used to prolong descents, meaning that the *duplum* can spend more time descending before it has to move upwards again. This can be seen in two passages from *Crucifixum in carne I* in F (Figures 2.6 and 2.7). The first begins with a descending scale, then the *duplum* jumps back up a fourth and completes part of the descent again. The second example is more extreme. This time an ascending sixth between the two melismas means that a much longer descent can be repeated.

Figure 2.6 *Crucifixum in carne I* (O9): F (ordo 40)



[vos]

Figure 2.7 *Crucifixum in carne I* (O9): F (ordines 68-9)

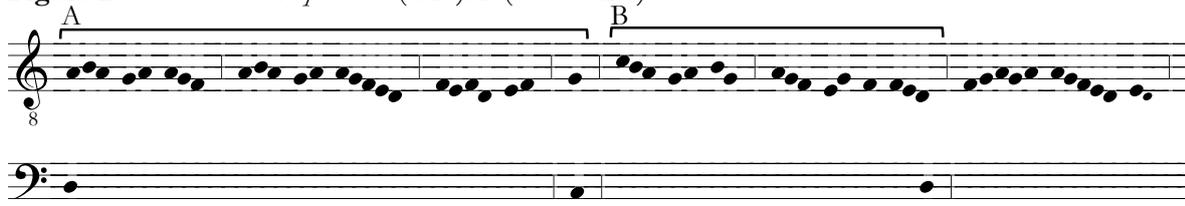


[adora-]

[te]

Other examples of these kinds of behaviour can be seen in Figure 2.8 from *Veni electa V. Specie tua* in F. In this passage, the *duplum* proceeds mostly by step, moving up and down through the range slowly. Passage 'A' is overall descending. A leap upwards of a fourth at the beginning of the passage 'B' opens up melodic space through which the following melismas can then also descend.

Figure 2.8 *Veni electa V. Specie tua* (O17): F (ordines 32-8)



in-

ten-

[de]

In passages ‘A’ and ‘B’ in *Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus* in W2 and F (Figure 2.9), the *duplum* moves almost exclusively by step or with thirds. It moves slowly through the range balancing movement up and down. In passage ‘A’, the range of the *duplum* gradually expands downwards. This is not done directly but via a number of oscillations up and down. At ‘B’, the *duplum* returns to the top of the range, before moving scalically down through an octave, d-D. An ascending fifth (just before ‘C’) opens up melodic space, and the *duplum* then completes another octave descent, this time from c to C. This descent is prolonged by an ascending fifth (circled), which is followed immediately by descending stepwise motion. At ‘D’, the ascending cadential pattern balances the descent that precedes it.

Figure 2.9 *Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus* (O18): W2 (*ordines* 1-7) and F (*ordines* 1-8)

The figure displays musical notation for the *duplum* part of 'Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus'. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a treble clef with a 'C' time signature and a '8' below it. It is divided into three sections labeled A, B, and C. Section A shows a melodic line with oscillating motion. Section B shows a scalic descent through an octave. Section C shows an ascending fifth followed by a prolonged descending octave. A circled ascending fifth is highlighted. The second system has a bass clef and shows a few notes, likely representing the *organum* part.

As can be seen from these examples, all of which are typical of the repertory as a whole, musicians crafted melodies that moved in similar ways. Their *duplum* melodies moved like the chant melodies they sang many times every day.¹¹ They were mostly conjunct and they oscillated up and down rather than moving quickly through a wide range using long scales and large leaps. As part of this, musicians also had particular ways of using larger intervals to move their melodies into different parts of the range, and thereby to maintain interest and variety.

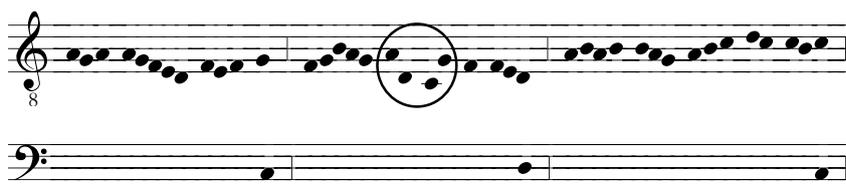
¹¹ See discussion of Reckow’s work on the similarity of *purum* melodies and chant on pages 25-6 (Reckow, ‘Das Organum’, 450-6).

2.2.2 Larger Intervals as Melodic Features

Sometimes, musicians explored larger intervals as a melodic feature in their own right, not just as means whereby to negotiate melodic space. On average, this takes place twice or three times within each *organum*, but there are *organa* where this happens as many as five or six times and others where it does not happen at all. In these instances, musicians were also careful to balance the larger intervals either with other large intervals or with extended stepwise movement in the opposite direction.

One example of this can be seen in **Figure 2.10** from *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* in all three manuscripts. Two fifths are used in direct succession, with a descending fifth immediately balanced by an ascending one (circled). The descending fifth is preceded by an ascending second, as part of overall ascending motion, and the ascending fifth is followed by a descending second, as part of overall descending motion. This means they are well balanced within the rest of the melody. These fifths are not used to open up melodic space or to take the *duplum* into a different range, but just because they are melodically striking.

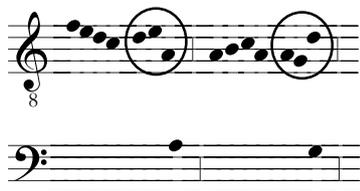
Figure 2.10 *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* (O13): W1 (*ordines* 10-12), W2 (*ordines* 14-6) and F (*ordines* 13-5)



[natos]

Similarly, in **Figure 2.11** from *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* in W1, the descending fifth at the end of the first *ordo* is balanced at the end of the second with an ascending one. Again the descending fifth is preceded by an ascending second, and the ascending fifth by descending second, balancing the larger intervals within the overall melodic line.

Figure 2.11 *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* (O25): W1 (*ordines* 17-8)



[catervatim]

2.2.3 Repeated Notes

Just as they shared ways of using larger intervals, musicians used repeated notes in similar ways as part of their *purum* melodies. Repeated notes are very much part of the melodic language of *organum purum*. They appear ubiquitously. The typical frequency with which repeated notes appear in *purum* melodies can be seen in **Figure 2.14**, the respond of *Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset*. Repeated notes are marked in red. They appear in almost every *ordo* apart from the in the passage on ‘li’.

Figure 2.14 *Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset* (O14): F (*ordines* 1-10)

Cor- ne-

li- us

Like larger intervals, sometimes repeated notes played an important role in how these melodies moved through melodic space, and at other times they were explored as melodic features in their own right. Across the repertory, repeated notes are used to decorate melodies, as well as to prolong ascents and descents. Particularly, they appear at the top and bottom of ascending and descending scales, as well as before both ascending and descending intervals. This means that repeated notes often act as boundary tones, marking the top and the bottom of the range of a particular melisma or passage. They are used in this way in *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* in all three manuscripts (**Figure 2.15**). Repeated ds appear before the descending sixth at ‘A’ and then at the top and bottom of every scalic ascent or descent in the rest of the passage (marked in red).

Figure 2.15 *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* (O24): F (*ordines* 1-6), W1 (*ordines* 1-5) and W2 (*ordines* 1-8)

Con- ce- [de]

Similar patterns appear in **Figures 2.17-2.20** from *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* in F, *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* in all three manuscripts, *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genatrix* in F and W2 and *Crucifixum in carne* I in F. In all but one of these examples, the first *ordo* is repeated transposed down either a second or a third.

Figure 2.17 *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* (O32): F (*ordines* 86-8)

pa- tri

Figure 2.18 *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): F (*ordines* 26-8), W1 (*ordines* 25-7) and W2 (*ordines* 25-7)

[Gabrie-] lem

Figure 2.19 *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genatrix* (O16): F (*ordines* 64-6) and W2 (*ordines* 64-6)

pa- [tri]

Figure 2.20 *Crucifixum in carne* I (O9): F (*ordines* 65-6)

[ad-] o- [rate]

A final, particularly extreme use of repeated-note pairs appears in this repetitive passage in *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia* in W1 (**Figure 2.21**).

Figure 2.21 *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia* (M37): W1 (*ordines* 12-6)

[verita-] [tem]

So far, this discussion has shown that musicians shared ways of using chant melodies as the basis for their elaboration and ways of moving their melodies through melodic space: mostly by step, within a limited range. They negotiated moving within this narrow range by embellishing ascents and descents with repeated notes and oscillations; repeating parts of ascents and descents; and using larger intervals to open up melodic space which the *duplum* could then explore. Larger intervals were also used as a melodic feature, either as part of a pattern that is repeated with the intervals expanded, or a number of times within a short passage. Musicians also had an established way of using repeated notes within melodies: at the top and bottom of scales and before larger intervals. Like larger intervals, repeated notes were also used as a melodic feature in their own right. One more, prominent use of repeated notes (at cadence points) will be discussed later in this chapter.¹³ Even from this part of the discussion, which has characterised the creation of *purum* melodies only generally, it is possible to say that musicians shared a number creative approaches.

The next section will look closely at the processes by which musicians generated melodies through repetition and development of various kinds.

2.3 Repetition and Variation Techniques for Generating Melodies

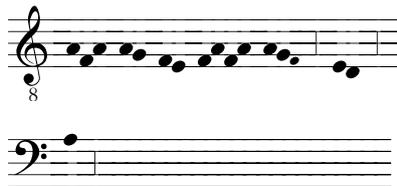
In *organum purum*, melodic process plays out in the short-term. The same pattern does not return a number of times across a whole piece or extended section. Instead, a musician immediately repeats and develops a melodic pattern, or uses the same pattern a number of times across just a handful of consecutive *ordines*. There are a number of ways of generating melody in the short-term that appear regularly across the repertory.

¹³ See pages 88-9.

2.3.1 Direct Repetition

Sometimes (fewer than ten times across the extant repertory), the whole or part of a melisma is directly repeated on the same pitches, such as in **Figure 2.22** from *Qui sunt isti* V. *Candidiores nive* in F and W2 and **Figure 2.23** from *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* in all three manuscripts. This need not involve the repetition of the tenor note also.

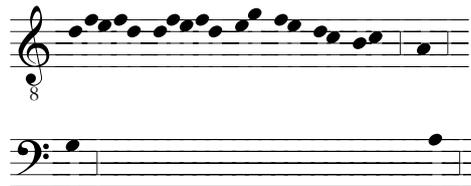
Figure 2.22 *Qui sunt isti* V. *Candidiores nive* (O26): F (ordines 27-8) and W2 (ordines 25-6)



[ni-]

[ve]

Figure 2.23 *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* (O24): W1 (ordines 62-3), F (ordines 62-3), and W2 (ordines 65-6)

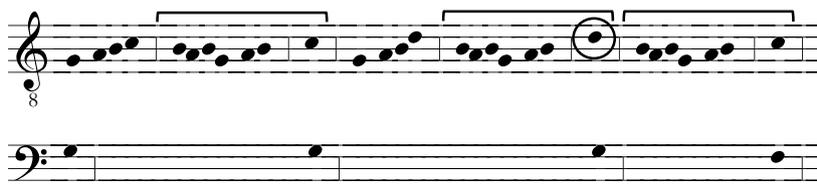


ac-

[cusat]

In instances of fairly direct repetition, small alterations can be made when a pattern is repeated to create consonances with different tenor notes. For instance, in **Figure 2.24** from *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* in W2, the same passage appears three times with the final pitch altered from c to d on the second iteration (circled) to make a fifth consonance with the tenor G.

Figure 2.24 *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1): W2 (ordines 86-93)



[spiri-]

tu- [i]

2.3.2 Transposed Repetition

There are approximately the same number of instances of transposed repetition in the extant *dupla* repertory. I have defined transposition as the exact or almost exact repetition of portion of *duplum* melody beginning on a different pitch. This will involve maintaining the same interval numbers within the pattern but might involve the replacement of a minor third with a major third, for instance. This might be over a single tenor note, or over different tenor notes, but if there are two tenor notes, they need not move in parallel with the *duplum* transposition (i.e. the tenor notes do not also have to be transposed.) I have

separated transposed repetition from sequences (discussed on page 70) because sequence involve at least two repetitions of the same pattern and those repetition begins on successively rising or falling pitches.

An example of transposed repetition can be seen in **Figure 2.25** from *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* in all three manuscripts. The pattern in the first *ordo* is repeated exactly but transposed down a fifth.

Figure 2.25 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): F (*ordines* 24-5), W1 (*ordines* 24-5) and W2 (*ordines* 21-2)

[Constan-] [tes]

In **Figure 2.26** from *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* in all three manuscripts, a melisma with a striking triadic pattern is repeated exactly, transposed down a fourth.

Figure 2.26 *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* (O24): W1 (*ordines* 30-1), F (*ordines* 31-2) and W2 (35-6)

quos pro- pri- [a]

Sometimes when a pattern is transposed in this way, a pitch is altered on the repeat in order to create a consonance with the tenor. In **Figure 2.27** also from *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* in W1, a pattern using thirds is repeated transposed down a fourth. The final interval is expanded from a third to a fifth so that the *duplum* ends at an octave consonance with the tenor.

Figure 2.27 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): W1 (*ordines* 65-6)

[domi-] [ni]

In **Figure 2.32** from *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* in W1, the pattern is similarly elongated as its range is expanded. The first two *ordines* start on the same pitch and follow the same shape: scalic descent, oscillation, scalic descent. The first ascends a third and the second a fourth, so the oscillation is one step higher the second time. Whilst the third *ordo* is not a repetition of the exact melodic material of the previous ones, it is related to them. It begins, like the second *ordo*, with a scalic ascent of a fourth. Since it begins one pitch higher, this continues the systematic expansion at the top of the range by one pitch each *ordo*. The virtuosic, scalic octave descent that follows this opens out the melody after the restricted range and tight repetition of the first two *ordines*.

Figure 2.32 *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2): W1 (*ordines* 28-30)

spon- [sus]

2.3.4. Balancing, Inverting and Mirroring

As well as developing melodies when they repeated them, musicians also inverted or balanced the shapes of melodies. This means that if the pattern finished rising the first time, it finishes falling the second time. This is not as common as repetition and development. As previously discussed, melodic movement upwards and downwards is balanced to keep melodies within a narrow range.¹⁵ More specific inversion or mirroring can be found on average up to three times in each *organum*. One example can be seen in **Figure 2.33** from *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* in W2 and W1, the first *ordo* ends with a descending fourth. The second begins in the same way but then ascends into the cadence.

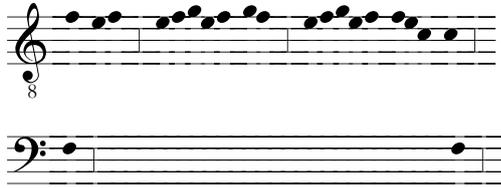
Figure 2.33 *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1): W2 (*ordines* 39-41) and W1 (*ordines* 42-4)

[vide-] bi- [tis]

¹⁵ See section beginning on page 54.

In **Figure 2.34** from *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* in W1, the second and third *ordines* begin in the same way, but the first ends ascending and the second descending.

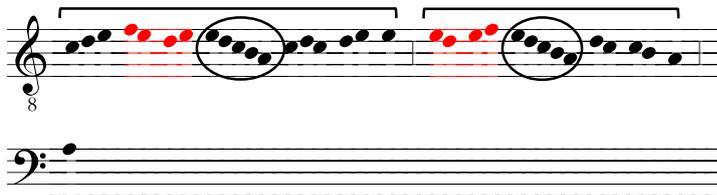
Figure 2.34 *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): W1 (*ordines* 1-3)



Non

Figure 2.35 from *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* in F is a longer example of this same balancing technique. The same descent from e to a appears in the middle of both *ordines* (circled). The first time this is preceded by f-e-d-e; the second time these pitches are reversed, e-d-e-f (marked in red). The first *ordo* then ends with ascending movement and the second with descending movement.

Figure 2.35 *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* (O2): F (*ordines* 19-20)



Tan-

[quam]

In **Figure 2.36** from *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* in W1, it is the whole *ordo*, rather than just the end, that is balanced and inverted. The first *ordo* begins with a scalic ascent; the second with a scalic descent. The first has a descending third and then ends by ascending. The second ascends and then ends with a descending third.

Figure 2.36 *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): W1 (*ordines* 25-6)



[Ego]

ro- [gabo]

In **Figure 2.37** from *Verbum caro factus est* V. *In principio* in F, the whole pattern in the first *ordo* is almost exactly inverted in the second.

Figure 2.37 *Verbum caro factus est* V. *In principio* (O3): F (*ordines* 81-2)

et fi- [lio]

2.3.5. Sequential Repetition

Sequences are used frequently across the repertory to generate melodies. By sequence, I mean the repetition of a short melodic unit (pattern), usually between five and ten notes long. Each iteration of the pattern begins either one pitch higher or one pitch lower than the previous one. To be considered a sequence, the patterns must be repeated at least twice. There is a tendency in *purum* melodies for the pattern to be elongated or decorated on its third or fourth iteration. As long as the pattern has been repeated once in the same form, and as long as the decorated version continues the sequence of starting pitches (rising or falling by one), I have still counted this as a sequence. Some *organa* contain five sequences or more.¹⁶ More than half of them appear over single tenor notes with multiple iterations of a short pattern as part of one *ordo*, as in **Figure 2.38** from *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* in F.

Figure 2.38 *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* (O32): F (*ordines* 35-6)

[ce-] [lo]

¹⁶ The frequency with which sequences appear in particular passage of *organum purum* is revealing about different creative styles within the extant repertory. This will be explored in detail in Chapter 5.

Other sequences involve the repetition of longer patterns or whole *ordines*. Sometimes these appear over a single tenor note, but more often there are individual tenor notes under each iteration. In these cases, the tenor and *duplum* often move in parallel. Examples of such ‘whole-ordo’ sequences appear in *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* in W1 and *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset* in W2 (Figures 2.39 and 2.40).

Figure 2.39 *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): W1 (*ordines* 53-5)

vo- [bis]

Figure 2.40 *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset* (O31): W2 (*ordines* 43-6)

[a-] [it]

Across the repertory, sequences are much more often found descending than ascending. Usually only whole-*ordo* sequences appear ascending, as in Figure 2.41 from *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* in W2.

Figure 2.41 *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* (O25): W1 (*ordines* 47-9)

fi- unt

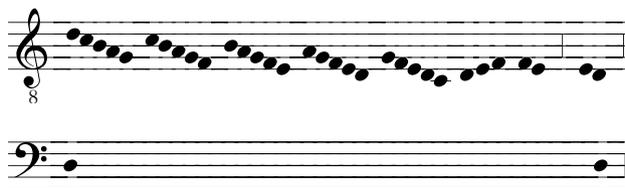
Sequences are more often found at the end of sections and passages over the penultimate tenor note than in any other position within melodies. These ending sequences can be very extended and virtuosic, as in **Figures 2.42** and **2.43** from *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* in W1 and *Te sanctum dominum* V. *Cherubin quoque ac Seraphin* in W2.

Figure 2.42 *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* (O11): W1 (*ordines* 43-4)



[san-] cto

Figure 2.43 *Te sanctum dominum* V. *Cherubin quoque ac seraphin* (O22): W2 (*ordines* 93-4)



san- cto

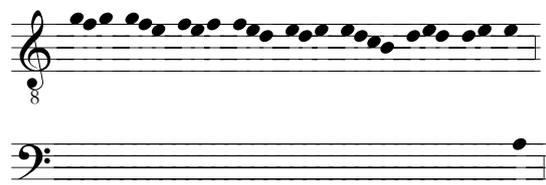
There is one pattern that appears in sequence at the end of multiple passages. It will shortly be described as pattern ‘X’:¹⁷ an oscillation followed by a stepwise descent. X appears in sequence at the end of the verses of both the W1 and W2 versions of *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* (**Figures 2.44** and **2.45**).

Figure 2.44 *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): W1 (*ordo* 106)



[natum]

Figure 2.45 *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): W2 (*ordo* 103)

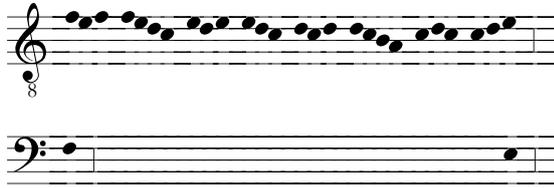


[natum]

¹⁷ Pattern X will be discussed in detail on pages 78-83.

Final sequences using pattern X appear most often starting on f, as in the example below from *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* in W1 and F (Figure 2.46).

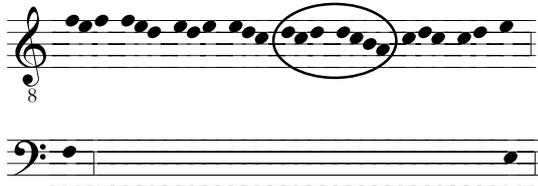
Figure 2.46 *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2): W1 (ordo 26) and F (ordo 40)



[Tanquam]

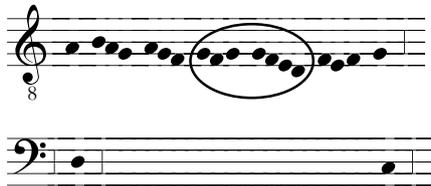
One creative possibility, particularly where the sequential units are relatively short and simple, was to elongate or alter the last iteration of the sequence. This can be seen in Figures 2.47-2.49 from *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* in W2, and *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* and *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* from F and W2. Each passage contains a sequence with a short repeating unit which is elongated on the third iteration (circled on each example).

Figure 2.47 *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1): W2 (ordo 16)



[Iherusalem]

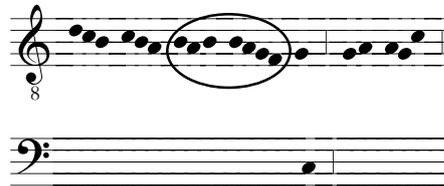
Figure 2.48 *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): F (ordo 23) and W2 (ordo 24)



ro-

[gabo]

Figure 2.49 *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* (O25): F (ordines 11-2) and W2 (ordines 11-13)



[tumba]

Another possibility was to vary each subsequent iteration of the sequence so the repetition is loose and less exact. For instance, in **Figure 2.50** from *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* in W1, each *ordo* starts with a stepwise rising third, follows the same overall shape, and begins a step lower than the last. They are all slightly different in melodic detail, however. The second is a repeat of the first, but with an ascending third added into the middle (circled). The third *ordo* again begins with a rising third, but then continues with a descending triad. The fourth *ordo* follows the rising third with pattern X.

Figure 2.50 *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2): W1 (*ordines* 44-8)

[pro-] ce- dens

2.3.6 Multiple Repetitions

A single pattern might also be used across a handful of consecutive *ordines* a three or four times but not in sequence. The pattern might be transposed or developed in any of the ways so far discussed. Nearly always this kind of repetition involved pattern X, such as at the end of the verse of *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* in W1 (**Figure 2.51**), where it is used three times in direct succession transposed onto different pitches. In some *organa*, pattern X might be used in this way four or five times.¹⁸

Figure 2.51 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): W1 (*ordines* 62-4)

[mul-] tas

¹⁸ The frequency with which pattern X is used in this way in particular passage of *organum purum* is revealing about different creative styles within the extant repertory. This will be explored in detail in Chapter 5.

Pattern X is also used five times in just a short passage from *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* in W1 and W2 (Figure 2.52). In the passages marked ‘A’, each of the three iterations starts higher than the last. At ‘B’, both iterations begin on the same pitch but the scalic descent is extended from a third to a fifth the second time.

Figure 2.52 *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* (O13): W2 (ordines 35-44) and W1 (ordines 32-40)

The figure displays two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a treble clef staff with an octave sign '8' below it, and a bass clef staff. The treble staff in both systems contains a melodic line with five circled iterations of a scalic pattern. The first system is labeled 'A' and the second 'B'. The first system is accompanied by the lyrics 'de-' and 'o'. The second system is accompanied by the lyrics 'cu-' and '[i]'.

It is not just pattern X that is repeated in this way, however. In a handful of instances across the repertory, a different pattern or melodic idea is repeated across a short passage. Although this does not happen frequently in the extant repertory, multiple repetitions of this kind was definitely a creative possibility. The responsory of *Regnum mundi* V. *Eructavit cor meum* in all three manuscripts uses a three-note circling pattern (either descending second- ascending third or ascending third- descending second) a number of times. These patterns are circled on **Figure 2.53**.

Figure 2.53 *Regnum mundi* V. *Eructavit cor meum* (O29): W1 (*ordines* 1-13), F (*ordines* 1-12) and W2 (*ordines* 1-13)

Reg-

num

Similarly, in a passage from *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genatrix* in W2 (**Figure 2.54**), one melodic pattern appears four times in direct succession (A-D). It involves a falling third, a rising third and then a descent. The *ordo* at 'B' is a transposed repetition of the one at 'A' with the final intervals slightly altered. In these *ordines*, the descending third is by step and then the ascending third a direct leap. At 'C', the third oscillation is direct both down and then up. This is then followed by a scalic descent, rather than one using a third. This pattern is repeated at 'D' with the scalic descent following the oscillation extended from a fourth to a fifth.

Figure 2.54 *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genatrix* (O16): W2 (*ordines* 27-31)

The melody at the beginning of *Qui sunt isti* V. *Candidiores nive* (**Figure 2.55**) in W2 and F repeats descending scales from d. These are preceded by a b-c-d or c-d ascent and the d is then repeated at the top of each scale. During this passage the descent is gradually lengthened from a fourth to a fifth, then finally to an octave.

Figure 2.55 *Qui sunt isti* V. *Candidiores nive* (O26): W2 (*ordines* 2-5) and F (*ordines* 1-4)

The figure shows two staves of musical notation. The upper staff is in treble clef with a 6/8 time signature. It contains four measures of music, each featuring a descending scale starting on a D note. The scales are progressively longer: the first is a fourth (D-C-B-A), the second is a fifth (D-C-B-A-G), the third is a sixth (D-C-B-A-G-F), and the fourth is an octave (D-C-B-A-G-F-E-D). The lower staff is in bass clef and contains four measures, each with a single note. The first two notes are labeled 'Qui' and the last two are labeled 'sunt'.

These final, more extended passages demonstrate many of the techniques discussed throughout this section that musicians used to ‘spin out’ their melodic lines by repeating and/or developing what they had just sung. Occasionally musicians repeated a pattern directly, but more often the second and subsequent iterations were either transposed or developed. When repeating a pattern, they might have expanded its range or the intervals within it, or otherwise made it longer or more virtuosic. Sometimes they reversed the melodic shape on the repeat: if the first iteration ended descending, the second might end ascending. In other cases, they inverted or mirrored whole patterns. They used sequential repetition regularly. Sometimes this was over one single tenor note, often the penultimate note of a passage. There are also sequences where each iteration appears over individual tenor notes. In these cases, the tenor notes often descend by step and the *duplum* repetition moves in parallel with it.

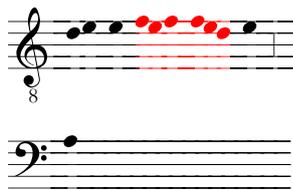
2.4 Repeating Melodic Patterns and Behaviours

2.4.1 X Patterns

As well as these techniques for generating melodic material, musicians also had a number of short melodic patterns that they used frequently as part of their melodies. The most frequently used is pattern X. It appears a number of times in almost all of the office *organa dupla*, almost always between five and fifteen times.¹⁹ There are a number of variants of pattern X. They all involve a stepwise oscillation, a repeated note, then a descent. I have ordered the variants to show how they relate to each other and have provided multiple examples in each case. The aim is to show that they are all part of a family of closely related patterns. This is why I consider them all variants of pattern X, rather than different individual patterns.

The shortest variant involves a stepwise ascent of a third. Examples of this can be seen in **Figures 2.56 – 2.61**. The pattern appears on lots of different pitches.

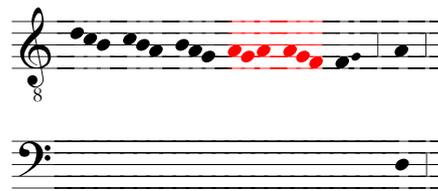
Figure 2.56 *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* (O11): W1 (*ordo* 34)



spi-

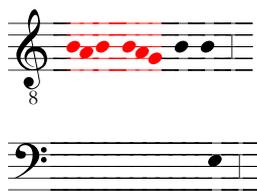
[ritu]

Figure 2.57 *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* (O25): W1 (*ordines* 6-7), F (*ordines* 7-8), W2 (*ordines* 7-8)



tum- [ba]

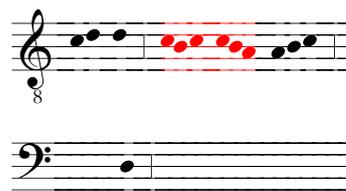
Figure 2.58 *Verbum caro factus est V. In principio* (O3): F (*ordo* 10)



[ver-]

[bum]

Figure 2.59 *Petre amas me V. Symon Iohannis* (O15): F (*ordines* 1-2)

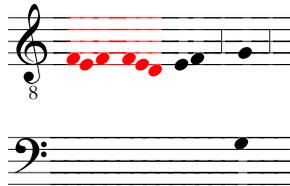


Pe-

[tre]

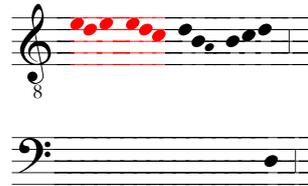
¹⁹ The frequency with which pattern X appears particular passage of *organum purum* is revealing about different creative styles within the extant repertory. This will be explored in detail in Chapter 5.

Figure 2.60 *Qui sunt isti* V. *Candidiores nive* (O26):
F (*ordines* 68-9), W2 (*ordines* 58-9)



[Glo-] ri- [a]

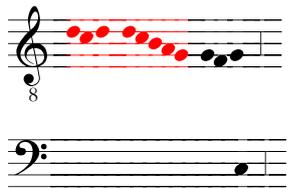
Figure 2.61 *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset* (O31):
F (*ordo* 42)



[iacob]

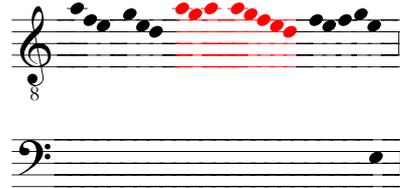
There are then two longer variants. The first starts in the same way (with an oscillation followed by a repeated note) but has a longer stepwise descent following the oscillation. Examples of this can be seen in **Figures 2.62-2.67**.

Figure 2.62 *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* (O24):
F (*ordo* 14), W2 (*ordo* 16), W1 (*ordo* 13)



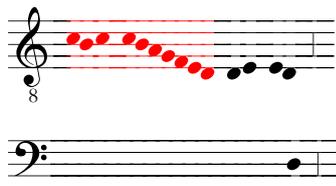
[Concede]

Figure 2.63 *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus*
W1 (*ordo* 55)



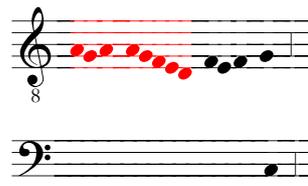
[suo]

Figure 2.64 *Deum time* V. *Timentibus Deum* (O30):
F (*ordo* 8)



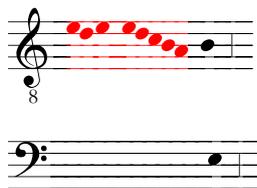
[deum]

Figure 2.65 *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus*
(O13): F (*ordo* 13), W1 (*ordo* 10), W2 (*ordo* 13)



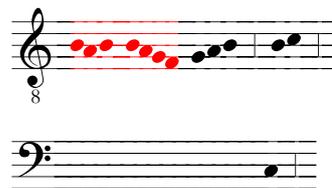
[natos]

Figure 2.66 *Te sanctum dominum* V. *Cherubin quoque*
ac Seraphin (O22): F (*ordo* 25)



[Cherubin]

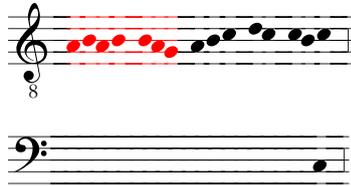
Figure 2.67 *Igitur dissimulata* V. *Cui sacerdos*
(O34): F (*ordo* 34)



[natos]

The second of these longer variants involves a stepwise ascent before the oscillation. This can be a second, as in **Figures 2.68-2.71**.

Figure 2.68 *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* (O13):
F (ordo 15), W2 (ordo 16), W1 (ordo 12)



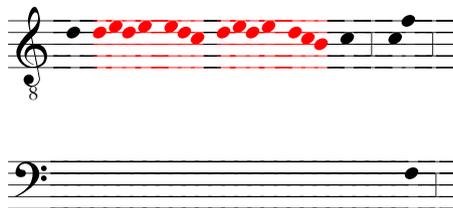
[natos]

Figure 2.69 *Regnum mundi* V. *Eructavit cor meum*
(O29): F (ordo 95)



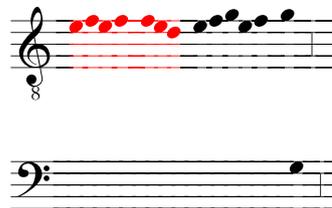
[Glo-]ri- [a]

Figure 2.70 *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset* (O31):
W2 (ordines 28-9)



[Cum-] que

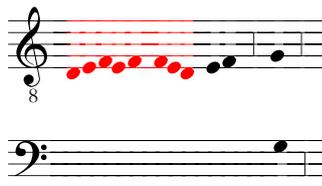
Figure 2.71 *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt*
omnes (O11): W1 (ordines)



[sunt]

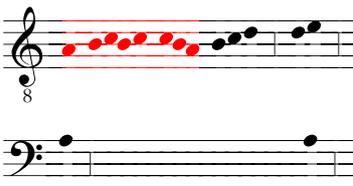
It can also be a third, as in **Figures 2.72-2.75**.

Figure 2.72 *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos*
(O24): W1 (ordines 27-8), W2 (ordines 31-2)



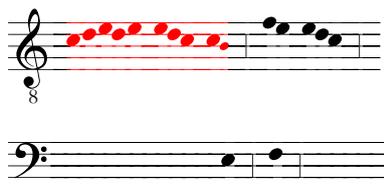
[me-] ri- [ta]

Figure 2.73 *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt*
(O25): W1 (ordines 12-3)



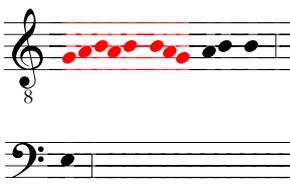
Ca- ter- [vatim]

Figure 2.74 *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix* (O16):
F (ordines 35-6)



[geni-] trix

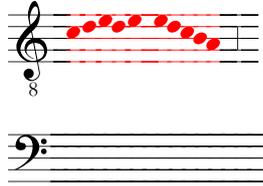
Figure 2.75 *Sancte Germane* V. *O sancte Germane*
(O27): F (ordo 39)



do- [mini]

There are also instances in which there is both a stepwise ascent and a descent of longer than a third (combining the two variants just discussed). Examples of this can be seen in **Figures 2.76-2.79**.

Figure 2.76 *Per tuam* V. *Misere nostri* (O21):
F (ordo 33)



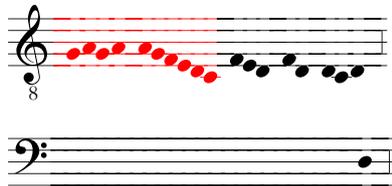
[no-] [stri]

Figure 2.77 *Iudea et ierusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1):
W1 (ordines 26-7), F (ordines 26-7), W2 (ordines 23-4)



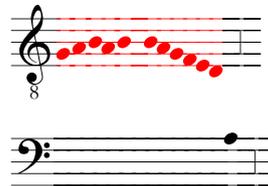
[esto-] te

Figure 2.78 *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos*
(O24): W1 (ordo 10), F (ordines 10-11), W2 (ordines 12-3)



[Concede]

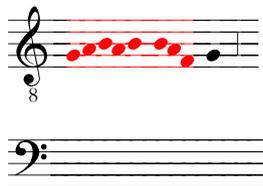
Figure 2.79 *Qui sunt isti* V. *Candidiores nive*
(O26): F (ordo 16), W2 (ordo 14)



[Can-] [didiores]

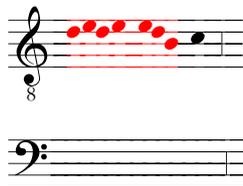
Another established variant of pattern X involves the expansion of the final interval of the three note descent from a second to a third. This might follow just the oscillation, or (as above) there might also be a stepwise ascent before the oscillation. Examples of this can be seen in **Figures 2.80-2.83**.

Figure 2.80 *Verbum caro factus est*
V. *In principio* (O3): F (ordo 37)



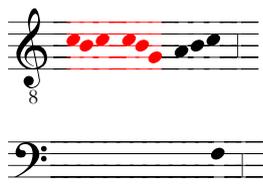
[ver-] [bum]

Figure 2.81 *Regnum mundi* V. *Eructavit cor meum* (O29):
W1 (ordo 21)



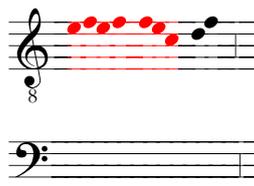
[E-] [ructavit]

Figure 2.82 *Te sanctum* V. *Cherubin quoque ac Seraphin*
(O22): F (ordo 8)



[sanctum]

Figure 2.83 *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt*
(O11): W1 (ordo 22)



[ru-] [unt]

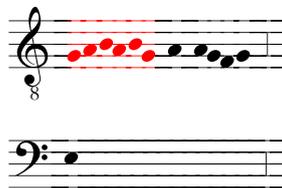
The final variant of pattern X involves not expanding the intervals in the descent, but replacing the descending stepwise third with a direct third. Compare, for instance, the *duplum* melodies in **Figures 2.84** and **2.85**. They are clearly related patterns, since they follow the same shape and the only difference is that the second has a direct falling third instead of a stepwise descent.

Figure 2.84 *Sancte Germane* V. *O sancte Germane* (O27):
F (ordo 39)



do- [mini]

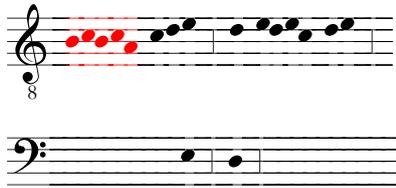
Figure 2.85 *Crucifixum in carne* I (O9):
F (ordo 39)



[vos]

Other examples of this variant can be seen in **Figures 2.86 – 2.89**.

Figure 2.86 *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (O10):
W1 (ordines 38-9)



et [alium]

Figure 2.87 *Te sanctum dominum* V. *Cherubin quoque ac Seraphin* (O22): F (ordines 5-6)



[sanc-] tum

Figure 2.88 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4):
W1 (ordines 19-20)

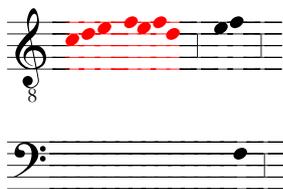
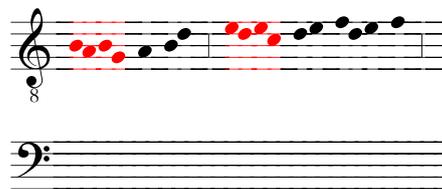


Figure 2.89 *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* (O13):
W1 (ordines 20-1), F (ordines 23-4) W2 (ordines 24-5)



Pattern X is used both in isolation and, as explored in the previous section, it is also regularly used in sequence, particularly just before cadences, and it is often repeated a number of times in quick succession within one short passage. Examples where pattern X is used in sequence can be found on page 72 and examples of it being used multiple times within the same passage on page 74-5.

Certain patterns of melodic behaviour also recur across sections that start on the same consonance. Where sections start with an F-c fifth or F-f octave consonance, the *duplum* usually oscillates up and down between c and f. (Over 90% of sections that start with an F-f octave consonance behave in this way.) This movement between these two pivot points is often relatively fast and uses lots of thirds and fourths. For instance, *Iudea et Iberusalem* V. *Constantes estote* in all three manuscripts (**Figure 2.93**) starts on an F-f octave and jumps immediately down a fourth to c. For all of the bracketed passage, the *duplum* oscillates relatively quickly between these two pitches, before finally moving into a lower part of the range.

Figure 2.93 *Iudea et Iberusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1): W1 (*ordines* 1-3), F (*ordines* 1-3) and W2 (*ordines* 1-3)

Iu- [dea]

The responsory of *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* in F (**Figure 2.94**) also starts at an F-f consonance. For the whole of the opening passage shown here, the *duplum* moves quickly between f and c, staying within that fourth range.

Figure 2.94 *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): F (*ordines* 1-5)

Non con- [turbetur]

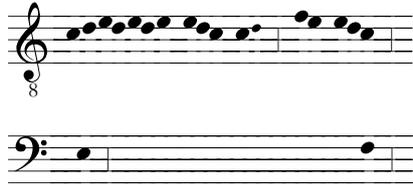
The Gloria of *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* in F and W2 (**Figure 2.95**) is similar melodically, but it begins on a C-c octave consonance. The *duplum* begins with a leap of a fourth then oscillates between c and f in the same way.

Figure 2.95 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): F (*ordines* 64-6) and W2 (*ordines* 57-8)

Glo- [ria]

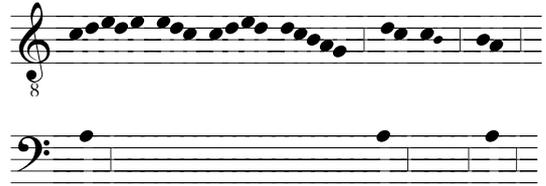
Other similar openings can be seen in **Figures 2.99-2.101**, the verse of *Ad nutum* V. *Ut vicium virtus* in F and W2 and the Glorias of *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* in F and *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* in F and W2.

Figure 2.99 *Ad nutum* V. *Ut vicium virtus* (O18): (O25): F (*ordines* 18-9) and W2 (*ordines* 16-7)



Ut

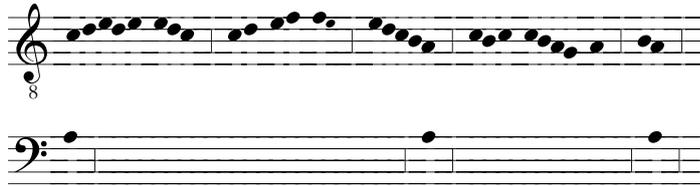
Figure 2.100 *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* F (*ordines* 52-4)



Glo-

ri- a

Figure 2.101 *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* (O24): F (*ordines* 114-8) and W2 (*ordines* 115-9)



Glo-

ri-

a

2.4.3. Ending Patterns

Whilst typical opening behaviours and patterns tend to recur only at the start of whole sections, typical ending behaviours and patterns also appear at the end of internal passages.

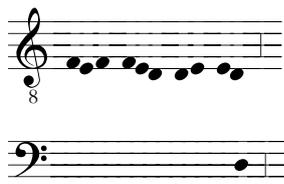
Repeated Notes

Repeated notes appear regularly at the end of sections, particularly like this:



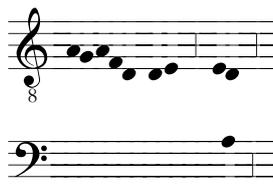
Passages ending with this pattern can be seen in **Figures 2.102-2.105** from *Sancte Germane V. O sancte Germane* in F, *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* in W1, *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* in F and *Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus* in W2 and F.

Figure 2.102 *Sancte Germane V. O sancte Germane* (O27): F (ordo 67)



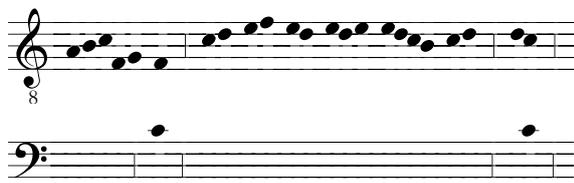
[solita]

Figure 2.103 *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* (O25): W1 (ordines 44-5)



pro- [pria]

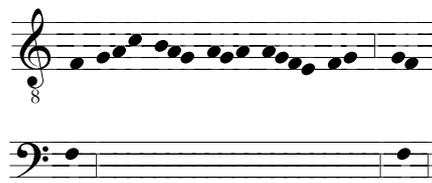
Figure 2.104 *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): (O18): F (ordines 35-7)



[archan-] ge-

lum

Figure 2.105 *Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus* W2 (ordines 14-5) and F (ordines 16-7)

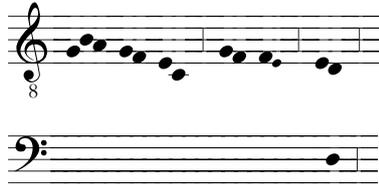


nu-

tum

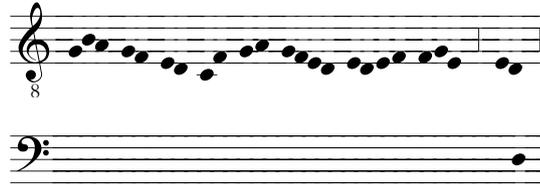
Whilst this is the most frequently used repeated-note ending pattern, pairs of repeated notes are also used as part of the descent into the cadence, as in **Figures 2.106** and **2.107** from *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* and *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* in W2 and F.

Figure 2.106 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): W2 (*ordines* 8-10) and F (*ordines* 6-8)



[colum-] be

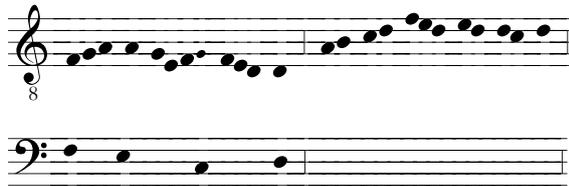
Figure 2.107 *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* (O28): W2 (*ordines* 11-2) and F (*ordines* 11-2)



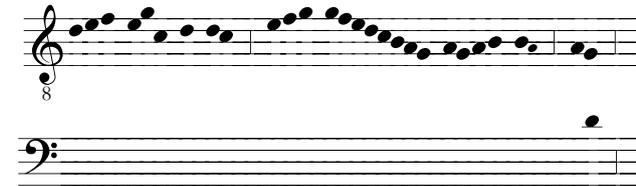
[lum-] bi

In **Figures 2.108** and **2.109** from *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genatrix* in F and *Regnum mundi* V. *Eructavit cor meum* in all three manuscripts, they are used as part of a pattern that oscillates around the final pitch.

Figure 2.108 *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genatrix* (O16): F (*ordines* 59-60) **Figure 2.109** *Regnum mundi* V. *Eructavit cor meum* (O30): W1 (*ordines* 30-3), F (*ordines* 39-41) and W2 (*ordines* 34-6)



[eius]



[Eructa-]

vit

This happens with particular frequency around a final d in the *duplum*, as in **Figure 2.110**. The list of places this pattern appears is not exhaustive. It is only intended to show the high frequency with which it is used. Because it sometimes appears over different tenor notes, the *duplum* is presented without the tenor.

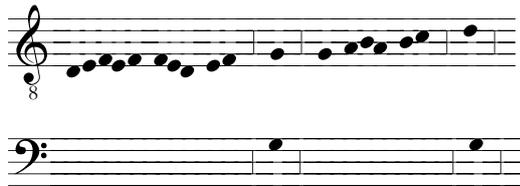
Figure 2.110 *Iudea et Iherusalem* (O1): F (*ordines* 53-4); *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): F (*ordines* 71-2); *Et valde mane* (O7): F (*ordo* 6); *Per tuam* (O21): F (*ordo* 113); *Stirps Jesse* (O16): F (*ordo* 13); *Solem iusticie* (O19): F (*ordines* 41-2); *Te sanctum dominum*, (O22): F (*ordo* 14); *Ex eius tumba* (O25): W1 (*ordines* 54-5); *Sint lumbi* (O28): W1 (*ordo* 70); *Deum time* (O30): F (*ordo* 57); *Omnis pulcritudo* (O32): F (*ordo* 23); *Vir perfecte* (O35): W1 (*ordo* 73);



Stepwise Rising Thirds and Fourths

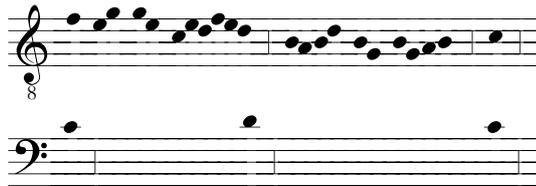
Final consonances are also approached by an ascending third or fourth by step, as can be seen in **Figures 2.115** and **2.116** from *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* in W1 and W2 and *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* in all three manuscripts.

Figure 2.115 *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* (O24): W2 (*ordines* 31-4) and W1 (*ordines* 26-9)



[me] ri- ta

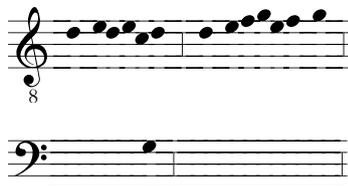
Figure 2.116 *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): W1 (*ordines* 58-60), F (*ordines* 59-62) and W2 (*ordines* 56-8)



tu- um

The last three pitches of this ascent can be repeated as in **Figures 2.117** from *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* in F and W2.

Figure 2.117 *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): F (*ordines* 11-12) and W2 (*ordines* 9-10)



[conturbe-]tur

This appears with particular frequency leading to d as in **Figure 2.118**. Again this list is not exhaustive. It is only intended to show the high frequency with which it is used.

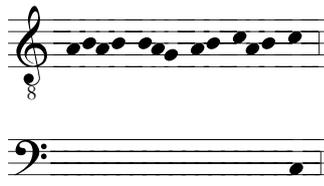
Figure 2.118 *Cornelius centurio vir* (O14): F (*ordo* 98); *Stirps Jesse* (O16): F (*ordo* 92); *Veni electa* (O17): F (*ordo* 11); *Maria qui dimissa sunt* (O21): F (*ordo* 69); *Preciosus domini Dyonisius* (O23): F (*ordo* 14); *Sancte Germane* (O27): F (*ordo* 88); *Sint lumbi* (O28): F (*ordo* 13); *Igitur dissimulator* (O34): F (*ordo* 79);



Pattern X

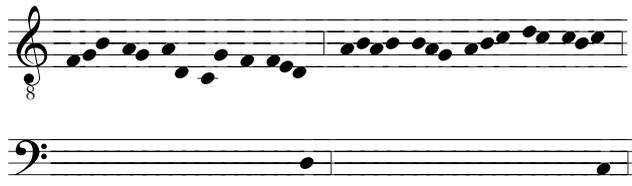
Finally, different versions of pattern X appear at or just before the cadence as in **Figures 2.119-2.122** from *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* in F, *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* in all three manuscripts, *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset* in F and *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* in W2.

Figure 2.119 *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem*, (O10): F (ordo 50)



[vobis]

Figure 2.120 *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* (O13): F (ordines 14-5), W1 (ordines 11-2) and W2 (ordines 14-6)



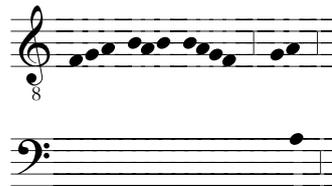
[natos]

Figure 2.121 *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset* (O31): F (ordines 52-3)



[accompnoait]

Figure 2.122 *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* (O24): W1 (ordines 74-5)



[acti-]

o

Three versions of pattern X appear particularly frequently at cadences. The first two versions are followed by a stepwise rising third (**Figures 2.123 and 2.124**). (Lists not exhaustive.)

Figure 2.123 *Descendit de celis* (O2): F (ordo 13); *In columbe* (O4): F (ordo 53); *Stirps Jesse* (O16): F (ordo 51); *Veni electa* (O17): F (ordo 46); *Per tuam* (O21): F (ordo 14); *Preciosus domini Dyonisius* (O23): F (ordo 56); *Concede nobis domine* (O24): F (ordo 15); *Sancte Germane* (O27): F (ordo 6); *Deum time* (O30): F (ordo 39); *Terribilis est* (O31): F (ordo 53); *Omnis pulcritudo* (O32): F (ordo 60);



Figure 2.124 *Descendit de celis* (O1): F (ordo 89); *Et valde mane* (O7): F (ordines 88-9); *Petre amas me* (O15): F (ordo 15); *Ad nutum* (O18): F (ordo 46); *Te sanctum dominum* (O22): F (ordo 45); *Sante Germane* (O27): F (ordo 73); *Deum time* (O30): F (ordines 64-5);



and they almost always appear on the same pitches and in exactly the same way. There is not the same variety and flexibility as in the case of pattern X particularly. These other patterns will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 and again in Chapter 5. For now, however, it is enough to note the absence of other regularly repeating patterns like X. As discussed in Chapter 1, many of those who have worked on the creation of *organum purum* previously argued that musicians memorised short melismas, such as those in the VOT, which they then strung together to make longer melodies.²⁰ If there was a wide-spread practice of memorising melodic material to support the creation of *organum purum* melodies, however, whether these were the melismas of the VOT or something else, we would expect more patterns to be repeated regularly across the extant repertory. There are patterns that repeat in *purum* melodies, but musicians would not have had deliberately to memorise these, since there are so few and they appear so often. They could therefore simply have absorbed them when listening to, singing and creating *purum* melodies.

Instead of being supported by the memorising of melodic material, this analysis has shown that the creation of *organum purum* was supported by a shared set of techniques and procedures, a shared creative idiom. This did include some repeating melodic patterns, but it also included a number of more general melodic procedures and creative techniques. Musicians shared ways of going about many different aspects of their creation, from choosing an opening consonance, to balancing a large interval within the phrase, to deciding how to develop their melodies. This shared idiom would therefore have supported a very large proportion of the decisions singers would have had to make when creating *organum purum* melodies.

The existence of a shared idiom supporting the creation of *organum purum* is what might be expected considering what we know about who the musicians who created it and their musical environment. Singers of Parisian *organum purum* were communities of highly-skilled musicians, who created and sang liturgical polyphony together in the same institutions. They had the same musical training and already shared both a melodic language in chant and older ways of crafting polyphony. A musician who sang the *duplum* one day could very easily have sung the tenor the next day and vice versa. In this collaborative context, it is very feasible that musicians developed shared ways of creating and singing *organum purum* melodies and *organa dupla* simply by listening to each other, singing together and creating together. In this context, whilst it is possible that some singers might have deliberately isolated and learnt some of the techniques and procedures I discuss here, more likely they unconsciously assimilated them.

It is certainly unlikely that there was a widespread attempt to teach musicians how to create *organum purum*: which consonances to use where, how to begin and end sections, how to spin out melodies through repetition and development and so on. If there were, we might expect some written record of this. The VOT is the only treatise that contains instruction about creating *organum purum* and it does not teach any of these things. It just provides a large collection of *duplum* melismas over different tenor pitches with no direct instruction about how to use them as part of longer *purum* melodies. It is probable therefore that any analytical thinking in the service of learning to create *organum purum* was done by individual musicians in

²⁰ See discussion of the VOT beginning on page 32.

their own heads and here the line between conscious learning and unconscious assimilation is, of course, blurred anyway.

Most likely, then, musicians learnt to create *organum purum* like a young child learns their native language: simply by being surrounded by it. We, on the other hand, would learn to create *organum purum* in the same way as we would learn a second language: by exploring its grammar, syntax and vocabulary. In this chapter, I have attempted such an exploration. I have isolated and labelled creative techniques, recurring melodic behaviours and specific melodic patterns, in order to shed some light on the creation of *organum purum* for the non-native speaker. In doing so, I have revealed the extent to which the creation of *organum purum* melodies was supported by a shared idiom.

Analysing the extant repertory widely has allowed me to solve a problem posed by Parisian polyphony: the fact that the only witness we have to its creation are fixed notated *organa*, which are to a certain extent at odds with the fluid tradition they represent. By outlining the shared creative idiom that supported the creation of the extant *organa*, it has been possible to give an insight not just into their creation but into the creation of all the *organum purum* that was never written down or that does not survive.

The identification of a shared idiom also has a bearing on how the creation of *organum purum* might be viewed in relation to the creation of earlier polyphony. Polyphony began simply as a way of singing chant. Polyphony was not an object; it was a process. To begin with that process involved singing chant in parallel fifths and octaves or using sustained tones and parallel fourths. Over the course of more than three centuries, polyphonic processes became more complicated, but polyphony was still at least in part a performance practice, a way of singing. As discussed in the introduction and Chapter 1, Parisian polyphony is no longer considered a turning point in musical history, the first properly composed music. The analysis presented in this chapter has, however, shown quite the extent to which the creation of *organum purum* should be considered a continuation of what went before. The creation of *organum purum* was still a process that involved shared ways of singing. The only difference was that *organum purum* was more complex than previous polyphonies and more of its creation might have happened before performance rather than during it. Of course, by the time the extant manuscripts were notated, fairly fixed pieces of polyphony did exist, since they are copied in very similar ways in the different sources, but even those that came to have a fairly fixed form were still products of a shared creative practice, one like that which supported the creation of earlier polyphony, only more complicated.

A parallel can be drawn here between my work on *organum purum* and John Miles Foley's work on oral poetry (a similar parallel to that made by Treitler between chant and Homer). Foley hypothesised the extra-textual, metonymic properties of language within an oral tradition. He wrote that 'structural elements... command a field of reference much larger than the single line, passage, or even text in which they occur.'²¹ This is because the traditional work 'depends primarily on elements and strategies that were in place long

²¹ John Miles Foley, *The Singer of Tales in Performance*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995, 58.

before the execution of the present version or text'. Through their reliance on a traditional idiom, oral poets refer to networks of inherent meaning which enrich the momentary with the timeless, the situational with the all-pervasive and the story-specific with the traditional. Foley called this 'traditional referentiality'. When a poet relies on an oral-traditional language of expression in this way, his performance has both many and one author at the same time.

In analysing oral-traditional literature therefore, he argued that we need to concentrate on this dedicated system of signification that bears institutionalised, metonymic meaning. Performance derived texts (written records of oral-traditional literature) reflect a way of speaking in special codes. We need first to recognise these codes and only then can we understand how the individual records really speak.²² Some of these special codes are foregrounded when one has multiple texts of a poem to compare and we should interpret variation as 'a strategy that...helps set the rules for reception of the work'.²³ When comparing different versions we need to use 'careful triangulation among instances of a given traditional feature', in order really to understand what that traditional feature meant.²⁴

Just as Foley deals with a community of oral-traditional poets, the singers of *organa* were an institutionalised community, who sang together many times a day. They also already shared a large melodic repertory (chant). Just as Foley's poets shared traditional creative ideas and structures then, singers at Notre Dame shared traditional ways of making *organum purum*. When considering *organa* we have to adapt Foley's approach slightly. Melodic patterns and structures do not have 'meaning' in the same way that words do. Melodic patterns, creative ideas, and structural strategies are instead given 'meaning' by the way they are used idiomatically: for instance, by the pitches on which they appear, the tenor notes above which they appear and the particular structural points at which they appear. We must first understand this 'way of speaking', through analysis of idiom, as represented by our performance-derived *organa* before we can understand how an individual *organum* 'speaks'.

This understanding can, as Foley recommends, be gained through a comparison of different versions of 'the same' poem (or *organum*), but we are luckier than Foley, in that we are not restricted to poetic retellings of the same story for our comparison. We can consider all *organa* as representative of the same idiomatic way of speaking and as relying on the same tightly woven network of traditional idiomatic patterns and strategies. If we consider *organa* only as individual entities, our analytical method would not be faithful to the fact that they are a repertory that shares a creative language. Only once we have a better understanding of this creative language, can we analyse the individual *organum* in a way that is more appropriate to the way in which they were created. With this same understanding of idiomatic creative language, also comes the theoretical possibility of hearing sounds that have long vanished and of which no record now remains.

²² Foley, *The Singer of Tales in Performance*, 81.

²³ *Ibid.* 86.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 97.

To conclude the discussion so far, I will finish this chapter by imagining how musicians might have gone about creating a verse section of an *organum duplum*, supported by the shared idiom I have outlined.

If the tenor note at the start of the verse were an *f*, a musician might start at an octave *F-f* consonance. They might then move their melody quickly between *f* and *c* for the first few *ordines*, using fourths and combinations of a second and third, as well as stepwise movement. They might have sung many such beginnings and might reuse a passage of melody they remember from a previous occasion, recreate something very similar to it, or create something new.

The musician might then bring their melody into a lower part of the range settling at a fifth above the tenor *F*. They might then move towards a consonance with the first new tenor pitch and would most likely mark this with a cadential pattern. They might use a rising cadential pattern to balance the preceding descent from *f*. This might be a cadential version of *X*, an ascending fourth pattern, or a stepwise ascent of a third or fourth, perhaps decorated with repeated notes.

After this beginning passage, where the melody behaves like many that start with an *F-f* consonance, it then moves more freely. The musician would balance the movement of the melodies up and down, moving slowly through the range and using larger ascending intervals to open up melodic space. Where the tenor notes change, they would form a unison, fifth and octave consonances with them, but since one of these is never far away, this does not affect the majority of the melody. They can create melismas of any length and only needs to move towards the note of the new consonance right at the end of the melisma.

The musician divides the *organa* in passages with one or two words of the chant in each passage, probably marking each new word, and possibly each new syllable, with a cadential pattern. Between these cadence points, the musician might create melody by repeating and developing what they have just sung, for instance by extending the intervals or inverting the melody. Particular musical situations might suggest particular kinds of melody. For instance, over a scalic tenor, they might create a whole-*ordo* sequence moving in parallel with it. They probably use pattern *X* a number of times, possibly in quick succession across a short passage or in sequence.

Possibly at some point during the verse, the musician might create a passage of *discant*. In *discant*, the tenor notes move much more quickly than in *purum* and therefore there are greater constraints on the pitches that can be sung in the *duplum*. The creation of *discant* is the subject of another study, but within whole *organa dupla*, a musician would be most likely to create a passage of *discant* at the end of the verse. They would finish such a passage with some *purum ordines* before the final cadence. The final consonance of the verse would almost certainly be an octave.

3. Creating *Organa Dupla*: Reusing Polyphony

In Chapter 2, I explored how musicians created *organum purum* melodies. In this chapter, I will look at the two ways in which they reused those melodies when singing longer sections of polyphony and whole *organa dupla*. The first involves using melodies in both the verse and Gloria of the same *organum*, and the second involves using the same melody in different *organa*.

In this chapter, I build on the work that Smith completed in his PhD dissertation.¹ Although the focus of his study was the *clausulae* repertory, he outlined how verse *duplum* melodies were reused in the equivalent Gloria sections of the office *organa* as they are recorded in F and W2. I build on this in the first half of this chapter. He also pointed out relationships between the tenor melodies of different office *organa*. I build on this in the second half of this chapter. I show not just how the tenor melodies relate (as he did), but also outline the reuse of *duplum* material that these relationships facilitate. Whilst my charting of these various relationships mostly overlaps with Smith's, there are some significant ways in which they differ. I will note these at the appropriate point in my discussion.

Due largely to the fact that I have access to word processing and colour, it is easier to follow verse-Gloria overlaps and correspondances between different tenor melodies in this chapter than in Smith's dissertation. I transcribe the tenor melodies in question, whereas Smith shows overlap between verse and Gloria sections by underlining portions of the words supplemented with strings of dots representing the separate tenor notes. He also does not use transcriptions to show how different tenor melodies relate, but simply lists the equivalences. Furthermore, since Smith's aim is also to point out correspondences between *organa* and *clausulae* and between two-, three- and four-voice compositions, it is necessary to extract information about verse-Gloria correspondences and tenor melody relationships from his much longer catalogue. Here, I

¹ Smith, *The Clausulae of the Notre-Dame School*. The introduction to the catalogue of *clausulae* appears on 159, and the portion on the office pieces is from 167-228. Correspondances between different tenor melodies are marked near the beginning of each entry with an '=' sign. Polyphonic overlap between the verse and Gloria sections are noted at the end of each entry. A detailed list of concordances between different *organa dupla*, both for the mass and the office, has also been given by Payne in his appendix to *Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VI A–B*.

His is not a catalogue that considers the relationships between chant melodies, however, so it does not show how musicians went about exploiting the possibility of reuse facilitated by closely related chant tenors, as I do here. His list is useful in its very extensive detail, and it includes very small portions of overlap, most often pairs of *ordines* at the start and end of passages. In this chapter, I consider longer passages that musicians have been able to reuse because the tenor melodies of different *organa* are very similar. Whilst some of the shorter overlapping passages that Payne notes might be the result of the same kind of polyphonic reuse I explore here, it is also possible that the sharing of a pair of opening *ordines* or a cadence pattern might be the result of musicians simply having particular ways of beginning and ending sections (as explored in the previous chapter). Certainly, there need be no close relationship between tenor melodies to allow this kind of reuse, since these shorter passages usually appear over one or two tenor note(s) only. I will note during this discussion how my work relates to Payne's.

focus directly on these two things (in the office *dupla* repertory specifically) and the information can therefore be presented together, in such a way as to allow comparison between different *organa*. This allows me to make comment on how polyphonic material is reused across the repertory, not just show how it is used in individual cases. This gives an insight into the procedures and strategies which supported musicians in reusing material when creating polyphony.

3.1 Reusing *Duplum* Melodies from the Verse in the Gloria

Often in an office responsory, the chant melody of the verse and Gloria are related. This is due to the fact that many responsory chant melodies are made up of stereotyped melodic formulae, and the same formulae are used in the verses and Glorias. A good introduction to responsory melodies can be found in Kate Helsen's PhD thesis.² She considered them similar to psalm tones (if more elaborate) in that they are each sung to a particular verse tone depending on the mode of the chant. Some of these are freely moving, but others (in modes 2, 7 and 8) involve different texts being sung to the same standard melodies. These melodies were made up of standard formulae which were sung in a specific order. Her work built on that of Leo Treitler who argued that a singer would know how a respond in a particular mode was supposed to go and would then select appropriate melodic formulae attached to that mode that would fit with the text of the chant.³ This resulted in similarities between the tenor melodies in the office responsories under consideration here and meant that when an office responsory is sung polyphonically, it is possible to reuse *duplum* melodies from the verse in the Gloria over the same passage of tenor melody. In this section, I will ask how often musicians reused melodies in this way and how they did so.⁴ The aim here is not to explain how or why the tenor melodies of these office *organa* relate as they do. For this, I direct the reader to Helsen's thesis. Here, I aim to explore the reuse of *duplum* melodies that close relationships between tenor melodies enabled.

There are no polyphonic Glorias recorded with the office *dupla* in W1 (apart from *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi*, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6) so it is just the F and W2 office *dupla* that are considered here. Even though there were no polyphonic Glorias recorded in W1, that is not say that the musicians whose tradition is recorded in W1 did not sing Glorias polyphonically. A singer of an *organum* would have known the tenor melody of the verse very well. He would also have known how the tenor melody of the Gloria related to it. He would therefore easily have been able to sing a polyphonic Gloria by

² Kate Helsen, *The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission*, PhD. diss., Universität Regensburg, 2008, especially 10-16.

³ Treitler, 'Centonate' Chant: übles Flickwerk or e pluribus unus?', in *With Voice and Pen*, 197.

⁴ Some preliminary work in this area was completed by Hans Tischler. He noted that mostly the tenor melodies of the verse and Gloria overlap at the beginning and end, and that usually not all of the verse melody reappears in the Gloria. He then presented in tabular form a system for showing which parts of the *duplum* melodies from the verses were reused in the Glorias. Here I build on his work, slightly untangling his presentation of the data, and exploring it in more detail. Hans Tischler, 'The Arrangements of the Gloria patri in the Office Organa of the Magnus liber organi', in M. Ruhnke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäublein*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967, 260-5.

reusing *duplum* melodies from the verse without needing to know a previously created version of that Gloria. It is also possible that fairly fixed versions of the Gloria sections did exist, but that they were not notated, because they contained lots of the same polyphonic material as the verse section and so it was not an efficient use of space to notate them as well as the verses.

Turning now to the polyphonic Glorias recorded in F and W2. Twenty-six of the thirty-four office *dupla* in F have Glorias. This excludes four processional chants (*Hodie beata virgo*, *Dicant nunc Iudei*, *Crucifixum in carne* and *Invenit eos concordēs*) and five other *organa*. Four of these have tenor melodies that are closely related to the tenor melodies of other *organa* in the office *dupla* collections that do have notated polyphonic Glorias. In these cases, essentially the same Gloria melody, made up of the same responsory formulae, could have been sung with both *organa* so there was no particular need to notate it twice. These four *organa* are *Et valde mane* V. *Et respicientes* whose tenor melody is closely related to that of *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus; Dum compleverunt* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* whose tenor melody is closely related to that of *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem*; and *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* and *Preciosus* V. *Athleta domini Dyonisius*, whose tenor melodies are closely related to those of *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* and *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset*.⁵ There are many fewer *organa* in W2, just fifteen. Fourteen of these have notated polyphonic Glorias – all apart from *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo*.

First I will outline how the verse and Gloria tenor melodies relate in different *organa*. Then I will consider where and how *duplum* melodies from verses are reused in Glorias as facilitated by the relationship between the verse and Gloria tenor melodies.

⁵ Bradley has discussed the transmission, or lack of transmission of polyphonic Glorias with the various versions of O10 and O11 in F, W1 and W2. She pointed out that as is typical there is no Gloria with either piece in W1, that the W2 O11 is simply a copy of its O10 Gloria, and that for the sake of space F only records a Gloria for O10, leaving the singer to supply one for O11, as is typical elsewhere in this manuscript. She compared this with the procedure evident in the mini *clausulae* collections in F which include sections for the O10 and O11 Glorias separately. She suggested based on this that these mini *clausulae* were intended for an organum cycle in which O10 and O11 had different polyphonic Glorias, a cycle not found in the MLO ('Mini clausulae and the *Magnus liber organum*', 61-3).

Sometimes the tenor melodies of the verse and Gloria are almost exactly the same, as in the case of *Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus*. This organa appears in only F and W2. The tenor melodies in the F version are compared in **Figure 3.1**. The pitches of the melodies are the same throughout but there is an extra note on ‘Ad vicium’ in the verse and the melody is divided differently between the syllables of ‘gratia culpam’ as compared to ‘et spiritui sancto’ (marked in red).

Figure 3.1 *Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus* (O18): Tenor melody in F and W2

Ad vi- ci- um vir- tus o- pe- ri- ret gra- tia cul- pam

Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto

The same close relationship between verse and Gloria tenor melodies can be found in *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* (O2), *Petre amas me V. Symon Iobannis* (O15), *Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16), *Solem iusticie V. Cenere divinum* (O19), *Per tuam V. Miserere nostri* (O21), *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset Iacob* (O31) and *Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis* (O33).

Sometimes the tenor melody of the Gloria begins and ends in the same way as the verse but with a passage omitted in the middle. An example of this is *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (**Figure 3.2**). The verse and Gloria melodies start and end in the same way (passages ‘A’ and ‘C’) but the melody on ‘auxilium’ in the verse is not sung in the Gloria (‘B’). Other small differences between the melodies are marked in red.

Figure 3.2 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): Tenor melody in F and W2

Con- stan- tes e- sto- te vi- de- bi- tis au- xi- li- um do- mi- ni su- per vos

Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto

Other *organa* whose tenor melodies are related in this way are *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4), *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* (O5), *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (O10), *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* (O13), *Maria qui dimissa sunt* V. *Cui proprium* (O20), *Te sanctum dominum* V. *Cherubin quoque ac seraphin* (O22), *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* (O25), *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* (O28), *Regnum mundi* V. *Eructavit cor meum* (O29) and *Igitur dissimulata* V. *Cui sacerdos* (O34).

In a smaller number of instances, the verse and Gloria melodies begin in the same way and the Gloria melody simply continues like the verse melody until its text is complete. The end of the verse melody is therefore not sung in the Gloria. An example of this is *Deum time* V. *Timentibus deum* (Figure 3.3) which appears only in F. The melodies are in essence the same up until the beginning of ‘diligunt’ in the verse, where the text of the Gloria runs out. Smaller differences between them are marked in red. The other *organum* with a tenor melody like this is *Sancte Germane* V. *O sancte Germane* (O27).

Figure 3.3 *Deum time* V. *Timentibus deum* (O30): Tenor melody in F

Ti-men-ti-bus de-um ni-chil de est nec hiis quie-um di... [diligunt in ve-ri-ta-te]

Glo-ri-a pa-tri et fi-li-o et spi-ri-tu-i sancto

Sometimes, the melodies of the verse and the Gloria are less straightforwardly related. An example of this is *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset* (Figure 3.4), which appears only in F. The Gloria melody follows mostly the same shape as the verse but two passages are missed out, at the beginning of ‘Cornelius’ (‘A’) and at ‘in cristo’ (‘B’). The melodies also end differently (‘C’). Other *organa* with a more flexible relationship between verse and Gloria tenor melodies are *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* (O24) and *Qui sunt isti* V. *Candidiores nive* (O26).

Figure 3.4 *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset* (O14): Tenor melody in F

Cum o-ras-set Cor-ne-li-us non dum in cri-sto re-na-tus ap-paru-it e-i an-ge-lus di-cens

Glo-ri-a pa-tri et fi-li-o et spi-ri-tu-i sancto

As can be seen, there are a number of different ways in which Gloria tenor melodies relate to the melodies of their equivalent verses, but in most *organa*, substantial passages of the verse and Gloria tenor melodies are the same, since they make use of the same responsory formulae. This melodic overlap allows ample scope for reusing *duplum* melodies from the verse in the Gloria, occasionally altering *duplum* melodies slightly to accommodate extra or different tenor notes in one melody or the other.

In F, however, only thirteen of the twenty-six *organa* with polyphonic Glorias use substantial passages of *duplum* melody in both their verse and Gloria: *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1), *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2), *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4), *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* (O5), *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (O10), *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* (O13), *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset* (O14), *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix* (O16), *Ad nutum* V. *Ut viciū virtus* (O18), *Solem iusticie* V. *Cenere divinum* (O19), *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* (O24), *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* (O25) and *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* (O28).

Eight of these pieces also appear in W2 with notated polyphonic Glorias. Five of these are essentially the same as the F version throughout, so share *duplum* melodies between the verse and Gloria in the same way: *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4), *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* (O5), *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (O10), *Ad nutum* V. *Ut viciū virtus* (O18) and *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* (O24), *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* (O25). The remaining two are *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix* (O16) and *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* (O13). The W2 version of *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix* (O16) reuses more material from its verse in its Gloria than the F version. The W2 version of *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* (O13) does not share any *duplum* material between its verse and Gloria. As well as these, there is one *organum* that has a notated Gloria in W2 but not in F, *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes*. A large proportion of the *duplum* melodies in its Gloria also appear in its verse.

Altogether, this means that half of the *organa* with notated polyphonic Glorias in F and W2 have any of the same *duplum* melodies in their verse and Gloria. Just as often, the Glorias contain entirely new *duplum* melodies. This is of course only how these particular surviving versions were notated. It is very possible that sometimes musicians reused lots of melodies from the verse when creating a particular Gloria, and that sometimes they used entirely different *duplum* melodies. The extant versions support this idea, since they show that whilst reuse was a definite possibility, it was not exploited all the time.

The verse and Gloria tenor melodies of these *organa* with significant reuse of *duplum* melodies are presented in parallel in **Figure 3.5**. Those passages of the tenor that have the same *duplum* melody above them are bracketed. Those in red are *discant* and those in green *organum purum*. In these comparisons, I have marked only extended passages that are the same in the verse and Gloria. Sometimes individual *ordines* overlap in passages of *discant*. These are likely not the result of deliberate reuse of melodies from the verse in the Gloria, however, since the melodies that surround them are different. The similarity is more likely the result of the different passages of *discant* being created over the same series of tenor notes.

In the two cases where the F and W2 versions of the same *organum* reuse melodies from the verse in the Gloria differently, both versions are shown. Both versions of *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* reuse melodies at the start and end of their Glorias, but the F version reuses a further passage on ‘videbitis’. Both the F and W2 versions of *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix* reuse melodies from ‘virga est’ on ‘et filio’, but only the W2 version reuses melodies from ‘flos filius’ on ‘et spiritui’. Only the F version of *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* is presented here, as there is no sharing of *duplum* melodies between the verse and Gloria of the W2 version. *Dum compleverunt* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* has no Gloria in F, so only the W2 version is considered here.

Figure 3.5 Parallel transcriptions of the verse and Gloria tenor melodies where there is reuse of *duplum* material from the verse in the Gloria

Iudea et Iherusalem V. *Constantes estote* (O1): F⁶

Con-stan-tes e-sto- te vi-de-bi- tis au-xi- li-um do-mi- ni su-per vos

Glo-ri- a pa-tri et fi-li- o et spi-ri- tu-i san-cto

Detailed description: This block shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is for the verse 'Constantes estote' and the bottom staff is for the Gloria 'Gloria patri et filio'. The notes are color-coded: green for the first three notes of each phrase, black for the middle notes, and red for the final notes. A bracket above the first three notes of the top staff indicates a shared melodic segment.

Iudea et Iherusalem V. *Constantes estote* (O1): W2

Con-stan-tes e-sto- te vi-de-bi- tis au-xi- li-um do-mi- ni su-per vos

Glo-ri- a pa-tri et fi-li- o et spi-ri- tu-i san-cto

Detailed description: This block shows two staves of musical notation, identical in structure to the first block. It features the same color-coded notes (green, black, red) for the verse and Gloria. A bracket above the first three notes of the top staff indicates a shared melodic segment.

⁶ Smith does not mark the passage on 'Constantes' and 'Gloria' as equivalent. I mark them as corresponding here since they are two different versions of a passage that is shared across a family of *organa* with related tenor melodies, as I will discuss later in this chapter (beginning 128).

Descendit de celis V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2): F (Extended *clausula* at the opening of the verse and Gloria truncated)

Tan- quam sponsus do-mi- nus pro- ce- dens de tha- la- mo su- o

Glo- ri- a pa-tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major. The first staff is for the vocal line, and the second is for the organ. Red dots and lines highlight specific cadential patterns at the end of phrases: 'o' in the first staff and 'cto' in the second staff.

In columbe V. *Vox domini* (O4): F and W2⁷

Vox do- mini su- per a- quas de- us ma- ei- sta- tis in- to- nu- it do- mi- nis super a- quas mul- tas

Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major. The first staff is for the vocal line, and the second is for the organ. Red dots and lines highlight cadential patterns at the end of phrases: 'tas' in the first staff and 'cto' in the second staff.

Gaude maria V. *Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): F and W2

Ga- bri- e- lem archangelum sci- mus divi- ni- tus te es- se af- fa- tum ex yo- sephsemine esse natum

Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major. The first staff is for the vocal line, and the second is for the organ. Green dots and lines highlight specific cadential patterns at the end of phrases: 'atum' in the first staff and 'cto' in the second staff. Red dots and lines highlight other cadential patterns at the end of phrases: 'atum' in the first staff and 'cto' in the second staff.

⁷ Smith marks the end of the passages on 'domini' and 'Gloria' as equivalent also, but this is just a cadential pattern. It is used across a number of different *organa* with related tenor melodies at the end of the opening section (beginning 118). Here, since it is just the cadence pattern rather than the whole passage that is shared, I do not mark this correspondence.

Non conturbetur V. Rogabo patrem (O10): F and W2

Two staves of musical notation in treble clef, 8/8 time. The first staff contains the lyrics: E- go ro- ga-bo pa- trem et a- li- um pa-ra- cli- tum da- bit vo- bis. The second staff contains: Glo- ri-a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto. The notes are color-coded: green for the first part, black for the second, and red for the third.

Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes (O11): W2⁸

Two staves of musical notation in treble clef, 8/8 time. The first staff contains the lyrics: Reple- ti sunt omnes spiritu san- cto et ce- pe-runt lo- qui. The second staff contains: Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i sanc- to. The notes are color-coded: green for the first part, black for the second, and red for the third.

Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus (O13): F⁹

Two staves of musical notation in treble clef, 8/8 time. The first staff contains the lyrics: Fu-it ho-mo missus a de- o cu- i no-men e- rat io- han- nes. The second staff contains: Glo-ri-a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i sanc- to. The notes are color-coded: black for the first part, red for the second, and black for the third.

⁸ Smith also marks a short overlap between the passages on 'spiri' and 'patri', which I do not.

⁹ Smith marks a passage as similar on 'missus' and 'patri', which I do not. He also does not include the first syllable of 'filio' with the 'deo' overlap, which is perhaps to do with text underlay.

Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset (O14): F

Cum o-ras- set cor- ne- li- us non dum in cristo re- na- tus ap- pa-ru-it e- i an- ge- lus di- cens
Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spiri- tu- i sanc- to

Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix (O16): F¹⁰

Vir- go de- i gen- e- trix vir- ga est flos fi- li- us e- ius
Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto

Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix (O16): W2

Vir- go de- i gen- e- trix vir- ga est flos fi- li- us e- ius
Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto

¹⁰ Smith marks passages that appear in the verse in F and the Gloria in W2 (and vice versa) as equivalent. I discuss this in Chapter 5 (228). He marks the passages at the end of 'Virgo' and 'Gloria' as equivalent. Again, this is just a cadence pattern that appears at the end of a passage that is shared across different *organa* with related tenor melodies (see section beginning 118).

Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus (O18): F and W2

Ut vi- ci- um vir- tus o- pe-ri- ret gra- tia cul- pam
Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G-clef. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text, and the second staff contains the melody for the second line. The notes are color-coded: green for the first line and red for the second line. The lyrics are written below each staff.

Solem iusticie V. Cenere divinum (O19): F

Cer- ne- re di- vi- num lu- men gau- de- te fi- de- les
Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san- cto

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G-clef. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text, and the second staff contains the melody for the second line. The notes are color-coded: green for the first line and red for the second line. The lyrics are written below each staff.

Condede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos (O24): F and W2

Adiuvent nos eo nim merita quos propria im- pe-di-unt sceler- a ex-cu-set...
Gloria patri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i sanc- to

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G-clef. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text, and the second staff contains the melody for the second line. The notes are color-coded: green for the first line and red for the second line. The lyrics are written below each staff.

Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt (O25): F and W2

Caterva- tim ru- unt po- pu- li ce- ne- re cu- pi- en- tes que per e- um fi- unt mi- ra- bi- li- a
Glori-a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san-cto

The musical score consists of two staves. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text, and the second staff contains the melody for the second line. The notes are primarily black, with some green and red highlights. The text is written in a Gothic-style font below the staves.

Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo (O28): F

Vi- gi- la- te er- go qui- a ne- sci- tis qua ho- ra do- mi- nus vester ven- tu- rus sit
Glo- ri- a pa- tri et fi- li- o et spi- ri- tu- i san-cto

The musical score consists of two staves. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of text, and the second staff contains the melody for the second line. The notes are primarily black, with some green highlights. The text is written in a Gothic-style font below the staves.

As can be seen, polyphonic material is shared between the verses and Glorias in different ways. Sometimes just an individual passage is shared between the verse and Gloria, for instance in *In columbe* V. *Vox domini*. Sometimes the Gloria is made up almost entirely of melodies from the verse, as is the case with *Ad nutum* V. *Ad vicium virtus*. Sometimes two or three passages are shared spread out across the verse and Gloria, as with *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* in F.

There are some ways in which these different instances of sharing are similar, however. Musicians were more likely to reuse passages of *discant* (thirteen) than passages of *organum purum* (nine), and *discant* was most likely to be reused at the end of the verse and Gloria. (Nine of the thirteen passages of *discant* that are reused appear at the end of the verse and Gloria section.)

From these versions, it seems that passages of *organum purum* were more likely to be reused in two specific contexts. Of the nine passages of *purum* that are reused, four of these are actually the same passage. This passage is shared across a family of four different *organa* with related tenor melodies (*Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote*, *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset*, *Solem iusticie* V. *Cenere divinum* and *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo*). These will be discussed in more detail shortly. The passage reused in *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* also appears in *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos*.

Three others passages of *organum purum* are reused as part of verse and Gloria sections that are particularly closely related, where the Gloria is made up almost entirely from melodies sung in the verse (*Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem*, *Dum completerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* and *Ad nutum* V. *Ut vicium virtus*). It seems therefore that a passage of *purum* was more likely to be reused if either the passage was also shared across a number of different *organa*, or if nearly all of the Gloria was the same as the verse. There is just one other short passage of *organum purum* that is reused in the Gloria section of *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum*.

In summary, the extant versions reveal three things about how musicians reused *purum* melodies when creating Gloria sections. First, whilst reusing melodies was definitely a creative possibility, more often than not musicians chose to explore different creative possibilities in the Gloria section from in the verse. Second, they were most likely to reuse passage of *discant* at the end of the verse, and finally, passage of *purum* were likely to be reused only in specific circumstances.

It must be acknowledged, however, that there are a number of ways in which these extant versions may not be representative of practice. Perhaps, if musicians sometimes reused melodies and sometimes did not, scribes would be more likely to have notated versions with different melodies, rather than notating the same melodies twice. It is likely that musicians would easily have been able to fashion a Gloria using *purum* melodies from the verse, as they would have been very familiar with the relationship between the tenor of the verse and the tenor of the Gloria. There would therefore have been no particular need to record versions where lots of melodies were reused. It is possible, therefore, that musicians reused melodies in their Gloria sections more often than is recorded in the extant sources.

3.2 Reusing Polyphony across Different *Organa*

Just as the same responsory formulae were used in the chant melodies of paired verses and Glorias, the same formulae were also used as part of entirely separate chants. This means that in the office *dupla*, there are a number of *organa* portions of whose tenor melodies are the same or very similar. This meant that, as well as reusing *duplum* melodies from the verse in the Gloria, musicians could also reuse them across different *organa*. They did this in various ways.

3.2.1 Reusing Whole Sections of *Duplum* Melody

In the office *dupla* repertory, there are two pairs of *organa* whose tenor melodies are very closely related. Firstly, the verses of *Et valde mane* V. *Et respicientes* (O7, copied only in F) and *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2, copied in F and W1) have the same tenor melody. There are two versions of *Et valde mane* V. *Et respicientes* in F. It is the verse of the first version that is the same as *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus*. The second pair is *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (O10, copied in all three manuscripts) and *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* (O11, copied in all three manuscripts). These two *organa* have the same tenor melody for both the responsory and verse sections.

The tenor melodies of the verses of *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2) and *Et valde mane* V. *Et respicientes* I (O7) in F are compared in **Figure 3.6**. *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* is also in W1, but F is the only manuscript that contains both these pieces so it is the F versions that I discuss here. The *Tanquam sponsus* verse in W1 contains entirely unique *purum* melodies and shares nothing with either piece in F.

The small differences between the tenor melodies are marked in red. These include the addition or removal of repeated notes where there are different numbers of syllables in either text (on ‘respicien-’, ‘viderunt’ and ‘erat’ in *Et valde mane* V. *Et respicientes*). There is also an extra tenor G at the beginning of ‘procedens’ in *Descendit de celis* and the melody is differently divided between syllables on ‘thalamo’ (O2) and ‘magnus’ (O7). The melodies are otherwise identical.

Bracketed passages have the same *duplum* melodies above them. The only passages that are different in the two *organa* are the extended *discant clausulae* on ‘Tanquam’/‘respicientes’. There are large numbers of *clausulae* on ‘Tanquam’ in the *clausulae* collections in F and W1. It is a long tenor melisma, with some sequential elements, some direct repetition and a whole ascending octave scale. It is not necessarily a surprise therefore that musicians created lots of different elaborations of this passage, and that different versions of this *clausula* were recorded as part of these two *organa* in F.

Figure 3.6 The tenor melodies of *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2) and *Et valde mane* V. *Et respicientes* (O7) in F

The figure displays two tenor melodies on a single staff each, with lyrics underneath. The first melody, for *Tanquam sponsus dominus procedens de thalamo suo*, features a melodic line with a red highlight on the final phrase 'de thalamo suo'. The second melody, for *Et respicientes viderunt revolutum lapidem erat quippe magnus valde*, features a red highlight on the initial phrase 'Et respicientes' and another on the final phrase 'erat quippe magnus valde'. Both melodies are written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (F major) and a common time signature (C).

Tan-
quam sponsus dominus pro-ce-dens de tha- la- mo su- o

Et respicien-
tes vi-de-runt revo-lu[tum] lapi- dem erat quippe magnus val- de

Otherwise there are just small differences between the *duplum* melodies in the two verses. These have come about where changes have been made to accommodate extra notes in the tenor melody. There is a tenor G in *Tanquam sponsus* at the start of ‘procedens’ which does not appear at the start of ‘lapidem’ in *Et respicientes*. There are two extra *ordines* in the *duplum* at the start of ‘procedens’ over this extra tenor note. **Figures 3.7** and **3.8** compare these two passages. These extra *ordines* are bracketed at the start of **Figure 3.7**. There are then two extra tenor notes shortly afterwards, this time in *Et respicientes* on the word ‘erat’. Again two extra *duplum ordines* are sung at this point which do not appear in *Tanquam sponsus*. These are bracketed on **Figure 3.8**.

Figure 3.7 *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2): F (*ordines* 53-64)

pro- ce- dens

de tha- la- mo

Figure 3.8 *Et valde mane* V. *Et respicientes* (O7): F (*ordines* 46-58)

la- pi- dem e- rat

quip- pe mag- nus

The responsory and verse tenor melodies of the F versions of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10) and *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* are compared in **Figure 3.9**. Both *organa* appear in all three manuscripts. The W1 versions are totally different from those in F and W2 and they do not themselves share any polyphony. They will therefore not be discussed here. The W2 version of O10 has the same tenor melody throughout and its *duplum* differs only at the beginning of the verse so it can be considered alongside the F version. The W2 version of O11 is a scribal *contrafactum* of its O10 so is not an example of musicians reusing melodies across different *organa* but a skilful scribe adapted polyphony as he copied it. This section will therefore consider the F (and W2) version of O10 and the F version of O11.

The chant tenors of these two *organa* are slightly less closely related than in the case of the *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* and *Et valde mane V. Et respicientes* verses. The responsory *Dum complerentur* is longer than *Non conturbetur* and there are additional passages in the verses on ‘et alium’ in *Ego rogabo patrem* and on ‘omnes’ in *Repleti sunt omnes*. These and smaller differences between the beginning of the verses are marked in red.

Bracketed passages have the same *duplum* melody above them. Again, the *duplum* melody is nearly the same throughout. This is excluding the three places where a portion of the tenor melody appears in only one *organum* and not the other (the end of the responsory and on ‘omnes’ in *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* and on ‘et alium para-’ in *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem*). There is also a small difference between the *duplum* melodies at the start of the responsory sections. This is not surprising given that beginnings are, as I will discuss in the next chapter, often sites of variance in passages of *duplum* melody that are otherwise the same.¹¹

¹¹ This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter (160-3).

Figure 3.9 Tenor melodies of *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (O10) in F (and W2) & *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* (O11) in F

Non conturbetur Ego rogabo pa - trem et a - lium para-clitum da-bit vo- bis

Dum complerentur Reple- ti sunt omnes spi-ri-tu san- cto et ce- pe-runt lo- qui

As in the previous pair of *organa*, there is one instance where the *duplum* melody is slightly adapted to accommodate small differences between the two tenors. There is an extra tenor E at the start of the verse *Repleti sunt omnes*. Two additional *ordines* appear in the *duplum* over this extra note. The passages from the beginning of the verses are compared in **Figures 3.10** and **3.11**. The additional *ordines* in *Repleti sunt omnes* are bracketed on **Figure 3.11**.

Figure 3.10 *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): F (*ordines* 14-7) and W2 (14-6)

E- [go]

Figure 3.11 *Dum comperentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* (O11): F (*ordines* 20-4)

Re- ple- ti

3.2.2 Family I: Reusing Multiple, Shorter Passages of *Duplum* Melody

The two pairs of *organa* discussed so far have very closely related tenor melodies. This allowed musicians to reuse whole sections of *duplum* melody, simply adding or omitting passages where needed and making small adjustments where there were small differences between the tenor melodies. I will now consider five *organa* whose verse (and Gloria) tenor melodies are related, but not quite as closely as in the previous two examples: *In columbe V. Vox domini* (O4), *Veni electa V. Specie tua* (O17), *Preciosus domini Dyonisius V. Athleta domini Dyonisius* (O23), *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset* (O31) and *Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16). The verse and Gloria tenor melodies as they appear in F are compared in **Figure 3.12**.¹² I have labelled these **Family**

¹² Smith also includes O32, O33 and O34 in this family. There is certainly overlap of the chant melodies I discuss here and these melodies. The O32 tenor is particularly closely related to that of O4. It is almost the same melody in the verse apart from some extra notes and oscillations where there are different numbers of syllables in either melody. The Glorias are the same. The first half of the O33 tenor is the same as O4 up to the end of ‘apostoli’ (which corresponds with ‘intonuit’ in O4). It then differs. The two Gloria melodies are the same up until the end of ‘filio’.

I. By family, I mean simply that they are a group of *organa* across which some *duplum* material is shared. **Families II and III**, which will be discussed shortly, are also groups across which *duplum* melodies are shared, albeit in different ways. This label makes no claim that the chant melodies elaborated in these *organa* are related in a particular way, that they form a family. It relates only to polyphonic reuse.

Of these *organa*, only *In columbe V. Vox domini* appears in W1 and the W1 version uses just one very short passage of *duplum* material that is shared by other *organa* in this family. Three appear in W2. *In columbe V. Vox domini* and *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset* are the same as the F versions apart from one passage in each. The two versions of *Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix* are less closely related. Differences between versions of the same *organum* will be the subject of the next chapter and, since the F versions share the most *duplum* material and are enough to show how melodies might be shared across different *organa*, only these will be considered here.

Figure 3.12 shows that the tenor melodies of *Vox domini*, *Specie tua*, *Athleta domini Dyonisius* and *Cumque evigilasset* are all different versions of the same melody: they use the same responsory formulae. There are extra notes, oscillations and short collections of pitches where there are more syllables in the text of one melody or another, but the pitches of these melodies are the same. *Virgo dei genetrix* starts in the same way as these four, but is different on ‘flos filius eius’.

Only three of these five *organa* have polyphonic Glorias notated with them. The Gloria tenor melodies of *In columbe V. Vox domini* and *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset* are the same, and, like its verse, the Gloria of *Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix* begins the same but is different on ‘et spiritui sancto’.

The tenor of O34 is less closely related to O4 than these other melodies. The opening phrases are the same, ‘cui’ in O34 is the same as ‘Vox domini’ in O4. Later, approximately ten notes on ‘domine ille’ correspond with those on ‘intonuit dominus’. The Glorias correspond up to the start of the section on ‘et filio’ and then they diverge.

I do not include these melodies in this family because my aim here is not to show links between tenor melodies, but to explore the reuse of polyphony that those links facilitate. The sharing of *duplum* material between the *organa* I include in Family I and O32, O33 and O34 is extremely limited. In O32, something similar to the end of passage ‘G’ appears on ‘patri’. This amounts to three *ordines*. The first two of these, a short sequence of descending pairs of repeated notes, are the same. The third (a cadential *ordo*) follows a similar shape but is more elaborate in O32. There is also some correspondence at the same point in the Gloria between O33 and O34 and O4. The same short cadence pattern appears at the end of ‘Gloria’ in both O4 and O33. The passage on ‘patri’ in O33 also begins with a descending sequence, but it is not decorated with repeated notes. The cadence that follows this sequence is more similar to the longer version used in O32 than to the short version used in O4. The same cadence pattern appears at the end of ‘Gloria’ in O4 and O34. This amounts to pattern X followed by a rising-fourth cadential pattern.

The large amount of *dupla* material shared between in the *organa* in my Family I is therefore not comparable with the extremely limited sharing between the Family I *organa* and O32, O33 and O34. Where material from passage ‘G’ appears in O32, O33 and O34, its appearance is not exact and it does not amount to the sharing of a whole polyphonic passage, as in the sharing in Family I. It is not likely therefore that this is the result of the same kind of deliberate reuse as the similarities between the *organa* in Family I. It is possible that those who created the melodies in O32, O33 and O34 knew melodies similar to that which appears passage ‘G’ or vice versa, but equally, given the lack of exact overlap, it is possible that the same tenor pitches were simply elaborated with similar cadence patterns and a similar sequence because such cadence patterns and sequences were often used in that kind of musical situation.

Payne notes the overlaps I point out here, alongside concordances with mass *organa dupla* and other, shorter concordance with other office *dupla* (including those discussed directly above with O32, O33 and O34) (*Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VLA–B*, 340-1). As previously mentioned, it is not presented in conjunction with information about the relationship between the tenor melodies.

In **Figure 3.12**, passages marked with the same letter have the same *duplum* melody above them. For instance, all passages marked ‘A’ are equivalent and passages marked ‘B’/ ‘B1’ are similar but not entirely the same. Each passage of the tenor melody had a passage of *duplum* melody that could be sung with it – eight passages in total marked A-H. Each passage appears in at least two different *organa*. Different numbers of passages are used in different combinations in the different *organa*.

Vox domini and its Gloria contain all of these reusable passages, apart from ‘B’. ‘A’ and ‘C’-‘F’ appear in the verse, and ‘D’, ‘G’ and ‘H’ in the Gloria. The other *organa* use fewer of these passages and in different combinations, with some passages appearing in the verse in one *organa* and the Gloria in another. *Specie tua* contains the same passages as *Vox domini* except passage ‘D’. *Athleta domini Dionysius* starts with passages ‘A’ and ‘B’, ends with passage ‘F’, and also contains passage ‘H’ which is in the Gloria of *In columbe V*. *Vox domini*. *Cumque evigilasset* contains just one of these passages, ‘F’ at the end of the verse. Its Gloria starts with passage ‘G’, which also starts the Glorias of *In columbe* and *Stirps Jesse*. *Virgo dei genetrix* uses passages ‘A’, ‘B’ and ‘D’ before the tenor melody starts to differ from the other four. Its Gloria starts in the same way as the Gloria of *In columbe* with passages ‘G’ and ‘D’.

Figure 3.12 The tenor melodies of *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4), *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* (O17), *Preciosus domini Dyonisius* V. *Athleta domini Dyonisius* (O23) and *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset* (O31) and *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genatrix* (O16) in F

In columbe
 Vox do- mini super aquas de-us ma-ie-sta-tis in-tonu- it domi-nus su-per a- quas mul- tas

Veni electa
 Spe- ci-e tu- a et pulcritudi- ne tu- a in-ten-de prospere proce- de et reg- na

Preciosus
 Athle- ta domi- ni Dy-o- ni- si- us psal- le- bat di- cens

Terribilis est
 Cum- que evi- gi- las- set ia- cob a sompno a- it

Stirps Jesse
 Vir- go de- i gene-trix vir- ga est flos fi- li- us e- ius

There are a number of ways in which musicians reworked these passages of *duplum* melody depending on slight differences between the tenor melodies. Sometimes they added or removed *ordines* where there were different numbers of notes in the tenor melodies. One example can be found in passage ‘C’ in *Vox domini* and *Specie tua* (Figures 3.13 and 3.14). There is an additional tenor F on the syllable ‘cri’ in *Specie tua*. A short *ordo*, containing just two single notes appears above this (bracketed).

Figure 3.13 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): F (*ordines* 30-3)

mai- e- sta- tis

Figure 3.14 *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* (O17): F (*ordines* 24-9)

et pul- cri- tu- di- ne

An example where larger adaptations have been made comes right at the start of the verse sections. *Specie tua*, *Virgo dei genetrix*, *Vox domini* and *Athleta domini Dyonisius* start with passage ‘A’, but the tenor melodies of *Specie tua* and *Virgo dei genetrix* begin on C, and the *Vox domini* and *Athleta domini Dyonisius* have an extra D at the very beginning. The *duplum* melodies of *Specie tua* and *Virgo dei genetrix* start in the same way (Figure 3.15).

Figure 3.15 *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* (O17): F (*ordines* 12-9) and *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix* (O16): F (*ordines* 22-8)

Spe- Vir- ci- go e

As well as this variety caused by the need to adapt a *duplum* melody to be sung over a slightly different tenor, there are some other instances in which musicians sang the *duplum* melodies slightly differently even though the tenor melodies over which they sang were the same. This kind of variety can be seen in passage ‘B’. It appears in exactly the same way in *Athleta domini Dyonisius* and *Virgo dei genitrix* (Figure 3.17). In these verses, it ends with a rising sequence from D (bracketed).

Figure 3.17 *Preciosus domini Dyonisius* V. *Athleta domini Dyonisius* (O23): F (*ordines* 23-5) and *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genitrix* (O16): F (*ordines* 29-32)

do- mi- [ni]
de- i

In *Specie tua* however, this passage ends not with an ascending sequence, but with an ascending cadential version of pattern X (Figure 3.18).

Figure 3.18 *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* (O17): F (*ordines* 20-3)

tu- a

There are more extensive differences of this kind between passage ‘E’ in *Vox domini* and ‘E1’ in *Specie tua* (Figures 3.19 and 2.20). The two passages begin the same but at ‘A’, the descent to D is longer and more elaborate in *Specie tua* than *Vox domini*. *Vox domini* uses a version of pattern X to descend a fourth from G to D. *Specie tua* instead repeats the whole of its preceding *ordo*, extending the stepwise descent with which it finishes from a third to a fifth. Similarly, at ‘B’, *Vox domini* uses a simple oscillation to rise onto the new consonance with the tenor C. *Specie tua* uses a longer pattern: a version of X followed by a rising third. The passage marked ‘C’ follow the same shape, but the melodic detail is different in each version. Before the cadence, there is an extra *ordo* in *Specie tua* (‘D’).

Figure 3.19 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): F (ordines 39-44)

The musical score for Figure 3.19 consists of a vocal line and a tenor line. The vocal line is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It begins with a series of eighth notes descending from G4 to D4, marked with a bracket 'A'. This is followed by a similar descent from G4 to D4, marked with a bracket 'B'. The final section, marked 'C', shows a more complex descent from G4 to D4, involving a series of eighth notes and a final quarter note. The tenor line is written in a single staff with a bass clef and contains two notes: 'do-' on the first staff and 'mi-' on the second staff. Below the vocal line, there are two additional staves: a treble clef staff with a series of eighth notes descending from G4 to D4, and a bass clef staff with two notes: 'nus' on the first staff and 'nus' on the second staff.

Figure 3.20 *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* (O17): F (ordines 32-9)

The musical score for Figure 3.20 consists of a vocal line and a tenor line. The vocal line is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It begins with a series of eighth notes descending from G4 to D4, marked with a bracket 'A'. This is followed by a similar descent from G4 to D4, marked with a bracket 'B'. The final section, marked 'C', shows a more complex descent from G4 to D4, involving a series of eighth notes and a final quarter note. The tenor line is written in a single staff with a bass clef and contains three notes: 'in-' on the first staff, 'ten-' on the second staff, and 'de' on the third staff. Below the vocal line, there are two additional staves: a treble clef staff with a series of eighth notes descending from G4 to D4, and a bass clef staff with two notes: 'de' on the first staff and 'de' on the second staff.

There are similarly extensive differences between passage ‘F’ in *Vox domini* and *Cumque evigilasset* (Figure 3.21) and passage ‘F1’ in *Specie tua* (Figure 3.22). The two passages begin with the same melody using four-note scales moving in parallel with the descending tenor (‘A’) but in the second passage, there are four scales rather than two. At ‘B’, both melodies descend a fourth from d to a, but the first uses pattern X and the second descends with a simple scale. In both melodies, the passages at ‘B’ end with a version of pattern X that falls a fourth from b flat to F.

Figure 3.21 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): F (ordines 50-3) and *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset* (O31): F (ordines 80-3)

mul- a- tas it

Figure 3.22 *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* (O17): F (ordines 44-7)

reg- na

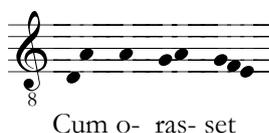
In summary, the five *organa* in Family I have closely related tenor melodies. There was a passage of *duplum* attached to each portion of the tenor melody that musicians could use in various ways and combinations when singing these *organa*. Sometimes these melodies were recreated to accommodate differences in the tenor, and sometimes slightly different versions of the same melody were sung even though the tenor melodies were the same. Of course, just because these particular versions were copied in F, that does not mean that these were the only versions sung. Most probably, musicians might sometimes have used lots of these shared passages of melody, and sometimes many fewer when singing the same *organum*.

3.2.3 Family II: Verse Melodies that Begin in the Same Way

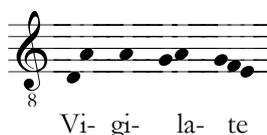
Family II contains four *organa* whose verse and Gloria tenor melodies begin with the same formula: *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1), *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset* (O14), *Solem iusticie* V. *Cenere divinum* (O19) and *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* (O28).¹³ Again, the F versions will be discussed here, since it is only manuscript to contain all four of these *organa* and the versions that F contains share the most *duplum* material. The starts of the verse tenor melodies are compared in **Figure 3.23**. The melodies on *Cum orasset* and *Vigilate* are the same. *Constantes* has one fewer syllable so the first tenor a is not repeated. The melody on *Cenere* has no G-a oscillation in the middle.

Figure 3.23 Tenor melodies at the start of verses

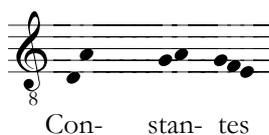
Cornelius centurio vir V. *Cum orasset*, (O14)



Sint lumbi V. *Vigilate ergo*, (O28)



Iudea et Iherusalem V. *Constantes estote*, (O1)



Solem iusticie V. *Cenere divinum*, (O19)



¹³ Smith additionally includes O26 in this group. The tenor melodies of its verse and Gloria do start in the same way as the tenors in Family II, but the *duplum* of the verse starts not at an octave but at a fifth. The voices do then cross over, forming a D(*duplum*) – a (tenor) consonance, but this happens twice instead of once. The only other similarity between this *duplum* melody at that shared between the *organa* Family II is the appearance of pattern X three times in a row at the end of this passage. X appears on entirely different pitches in O26, however; the melody overall follows a very different shape; the versions of pattern X used are longer; and its use is not sequential. The *duplum* melody at the start of the Gloria is more similar to those that appear in the Family II *organa*, but it is still very much a different melody. It opens with the same rising tone from c to d. This is of course a pattern that is used much more widely in *purum* melodies than just in the Family II *organa*. Unlike the Family II *organa*, the O26 verse melody then oscillates above and below d rather than immediately descending to a. When it does descend, it does not use the same pattern as appears in the Family II *organa*. The voices do then cross over, but again using a different melodic pattern. The version of pattern X that is used to rise onto the unison G in the Family II *organa* also appears in O26, but there is nothing equivalent to passage ‘E’. As in the Family II *organa*, pattern X does appear three times at the end of the passage on Gloria in O26. The first of these three is higher than the equivalent in the Family II *organa*, but the second and third are the same. The *organa* in Family II share material fairly exactly. Although there are some similarities with O26, they are far from exact, so I have not included this *organa* in Family II.

Smith does not point out the link between O1 and O14, and O19 and O28. For O28, this is odd given that its tenor is very closely related throughout to the tenor melody of O26 (which he does include in this group). For O19, this is more understandable, since the chant melodies are different: as I have explained here, the O19 tenor begins with a rising fifth but it then descends directly with no a-G-a oscillation. The reason I have included this *organa* in Family II is because it shares *duplum* material with the others *organa* in this family exactly. Smith’s interrelationships are by contrast based on the tenor melodies only.

Payne, on the other hand, because he is concerned with polyphonic overlap, not relationships between tenor melodies, does point out the links between all four of the *organa* I explore here (*Le magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris VLA–B*, 339-40). Like me, he does not consider O26 to be related to these *organa* as Smith does, although he does point out that the responsory section of O26 does begin with the same opening *ordines* on ‘Qui’ as the passage on ‘In’. This is a beginning pattern that is used across a number of different *ordines* that begin with a D-d octave consonance, regardless of how their tenor melodies then proceed.

In F, the same *duplum* melody is sung over each of these tenors. It is sung slightly differently each time, both because of the small differences between the tenors and because musicians simply had different ways of singing the same melody.

The passage on *Cum orasset* appears in **Figure 3.24**. The *duplum* begins, like many across the repertory, by ascending from a seventh to an octave over the first tenor note ('A'). This is followed by a descent of a fourth from d to a ('B'). The *duplum* then returns to d and descends through a whole octave ('C'). At this point, the tenor rises a fifth and the *duplum* crosses over with it creating a D (*duplum*)- a (tenor) consonance (at the end of 'C'). This consonance is marked by a repeated-note cadential pattern. The *duplum* then rises to a G unison with the tenor using pattern X ('D'). This is followed by a striking melodic pattern containing falling fifths, which is itself repeated and transposed down a fifth ('E'). The passage finishes with an extended ascending sequence using pattern X. The final iteration of the sequence finishes with a repeated c and then a rising third to mark the cadence at the end of this first passage.

Figure 3.24 *Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset* (O14): F (*ordines* 11-23)

The figure displays two systems of organum duplum. Each system consists of a treble staff and a bass staff. The first system is marked with letters A, B, C, and D above the treble staff. The second system is marked with letters E and F above the treble staff. The lyrics 'Cum o-ras-' are written above the second system, and 'set' is written below it. The notation includes various melodic patterns such as ascending and descending sequences, repeated-note cadential patterns, and falling fifths.

The tenor of *Vigilate* is the same as *Cum orasset*, and the *duplum* is almost exactly the same also (**Figure 3.25**). There are just very small differences in the octave descent at ‘C’ (circled) and at ‘D’ there is an ascending sequence, rather than a cadential version of X.

Figure 3.25 *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* (O28): F (ordines 14-26) and W2 (ordines 13-27)

The figure shows two systems of musical notation. The first system consists of a treble clef staff with four passages labeled A, B, C, and D, and a bass clef staff. The second system consists of a treble clef staff with two passages labeled E and F, and a bass clef staff. The lyrics 'Vi-gi-la-te' are written below the second system.

The tenor of *Constantes* (**Figure 3.26**) has one fewer syllable so the first tenor a is not repeated. This has no influence over the *duplum*. It just means that there is no tenor note half way through passage ‘C’. What does influence the *duplum*, however, is the lack of syllable change at the D (*duplum*)- a (tenor) consonance at the end of ‘C’. This syllable change is marked with repeated note cadential patterns in the passages discussed above from *Cum orasset* and *Vigilate*, but there is no need for such a pattern here as there is no syllable change.

Figure 3.26 *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1): F (ordines 19-29), W1 (ordines 19-28) and W2 (ordines 17-26)

The figure shows two systems of musical notation. The first system consists of a treble clef staff with four passages labeled A, B, C, and D, and a bass clef staff. The second system consists of a treble clef staff with two passages labeled E and F, and a bass clef staff. The lyrics 'Con-stantes' are written below the second system.

The tenor of *Cenere* is shorter than the others, since it omits the G-a oscillation in the middle. In this passage (Figure 3.27), the *duplum* begins as in the passages discussed above. Like in *Constantes*, there is no cadence pattern at the end of passage ‘C’ because there is no syllable change at this point. Pattern X is used at ‘D’, rather than the ascending sequence. It is following the cadence at the end of passage ‘D’ that the G-a oscillation in the tenor is omitted. Usually it is passage ‘E’ and the start of passage ‘F’ that are sung over these tenor notes. Here, passage ‘E’ is entirely omitted and the ascending sequence at ‘F’ has only two iterations rather than three because of the shortened tenor melody.

Figure 3.27 *Solem iusticie V. Cenere divinum* (O19): F (ordines 15-22)

The figure shows a musical score for the tenor and duplum parts of *Solem iusticie V. Cenere divinum*. The tenor part is on a single staff with a clef of 8 (octave below). The duplum part is on a two-staff system (treble and bass clefs). The score is divided into passages A, B, C, and D, each marked with a bracket above the tenor staff. Passage A is a quarter note G4. Passage B is a quarter note A4. Passage C is a quarter note B4. Passage D is a quarter note C5. Below the tenor staff, the syllables 'Ce-' and 'ne-' are aligned with the notes. Below the duplum staff, the syllables 're' are aligned with the notes. A section labeled 'F (shortened)' is shown below the duplum staff, consisting of two iterations of the ascending sequence G4-A4-B4-C5.

The starts of the Gloria tenor melodies are compared in Figure 3.28. The Glorias of *Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset*, *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* and *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* are the same melody. The Gloria of *Solem iusticie V. Cenere divinum* has no a on ‘Glo’.

Figure 3.28 The tenor melodies of the Family II Gloria Sections

The figure compares four tenor Gloria melodies. Each is shown on a single staff with a clef of 8 (octave below) and the syllables 'Glo- ri- a' written below. The first three are identical: *Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset* (O14), *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* (O28), and *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1). The fourth is *Solem iusticie V. Cenere divinum* (O19), which is shorter and lacks the final 'a' syllable.

Versions of the same melody appear at the start of all these Gloria sections. The start of the Gloria of *Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset* (Figure 3.29) is very similar to the versions discussed above. The only thing to note is that there is no syllable change at the end of passage ‘C’ and so the D (*duplum*) – A (tenor) consonance is not marked by a cadential pattern.

Figure 3.29 *Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset* (O14): F (*ordines* 63-73)

The figure displays two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a tenor line (bass clef). The vocal line is marked with a '8' below the staff. The first system shows four phrases labeled A, B, C, and D. The lyrics 'Glo-' and 'ri-' are positioned below the vocal line. The second system shows two phrases labeled E and F. The lyrics 'a' are positioned below the vocal line. The tenor line provides a simple accompaniment with a few notes.

There is also very little difference between the start of the Gloria of *Solem iusticie V. Cenere divinum* (Figure 3.30) and the start of its verse. Both are short versions of the *duplum* melody, since there are fewer tenor notes than in the other *organa*. The only substantial difference between the verse and Gloria in this *organum* is the use of slightly different versions of pattern X before the cadence at ‘D’.

Figure 3.30 *Solem iusticie V. Cenere divinum* (O19): F (*ordines* 43-49)

The figure displays two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a tenor line (bass clef). The vocal line is marked with an '8' below the staff. The first system shows four phrases labeled A, B, C, and D. The lyrics 'Glo-' and 'ri-' are positioned below the vocal line. The second system shows a phrase labeled 'F (shortened)'. The lyrics 'a' are positioned below the vocal line. The tenor line provides a simple accompaniment with a few notes.

The *duplum* melody at the start of the Gloria of *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* (Figure 3.31) begins in the same way as the verse melodies discussed so far. This same *duplum* melody is, however, fitted differently with the tenor melody. In the verses, the first a in the tenor usually comes either part way through or at the end of passage ‘C’. Here it is at the end of passage ‘B’. In the verses, the first tenor G usually comes at the end of passage ‘D’. Here it comes near the start of passage ‘C’. By the end of passage ‘D’ in this Gloria, therefore, five notes of the tenor have been sung, as opposed to three by the same point in the verses. Passage ‘E’ and the start of passage ‘F’ appear over a tenor G and a in the verses, but by this point in the Gloria, these tenor notes have already been sung. Passages ‘E’ and the start of ‘F’ are therefore not sung in the Gloria. This means that a shortened version of verse melody is sung in the Gloria by adjusting the relationship between the two voices.

Figure 3.31 *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* (O28): F (ordines 59-67)

The figure displays two systems of musical notation. The first system features a treble clef staff with a melodic line divided into four passages labeled A, B, C, and D. Below it is a bass clef staff with a tenor line. The lyrics 'Glo- ri- a' are positioned under the tenor line. The second system shows a treble clef staff with a melodic line labeled 'F (shortened)' and a bass clef staff with a tenor line. The number 8 is written below the first staff of each system.

The opening passage is also shorter in the Gloria of *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* than in any of the verses (**Figure 3.32**). The first four *ordines* are very different from any that start the verses. The *duplum* goes up rather than down at the beginning, moving into an entirely different part of the range. The voices do then eventually cross over, as they do in the other versions of this passage, reaching a D in the *duplum* underneath an a in the tenor. The *duplum* does not, as in the verses, descend underneath the tenor in a mostly stepwise fashion. Instead it uses a pattern involving descending pairs of thirds which is repeated with the final third extended to a fifth (circled). The *duplum* then uses a cadential version of pattern X to rise to a G-G unison. This is equivalent to passage ‘D’ in the verses. The *duplum* melody finishes with the shortened version of passage ‘F’.

Figure 3.32 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): F (*ordines* 61-70)

The figure displays two systems of musical notation. The first system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with a circled section. Below the treble staff, the lyrics 'Glo-', 'ri-', and 'a' are aligned with the notes. The second system also consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with a circled section. Above the treble staff, the letter 'F' is placed, indicating a specific passage or ornament.

The reuse of this opening passage demonstrates the skill and flexibility with which musicians recreated the same *duplum* melody, depending on the particular tenor melody over which they sang. Musicians also sang this passage differently where there were no differences between the tenor melodies. This recreation included shortening the passage when it was sung as part of the Gloria, manipulating the relationship between the tenor and the *duplum* voices to allow the passage to be truncated.

Figure 3.33 Shared Tenor Melodies in Family III

Descendit de celis V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2)



sponsus dominus pro-ce- dens

Et valde mane V. *Et respicientes* I (O7)



vi- de- runt revo-lu- tum lapidem

Inter natos V. *Fuit homo missus*, (O13)

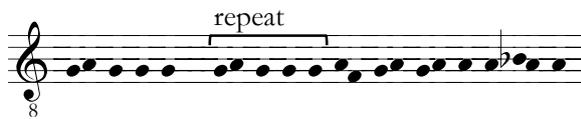


ho- mo missus a de- o cu- i nomen



pa- tri et fi- li- o

Concede nobis domine V. *Adiuvant nos*, (O24)



merita quos propria im- pe- di- unt sceler- a



pa- tri et fi- li- o

Ex eius tumba V. *Catervatim ruunt*, (O25)



ru- unt popu- li



pa- tri et fi- li- o

Like in Family I, a number of passages of *duplum* melody are shared in various combinations over this passage of tenor melody in these different *organa*. In Family I, the shared *duplum* melodies were always attached to the same portion of the the tenor melody and they were always sung in the same order. Here, however, the five short melodies shared between the different *organa* are sung in various different orders. This is possible because the tenor melody oscillates around the same four pitches and the same combinations of two or three pitches appear in different places within the same melody. This allows short *duplum* melodies to be used in different orders and combinations, over the same tenor pitches but at different points overall in the tenor melody.

The five short melodies are marked ‘A’-‘E’ on **Figures 3.34-40**. Each passage of polyphony is coloured coded to show where it appears across the different *organa*. From this, it is possible to see that the different *organa* use different melodies in different orders.

Passage ‘A’ (Red)

Passage ‘B’ (Blue)

Passage ‘C’ (Green)

Passage ‘D’ (Orange)

Passage ‘E’ (Purple)

Tanquam sponsus (**Figure 3.34**) and *Fuit homo missus* (**Figure 3.35**) use the most of these short *duplum* melodies, but in different orders and combinations. In *Tanquam sponsus* the passages appear thus:

A – B – C – D – B – E

In the *Fuit homo missus* verse, the passages are in a different order and are interspersed with other passages that are not shared across with other *organa* in this group:

A – C – other polyphony – end of B – B – E – other polyphony - D

The Gloria of *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* (**Figure 3.36**) contains much less of this shared *duplum* material, but passages C and E appear individually as part of an otherwise different passage of polyphony.

The verse of *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* (**Figure 3.37**) also just contains two of these shared passages, beginning with A and ending with E.

The same combination of passages D – B – E appears in the Glorias of *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* (**Figure 3.38**) and *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* (**Figure 3.39**). This combination also appears in *Tanquam sponsus*.

Passages D and E appear consecutively in the verse of *Ex eius tumba Catervatim ruunt* (**Figure 3.40**).

Figure 3.34 *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2): F (ordines 41-58)

The musical score for Figure 3.34 consists of two systems. The first system features a vocal line in the treble clef with a soprano staff and a basso continuo line in the bass clef. The vocal line is divided into four segments: A (red), B (blue), C (green), and D (yellow). The lyrics for this system are "spon- sus do- mi- nus". The second system continues the vocal line with segments B (blue) and E (purple), and the basso continuo line. The lyrics for this system are "pro- ce- dens".

spon- sus do- mi- nus

pro- ce- dens

Figure 3.35 *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* (O13): F (ordines 25-43)

The musical score for Figure 3.35 consists of two systems. The first system features a vocal line in the treble clef with a soprano staff and a basso continuo line in the bass clef. The vocal line is divided into three segments: A (red), C (green), and B (blue). The lyrics for this system are "ho- mo mis- sus a". The second system continues the vocal line with segments E (purple) and D (yellow), and the basso continuo line. The lyrics for this system are "de- o cu- i".

ho- mo mis- sus a

de- o cu- i

Figure 3.36 *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* (O13): F (ordines 68-81)

8

pa- tri et

8

fi- li- o

Figure 3.37 *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* (O24): F (ordines 26-47)

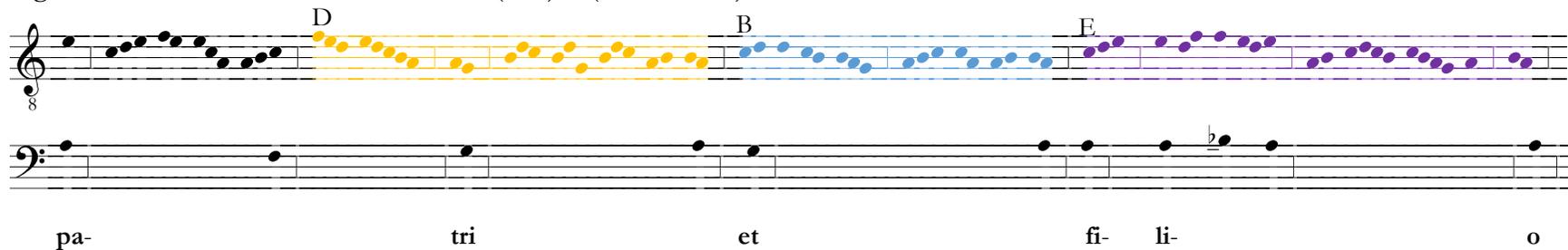
8

me- ri- ta quos pro- pri- a im- pe- di- unt

8

sce- le- ra

Figure 3.38 *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* (O24): F (ordines 124-34)



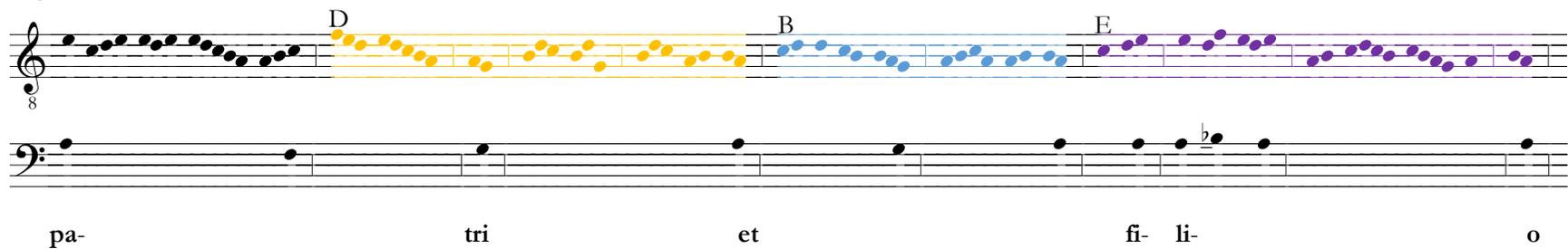
Musical score for Figure 3.38. The top staff is a treble clef with a soprano line. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a bass line. The lyrics are: pa- tri et fi- li- o. The melody in the treble staff is divided into three sections: yellow (D), blue (B), and purple (E). The bass line has a flat sign (b) under the second measure.

Figure 3.39 *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* (O25): F (ordines 21-9)



Musical score for Figure 3.39. The top staff is a treble clef with a soprano line. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a bass line. The lyrics are: ru- unt po- pu- li. The melody in the treble staff is divided into two sections: yellow (D) and purple (E). The bass line has a flat sign (b) under the second measure.

Figure 3.40 *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* (O25): F (ordines 58-68)



Musical score for Figure 3.40. The top staff is a treble clef with a soprano line. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a bass line. The lyrics are: pa- tri et fi- li- o. The melody in the treble staff is divided into three sections: yellow (D), blue (B), and purple (E). The bass line has a flat sign (b) under the second measure.

Duplum melodies are shared across the *organa* in Family III in a different way from the way they are shared between those in Families I and II because the repetitive nature of the tenor melody allows passages of *duplum* melodies to be used in different orders. In the surviving versions in F, different numbers of passages are used in a wide variety of orders and combinations. Given the extensive variety in the extant versions, it is also likely that musicians used these passages in many other combinations when singing other versions of these *organa*, sometimes using lots of these shared passages and sometimes perhaps none at all.

3.3 Conclusion

In Chapter 2, I asked how musicians created *duplum* melodies; in this chapter, I have asked how they reused them, both when singing Gloria sections and across different *organa* with related tenor melodies. This analysis has shown that sometimes musicians reused melodies and sometimes they sang different ones. These seem to have been two equally valid creative possibilities. The extant *organa* record some possibilities for reuse, but musicians probably also sang versions of the same *organa* where they reused different melodies in different ways, or perhaps reused nothing at all. This chapter has also shown the flexibility and creativity with which musicians reused melodies in various different combinations and orders, and the skill with which they altered and recreated those melodies. This might have been to accommodate small differences between tenor melodies, but in some instances seems to have been simply for variety's sake. To have been able to reuse melodies so extensively, with such variety and with such skill, musicians must have been very familiar with the chant melodies over which they sang and the relationships between different melodies.

This chapter has also shown that musicians did have melodic building blocks that they used as part of longer sections of polyphony. These were not, however, short melismas such as those in the VOI, but longer melodies. These building blocks seem to have had, at least to a certain extent, individual identities, separate from the *organa* as part of which they were sung. These individual sections of melody were then combined with other such building blocks and used alongside other melodic material to make up whole sections or whole *organa*. Reusing building blocks in this way will be discussed again in Chapter 5 where such reuse will be seen to be vital in defining different creative styles.

4. Creation and Recreation: Variety in the Extant Office *Dupla* Repertory

In this thesis so far, I have explored creation by comparing different *organum purum* melodies found in various office *organa dupla* on different chants. The creation of *organum purum* has not been explored in this way before. I will now explore the office *organa dupla* in a different way, comparing different settings of the same chant as they are recorded in the different manuscript sources. This has been done before but to very different ends. As will shortly be outlined, previous scholars have compared settings in order to ascertain which versions were earlier (probably created by Leonin) and which were later (probably created by Perotin) so that they could track in the extant repertory the process of updating ascribed to Perotin by AIV. The aim of this study is instead to use such comparison to build on the work of the previous chapters and to further understanding of how musicians created and recreated *organum purum* and *dupla* polyphony.

There are sixteen *organa* that appear in more than one of the three main manuscripts: ten are in all three manuscripts, five in just F and W2, and one in F and W1. These *organa* make up what I will term the ‘central repertory’. In using this term, I make no claim that these *organa* were definitely more important or more widely circulated than any others. The fact that more than one version of these *organa* exist is likely as much chance as anything else, related to which sources happen to have survived. The copying of *organa* into the three manuscripts under consideration here may also be related as much to liturgical interest or need, as to how these *organa* were created. The term ‘central repertory’ is used simply to mean those *organa* which survive in more than one of the three collections of office *organa dupla* under consideration here and to show therefore where it is possible to compare different surviving versions of the same *organa* within these three collections.

It is summarised in **Table 4.1**. A shaded box shows that the *organum* appears in that manuscript. Sometimes, all extant versions of an *organum* are essentially the same; sometimes, they are the same in parts, but also contain some substantial differences; and sometimes, they are almost entirely different.

Table 4.1 The Central Repertory

		W1	F	W2
O1	<i>Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote</i>			
O2	<i>Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus</i>			
O4	<i>In columbe V. Vox Domini</i>			
O5	<i>Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum</i>			
O10	<i>Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem</i>			
O11	<i>Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes</i>			
O13	<i>Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus</i>			
O16	<i>Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix</i>			
O18	<i>Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus</i>			
O22	<i>Te sanctum dominum V. Cherubin quoque ac seraphin</i>			
O24	<i>Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos</i>			
O25	<i>Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt</i>			
O26	<i>Qui sunt isti V. Candidiores nive</i>			
O28	<i>Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo</i>			
O29	<i>Regnum mundi V. Eructavit cor meum</i>			
O31	<i>Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset Iacob</i>			

4.1 Anonymous IV and Perotin's 'Updates'

The way in which previous scholars explored this variety should be considered alongside the fact that they viewed it as a modern, composed repertory that was created in writing by two named individuals. In these circumstances, the variety in the extant repertory needs somehow to be explained and it is in this that the words of AIV are useful. As discussed in the introduction, the editing he describes involved shortening pieces, replacing passages of *purum* with *discant* and providing better *clausulae*. Scholars used AIV's account as a means to determine which settings of particular passages of chant were earlier and which were more compositionally developed and explained the variety in the extant repertory in this way.

Ludwig considered the relative length of different versions of the same *organum*, looked at which versions contained more *discant*, and analysed the rhythmic complexity of that *discant*. Based on his findings, and the fact that W1 contained no motets,¹ he argued that W1 was close to Leonin's original *Magnus liber*, transmitting an old version of the repertory before it was updated; that the versions in F were more compositionally developed, the result of Perotin's updates; and that W2 was drawn from the Perotin tradition but retained much of the material that Perotin replaced.² In support of this, Ludwig also noted

¹ Whilst there are no collections of motets in W1, there are a number of pieces in fascicles 8 and 9 which are motets presented without their plainchant tenors.

² Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum*, 175. See also, Roesner's discussion of Ludwig's work in '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, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 368-70.

that the *discant* in W1 contains almost no links with motet settings, a genre he viewed as relatively modern, whereas F and W2 contain large numbers of *discant clausulae* that also appear in motets.³ He considered W2 as containing clearly the youngest version of the repertory, both because it contains French motets, but also because it has no independent *clausulae*. Ludwig saw this as evidence that by the time W2 was copied, Perotin's revision of Leonin's original repertory was complete.

Although later scholars moved away from considering the complete manuscript collections to be related in such a straightforward, linear fashion, they continued to use the criteria proposed by Ludwig to determine how the different versions of individual *organa*, sections or passages might be related chronologically. For instance, William Waite considered the series of *clausulae* in the 5th fascicle of F and argued that those in the third series were composed by Perotin to replace passages of *organum purum* and shorten the overall length of the *organa* in which they were sung (AIV's 'abbreviatio').⁴ His evidence for this was that they were short and simple and that they were settings of passages that are in *organum purum* in the associated complete *organa*. He argued that other longer and rhythmically complicated *clausulae* were also intended to be substituted into the complete *organa*, but that these were intended not to shorten but to embellish Leonin's original *organa*, sometimes extending the original setting. These were, he argued, the 'better *clausulae*' referred to by AIV. He suggested that the identification of two separate processes by which Perotin updated the *Magnus Liber Organi* of Leonin was the first step towards being able to make sense of the chronology of the different manuscripts: Perotin both shortened *organa*, by replacing passages of *organum purum* with short and simple *clausulae*, and embellished *organa*, by adding longer, rhythmically complex ones.

A similar methodology was used by Reckow who also looked for the 'abbreviation' described by AIV, but this time in passages of *organum purum* rather than *discant*. He compared *purum* melodies in different versions of the same *organum*, and in each case, he assumed that the shorter version had been abbreviated and was therefore the more modern one.⁵ Kenneth Levy examined both the *discant* and *organum purum* in a newly discovered unique setting of *Alleluia V. Felix ex fructu* in the Vatican manuscript lat. 14179, and used the same stylistic criteria as Waite and Reckow to argue that it was 'peripheral' compared to the *organa* in the three main manuscripts. Based on its style, he suggested that *Felix ex fructu* was a particularly late (c. 1250)

³ Catherine Bradley has shown that not all motets were created from pre-existing *discant clausulae* and that a number of *clausulae* may have started as motets and then been transcribed as *clausulae*. See 'Contrafacta and Transcribed Motets: Vernacular Influences on Latin Motets and Clausulae in the Florence Manuscript', *Early Music History*, 32, 2013, 1-70.

⁴ William Waite, 'The Abbreviation of the Magnus Liber', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14, 1961, 144-58. In her work on the mini *clausulae* in F, Bradley overturned Waite's assertion, pointing out that almost a third of the mini *clausulae* would have replaced passages of *discant* in the extant MLO *organa* ('Mini clausulae and the *Magnus liber organi*', 53). She also showed that it would in many cases have been problematic to substitute these mini *clausulae* into the *organa* recorded in the MLO sources at all because they use sections of tenor melody that do not necessarily correspond with section divisions within the MLO *organa*, use different tenor melodies and have text underlaid in unusual ways. She suggested instead that they were more likely excerpted by the scribe of F from a lost *organum* cycle, one other than those recorded in the MLO sources. Her work on these *clausulae*, particularly her suggestion that they are a record of an alternative creative practice to that associated with the cathedral, will be discussed in more detail on pages 270-1.

⁵ Reckow, 'Das Organum', 471-2.

example of a Parisian *organum duplum*, perhaps connected with the Dominican convent on the rue St Jacques in Paris.⁶

Roesner was the first to reconsider the stylistic criteria upon which these studies, and many others, had built their assessments of the extant repertory. He engaged directly with the chronology originally proposed by Ludwig and based on the words of AIV. He argued firstly that, just because W1 contains no motets, that does not mean that it was an earlier source, but simply that those for whom it was compiled were not interested in the genre. Secondly, he pointed out that whilst *discant* did live on in the motet when *purum* died out, not every piece of *discant* would have been created to replace a piece of *purum*. Instead the two passages could have been composed as part of different settings of the same chant, or *discant* could have been replaced with *organum purum*. He stressed that AIV's reference to 'abbreviavit' could have meant 'edited' in a more general sense, as well as shortened or abridged, and that AIV himself used the word *abbreviare* elsewhere in the treatise simply to mean 'to write down'. In support of this, he pointed out that given the 'loose syntax permitted by the sustained-tone texture and the overall flamboyance of the idiom', 'expansion by a zealous *organista* [was] as plausible as pruning by a tidy-minded editor'.⁷ He concluded, therefore, that no chronology should be constructed based on any of the stylistic traits described by AIV, and that it was likely that each of the manuscripts transmit 'a mixture of earlier and later material in combinations that are likely to vary from work to work'.⁸

In this same article, Roesner discussed the examples of 'abbreviatio' given by Reckow. There are two settings of the responsory section of *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia* in F, one copied before and one after the verse. Reckow compared, arguing that the first version was Leonin's original and the second, shorter version was Perotin's improvement on it.⁹ Roesner disagreed, stressing that this abbreviation was not necessarily evidence of the composition being 'improved', but simply the result of musicians wanting a shorter version of the responsory when singing it for a second time after the verse.¹⁰ Reckow also compared the start of the verse of *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* in F and W2 with the start of the verse in W1, suggesting that the F/W2 version was an abbreviation of the W1 version. Roesner pointed out that the melodies at the start of the verses of both versions appear elsewhere (the F/W2 melody at the start of *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* in all three manuscripts, and the W1 melody in a related form at the start of O22 in F and W2). He argued that this meant that the two versions of the *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* melody were unlikely to be related, and that the F/W2 version could not be said to be an abbreviation of the W1 version.¹¹ Roesner also tackled Reckow's examples of 'updated' modal notation, arguing that 'modal notation is something of a makeshift, imposing rhythmic implications on figures that were first and

⁶ Kenneth Levy, 'A Dominican Organum Duplum', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 27, 1974, 183-211.

⁷ Roesner, 'The Problem of Chronology', 375.

⁸ *Ibid.* 368-9.

⁹ Reckow, 'Das Organum', 471-2.

¹⁰ Roesner, 'The Problem of Chronology', 373-5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 373-4.

foremost expressions of melodic gesture'.¹² This meant that the notation of modal rhythm was unstable and that scribes were always likely to make changes to notate the melody in a more efficient and effective way than in their exemplars. He argued, therefore, there was no reason to suggest that it was more likely that an originally non-modal melody would have been recast modally, than that a modal notation of a melody would have 'decayed' into a more 'natural state'.¹³

Although Roesner persuasively deconstructed the chronologies earlier scholars had used to explain the state of the extant repertory, his work did not inspire a whole-sale rethinking of the study of this repertory and other scholars continues to construct other chronologies. For instance, Hans Tischler presented a set of musical stylistic criteria, similar to those proposed by Ludwig, by which to distinguish between earlier and later polyphony. He stressed, however, that these were not to be applied to whole *organa*, but to shorter passages within them, since *organa* were not created whole but were the result of 'cento-like reuse of large sections, phrases, and formulae in various combinations'.¹⁴ Based on his criteria, he presented a complex chronology of the repertory, suggesting which portions were composed earlier and which later.¹⁵

The words of AIV continued to determine scholastic approaches right up until the end of the twentieth century. Different versions of the office *organum Petre amas me V. Symon Iohannis* appear in the VOT and in F. Hartmut Schick compared the two. In his view, the VOT version contained only simple, immediate and formulaic repetition, and he therefore ascribed it to Leonin. He argued that, by contrast, the F version contained 'ein Netz von motivischen Korrespondenzen' ['a web of motivic correspondences'], a number of patterns that recurred across the whole piece.¹⁶ He therefore saw the F version as an update of the VOT version and he characterised it as 'Komponieren in modernen Sinne' ['composition in the modern sense'], artful, calculated and written, rather than a record of singers creating polyphony in performance, the result of which would, in his opinion, have been much less sophisticated.¹⁷

Despite these later scholars continuing to use stylistic chronologies to understand the state of the extant repertory, Roesner had convincingly argued that stylistic criteria, based on the words of AIV, cannot always be used to determine the chronological relationships between different passages of *dupla* polyphony. In essence, however, the questions Roesner addressed were (at this point) the same as those that had previously been explored. He was still thinking about the idea of 'explaining' the variety in the extant repertory, even if his argument was that it was not possible to do so, at least by using the account of AIV.

I do not seek to explain the variety in the extant repertory, to explain by what specific processes of expansion, abbreviation or substitution individual versions of particular *organa* came to be, or to ascertain which version of a particular passage came first and which was an update. Instead, I see the variety in the

¹² Roesner, 'The Problem of Chronology', 381.

¹³ *Ibid.* 382.

¹⁴ Hans Tischler, 'The Evolution of the Magnus liber organi', *Musical Quarterly*, 70, 1984, 163–74, at 166.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 171–2.

¹⁶ Schick, 'Musik wird zum Kunstwerk', 42.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 43.

extant repertory as an invitation, a lens through which it is possible to engage with creative process. Just as in Chapter 2 I explored a large number of melodies to assess the creative processes to which altogether they bear witness, here I will consider the nature of difference across the extant repertory as a whole, and will ask what that difference can reveal about the creative and recreative processes involved in the circulation of *organum purum* melodies and *duplum* polyphony.

4.2 Who ‘Made’ the Magnus Liber?

The only other work that focused on process in this way was Roesner’s later article, ‘Who “Made” the Magnus Liber?’, which almost entirely reshaped the way in which we engage with this repertory.¹⁸ I have found Roesner’s arguments extremely valuable in developing my own thinking and I will both begin with them and return to them throughout this chapter. In his article, Roesner moved away from considering the repertory to be the work of two named composers, and instead emphasised the creative and recreative role of a number of singers and scribes in its shaping. He addressed earlier scholars’ reliance on the testimony of AIV, making ‘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*’.¹⁹

He identified two creative processes involved in the circulation of *dupla* polyphony. The first was scribes making small changes in the moment of copying. A scribe might, for instance, have shortened a passage of *duplum* melody so as to end it flush with the end of the ruled stave lines, replaced one cadential gesture with another, notated the same melody with a different series of ligatures, or aligned the voices differently.²⁰

The second involved singers and led to more extensive differences between versions of the same *organum* than scribes making changes as they copied. In his analysis, he noticed that even very different versions of the same *organum* often share consonances and elements of melody. He therefore proposed that skeleton versions of pieces were circulated (either orally or in written form),²¹ including an underlying consonance structure and some details of general melodic shape. Highly skilled and creative singers would then ‘realise’ these skeleton models in performance. Different singers would realise these models in different ways, which led to the variety in the extant versions.²² He explained that skeleton outlines could be notated with different ‘degrees of specificity’²³ and that this accounts for the remarkable juxtaposition of ‘stability and instability

¹⁸ Roesner, ‘Who “Made” the Magnus Liber?’, 227-66.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 234.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 240-2.

²¹ Roesner argues that the ‘original’ models were written down but he includes within ‘written’ ‘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’ (*Ibid.* 257).

²² *Ibid.* 265.

²³ *Ibid.* 264.

with the same repertory and even within the same piece'.²⁴ In this way, he saw the extant repertory as the product of a 'developed cantorial tradition in which the singer enjoyed wide creative latitude in interpreting the music he was performing'.²⁵ He suggested that the melodic examples of the VOT are important in helping to understand how this creative latitude might have worked in practice, since they show that singers has 'a variety of approaches to the individual "composed" melodic gesture or phrase' contained within the model from which they were working. That gesture or phrase could have been 'expanded, contracted, closed off with a cadence, led seamlessly into the following phrase...' and so on, 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"'.²⁶

4.3 Reconsidering Roesner's Hypothesis

In effect then, Roesner proposed a spectrum, at one end of which prescriptive models were circulated, singers did not need to complete them in performance, the resulting performances were very similar, and this was reflected in such pieces being recorded in very similar ways in the extant manuscripts. At the other end, much less prescriptive models were circulated, singers had a great deal of creative work to do to realise these in performances, the performances were very different and very different settings of the same chant were recorded in the extant manuscripts.

I will consider Roesner's argument by considering examples from the repertory that move gradually along that spectrum, starting with melodies that are recorded in very similar ways in the extant manuscripts and then considering those that are more varied. Before I do that, however, even before considering examples from the extant repertory, there might be reasons to be cautious of Roesner's skeleton-model hypothesis. These are, at this point, theoretical, predicting what the work on creation carried out in Chapter 2 might mean for how polyphony might or might not have been circulated. They are enough to suggest, however, that a reconsideration of Roesner's model might be worthwhile. I will then explore in detail different examples from the extant repertory in order to do so.

First we must consider the likelihood of musicians circulating a skeleton model that contained just consonances and very few melodic details, given what we now know about how they created *organum purum*. There were just three consonances to choose between, and because a musician could have chosen between a unison, fifth or octave, a consonance was also never more than a few pitches away. Musicians could therefore craft *purum* melodies as they wished, needing to move towards the next consonance only in the last few notes of the melisma. This meant that the choice of consonances was not likely to have a significant effect on the shaping of the *duplum* melody. In fact, it is perhaps just as likely that a musician's melodic

²⁴ Roesner, 'Who "Made" the Magnus Liber?', 233.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 262.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 263.

choice might have influenced the consonances, as that a musician would have designed their melody in order to move it between two predetermined points of consonance. For instance, a musician might choose to repeat a pattern in a descending sequence. This would take the *duplum* melody into a different part of the range from if they had chosen to repeat the pattern on the same pitches and to develop it in the same range. The choice to use a sequence would then inform the consonance that would come at the end of that melisma, since the *duplum* would be lower and closer to the tenor voice as it approached the cadence.

Furthermore, as explored in Chapter 2, *organum purum* melodies were often elaborate and complicated. Musicians used repetition, development, sequence, and the pairing or balancing of phrases to craft melodies in a large number of different ways. The creative energy in *organum purum* was very much in its melodic detail. In fact, elsewhere Roesner himself stresses the importance of surface level melodic play, saying that the ‘style of *organum purum* is characterised by the development and variation of small melodic cells and larger melodic sequences.’²⁷ In this context, it is unlikely that a musician would want to circulate just a skeleton outline of consonances, or see any value in doing so, since that skeleton would contain none of the *duplum* melodies that are the very essence of *organum purum*. Roesner’s emphasis on underlying structure and verticality could perhaps be viewed as a result of modern ways of thinking being applied to *organum purum* without recognising the true importance of melody in this kind of polyphony.

One possibility is that a skeleton model could have been transmitted as part of a ‘complete’ passage of polyphony. A singer could then ‘extract’ a pattern of consonances from such a passage and elaborate them differently. There are certainly instances (as I will discuss²⁸) in which singers varied *duplum* melodies in relatively extensive ways. Reducing a passage of polyphony to its consonances then to elaborate it differently, however, still puts the vertical before the horizontal in the same way Roesner does by proposing the transmission of skeleton models by themselves. The question remains why singers would have valued a series of consonances in such a way as to strive to maintain them when creating different melodies and whether they would really have allowed a need to move between two existing points of consonance to guide their creative decisions about melody.

Seen in the light of the analysis carried out so far in this thesis then, there are reasons why Roesner’s skeleton-model hypothesis may need reconsidering. I will now do so by comparing examples from the extant office *dupla*, starting with those where melodies are recorded in almost exactly the same way in different settings of the same chant and then looking at melodies that are more varied.

²⁷ Roesner, ‘The Problem of Chronology’, 375.

²⁸ See pages 157-8.

Before considering melodic examples, there are two points that must be made. The first is that not all variety would have been the result of deliberate or conscious choice. Based on surviving evidence, musicians did not have regular access to written polyphony and it is unlikely that they used notated music in performance.²⁹ Whilst it is possible that sometimes singers reproduced melodies they had notated in front of them, it is also possible that sometimes they reproduced melodies held in their heads. It is also possible that sometimes they recreated melodies. This might have involved the deliberate alteration of either notated or memorised music. This recreation might also have involved subconscious variation, however. As previously discussed, Trietler has argued that singers recreated chant melodies they had memorised, rather than reproduced them.³⁰ They did this with the help of an internalised knowledge of the systems that had supported the creation of those melodies in the first place. The melodies that resulted from such recreation might have been slightly different from the 'original' versions. Singers' recreation of *duplum* melodies might similarly have been supported by an understanding of the idioms that had previously supported the creation of those melodies. In these circumstances, similar unconscious variation could have occurred.

The second is that although there are, at most, three surviving *duplum* melodies that elaborate the same passage of tenor melody, this is not to say that the same melodies were not sung in lots of other ways as well. Close comparison of different versions of the same melody is a very useful tool and in many cases, I will argue that one version seems to be an adapted form of another (although it is usually impossible to tell which melody is the 'original' and which the adapted version). In this, I do not assume, however, that one melody is based directly on the exact form of another. It might have been based on something similar; it may have been recreated several times; there may have been several different versions of the same melody, some which were closer to one surviving version and some that were closer to another.

²⁹ See discussion on pages 16-18.

³⁰ See discussion on page 27-30.

4.4. Different Versions of ‘the Same’ Melody

In the extant repertory, there are a good number of melodies that are recorded in almost exactly the same way in the different manuscripts, save for small differences of notation and differences between individual pitches and uses of repeated notes. It is unlikely that skeleton models were involved in the circulation of such melodies. It is more likely that they were circulated in a complete and fairly fixed form. An example of such a melody can be seen in **Figure 4.1** from *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum*. It is a parallel transcription of a passage from the start of the verse of the *organum* in W1, F and W2. The *duplum* melodies are essentially the same passage throughout, with just very small differences between them. Some are notational, relating to ligature patterns, *ordo* division, or use of plicas. These are marked in purple. Such differences are to be expected since there was no fixed way of notating this kind of music and each scribe had their own methods. There are also melodic differences, such as the addition or removal or repeated notes or the alteration of individual pitches. These are marked in red.

Figure 4.1 *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): W1 (*ordines* 16-36), F (*ordines* 16-37) and W2 (*ordines* 16-34)

The figure displays three systems of musical notation for the vocal parts W1, F, and W2, along with a bass line. Each system consists of four staves: W1 (soprano), F (alto), W2 (tenor), and a bass line. The lyrics are: "Ga-", "bri- e- lem ar- chan-", and "ge- lum".

System 1: The vocal parts begin with a melodic line. W1 and W2 have red highlights on the first few notes, while F has purple highlights. The bass line has a single note.

System 2: The vocal parts continue their melodic lines. W1 and W2 have red highlights, while F has purple highlights. The bass line has several notes.

System 3: The vocal parts conclude their melodic lines. W1 and W2 have purple highlights, while F has red highlights. The bass line has several notes.

There are slightly more extensive differences between the melodies in **Figure 4.4** from *In columbe V. Vox domini* in F and W2. Both melodies begin and end in the same way but are quite different in the bracketed passage. Both melodies descend an octave, but the F melody does so slowly, oscillating up and down, and the W2 melody moves through an octave by step, descending much more quickly.

Figure 4.4 *In columbe V. Vox domini* (O4): F (*ordines* 39-44) and W2 (*ordines* 43-6)

The figure displays a musical score for the piece *In columbe V. Vox domini*. It consists of three staves. The top staff is labeled 'F' and the middle staff is labeled 'W2'. Both are in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains the lyrics 'do- mi- nus' aligned with the notes. A bracket above the F staff highlights a specific passage where the melody oscillates between notes, while the W2 staff shows a more direct, stepwise descent through an octave in the corresponding passage.

There are similar differences at the start of the melodies in **Figure 4.5** *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* in F and W2. In the bracketed passage, the F melody ascends from c to e, uses pattern X, then descends a fifth from e to a by step. The W2 melody begins with the same ascent from c to e, but does not use pattern X. It then also descends a fifth but using a triad rather than a scale. In both this and the previous example, it seems that musicians have replaced one melody with another that follows the same shape but differs in its detail.

Figure 4.5 *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* (O25): F (*ordines* 58-62) and W2 (*ordines* 61-5)

The figure displays a musical score for the piece *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt*. It consists of three staves. The top staff is labeled 'F' and the middle staff is labeled 'W2'. Both are in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains the lyrics 'pa- tri' aligned with the notes. A bracket above the F staff highlights a passage where the melody ascends from c to e, uses a specific pattern (X), and then descends a fifth. The W2 staff follows a similar overall shape but uses a triad for the descent instead of a scale.

The melodies in **Figure 4.6** from *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset* in F and W2 relate in a similar way, but they differ more than the examples discussed so far. At ‘A’, both melodies follow exactly the same shape, oscillating up and down a third, but the F melody leaps down a third, and then ascends by step, and the W2 melody leaps both up and down. The W2 melody then continues with another *ordo* which features leaps of a third that does not appear in the F melody (‘B’). It is a shortened repeat of the *ordo* at ‘A’, but with the final descent a step higher. Overall, the creator(s) of the W2 melody made a much greater feature of third leaps than the creator(s) of the F melody. Perhaps the creator(s) of the F melody preferred something shorter and more simple, or perhaps the creator(s) of the W2 melody wanted to exploit what they found to be an appealing melodic pattern more, by repeating and developing it.

Figure 4.6 *Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset* (O31): F (*ordines* 25-8) and W2 (*ordines* 25-8)

The figure displays three musical staves. The top staff, labeled 'F', is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with two brackets above it labeled 'A' and 'B'. The second staff, labeled 'W2', is also in treble clef and shows a similar melodic line. The third staff is a bass clef staff containing three notes. A small '8' is positioned below the first two staves.

[Cum-]

[quas]

There are even more substantial differences between the melodies shown in **Figure 4.7** from *Te sanctum dominum* V. *Cherubin quoque ac seraphin* in F and W2. Like those discussed far, however, the two melodies follow the same shape throughout and there are, as well as differences, considerable passages which are exactly the same. At ‘A’, pattern X is used in both melodies but starts a step lower in W2. Pattern X is then used twice more in the F melody (at ‘B’ and ‘C’). In the same places, simple scalic descents are used in the W2 melody. It is possible that either the creator(s) of the F melody wanted something more decorative so they added pattern X, or that the creator(s) of the W2 melody wanted something shorter and more straightforward so they removed pattern X. In either case, there seems to be one creative impulse driving the recreation of this extended passage of melody: either the desire to make it more decorative, or to simplify it, by removing the oscillations that are part of pattern X.

Figure 4.7 *Te sanctum dominum* V. *Cherubin quoque ac seraphin* (O22): F (ordines 16-22) W2 (ordines 15-21)

The figure displays a musical score for the passage 'Cherubin quoque ac seraphin'. It consists of three staves. The top two staves are in treble clef and marked with a '8' below them, representing the F and W2 versions of the melody. The F staff features three distinct sections labeled 'A', 'B', and 'C' with brackets above the notes. Section 'A' shows a melodic oscillation. Section 'B' shows a similar oscillation. Section 'C' also shows an oscillation. The W2 staff follows the same general contour but replaces these oscillations with simpler, more direct descents. The bottom staff is a bass clef staff with the lyrics: [Che-] ru- bin. The notes in the bass staff are aligned with the corresponding notes in the upper staves.

A final example where there are extensive differences between melodies can be seen in **Figure 4.8** from *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* in W1 and F. The melodies in the first half of the passage (on ‘super aquas’) are almost the same with some differences at the cadence at ‘A’. The second half of the passage (on ‘deus’) is markedly different, however. At ‘B’, an *ordo* that rises quickly through a seventh appears in W1. The F melody does not contain this *ordo* and simply jumps up a seventh. A direct leap of a seventh like this is unusual in *organum purum*. Perhaps, therefore, the musicians behind the W1 melody wanted to fill it in. There is nothing to say, however, that those who sang the F melody did not remove the ascent in the W1 melody for some reason. The two *ordines* at ‘C’ begin in the same way, but the change of tenor note at the end of ‘C’ is marked with a cadential, repeated-note pattern in the F melody which does not appear in W1. At ‘D’, the W1 melody is longer than the F melody. Both *ordines* begin in a similar way, but the W1 melody oscillates just a third d-b-d and the F melody oscillates a fifth d-G-d. Both then continue with a descending fourth scale. The W1 melody repeats the same b-d-b-d oscillation before descending again. The F melody does not repeat the oscillation and just contains the descending scale. The two passages cadence in a similar way (‘E’). Apart from differences at the beginnings and ends of the passage on ‘super aquas’ and ‘deus’, the largest difference

between these two melodies is at 'D'. This difference is similar to that seen in the previous examples, since it seems to have been born of one musician or group of musicians preferring a simpler melody and another preferring to use more repetition to create a more elaborate melody.

Figure 4.8 *In columbe V. Vox domini* (O4): W1 (*ordines* 21-31) and F (*ordines* 20-9)

The figure displays two musical examples, W1 and F, for the chant 'In columbe V. Vox domini'. Each example consists of three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a lower vocal line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the staves.

Example 1 (W1 and F):

- W1:** The melody is marked with a bracket 'A' over the final phrase.
- F:** The melody is identical to W1.
- Lyrics:** su- per a- quas

Example 2 (W1 and F):

- W1:** The melody is marked with brackets 'B', 'C', 'D', and 'E' over different phrases.
- F:** The melody is identical to W1.
- Lyrics:** de- us

In this final example, the melodies vary considerably. As in all the examples presented here, however, there are still considerable portions of these melodies that are exactly the same, and where they differ, they still follow the same shape. In some of these examples, the melodies also use the same melodic pattern but in a different way, repeating it more extensively or removing that repetition. It is these three things which question the appropriateness of Roesner's skeleton-model hypothesis to these melodies. If these melodies were different realisations of the same consonance skeleton, we might expect more difference between them. Instead, even where they differ they follow the same shape and often use the same melodic ideas. It is more likely therefore that these melodies were circulated whole and complete and then varied and recreated. This is supported by the question I raised earlier: whether musicians would really have circulated models that did not include melodies, since these were the very essence of *organum purum*.

The examples discussed show melodies that are by no means the most varied in the extant manuscripts. There are many instances in which settings of the same chant contain melodies that are much more varied

than these. Admittedly, Roesner does not seek to apply his skeleton-model hypothesis to such examples. The amount of variation between versions would make this impossible. Clearly, something else is going on here. I will return to such examples shortly, but it is important first to pause at this point and to take stock, before moving any further along the spectrum towards those melodies that are more varied.

The examples discussed so far show that, as Roesner suggested, creation and recreation were involved in the circulation of *organum purum* melodies and *dupla* polyphony. I have suggested, however, that musicians were not creative in realising skeleton models, but because they enjoyed crafting and recrafting *organum purum* and singing the same melody in different ways. It was not just skeleton models of consonances with some melodic details that were being circulated in these cases but whole and complete melodies. This is supported by the work carried out in Chapter 2, which showed that the creative energy of this music is in its melody, and that, by contrast, the vertical sonorities are not of particular interest. Musicians would, therefore, unlikely have seen the value in circulating a skeleton model.

4.5 A Recreative System

The question now is, if skeleton models were not involved in the circulation of these melodies, is there anything that can be said about the circulation of *organum purum* based on the close melodic comparison I have presented here so far. The answer to this comes in considering not just the differences between individual melodies, but in considering the nature of difference across all of the examples. In Chapter 2, I argued that considering and comparing how lots of different *organum purum* melodies were created reveals that musicians shared a system that supported their creation. Here, I would argue similarly that this chapter's consideration of variety across a number of different melodies reveals that musicians not only had a system for creating *organum purum*, but also for recreating it.

These examples have shown that musicians might simply have added or removed whole *ordines* or melodic patterns. They might also have shortened a melody by 'summarising' its melodic shape. This might have involved removing part of a pattern that repeats, or using leaps rather than scales, or by removing oscillations and repeated notes. Conversely, they might have elaborated a melody by filling in intervals, repeating individual patterns, or adding decorative oscillations. It also seems that sometimes a musician's recreation of a number of *ordines* was informed by the same creative desire or melodic idea. They might, for instance, have decided to make particular use of thirds across a number of *ordines*, or to use pattern X a number of times. Equally, they might have decided that they preferred a melody without so many thirds, or one with simple scales rather than pattern X.

The *duplum* melodies at the start of the responsory sections of *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* in F and W2 also differ (Figure 4.13). The *duplum* in F circles around the opening D-d octave consonance, then quickly descends to a new C-G consonance on the second tenor note. In W2, the *duplum* oscillates between d and a over the tenor D for longer before reaching the C-G consonance. The two passages then continue in the same way (bracketed).

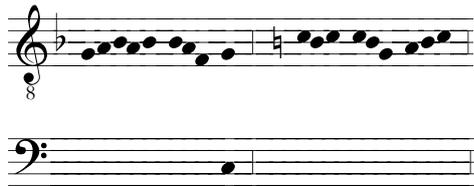
Figure 4.13 *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* (O25): F (*ordines* 1-5) and W2 (*ordines* 1-6)

The figure displays three musical staves. The top two staves, labeled 'F' and 'W2', are in treble clef with a 6/8 time signature. The 'F' staff shows a melodic line starting on D4, moving to C4, and then continuing. The 'W2' staff shows a similar melodic line but with a longer oscillation between D4 and A4 before reaching C4. A bracketed section in both staves indicates a common melodic passage. The bottom staff is in bass clef and shows the tenor line with notes corresponding to the lyrics 'Ex e- ius'.

These and other examples like then suggest that even when a melodies was otherwise circulated in a fairly fixed form, musicians still altered and replaced the opening *ordines*. In these cases, musicians did not recreate melodies in the same ways as previously discussed. They were not altering what was essentially the same melody, by adding or removing pattern X from a scale, or by adding or removing repetition of a pattern. The result melodies are more different than what we would expect if this were the case. Musicians simply sang different opening melodies. This means that even where there is a passage that has a very different melody at the opening, this is not necessarily because they are different realisations of the same shared skeleton outline, but the result of the widespread practice of musicians replacing one opening melody with another.

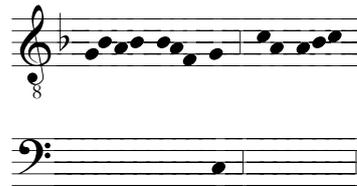
As well as making substantial changes to opening melodies, musicians also regularly varied the final *ordines* of melodies that were otherwise the same. This sometimes involved replacing one short cadential pattern with another. This can be seen at the end of the verse of *In columbe V. Vox domini* in the F and W2 (**Figures 4.14** and **4.15**). The melody in F uses pattern X and then rises by step onto the final consonance. The melody in W2 is shorter and simpler and does not use pattern X.

Figure 4.14 *In columbe V. Vox domini* (O4):
F (*ordines* 52-3)



[multas]

Figure 4.15 *In columbe V. Vox domini* (O4):
W2 (*ordines* 55-6)



[multas]

Musicians also sometimes added or omitted individual *ordines* at a cadence points. There is also an example of this in *In columbe V. Vox domini* (**Figure 4.16**). The bracketed *ordo* appears in the F melody, but not in W2.

Figure 4.16 *In columbe V. Vox domini super* (O4): F (*ordines* 124-8) and W2 (*ordines* 114-7)

[pa-]

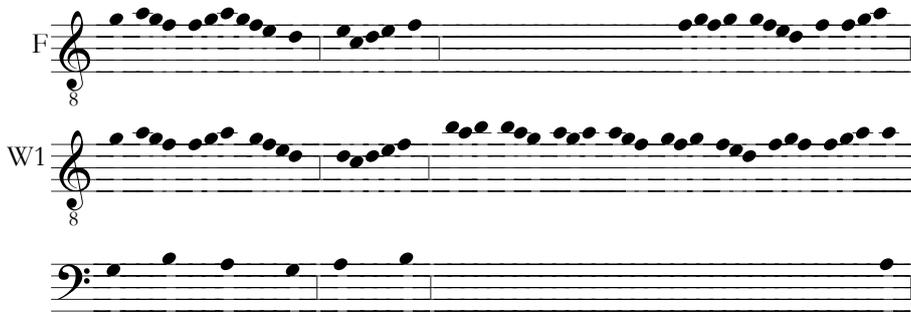
tri

et

fi- [lio]

Sometimes, longer patterns were exchanged, such as at the end of the F and W1 verses of *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* (Figure 4.17). The F verse ends with a cadential version of pattern X. The equivalent *ordo* in W1 is much longer and uses X in a descending sequence.

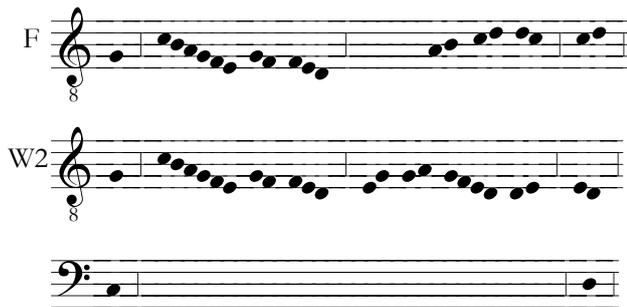
Figure 4.17 *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): F (ordines 111-3) and W1 (ordines 104-6)



[natum]

Musicians mostly exchanged patterns that followed the same shape and ended on the same final consonance. However, the responsories of *Te sanctum dominum V. Cherubin quoque ac seraphin* end on different final consonances in F and W2 (Figure 4.18). Both end with standard repeated-note cadential patterns, but in F the *duplum* rises to an octave consonance in the final *ordo*, and in W2 it stays at a unison.

Figure 4.18 *Te sanctum dominum V. Cherubin quoque ac seraphin* (O22): F (ordines 11-14) and W2 (ordines 10-13)



[do-]mi-

num

These examples show that a very important part of the recreative system shared by musicians was the potential for melodies to be altered at the openings and closings of sections and passages. Even passages that are otherwise exactly the same were varied in this way. This should caution us against ever assuming that a passage was only sung in one particular, fixed way, even if it is recorded in the same way in all three extant sources. This kind of recreation at the start of a section could be quite extensive. If its start was recreated in this way, therefore, a melody at the beginning of a section could have ended up being sung in very different ways. The potential for melodies to be considerably altered at the beginning of a section will be important in the following discussion of one of the examples Roesner gives in support of his hypothesis.

I have now argued that it is unlikely that musicians would have seen any value in circulating skeleton models of consonances. My comparison of melodies in the extant *organa* has also shown that many melodies were likely circulated whole and complete, and that (sometimes quite extensive) differences between them were a result of musicians varying them, rather than differently realising skeleton models. Before considering melodies that are more varied than those discussed so far, I will engage directly with one of Roesner's examples that he gives in evidence of his skeleton-model hypothesis, one which can arguably be considered on the same terms as the examples I have presented so far.

4.5.2 Roesner's First Example

One of Roesner's examples is the six responsory sections in *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* and *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* across the three manuscripts.³¹ As discussed in Chapter 2, these two chant melodies are closely related and *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* in W2 is a *contrafactum* of the W2 setting of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem*.³² This means that there are really only five passages of *duplum* melody under consideration here: two from W1, two from F, and both passages from W2 together.

The melodies in F and W2 are all very similar. A parallel transcription of them can be seen in **Figure 4.19**. After the opening *ordines*, the F and W2 melodies all cadence in the same way at 'A'. After this point, there are only small differences between three passages. The cadence is slightly longer in the F passages than in W2 at 'B'. At 'C', a cadential version of pattern X is used in the *Dum complerentur* melody in F and in both W2 melodies. At the same point in *Non conturbetur* melody in F, there is a shorter and simpler pattern which follows the same shape. At the start of 'D', all three passages use a falling triad e-c-a. This fifth descent is then repeated by step, as part of pattern X in the *Dum complerentur* melody in F and the two melodies in W2. There is no repetition in the *Non conturbetur* melody in F.

Roesner considered these melodies to be different realisations of the same skeleton model, but there are lots of reasons why this is not the case. As discussed above, considerable portions of these melodies are identical, and where they are not, the melodies all follow the same shape. The differences between them

³¹ Roesner's transcriptions of these passages can be found in 'Who "Made" the Magnus Liber?', 249-59.

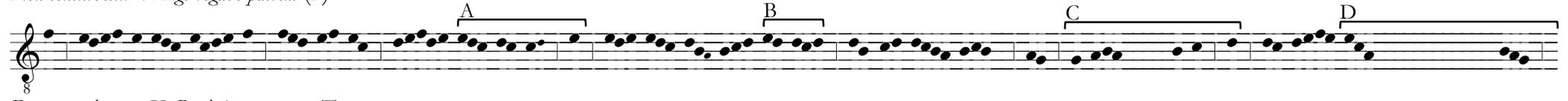
³² See pages 116-8.

are also exactly what would have resulted if a melody had been varied according to the system of recreation outlined earlier in the chapter. The recreation at 'B' comes at the end of a phrase, and, as discussed, musicians were particularly likely to recreated melodies at cadence points. At 'C', there is the kind of 'summarising' or elaborating that was seen a number of times in the examples discussed earlier. Either the *Non conturbetur* melody in F is a simpler 'summary' of the other melodies without pattern X, or the *Dum complerentur* melody in F and both W2 melodies are an elaboration of it. The melodies relate in the same way at 'D'. The *Non conturbetur* melody in F is shorter and simpler without the use of pattern X that appears in the other melodies. These melodies have therefore been recreated in a consistent way. Either the creator(s) of *Non conturbetur* melody in F preferred something simpler and shorter, or the creator(s) of the other melodies preferred something more elaborate, with a particular preference for pattern X.

This just leaves the very opening of these melodies, where there are more extensive differences. As has already been discussed, musicians regularly replaced the opening *ordines* of melodies that were otherwise the same. This is what has happened here. The melodies differ up to the end of the first word of the chant and then continue in the same way. Even though these melodies are therefore quite different in places, there is no reason to see them as based on the same skeleton model. They are instead different versions of the same whole and complete melody.

Figure 4.19 The responsory sections of *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* and *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* in F and W2

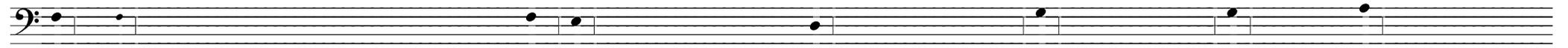
Non conturbetur V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (F)



Dum complerentur V. *Repleti sunt omnes* (F)



Non conturbetur V. *Ego rogabo patrem* and *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* (W2)



Non		con-	tur-	be-	[tur]
Dum		com-	ple-	ren-	[tur]

4.6 Very Different Melodies

In this chapter, I have been moving along a spectrum from melodies that are very similar towards those that are more different from each other. At the point I have now reached on the spectrum, melodies do not continue gradually to become more varied. Instead, there is a gap, a leap much closer to the other end of the spectrum, to melodies that are very different from each other. Some of these share no melodic detail at all; others share just individual patterns or underlying melodic shapes. There are no melodies that sit on the spectrum between those I have already discussed and those that are very different from each other. There are two distinct groups of melodies: in one, the melodies follow the same shape and share lots of melodic detail, and in the other, the melodies are very different from each other and may share no melodic details at all.

I will consider melodies in that second group now. This time I will begin with those Roesner used in support of this skeleton-model hypothesis and I will then discuss other examples from the extant repertory.

4.6.1 Roesner's Other Examples

Alongside the *duplum* melodies from the responsories *Non conturbetur* and *Dum complerentur* in F and W2 that I have just discussed, Roesner also considered the W1 melodies. The five different melodies (including just one from W2, because the other is a *contrafactum*) are presented in parallel in **Figure 4.20**. Roesner's argument was that not only were all the F and W2 melodies based on the same skeleton model, but that also the W1 melodies were based on that model too.

Mostly, all these melodies form the same consonances with the tenor, apart from the *Dum complerentur* melody in W1 at the end of 'C' and 'D'. At 'C', that melody remains higher than the others and forms a fifth consonance rather than a unison. It then descends as the other melodies rise to form a unison at the end of 'D'. Aside from this, the only difference in the consonances formed by these melodies is that both the W1 melodies end higher than those in F and W2 (at 'F').

As well as shared consonances, there are also moments where melodic details are shared between the two W1 melodies, as well as between the W1 melodies and those in F and W2. For instance, at the end of 'A', the *Dum complerentur* melody in W1 uses a similar cadence pattern to the F and W2 melodies, and both W1 melodies use a rising fourth (g-c-d) at the end of passage 'B'. At 'D', the *Non conturbetur* melody in W1 follows the same rising shape as all the F and W2 melodies and is particularly similar to the melody of *Non conturbetur* in F. A descending triad (e-c-A) appears in *Dum complerentur* in W1 and all the F and W2 melodies at 'E'. Finally, the two W1 melodies both finish in the same way (at 'F').

The W1 melodies do then share consonances and some elements of melodic detail both with each other and with the melodies in F and W2. It was this sharing upon which Roesner based his skeleton-model

hypothesis. Before it can be considered definite evidence of a shared skeleton model, however, the nature of the similarity and difference between these melodies needs to be considered more closely.

At ‘A’, all the melodies follow the same shape. They begin at an octave consonance (F-f), then the range is gradually expanded downwards, with the melody returning to f a number of times. At some point, each melody reaches a fifth above the tenor (F-c); some then oscillate between this fifth consonance and the octave above it; then all of them move onto an octave consonance with the second tenor note, E. Here, the analysis carried out in Chapter 2 becomes important. It showed that where sections begin at an octave F-f consonance, *duplum* melodies tend to behave in the same way.³³ All the melodies in Roesner’s example behave in this way too. What is being shared here is not, therefore, a skeleton model of consonances and melodic shape that was specific to these *organa*, but a melodic procedure that supported the creation of *organum purum* melodies more generally. The musicians who crafted these opening phrases shared ways of beginning sections when the first two tenor notes were F and E. This is the reason these melodies are similar. It is not because they were based on the same skeleton model.

In these opening phrases (‘A’), there are also some more specific details shared between the different melodies, as well as overall melodic shape. The first is the descent f-e-c, which appears *Non conturbetur* melodies in W1 and F (circled). This descent with a falling third is used regularly across the repertory, particularly between f and c, and particularly, though not exclusively, in opening melodies such as these. The second moment of melodic similarity comes at the cadence, where the *Dum complerentur* melody in W1 and all the F and W2 melodies used a similar repeated-note cadential pattern before rising a third to the E-e octave consonance. Again, these patterns are used in this way in many *purum* melodies. Repeated-note patterns are most likely to appear at the bottom of descents and E-e octave consonances are regularly approached with a stepwise rising third from c to e. Both of these shared melodic details could therefore have been the result of the creation of these melodies being supported by the same idiom, one in which musicians used particular melodic patterns at certain points in the phrase and when melodies were moving in certain directions and on certain pitches.

At ‘B’ and ‘C’, there are no melodic details shared by the F and W2 melody and the W1 melodies but there is a rising fourth that appears at the end of ‘B’ in both the W1 melodies. This might be a result of the creator(s) of one knowing the other. They might either then have made a deliberate choice to use the same pattern or the same pattern might have suggested itself to them subconsciously. It should also be born in mind that lots of *purum* melodies use rising fourths into cadences and that they are used particularly when the final *duplum* note of that melisma will be d.

From ‘C’ to the end, all of the melodies follow the same, apart from the *Dum complerentur* melody in W1 at the end of ‘C’. This is not a surprise, however, given how musicians moved their *organum purum* melodies through melodic space and balanced movement up and down. All of the melodies at ‘A’ stay within a limited

³³ See page 85.

range and they all ascend into the final consonance. Then they all descend at 'B' to balance this ascending motion and to take them into a new melodic range not explored so far, maintaining melodic variety. After this initial descent at 'B', these melodies balance movement up and down: rising at the end of 'B', falling at 'C', rising at 'D', and falling at 'E'. The F and W2 melodies then jump up and repeat this descent at 'F', whereas the W1 melodies simply ascend and stay in a higher range. In the *Dum compleretur* melody in W1, this movement up and down is reversed. At 'C', the melody rises further than the others, and then stays in a higher range. It then descends at 'D', where the other melodies ascend.

The importance of negotiating melodic space carefully in *organum purum* melodies was discussed in Chapter 2. *Purum* melodies stay in a limited range, since they rarely move higher than an octave above the tenor or cross over underneath it. Musicians had various ways of using the melodic space available to them. Sometimes they used larger intervals to open up melodic space, but where their melodies moved mostly by step, as here, they carefully balanced movement up and down. The F and W2 melodies and the W1 melodies could feasibly therefore have been conceived entirely separately from each other, but according to the same principles of melodic creation. This could have led to them sharing consonances and melodic shape in this way, without this being the result of them sharing a skeleton model.

As well as this shared melodic shape, there are then two moments of shared melodic detail to consider. The first is at 'D'. Here, all of the melodies apart from *Dum compleretur* in W1 move quickly up a fifth by step from **G** to **d** over repeating Gs in the tenor. In *purum* melodies, a consonance tends never to be repeated and long melismas are rarely sung over repeating tenor notes in the middle of sections. Therefore, when singing a melody over these repeating tenor **G**s, a musician would most likely craft a short melisma that would nevertheless take him to a new consonance. In these circumstances, rising a fifth is really the only option, since very rarely do *duplum* melodies ascend an octave in one melisma. This means that the appearance of short melismas that rise a fifth in all of these passages might be simply the result of musicians crafting melodies according to the same set of melodic principles.

These fifth ascents are decorated in two ways: either with two ascending scales (the *Non conturbetur* melody in W1 and F) or pattern X (the *Dum compleretur* melody in F and both melodies in W2). The similarity between the W1 and F *Non conturbetur* melodies are of particular interest here. In *purum* melodies, cadences are regularly approached with stepwise ascents of a third and one way in which musicians regularly decorated ascending scales was to repeat part of that ascent, as here. These melodies might not be related, therefore, but simply made in the same way.

The other shared melodic detail is the descending triad at 'E' (e-c-A) that appears in all but the *Non conturbetur* melody in W1. There are two things to note here: first that this is by far the most common triad used in *organum purum* melodies, and the second is that it most often appears after pattern X (as in the *Dum compleretur* melody in W1) or after a rise to f and then a repeated e (the F and W2 melodies). Again then, these are likely unrelated melodies, made according to the same creative idiom, rather than two different realisations of the same skeleton model, given that they are otherwise very different.

The final similarity comes between the two W1 melodies at 'F'. As discussed, this could have been the result of their creator(s) knowing both melodies and this informing their creation.

Roesner chose these melodies to support his hypothesis because they share some consonances and some details of melodic shape, but otherwise they are very different. If these melodies are considered in the light of the work presented in Chapter 2, however, this is revealed to be not the result of the different melodies sharing a shared skeleton model, but of musicians sharing a creative idiom. In this particular case, a skeleton model supporting the circulation of all of these melodies would have contained very little information at all: just some consonances and some very small melodic details. In polyphony which is so much about melody, Roesner strips almost all melody away, reducing different versions of the same passage in a particular *organum* to a set of vertical consonances, in order for them to be at some level 'the same'. There is no need to insist that these passages shared a model of any kind, however. The similarities between them are simply the result of them being created over the same set of tenor pitches, and according to the same principles of melodic creation (according to the same idiom).

Roesner's other example can be considered in these terms as well. He chose the melodies from the *Alleluia V. Posui adiutorium* in W1, F and W2. Alongside this he considered the equivalent melody from *Alleluia V. Adorabo ad templum* in W2, a *contrafactum* of the same melody from *Posui adiutorium* with a truncated ending. The four passages are shown in **Figure 4.21**. The three *Posui adiutorium* melodies are on the top three lines (W1, F then W2), and the *Adorabo ad templum* melody from W2 is at the bottom.³⁴ There are just small differences between the melodies in F and W2, but the W1 melody (the top line) is quite different. Roesner described it as an 'encapsulated' form of the others, 'a less elaborate version of the duplum'.³⁵ He considered the melodies in F and W2 and the melody in W1 to be 'two different workings out of the same melodic harmonic strategy', in other words of the same skeleton model.

All of these melodies do form the same consonances with the tenor and they follow the same melodic shape. However, this does not have to be because they shared a skeleton model: instead it may be the result of the three melodies being crafted according to the same melodic principles.

The first consonance formed by each melody is a G-g octave. Following this, all three melodies descend. This makes melodic sense, for three reasons: first, it is rare for there to be an interval of greater than an octave between the two voices; second, the *duplum* is relatively high in the range at this point; and third, the *duplum* ascends at the end of the preceding passage (not transcribed here) before arriving at this G-g consonance. This ascending motion is likely to be balanced by descending motion.

All the passages then leap up a fourth. This opens up melodic space which the *duplum* can then explore. As seen in Chapter 2, rising intervals are used in this way across the repertory. Leaps of a fourth are particularly common after a phrase that ends on a fifth consonance (as here), since the *duplum* is simply leaping to form an octave consonance with the same tenor note.

Following this, all three melodies move down a fifth from a to d, forming a fifth consonance with the tenor G. Roesner argued that, at 'A', the shorter W1 melisma is a 'summary of the melodic profile' of the F/W2 melismas. He considered the two melismas to be based on the same underlying consonance structure but stressed that the W1 melisma was not 'fleshed out and embellished through the introduction of a stock color' (pattern X in sequence) in the same way as the melodies in F and W2.³⁶

As discussed in Chapter 2, however, large intervals in one direction are almost without exception balanced by movement in the other direction.³⁷ It is therefore to be expected that, having leapt up a fourth, all the melodies would then descend - as they do here. It is arguable therefore that these opening phrases are simply different melodies that share some elements because they are created over the same tenor melody and according to the same idiomatic principles of melodic contour.

³⁴ Roesner's transcriptions of *Alleluia V. Posui adiutorium* & *Alleluia V. Adorabo ad templum* can be found in 'Who "Made" the Magnus Liber?', 242.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 245.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 245-6.

³⁷ See section beginning page 54.

Roesner also pointed out a shared melodic shape at letter ‘B’: motion to a high note, a descent of nearly an octave, and then an ascent leading to the next consonance.³⁸ In *orgnum purum* melodies, ascending and descending motion are carefully balanced. Given that in all three melodies the previous melisma descended, it is to be expected that in all three the next melisma (at ‘B’) would begin by rising.

In all three melodies, this initial ascent is followed by a fast descent. Up until this point, all three melodies stay within the same narrow melodic range. These fast descents take the melodies into a new melodic range, generating variety. Fast descents are used in this way across the repertory, and, as here, such a descent would almost always be balanced by an ascent. This means that all the melodies finish at ‘B’ by rising and end on the same G-d consonance.

The tenor melody in this passage ends with two repeated Gs. All three melodies move up a fourth from a G-d- fifth consonance, to a G-g octave. As already discussed, rarely in *purum* melodies does a *duplum* melody repeat the same consonance. Also, by far the majority of main sections end with an octave consonance, and *duplum* melodies often ascend from a fifth consonance to end the section on an octave.

In this way, if these passages are considered in light of the creative idiom outlined in Chapter 2, it seems that the F and W2 melodies and the W1 melody do not have to be regarded as different realisations of the same skeleton model. Instead, the W1 melody could be unrelated and only share consonances and some elements of melodic shape with the F/W2 melodies because its creation was supported by the same set of melodic and polyphonic principles.

³⁸ Roesner, ‘Who “Made” the Magnus Liber?’, 246.

4.6.2 *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt*

The melodies Roesner chooses mostly fit into the second group of melodies outlined earlier in this chapter: those that are unrelated and which shared some elements because their creation was supported by the same idiom. There are many more melodies like this in the extant office *dupla*, some of which, unlike Roesner's example melodies, do not even form many of the same consonances with the tenor. An example of this is the melodies from the start of the verse of *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt* in W1 and W2 (**Figure 4.22**). (The F version is almost the same as the W2 versions but there are slight differences in the tenor melody.) The melodies on 'Catervatim' form only three of same consonances with the tenor out of nine. These include the very first consonance and almost all sections that begin with a tenor a start with a unison consonance.

The melodies on 'ruunt' form more of the same consonances. Three out of four are the same. This is not necessarily a surprise, however, since both melodies rise at the end of 'Catervatim'. In this context, we would expect both melodies then to descend, as they indeed do, descending to the next closest consonance to start the new passage (a-e fifth). The W1 melody then stays in the same range and the second consonance is an octave. The W2 melody descends and forms a fifth.

The two melodies do then follow the same shape at 'C', descending quickly an octave or a seventh. Whilst this could be a result of a shared skeleton model, there are reasons why descending in this way at this point makes melodic sense in both passages. In W1, the first two *ordines* of the melody on 'ruunt' oscillate tightly around e and f. A fast descent opens up new melodic space for this melody to explore. As seen in Chapter 2, descents are used in this way across the repertory to maintain interest and variety. The first *ordo* on 'ruunt' in the W2 melody moves through a wider range, using a descending triad. The *ordo* at 'C' then completes this same descent again, but this time by step. The fast descent at 'C' is therefore the result of melodic repetition and development, part of a surface level melodic process. This means that there are good reasons for such a descent to have appeared in both these melodies at this point independently.

Aside from the shared shape at 'C', there are just two other moments of melodic similarity at 'A' and 'B'. Both phrases at 'A' end with a descending fifth from e to a. In both passages, however, the fifth appears as part of a process of extended melodic development particular to that passage. In the W2 melody, two consecutive *ordines* end with falling fifths, the second a step higher than the first. The one under discussion here is the second of the two. In the W1 melody, the *ordo* that follows this falling fifth ends with a balancing, rising fifth. The use of the falling fifth in both melodies is therefore part of two independent surface-level melodic processes. If the use of that fifth was dictated by a shared skeleton model (which seems unlikely given how few consonances of the same consonances are formed by these melodies), then it was very carefully worked into the particular fabrics of both these melodies.

At 'B', it is just the general shape of the melodies that is the same. Both passages descend a third, then ascend a third into the cadence. The W2 melody is, however, a fifth higher than the W1 melody. Also, as

discussed in Chapter 2, rising thirds into the cadence are common in *purum* melodies, particularly ending on c. Therefore, there is no reason to suggest this similarity was the result of the two melodies being based on the same skeleton model.

Overall then, the W1 and W2 melodies on ‘Catervatim’ are very different. There are only a small number of shared consonances and of the two moments of melodic similarity, one is a falling fifth that, in both melodies, is the result of surface-level melodic processes, and the other is just the same general shape but on different pitches. The melodies on ‘ruunt’ are more similar, but whilst they might have been based on the same skeleton model, there a number of reasons why the same shape could have been achieved independently in both cases.

Figure 4.22 The start of the verse of *Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim* in W1 and W2

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff, labeled W1, is in treble clef with a soprano clef (8) and contains a melodic line with two bracketed sections labeled A and B. The middle staff, labeled W2, is in treble clef with an alto clef (8) and contains a similar melodic line with bracketed sections A and B. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a simple bass line with four quarter notes.

Ca- ter- va- tim

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff, labeled W1, is in treble clef with a soprano clef (8) and contains a melodic line with a bracketed section labeled C. The middle staff, labeled W2, is in treble clef with an alto clef (8) and contains a similar melodic line with a bracketed section C. The bottom staff is in bass clef and contains a simple bass line with four quarter notes.

ru- unt

4.6.3 *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo*

One final example of melodies in the second group (those that vary greatly) comes from the start of the verse of *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* in W1 and F (**Figure 4.23**). (The W2 melody is very similar to the F melody.) These melodies form five of the same consonances with the tenor out of eight but again this includes the opening consonance of the verse. Nearly every section across the repertory that starts with a tenor D begins with an octave consonance, as in both melodies here. Another of the shared consonances is on the second tenor note of the syllable ‘-la-’. Both melodies form a unison with the tenor a at this point. There are then shared consonances over the final tenor descent from G to F to E. In *purum* melodies, *duplum* lines often move in contrary motion with such descending tenor lines, particularly at the end of passages, as they do here.

There are two moments of melodic similarity to consider. The first is at ‘A’, where the same repeated-note cadential pattern appears in both melodies, but a fifth higher in W1. It is possible that this was the result of a shared skeleton, but given the lack of other similarities and shared consonances, there are two more likely rationales. It might simply be a coincidence, since this is one of the most frequently used cadential patterns in *purum* melodies, particularly at the bottom of descents. The creator(s) of one of these melodies might also have been familiar with a melody similar to the other and might, therefore, have deliberately (or subconsciously) chosen to use the same pattern at the same point in the melody.

The other moment of melodic similarity comes at the end, at ‘B’, where pattern X appears twice in both melodies (although not the same versions of pattern X and not on the same pitches). As discussed in Chapter 2, pattern X is used frequently in *purum* melodies, often a number of times in quick succession (as in W1) and in sequence (as in F). Pattern X starting on c and followed by a third ascent to e also appears very frequently at cadences. For these reasons, these melodies may not be related; just made in the same way.

Figure 4.23 The start of the verse of *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* in W1 and F

The musical score is presented in two systems, each with three staves. The first system (top) features a treble clef (W1) and a bass clef (F) with a common time signature. The melody in the treble clef is marked with a bracket labeled 'A' over a specific phrase. The second system (bottom) continues the melody and includes the lyrics 'Vi- gi- la-' and 'te'. The treble clef part in the second system is marked with a bracket labeled 'B' over another phrase. The bass clef part in the second system has a single note corresponding to the lyric 'te'.

4.7 An Alternative Model

In summary, creation and recreation were clearly involved in the circulation of *organum purum* melodies. This can be seen in the variety of the extant repertory. Earlier scholars considered the differences between versions of the same melody and sought to explain these differences as the result of Perotin updating the repertory originally composed by Leonin.³⁹ Here I have also considered differences between melodies but not in order to explain how those particular differences came about. Instead, I have looked at the nature of difference across lots of melodies, in order to understand the processes involved in the circulation of *dupla* polyphony. The extant *organa* were shaped by these processes, and so give a glimpse of them, but the processes themselves were involved in the circulation of many other melodies and passages of polyphony that were never recorded in the extant manuscripts. By considering difference in this way, it is possible to develop a deeper understanding of the polyphonic practice to which the extant repertory bears witness, not just of the particular *organa* that have survived.

Roesner outlined two creative processes involved in the circulation of this polyphony: either scribes making changes as they copied, or musicians differently realising variously prescriptive models, some of which contained just a consonance outline and some details of melodic shape. The less prescriptive the model, the more varied the different versions would be. The importance of Roesner's article for the study of Parisian polyphony should not be underestimated. It completely reshaped the way in which this music is approached, doing away with composer-performer and work-performance binaries, complicating stylistic chronologies, and reassessing the repertory as the product of many and varied, oral and written processes of creation and recreation. In this chapter, I have shown, however, that whilst musicians did indeed create and recreate melodies as they circulated them, they did not do so in the way he proposed.

His skeleton-model hypothesis applied a modern, vertical way of thinking to a kind of polyphony in which melody is all important and vertical consonance less so. Melodic choices would have been more likely to inform the choice of consonance than previously prescribed points of consonance to inform melodic choices. In lots of cases, much more than a skeleton model of consonances was circulated. This can be seen in the melodies that are the same or almost the same in different versions of the same *organum*.

There are then melodies that differ slightly more, but which still share not only consonances and melodic shape, but also large amounts of exact melodic detail. Where such melodies do differ, they follow the same shape and often use the same creative idea just in different ways. It is likely therefore that these melodies were also circulated in a whole and complete form and then recreated in various ways. Just as musicians shared ways of creating *organum purum* melodies, they also shared ways of recreating them. This system included the potential for melodies to be altered particularly extensively at start and end of sections and passages. Sometimes, the whole of the melody over the first tenor note of a section was completely replaced.

³⁹ See discussion on pages 144-8.

This meant that what was originally the same melody could have ended up being sung in two quite different ways.

There is then a second group of melodies that are much less closely related than these. These sometimes share consonances and some isolated moments of melodic shape or detail. Sometimes, they are entirely different from each other. In order to be able to account for these melodies as somehow different versions of the same piece of composed polyphony, Roesner reduced them right down to skeleton models of vertical consonances. Here I have shown that there is no need to reduce them in this way; that instead, these melodies are just different, created separately. The reason they share some consonances, some elements of melodic shape, and occasionally some melodic details is because they were created over the same tenor melody and according to the same system for melodic and polyphonic creation. In these cases, therefore, what was circulated was not a skeleton model but a shared way of singing.

This shared idiomatic system for creating polyphony could be said to be similar to the systems identified by Treitler that underpinned the creative transmission of chant. In both cases, the idiomatic systems that taught singers how melodies ‘ought to go’ were not separate from the melodies themselves. The systems were learnt by singing and listening to melodies and thereby internalising the ways in which they were created, probably mostly subconsciously but perhaps supported by some isolation and learning of particular patterns or techniques. Rather than singers circulating separate, reductive models, it is more likely therefore that they circulated complete melodies, through which they learnt and shared a creative idiom. This idiom supported them in making new melodies in similar ways. When they were elaborating the same passage of tenor melody this might have led to some of the same consonances, shapes and patterns appearing in the same places.

In reconsidering Roesner’s model, we must also consider what this means for the melodic examples in the VOT. They play an important role in Roesner’s model since they show how musicians might have reacted to whatever information was recorded in the models from which they worked. The VOT shows a way of creating *organum purum* that starts with vertical consonance and then provides lots of different ways of moving between those consonances. Such a process could have been used to elaborate consonances or gestures recorded in the least prescriptive of Roesner’s models. Equally, if the model from which a singer was working contained more specific melodic detail, a musician might have expanded, contracted or replaced it as in the VOT’s multiple examples of differing lengths and complexities for a single consonance progression. I have shown here, however, that it is unlikely that musicians worked from incomplete models and that instead they were either recreating a complete melody, or singing a different one. Whilst musicians could have shortened or lengthened melismas, as in the groups of examples in the VOT, it is unlikely that they separately selected a consonance progression and then created a melody to fill it and unlikely that melismas such as those in the VOT would have been used to ‘complete’ skeleton outlines of consonances without melodies.

There are then two kinds of melodies in the extant repertory, and these bear witness to two kinds of (re)creation. One group show that melodies were often circulated whole and complete and that musicians shared ways of varying them, singing different versions of the same melody. The other group shows that often musicians created different *purum* melodies to elaborate the same tenor melody. The varied relationships between different versions of the same *organum* show that sometimes, they might have sung a different version of just one short passage. Sometimes, they sang almost entirely unrelated elaborations of the same chant. In the most extreme cases, only individual passages of *discant* are shared between different versions. For instance, the F and W2 versions of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* share just one passage of *discant* with the version in W1 on ‘paraclitum dabit’; *Dum compleverunt V. Repleti sunt omnes* in W1 shares just one short passage of *discant* with the F version on ‘sunt’; and the version of the mass *organum Propter veritatem V. Audi filia* that appears at the end of the office *dupla* collection in W1 shares just one passage of *discant* with the version that appears in the mass collections of all three manuscripts, on ‘aurem tuam’. In these cases, it is unlikely that these passages of *discant* were part of the same original version, in which all the other passages had been replaced. Instead, it is more likely that these passages of *discant* were circulated individually and used as part of otherwise unrelated versions of the same *organum*. The existence of *clausulae* collections in F and W1 does suggest that this might have been the case.

5. Two Creative Styles in the Central-Repertory *Organa*

In Chapter 4, I explored the processes of creation and recreation involved in the circulation of *organum purum* melodies and *dupla* polyphony. I argued that sometimes musicians recreated melodies, by adding, omitting or altering patterns, particularly at the beginning of sections and a cadence points. At other times, musicians simply elaborated the same passage of tenor melody in different ways. Sometimes, they substituted these alternative passages into longer sections of polyphony, and sometimes musicians created versions of the same *organum* that were almost entirely unrelated to each other, perhaps sharing just one passage of *discant* that was circulated individually and used as part of two otherwise unrelated acts of creation. Where either a passage was replaced or whole sections were sung in different ways, any similarities between the different *duplum* melodies was the result of them having been crafted according to the same melodic and polyphonic idiom and over the same series of tenor pitches.

In this chapter, I will focus not on those passages where the same melody has been recreated but on those passages which have entirely different *duplum* melodies in one version of an *organum* from another. As I did in Chapter 4, I will compare equivalent passages in different versions of the same *organum*, asking how the *duplum* melodies differ from each other. As well as this, I will look more broadly at the relationship between whole versions of the same *organum* and between the three manuscript collections as wholes, asking why some *organa* are the same in all three manuscripts and some are very different. In this way, I will comment on the creative and recreative processes that shaped the extant collections and will give insight into the wider polyphonic practice of which the extant repertoires give a glimpse.

5.1 The Relationships Between the Central-Repertory *Organa*

I will begin by outlining how different versions of the same *organum* relate and I will then explore why they might relate as they do.

The central repertory can be divided into three main categories:

- *Organa* where all versions are the same
- *Organa* where the different versions are similar, but where individual passages are sung in *purum* in one version and in *discant* in another
- *Organa* where different passages of *purum* are sung in the different versions

The relationships between the different versions of the central-repertory *organa* are outlined in tabular form beginning on page 185. Each box represents one passage of polyphony, containing one word of the chant text or pair of words. Vertical bold lines separate the responsory, verse and Gloria sections (which appear only in F and W2). Passages of *discant* are labelled.

If all versions of a particular passage are the same, then the box is coloured yellow. If a particular version of a passage appears only in F and W2, it is coloured purple. If it appears only in W1 and W2, it is orange. If it appears only in W1, it is blue. If it appears only in F, it is green. If it appears only in W2, it is red.

All version are the same	Yellow
Passage appears only in F and W2	Purple
Passage appears only in W1 and W2	Orange
Passage appears only in W1	Blue
Passage appears only in F	Green
Passage appears only in W2	Red

Organa where all versions are the same

This category contains four *organa*. *Gaude Maria* V. *Gabrielem archangelum* and *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* are in all three manuscripts. *Ad nutum* V. *Ut vicium virtus* and *Te sanctum dominum* V. *Cherubin quoque ac seraphin* are in just F and W2. The relationships between the different versions of these *organa* are summarised in **Table 5.1**. They contain the same melodies throughout.

Table 5.1 *Organa* which are the same throughout

Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum (O5)

W1				<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
F				<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
	Gaude	Maria	Gabrielem... archangelum	scimus... affatum	uterum tuum	de spiritu... natum

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos (O24)

W1				<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
F				<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
	Concede	Adiuvent nos	eorum... propria	impediunt scelera	excuset... accio	et qui... palmam triumphi	nobis	veniam... peccati

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus (O18)

F		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Ad	nutum	Ut vicium	virtus	operiret	gratia	culpam	

W2			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Te sanctum dominum V. Cherubin quoque ac seraphin (O22)

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>		
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>		
	Te sanctum	dominum	Cherubin quoque	ac seraphin	sanctus	proclamant	et omnis	celicus	ordo	testatur

F		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Organa with *purum* in one version and *discant* in another

Organa in the next group appear in similar ways in the different manuscripts but the different versions contain passages of *discant* in the place of *organum purum* or vice versa. The relationships between the versions of these *organa* are summarised in **Table 5.2**.

Qui sunt isti V. *Candidiores nive* and *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset* are in just F and W2. They are the same throughout apart from individual passages that are *organum purum* in W2 and *discant* in F at the end of both verses and in the Gloria of *Qui sunt isti* V. *Candidiores nive*.

Regnum mundi V. *Eructavit cor meum* appears in all three manuscripts. The F and W2 versions are the same throughout and large portions are also the same in all three versions. The W1 version contains *discant* instead of *organum purum* on ‘cor meum’ and a handful of *ordines* differ at the start of ‘bonum’ later in the verse.

The relationship between the different versions of *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote* is more complicated. All three versions start in the same way. On ‘et Iherusalem’, the same passage of *discant* appears in F and W2, but there is a different passage of *discant* in W1. All three versions are the same on ‘constantes estote’, but on ‘videbitis’, there is *discant* in F and *organum purum* in W1 and W2. The F and W2 versions are the same for the rest of the verse but there is *organum purum* instead of *discant* on ‘auxilium’ in W1. A different passage of *discant* appears on ‘super vos’ in W1 from the passage in F and W2. The F and W2 Glorias are the same apart from the passages on ‘et filio et spiritui’ which are *organum purum* in W2 and *discant* in F.

These four *organa* show that musicians regularly elaborated the same passage of tenor melody in *organum purum* and in *discant* and that they probably swapped passages of *discant* and *purum* regularly when singing whole *organa*.

Table 5.2 *Organa* that are the same apart from substitutions of passages of *purum* and *discant****Qui sunt isti V. Candidiores nive (O26)***

F		<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>			
	Qui sunt	isti	Candidiores	nive	nitidiores		lacte	rubicundiores	ebore	antiquo	

F			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset (O31)

F					<i>Discant</i>
W2					<i>Discant</i>
	Terribilis est	Cumque	evigilasset	Iacob	sompno ait

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote (O1)

W1		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>					<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
F		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Iudea	et Iherusalem	Constantes	estote	videbitis	auxilium	domini	super	vos	

F		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Regnum mundi V. Eructavit cor meum (O29)

W1		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>						
F											
W2											
	Regnum	mundi	Eructavit	cor	meum	verbum	bonum	dico	ego	opera mea	regi

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Organa with different passages of *purum* in the different versions

The remaining *organa* not only contain passages that are *discant* in one version and *organum purum* in another, but also alternative *purum* melodies in the different versions as well. Five of these *organa* are the same in F and W2 but contain extended sections of unique polyphony in W1.

The relationships between the different versions of these five *organa* are outlined in **Table 5.3**. Again, passages in all versions are yellow, those only in F and W2 are purple and those only in W1 are blue. Passages only in F are green, and those only in W2 are red. In these *organa*, although the Glorias appear only in F and W2, passages that are shared between the two versions are marked in purple not in yellow. This is because Glorias are almost always closely related to their verses and there is often a large amount of overlap in the *duplum* material. Most of the verses of these *organa* appear only in F and W2 (marked in purple) and I have viewed the Glorias as extensions of these.

In columbe V. *Vox domini* is the same in F and W2 apart from on ‘deus’ where different passages of *purum* are sung in the two versions. The W1 version shares some *discant* with the F and W2 versions, as well as one short passage of *purum* on ‘super aquas deus’, but it also contains a number of passages of *organum purum* that are not in either the F or W2 versions.

The F and W2 versions of *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem* (O10) are the same throughout. The W1 version is entirely different apart from two passages of *discant* on ‘paraclitum dabit’. The W1 version of *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* (O11) is entirely different from the versions in F and W2 apart from a short passage of *discant* on ‘sunt’. As explored in Chapter 3, the tenor melody of O11 is closely related to the tenor melody of O10. The versions of these two *organa* in F share lots of *duplum* material. The W2 version of O10 is the same as the F version. The version of O11 in W2 is a contrafactum of its O10. This means that the F and W2 versions of O11 are very similar but not exactly the same. They are both, however, almost entirely different from the W1 version. The Gloria appears only in W2.

The three versions of the responsory *Ex eius tumba* are the same. The verse *Catervatim ruunt* is the same in F and W2 and different in W1. The Gloria is the same in F and W2, apart from a short passage on ‘filio’ which is *discant* in F and *organum purum* in W2. The three versions of *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* are related in the same way. The responsory is the same in all three versions, but the verse is unique in W1. The Gloria appears only in F.

Table 5.3 *Organa* that are the same in F and W2, but contain extended unique passages in W1

In columbe V. Vox domini (O4)

W1		<i>Discant</i>								<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
F		<i>Discant</i>					<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>					<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	In columbe		Vox	domini	super aquas	deus	maiestatis	intonuit	dominus	super	aquas	multas

F			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem (O10)

W1				<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
F				<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Non	conturbetur	Ego	rogabo	patrem	et alium	paraclitum	dabit	vobis	

F		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto	

Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes (O11)

W1					<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>	
F					<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2					<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Dum	complerentur	Repleti	sunt	omnes	spiritu	sancto	et ceperunt	loqui	

W2		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt (O25)

W1								<i>Discant</i>		
F						<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2						<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Ex eius	tumba	Catervatim	ruunt	populi	cernere	cupientes	que per eum	fiunt	mirabilia

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2					<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et	filio	et spiritui	sancto

Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo (O28)

W1						<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
F					<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2					<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Sint lumbi	Vigilate ergo	quia nescitis	qua hora	dominus	vester	venturus	sit	

F			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

This leaves three of the central repertory *organa* that do not fall into one of these three groups. *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* appears only in W1 and F. The relationship between the two versions is summarised in **Table 5.4**. It is like the two *organa* just described: both versions of the responsory are the same, but the two verses are entirely different. Like all of the *organa* in the last group, this one contains an extended section that is unique to W1.

Table 5.4 *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus (O2)*

W1		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
F		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>					<i>Discant</i>
	Descendit	de celis		Tanquam	sponsus	dominus	procedens	de thalamo	suo
F	<i>Discant</i>								<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri		et filio	et spiritui				sancto

The relationship between the three versions of *Inter natos V. Homo missus* is summarized in **Table 5.5**. The W1 and W2 versions of the responsory and verse sections are the same, but the F version is unique on ‘homo missus a deo’. One passage differs in the Glorias (in F and W2) on ‘et filio et spiritui’.

Table 5.5 *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus (O13)*

W1								<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
F								<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2								<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Inter natos	Fuit	homo	missus	a deo	cui nomen	Iohannes	erat	
F					<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>
W2					<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et	filio	et spiritui				sancto

Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix is in F and W2 only, but is unlike the other pieces that appear only in F and W2 because the two versions are quite different from each other. The relationship between the two versions is summarized in **Table 5.6**. The responsory is the same in both versions, as are a number of passages of *discant* in the verse and Gloria. There is, however, an extended passage at the start of the verse (on ‘Virgo dei genetrix’) that is different in the two versions. The passage on ‘Virgo’ in the F verse appears at the start of the Gloria in the W2, so these passages are not really unique and are therefore marked in yellow. The passage at the start of the Gloria in F is unique, however, as is the passage on ‘flos filius’ at the end of the verse. The passages on ‘eius’ and ‘sancto’ are reversed in the two version: the passage on ‘eius’ in F appears on ‘sancto’ in W2 and vice versa.

Table 5.6 *Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix (O16)*

F		<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Stirps	Jesse	Virgo	dei genetrix	virga	est	flos filius	eius

F			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

To summarise, the different versions of the *organa* in the central repertory relate in various ways. The different versions of four *organa* are the same throughout. Two of these appear in all three manuscripts, and two in just F and W2. The different versions of another four *organa* are very similar but they contain individual passages of *purum* that have been exchanged for passages of *discant* and vice versa. The different versions of six *organa* vary greatly. Five of these are the same in F and W2 but very different in W1, and one of these appears only in W1 and F, very differently in each manuscript. *Inter natos V. Homo missus* is the same in W1 and W2, but contains some unique material in F. The F and W2 versions of *Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix* are also quite different from each other.

A number of questions arise from this. Why are some individual passages the same and some different, and why are some whole *organa* the same and some different? Why does W1 contain so much unique material, and why are the F and W2 versions often so closely related by comparison? How was polyphony created and recreated so that it ended up being recorded in these ways in the extant collections? And what can exploring these questions tell us about how musicians created *organum purum* melodies and *dupla* polyphony?

5.2 ‘House Style’

One way of exploring these questions is by considering and comparing the style of different passages in different versions of the same *organum* and in different manuscript collections. Roesner was the first to discuss what he termed the ‘house style’ of a manuscript. He saw this as mostly related to notation. He considered many of the notational differences between version of the same *organum* to be the result of the particular notational procedures of the scribe or of the institution for which that exemplar was copied. As an example of this, he considered a passage of *purum* melody that was shared across a number of settings of different *Alleluia* chants in different manuscripts. Referring primarily to notational similarities and differences, and differences in the alignment of the two parts, he found that versions seemed to be grouped by sources: versions in one manuscript were more similar to each other than to those in the other

manuscripts.¹ He suggested one other way in which *duplum* melodies might have been shaped by different house styles: at cadence points. He based this on the fact that there is more variety at cadence points than elsewhere in *purum* melodies and *discant*, and these differing cadential patterns often show a different notational approach from the melodies copied around them. He proposed that cadential melodies could have been altered to reflect the preferences of a particular cantor or scribe, or of a particular group of musicians specific to one musical centre.²

As I will go on to argue, this kind of stylistic comparison between different portions of the repertory is vital to a detailed understanding of it. This study will, however, widen the kinds of comparison carried out by Roesner. I will not consider notation and cadence points, but rather whole *organum purum* melodies. I will look not just for how scribes might have shaped a melody in small ways as they copied it from one source to another, but how the extant repertory might have been shaped in much larger ways by entirely different creative styles.

Here it is important to clarify the relationship between ways of making melody (that have been discussed so far) and styles. A way of making melody becomes characteristic of a particular style when it has clearly supported the creation of a number of different melodies (but not the whole *purum* repertory): when a distinct group of melodies have similar characteristics. For instance, the fact that a group of melodies mostly move by step would not be indicative of a particular melodic style because this can be said of almost all *purum* melodies. If all those melodies used large intervals particularly frequently and in similar ways, that would be indicative of a melodic style since it is particular to that group of melodies, and distinguishes them from the rest of the extant *purum* repertory.

Whilst Roesner looks for evidence of different house styles in whole manuscript collections, I will also look at the style of individual pieces within them, and even of individual passages within those pieces. In this way, I hope to develop a greater understanding of the relationship between the different collections of office *dupla*, and to explore what those collections reveal about wider polyphonic practice. This work will build on the that completed in Chapter 2, which outlined the basic creative idiom which supported the creation of *organum purum*. In this chapter, I will consider how that basic idiom was used differently by different musicians and groups of musicians and how these varied creative styles are reflected in the extant repertory.

¹ Roesner, 'The Problem of Chronology', 385-393.

² *Ibid.* 375.

5.3 The Core Style

Considering the *organum purum* melodies in the central-repertory *organa* stylistically reveals that they were created in one of two ways. Whilst there are some similarities between the melodies created in these two styles, they are very clearly distinct, as I will outline below. Most *organum purum* contain repetition, development, and sequencing and they use pattern X regularly. Because by far the majority of *purum* melodies in the extant *organa* are in this style, I call it the ‘core style’. Five examples from five different *organa* will be presented here to demonstrate melodies created in the core style.

The first example is a passage from *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* which appears in the W1 and W2 versions of the verse (**Figure 5.1**). The passage begins with the *duplum* rising from a fourth to a fifth over the tenor (a pattern that appears at the start of well over half of the phrases that open sections across the repertory). The two *ordines* at ‘A’ are related. The first five notes are the same, but the second *ordo* is shorter and ends ascending rather than descending. At ‘B’, the whole of the first *ordo* is transposed down a step and repeated exactly. This downwards movement is balanced by rising movement at ‘C’. This time, the first *ordo* is transposed up one step and repeated exactly. This means that all of the *ordines* in passages ‘A’-‘C’ start with the same descending third. The two *ordines* at ‘D’ are related in the same ways as those at ‘A’. Again the first five notes are the same, but the first *ordo* ends descending and the second ascending. Altogether, most of the *duplum* melody in this passage is generated either by repeating a pattern and developing it, or through direct transposition either up or down.

Figure 5.1 *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): W1 (*ordines* 36-49) and W2 (*ordines* 33-44)

The figure displays two systems of musical notation for the organum 'Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote'. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a tenor line (bass clef). The first system is for the words 'au-xi-li' and the second for 'um'. Brackets labeled A, B, and C are placed above the first system, and bracket D is above the second system. The vocal line features a 'duplum' melody with repeating patterns and transpositions, while the tenor line provides a steady accompaniment.

The next example is taken from *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* (**Figure 5.2**). The passage appears at the start of the verse in all three versions of this *organum*. The *purum* melodies are generated in many of the

same ways as in the previous examples. At 'A', the first *ordo* begins with two rising thirds, c-e and d-f. This shape is repeated at the start of the next *ordo*, but the *ordo* is then shortened. At 'B', two *ordines* follow the same shape (stepwise ascent of a third, stepwise descent). The second *ordo* begins a step lower than the first, and the scalic descent is also extended from a third to a fourth. At 'C', descending pairs of repeated notes are repeated in a descending whole-*ordo* sequence. The *ordo* at 'D' begins with pattern X; the outline of the pattern (c-e-c) is then repeated in the second half of the *ordo* without the oscillation below e. The second *ordo* at 'E' is a repeat of the first with the falling interval extended from a fourth to a fifth. These two *ordines* are then repeated exactly transposed down a fifth.

After the opening three *ordines*, therefore, as in the example from *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote*, nearly all of the rest of this *duplum* melody is generated through repetition and development, sequence or transposition. In fact, the only *ordines* that are not generated in one of these ways are the cadential *ordines* at the end of 'Gabrielem' and 'archangelum'. In this example, repetition is used in various ways. In two instances, *ordines* are made shorter and simpler when they are repeated. Elsewhere, scales or intervals within the pattern are extended on the repeat. As well as this development across consecutive *ordines*, there is also a more extended exploration of one melodic idea: beginning phrases with rising three-note scales. All of these scales are marked in red.

Figure 5.2 *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): W1 (*ordines* 16-36), F (*ordines* 16-37) and W2 (*ordines* 16-34)

The figure displays a musical score for the vocal line of 'Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum'. It consists of three systems of staves, each with a treble clef staff (soprano) and a bass clef staff (bass). The lyrics are written below the treble clef staves.

- System 1:** The treble clef staff shows a melodic line with several rising three-note scales highlighted in red. An annotation 'A' is placed above a circled red scale. The bass clef staff shows a simple accompaniment.
- System 2:** The treble clef staff continues the melody. Annotations 'B' and 'C' are placed above brackets covering two different melodic phrases. A circled red scale is annotated with 'D'. The bass clef staff continues the accompaniment.
- System 3:** The treble clef staff shows the final part of the melody. A circled red scale is annotated with 'E'. The lyrics 'bri- e- lem ar-' are written above the treble clef staff, and 'chan- ge- lum' are written below the bass clef staff.

The third example of a passage containing melodies in the core style comes from the verse of *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogado patrem* in W1 (**Figure 5.3**). Like the melodies in the other examples discussed so far, this passage contains extensive repetition and development, some of which is extended across several *ordines*. There is also direct repetition, transposition and sequence.

At 'A', the pattern in the first half of the *ordo* is repeated starting a third lower. The last two pitches are altered so the pattern ends at a unison with the tenor. At 'B', both *ordines* begin with a three-note descent and then follow the same shape. The second *ordo* begins a second lower and the pitches are slightly altered within the same melodic outline in order to create consonances with the faster moving tenor. The *ordo* at 'C' also starts with a descending third, as do the two *ordines* at 'D', which are themselves a slightly altered whole-*ordo* sequence.

The passages at 'E' and 'F' are related. Passage 'F' is an expansion of passage 'E'. 'E' starts with a G-b rising third. The same ascent appears twice at the start of 'F'. In passage 'E', this is followed by one scale decorated with descending pairs of repeated notes. This same decorated scale appears twice in passage 'F'. At 'G', the first *ordo* is repeated and transposed almost exactly up a third. The first two *ordines* at 'H' begin with the same scalic descent from f. They follow the same shape (scalic fourth descent from f to c - rising third - falling third), but with the pitches slightly altered at the end of the second *ordo*. The cadential pattern at the end of passage 'H' also follows the same shape, descending from f to c, using pattern X.

As in the previous examples, nearly all of the *duplum* melody in this example is generated through repetition, development or patterning of various kinds. Here there is also a more extended instance of melodic development that generates several *ordines* of melody (at 'E' and 'F').

Figure 5.3 *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): W1 (*ordines* 16-45)

The figure displays a musical score for the verse 'Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem' (O10) in W1, covering ordines 16-45. The score is presented in two systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The vocal line is marked with a '8' below the staff. The lyrics are: 'E-go ro-go ro-ga-bo pa-trem et a-li-um'. The score is annotated with letters A through H, indicating specific musical passages. Passages A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H are marked with brackets and circles around the notes. The basso continuo line consists of a series of notes that provide harmonic support for the vocal line.

The next example comes from the verse of *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* in W1 and W2 (**Figure 5.4**). The passages on 'Fuit' and 'nomen' also appear in F. The passage begins immediately with two iterations of pattern X (at 'A'). On the second iteration, the descending scale is extended from a third to a sixth. The same version of pattern X, an oscillation and scalic descent, appears again at the beginning of passage 'B'. The rising fourth at the end of the first *ordo* at 'B' is balanced by a falling fifth at the end of the second *ordo*. The final *ordo* of passage 'B' uses descending pairs of thirds to fill out the same fifth descent from e to a that appeared at the end of the second *ordo*.

The passage at 'C' continues to feature descending thirds as part of a version of pattern X with a falling third following the oscillation. Both *ordines* at 'C' begin with this pattern, the second a fourth higher. This means that versions of pattern X appear at the start of nearly every melisma in the opening passage (on 'Fuit').

The passage on 'homo missus a deo' begins with a virtuosic descent through an octave from g to G. After this scalic opening phrase, the first *ordo* at 'D' begins with a version of pattern X followed by a falling fifth. The ascent from c to e is then immediately repeated more simply: without an oscillation and with the final interval reduced from a fifth to a third.

The passage at 'E' begins with a similar version of X to that which appeared in passage 'C'. The second *ordo* at 'E' is related to the first. It begins by following the same shape, rising from d to f, but then uses a triad to extend the range of the pattern downwards. 'E' ends with a cadential version of X.

The passage on 'homo missus' ends as it began, with a scalic melody that moves quickly through a wide range. This establishes a pattern that the next passage on 'a deo' also follows: scalic opening phrase, multiple iterations of pattern X, scalic closing phrase. The passage on 'a deo' starts with a scalic oscillation between d and G which ends at a unison a with the tenor. Pattern X then appears three times at 'F', gradually rising in pitch. The final *ordo* on 'a deo' is then also scalic.

The passage on 'cui' begins like the very opening of the verse, with an intonation pattern then two iterations of pattern X. Again, they begin on the same pitch and the scalic descent is extended from a third to a sixth on the repeat ('G'). This passage ends with an *ordo* the first and second halves of which begin with the same melody ('H'). When the pattern is repeated, the end is altered to bring the *duplum* to a unison a with the tenor.

Like the passage on 'homo', the passage on 'nomen' ('I') begins with a melody that moves scally through a wide range quickly. Here the melody is more clearly patterned, however. The first *ordo* rises to f then descends a third. The second *ordo* rises to f then descends a sixth. The rest of that *ordo* then explores the same scalic idea: a rising third, then a longer descent. Each iteration of this pattern is circled.

Like the other examples discussed so far, this passage contains transposition, and repetition and development. This passage also shows the frequency with which pattern X sometimes appears in core style melodies.

Figure 5.4 *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* (O13): W1 (*ordines* 13-44) and W2 (*ordines* 17-47)

Figure 5.4 shows the musical score for the motet *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* (O13), comparing two versions: W1 (*ordines* 13-44) and W2 (*ordines* 17-47). The score is presented in eight systems, each consisting of a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef). The lyrics are: Fu- it ho- mo mis- sus a de- o cu- i no- men. The vocal line features a complex melodic line with many sixteenth notes, while the lute line is a simple bass line. The score includes annotations A through I marking specific melodic phrases.

The final example showing melodies in the core style is the verse of *Qui sunt isti V. Candidiores nive* (Figure 5.5). This *organum* appears only in F and W2. The two verses are the same until the final passage on ‘antiquo’, which is *discant* in F and *organum purum* in W1. At this point, only the W2 passage is shown here. Pattern X is also used frequently in this passage, three times at ‘A’ and twice at ‘B’. The melody at ‘C’ uses a similar pattern to X, containing a third oscillation rather than a second. This pattern is almost exactly repeated, with the scalic descent extended by one on the repeat.

After the opening *ordines*, the passage on ‘nive nitidiores’ is mostly *discant*. Oscillating thirds like those at ‘C’ appear again in the first two units of the extended sequence at ‘D’. The sequence then continues with a simpler scalic pattern.

The two *ordines* at ‘E’ begin with the same oscillation around e. The first *ordo* then ends ascending and the second descending. At ‘F’, repeated three-note ascending scales appear first on a c then on an a. At ‘G’, both *ordines* begin with extended scalic descents ending on G. The passage at ‘H’ also begins with a long descending scale, again finishing on a G. This is followed by two iterations of pattern X in direct succession.

At ‘I’, the three *ordines* are closely related. The second *ordo* extends the range of the first by replacing the descending second with a descending third. The third *ordo* is a version of pattern X which also begins on an e. It covers the same range as the second *ordo* but descends in a stepwise fashion.

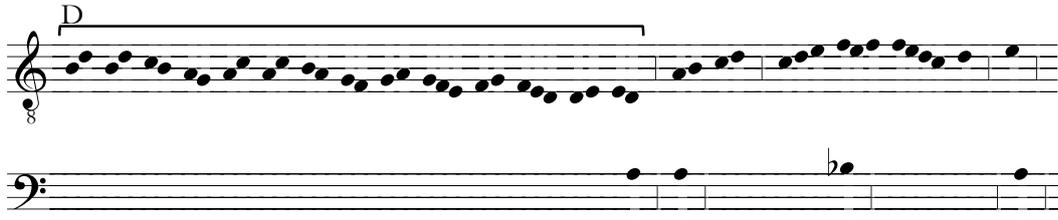
As in all the other examples so far presented, almost all of the *organum purum* melismas in this verse are generated through repetition, development, transposition, sequence, or through the use of pattern X. Where pattern X appears, this is often a number of times in direct succession, and sometimes as part of repetition and development.

Figure 5.5 *Qui sunt isti V. Candidiores nive* (O26): W2 (*ordines* 13-58) and F (14-57- up to the end of ‘ebore’)

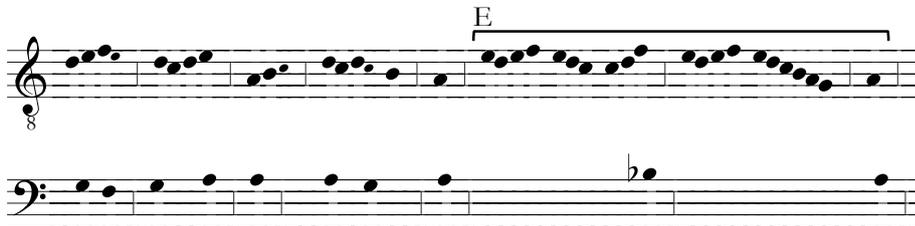
The figure displays two systems of musical notation for the organum 'Candidiores nive'. Each system consists of a treble clef staff with a melisma line and a bass clef staff with a simple accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the staves. System A is labeled 'A' and system B is labeled 'B' and 'C'. In system A, three melisma lines are circled. In system B, two melisma lines are circled. In system C, two melisma lines are circled.



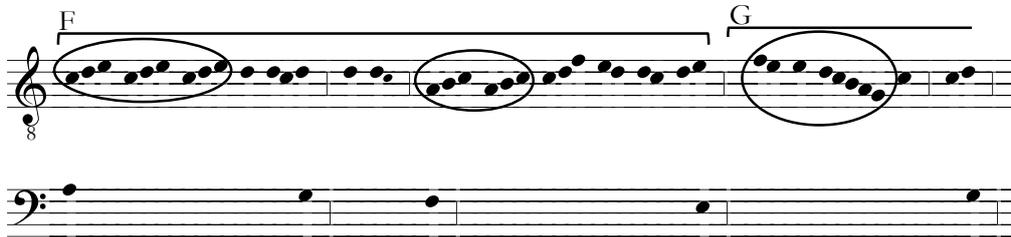
ni- ti- di- o- res



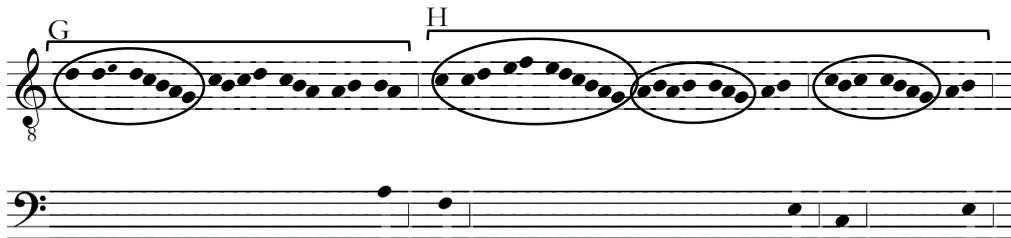
lac- te



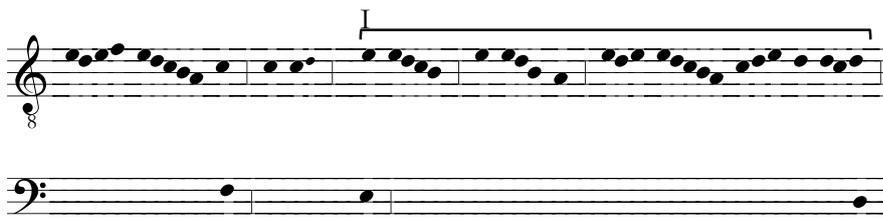
ru- bi- cum di- o- res



e- bo- re



an- ti



quo

These examples have shown the characteristics of melodies in the core style:

- Apart from the melodies at the opening of main sections and single *ordines* at cadence points, nearly all of the *purum* melodies in passages in the core style are generated through the use of various kinds of repetition or patterning. This includes direct repetition or transposition, sequencing, repetition and development, or the balancing of consecutive *ordines*.
- Whilst most repetition and development maybe contained within a pair of *ordines* and involves only small alterations to the melody on the repeat, sometimes melodic development is very extensive and governs several *ordines*.
- Pattern X is used regularly. Sometimes it is used once only, but often it appears in sequence or is used multiple times in quick succession. Sometimes it is used at cadence points but it is also used at various other points in the phrase.
- Sometimes other patterns, apart from pattern X, are explored a number of times across an extended passage.

5.4 The Building-Block Style

Whilst the majority of *purum* melodies in the central-repertory *organa* are in the core style, a small but significant number of others were created differently. Whilst repetition, sequencing and patterning appears ubiquitously in melodies in the core style, this second group of melodies move much more freely. They do include repetition, sequences and pattern X, but these are used markedly less frequently than in the core style. Where repetition is used, it is also more often exact or with only very minimal and contained development. Sequences in this style use short melodic units and also tend to be exact and pattern X is used not, as in the core style, in sequence or repeated multiple times in succession, but individually at cadence points.

Not only were these melodies in this second style created differently, however, but they were also used and reused differently from those in the core style as well. They appear in exactly the same way in multiple different *organa*. Repetition is of course vital to melodies created in the core style. It involves, however, repetition of short patterns only (between four and ten notes).³ By contrast, whole melodies created in this second style are repeated across different *organa*. The shortest of these melodies are two complete *ordines* (much longer than the longest patterns repeated in the core style); the longest elaborate several tenor notes and a whole word of the text, so are many *ordines* long. Furthermore, where the same patterns appear in multiple different core-style melodies they appear on many different pitches and in many varied forms. Melodies in the second style, however, are reused in exactly the same way in different *organa*.⁴ This melodic consistency is remarkable even compared to instances where the ‘same’ core-style melody appears in different versions of the same *organum*. Even in these cases, repeated notes are added or removed, there are alterations to individual pitches and cadence patterns are exchanged.⁵

This exact repetition of extended passages of melody across different *organa* is facilitated by close relationships between their tenor melodies. Melodies are reused in this way in three families of *organa* that have related tenor melodies. These families and the relationships between their tenor melodies were discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

³ See Chapter 2, section beginning page 78.

⁴ The only exception to this is the melody used at the start of verse and Gloria sections in Family II *organa*. I discussed in Chapter 3 how there was a practice when reusing this melody of altering this depending on how many syllables there were in the tenor melody, replacing the rising sequence from D with pattern X and of shortening it by omitting a portion of it and thereby changing the relationship between the *duplum* and tenor voices. This is still very different from the kind of variety found where shorter patterns are repeated in lots of different melodies. It still involves the repetition of an entire melody, one that elaborates the whole of the first word of the tenor. In some cases, it is reused exactly, and where it is not, portions of it are and its reworking is limited to the established strategies outlined in Chapter 3.

⁵ See discussion of Gaude Maria in Chapter 4 (152-3) and discussion of cadence points being particular sites of alteration (160-4).

Family I contains five *organa*:

In columbe V. *Vox domini* (O4) & *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* (O17), *Preciosus domini Dyonisius* V. *Athleta domini Dyonisius* (O23), *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset* and *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix*

Three of these are in the central repertory (O4, O16 and O31). The other two are in F only (O17 and O23). The tenor melodies of the verses and Glorias in these *organa* follow the same melodic plan, apart from O16 whose tenor melody starts the same as the other *organa* in this family but ends differently.⁶

Family II contains four *organa*:

Iudea et Iherusalem V. *Constantes estote* (O1), *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset* (O14), *Solem iusticie* V. *Cenere divinum* (O19) & *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* (O28)

Two of these are in the central repertory (O1 and O28). O14 and O19 are in F only. All the verse and Gloria melodies in these *organa* begin in the same way: the first word or pair of words is sung to the same melody.⁷

Family III contains five *organa*.

Descendit de celis V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2), *Et valde mane* V. *Et respicientes* (O7), *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* (O13), *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* (O24) & *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* (O25)

All of these apart from O7 (which is only in F) are in the central repertory. A short passage of tenor melody is shared between all of these *organa*, but the tenor melodies of O2 and O7 are particularly closely related.⁸

In all these families, the same *duplum* melodies can be sung in different *organa* because portions of the tenor melody are the same. Sometimes it is possible to reuse an entire passage of *duplum* melody, where long strings of tenor notes are the same. In other places, shorter phrases can be reused. These melodies, reused exactly across different *organa*, function as fixed melodic ‘building blocks’, which are sung as part of longer sections of *dupla* polyphony.

In Chapter 3, I discussed how exactly *purum* melodies are reused across these families with related tenor melodies. Here, I will summarise that work but I will also look at the style of the melodies themselves, particularly their use of repetition, sequencing and patterning by contrast to those in the core style.

⁶ See Chapter 2, section beginning page 118.

⁷ See Chapter 2, section beginning page 128.

⁸ See Chapter 2, section beginning page 135.

Family I

The tenor melodies of the *organa* in Family I follow the same melodic plan so passages of *duplum* melody can be shared between the different *organa* at various points throughout their verses and Glorias. There are in fact eight individual passages of *duplum*, each attached to one portion of the tenor melody, that are shared across the *organa* in this family. They appear in various different combinations. Some of these *organa* contain nearly all of these passages spread throughout their verse and Gloria, and some contain only one or two of them.

Of these eight passages, five are *discant* and three are *organum purum*. It is the style of the *organum purum* that is of interest here so the passages of *purum* are examined below.

The first appears at the start of a number of verses in this family. **Figure 5.6** shows the passage as it appears at the start of the verse of *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* in F and W2. The opening melody moves by step within a limited range. Then at 'A', the first *ordo* is transposed exactly down a third. Pattern X appears individually at the cadence ('B') followed by a typical cadential pattern using repeated notes and a rising fourth.

Figure 5.6 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): W2 (*ordines* 14-22) and F (*ordines* 12-20)

The figure displays two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a tenor line (bass clef). The vocal line in both systems features a melodic line with a bracketed section labeled 'A' and another bracketed section labeled 'B'. The tenor line in both systems consists of a few notes. The lyrics 'Vox do-' and 'mi- ni' are placed below the vocal line.

The second shared *purum* melody appears in the middle of various verse sections of Family I *organa*. **Figure 5.7** shows the passage as it appears in the verse of *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix* in F. The first two *ordines* of this melody move freely, without repetition or patterning of any kind. Before the cadence, there is a short rising sequence, that involves the direct repetition of a short and simple melodic unit.

Figure 5.7 *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix* (O16): F (*ordines* 29-32)

de- i

The third and final passage of *purum* shared between the *organa* in Family I appears at the start of a number of the Gloria sections. **Figure 5.8** shows the passage at the start of the Gloria in *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* in F and W2. The first and second *ordines* at ‘A’ begin in the same way, but the second is very slightly altered at the end. Pattern X is used at the cadence at the end of ‘A’. At ‘B’, an *ordo* using descending pairs of repeated notes is exactly transposed down one step.

Figure 5.8 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): F (*ordines* 64-74) and W2 (*ordines* 57-66)

Glo- ri- a

pa- tri

These three passages are similar in a number of ways. They contain exact transposition and sequence, individual iterations of pattern X at cadence points, and a pair of *ordines* across which a pattern is repeated and only minimally developed. Otherwise, the *duplum* melodies in these passages move freely, without using repetition or patterning.

Family II

The *organum purum* melodies shared between the *organa* in Family II are similar stylistically to those shared between the *organa* in Family I. The tenors of the *organa* in Family II are the same only at the start of the verse and Gloria, so there is just one extended passage of *duplum* melody shared between them. It appears at the start of all the verses and Glorias in these *organa*.

Figure 5.9 shows this passage as it appears at the start of the verse of *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* in F and W2. The *duplum* first establishes the opening D-d octave and then descends quickly through an octave, crossing over with the tenor voice ('A', 'B', 'C'). In this version of the melody, the *duplum* then uses a rising sequence at 'D' to come back to unison with the tenor G. This sequence is short and involves the exact repetition of a short, simple melodic unit. In other versions of this passage, a version of pattern X that follows the same shape is used here. At 'E', a pattern involving a falling fifth is transposed and repeated exactly, and the passage ends with an extended rising sequence, which repeats an extended version of pattern X three times almost exactly ('F').

Figure 5.9 *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* (O28): F (*ordines* 14-26) and W2 (*ordines* 13-27)

Vi- gi- la- te

Like the passages shared between the *organa* in Family I, this passage contains exact transposition, and two exact, rising sequences. One of these sequences is actually the same as appears in the *organa* in Family I (at 'D'). The second is longer, but also repeats very clearly defined melodic units exactly, in this case pattern X. The first part of this melody (the only portion not generated in these ways) moves freely and does not use repetition or patterning.

Family III

The tenor melodies of the *organa* in Family III also share just a short string of pitches. As discussed in Chapter 3, all the tenor melodies contain a version of this pattern (sometimes with small portions of it repeated or omitted):



There are five short *duplum* phrases shared across these *organa* above this tenor pattern. Because the tenor melody oscillates around the same four pitches, the same combinations of two or three pitches appear in different places within the tenor melody. This allows short phrases of *duplum* melody to be used in different orders and combinations, over the same tenor pitches but at different points overall in the tenor melody.

All of these passages appear in the F version of the verse in *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* (Figure 5.10). The passages are marked ‘A’ – ‘E’. Passage ‘B’ appears twice.

Passage ‘A’ begins with a freely moving melody that is not patterned and ends with the same exact sequence as seen in the last two examples. The melody at ‘B’ is not patterned, and contains no repetition. Pattern X appears individually at ‘C’. The melody at ‘D’ begins freely, and then the last two *ordines* are related to each other. They begin in the same way, but the second half is altered when it is repeated. The melody at ‘E’ is not patterned, although it is mainly *discant*.

Figure 5.10 *Descendit de celis V. Tamquam sponsus* (O2): F (*ordines* 41-58)

The musical score for Figure 5.10 is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a vocal line in the treble clef and a basso continuo line in the bass clef. The vocal line features a descending eighth-note pattern. The lyrics are: spon- sus do- mi- nus pro- ce- dens. The score is divided into sections A, B, C, D, and E.

These melodies are like those shared between Families I and II. Considerable portions of them move freely and they are not patterned. The only sequence is the same short, exact sequence as seen in the passages shared between the other families, and the only instance of repetition and development is contained within two consecutive *ordines* and only involves minor alterations to the pattern on the repeat. Pattern X appears only individually.

Other Building-Block Melodies: Group IV

As well as the melodies reused across these three families, there are also three more short melodies that appear in exactly the same way in different *organa*. Unlike the other building-block melodies, they are not specific to individual families of *organa* but they are reused exactly in:

In columbe V. Vox domini (O4), *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10), *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* (O11), *Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix & Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* (O28)

These will be labelled Group IV patterns (since they are not specific to a particular family). They are similar stylistically to the other building-block melodies.

These Group IV patterns are, therefore, melodically similar to those shared between the three families of *organa*. They contain exact sequences, and limited and contained repetition and development, as well as individual iterations of pattern X at cadence points. Otherwise, the melodies move freely.

It is without a doubt that there are some similarities between *purum* melodies in the building-block and core styles. For instance, they use the same consonances, the *duplum* voices move mostly by step and stay above the tenor and they stay within a limited melodic range. There are, however, still a number of ways in which melodies that are used as building blocks differ from those in the core style. Whilst repetition, sequences and pattern X are used in both kinds of melody, there are used with markedly different frequency and in much more limited ways in building-block melodies than in the core style:

- Building-block melodies use less repetition, development and patterning than those in the core style.
- Where something is repeated in a building-block melody, it is often repeated exactly, either on the same pitch or transposed.
- Where there are sequences, these involve the direct repetition of simple and usually short melodic units.
- Repetition and development is infrequent. Where it does appear, it is contained within two consecutive *ordines*, and involves only minor iterations to the melodic pattern on the repeat. Melodies are not developed across a number of *ordines* as in the core style.
- Pattern X is used less than in the core style. Where it is used, it usually appears individually at the start and end of phrases. In the core style, it is used frequently at other points during the phrase and it is regularly used multiple times in quick succession on various different pitches, as well as in sequence.
- In the core style, other melodic patterns apart from pattern X are repeated and explored a number of times across individual passages. This does not happen in the building-block melodies.
- Often in building-block melodies, several *ordines* are freely moving. They are not patterned and do not use repetition of any kind.

Building-block melodies do not just differ from core-style melodies stylistically, however, but also in how they are used. They are reused exactly across a number of different *organa*. In the core style, only short patterns are reused in different melodies and this is on a variety of different pitches and in a variety of different forms. Whilst there are fewer sections and passages that are made up of these building blocks than have core style melodies, there are enough to show that reusing longer melodies in this way was an established creative technique. Creating sections of polyphony out of reusable building blocks is a very different process from that which generated melodies in the core style. In the core style, melodies are crafted not through the stitching together of previously created, fixed melodies, but through the greatly varied and

often extended use of repetition, development, sequence and pattern X. In the core style, patterns are not reused in fixed forms. The creative process is more often an organic one. Melodies move forward by developing on what has gone before.

The identification of two styles within the central repertory contributes to the picture of Paris as a thriving musical centre where lots of highly skilled musicians shaped and reshaped the repertory in different ways. It shows that there were at least two different ways of creating *organum purum* melodies and singing *organa dupla* that were well established. The distribution of these two styles within the extant *organa* also has a bearing on the questions I posed earlier in this chapter. It helps to explain why some *organa* are the same in all the manuscripts and some are very different, and also why the F and W2 versions are often so similar and the W1 version more unique.

5.5 The Distribution of the Two Styles in the Central Repertory

Earlier in this chapter, I outlined the various relationships between versions of the central-repertory *organa*. I divided them into three groups:

- *Organa* where all versions are the same
- *Organa* where the different versions are similar, but where individual passages are sung in *purum* in one version and in *discant* in another
- *Organa* where different passages of *purum* are sung in the different versions. Most often this equates to extended passages that are the same in F and W2 but unique in W1.

I argued that where a passage is *discant* in one version and *purum* in another, this was the result of musicians swapping and exchanging passages which were sometimes sung in *discant* and sometimes sung in *purum*. The question remains, however, why some versions of the same *organum* contain different *purum* melodies in equivalent places. I will tackle this question now by considering how the core style and the building-block style are distributed across the extant repertory.

I will first consider the style of the *organum purum* melodies in *organa*, all versions of which are the same, as well as those *organa*, all versions of which are the same apart from individual passages being sung in *discant* in one version and *purum* in another. I will then look at the style of passages that are the same in F and W2 but different in W1. I will finish by exploring the style of the handful of passages unique to F in two particular *organa*, one of which appears only in W1 and F and the other in all three manuscripts.

The following discussion will use tables similar to those used earlier in the chapter. These summarize how polyphony is shared between versions of the same *organum* in the same way. If a passage is the same in all versions of that *organum*, it is yellow, whether the passage appears in all three manuscripts, in F and W2, or

in W1 and F. Where an *organum* appears in all three manuscripts, passages shared by just F and W2 are marked in purple. There are a small number of passages shared by just W1 and W2 in *organa* that appear in all three manuscripts. These are marked in orange. Passages unique to W1 are blue, those unique to F are green, and those unique to W2 are red.

In addition to this, these tables show passages in the core style by marking them with a cross and passages in the building-block style by marking them with the number showing the family of *organa* across which that particular melody is shared (I, II, III). Group IV melodies are marked IV. Passages of *discant* are labelled. Where a passage of *discant* is also a building-block melody, it is marked with the appropriate number. There are a handful of melodies that are not in the core style, since they move freely without repetition or patterning but are also not shared across different *organa* like the building-block melodies. These melodies are left blank and will be discussed in more detail later.

Tables 5.7 and **5.8** show *organa* that are the same throughout, or that contain individual passages that are sung in *discant* in one version and *organum purum* in another. **Table 5.7** shows the *organa* that are related in this way, which appear in all three manuscripts, and **Table 5.8** shows the *organa* that are related in this way, which appear in just F and W2.

- In *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote*, there are a number of passages which are *organum purum* in one version and *discant* in another, but where there is *purum* in more than one manuscripts, that passage is always the same in all versions. All of its *purum* melodies are in the core style, apart from the melody at the start of the verse and Gloria, which is a building-block shared between *organa* in Family II.
- All three versions of *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* are the same throughout. All of the *organum purum* melodies in this *organum* are in the core style.
- All three versions of *Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos* are the same throughout. All of the *organum purum* melodies in this *organum* are in the core style, apart from on ‘filio’ in the Gloria which is a building-block melody shared between Family III *organa*.
- There is more *discant* in the W1 version of *Regnum mundi V. Eructavit cor meum* than in the version that appears in both F and W2. A very short passage of unique *organum purum* appears at the start of ‘bonum’ in W1, but I have included this *organa* here because it is only a handful of *ordines* that differ. All of the *purum* melodies in this *organum* are in the core style, whether they are in all three manuscripts, F and W2 or just W1.

Moving now to *organa* in just F and W2 (**Table 5.8**).

- *Ad nutum* V. *Ut vicium virtus* is the same in both manuscripts and all of the *purum* melodies in this *organum* are in the core style.
- *Te sanctum dominum* V. *Cherubin quoque ac Seraphin* is the same in both manuscripts and all of its *purum* melodies are in the core style, apart from a very short passage on ‘proclamant’.
- *Qui sunt isti* V. *Candidiores nive* is the same in both manuscripts apart from two passages which are *discant* in F and *organum purum* in W2. All of its *purum* melodies are in the core style.
- *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset* is the same in F and W2 apart from one passage which is *discant* in F and *organum purum* in W2. All of its *purum* melodies are in the core style apart from the first passage in the Gloria which is a building-block melody shared between *organa* in Family I.

In these *organa*, nearly all of the *purum* melodies appear in all versions. They are also nearly all in the core style. Where *discant* is sung in one version and *purum* in another, the *purum* melodies are also in the core style. Building-block melodies appear only at the start of the verse of *Iudea et Iherusalem* V. *Constantes estote*, in one short passage of *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos*, and at the start of the Gloria of *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset*.

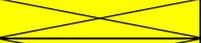
Table 5.7 The Style of *organa* all three versions of which are essentially the same with some passages of *purum* and *discant* substituted

Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote (O1)

W1		<i>Discant</i>	II	<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
F		<i>Discant</i>	II	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>	II	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Iudea	et Iherusalem	Constantes	estote	videbitis	auxilium	domini	super	vos	

F	II	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2	II	<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum (O5)

W1				<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
F				<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
	Gaude	Maria	Gabrielem...archangelum	scimus...affatum	uterum tuum	de spiritu...natum

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos (O24)

W1				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant – II</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant – II</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant – II</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
	Concede	Adiuvent nos	eorum...propria	impediunt	scelera	excuset... accio	et qui...palmam triumphi	nobis	veniam...peccati

F		II	II	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		II	II	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Regnum mundi V. Eructavit cor meum (O29)

W1		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>						
F											
W2											
	Regnum	mundi	Eructavit	cor	meum	verbum	bonum	dico	ego	opera mea	regi

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Figure 5.8 *Organa* in only F and W2, both versions of which are essentially the same with some passages of *purum* and *discant* substituted

Ad nutum V. Ut vicium virtus (O18)

F		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Ad	nutum	Ut vicium	virtus	operiret	gratia	culpam	

W2			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Te sanctum dominum V. Cherubin quoque as seraphin (O22)

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>		
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>		
	Te sanctum	dominum	Cherubin quoque	ac seraphin	sanctus	proclamant	et omnis	celicus	ordo	testatur

F		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Qui sunt isti V. Candidiores nive (O26)

F		<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>			
	Qui sunt	isti	Candidiores	nive	nitidiores	lacte	rubicundiores	ebore	antiquo		

F			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset (O31)

F					<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>
W2						<i>Discant</i>
	Terribilis est	Cumque	evigilasset	Iacob	sompno ait	

F	I			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2	I			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

That leaves *organa* the different versions of which contain alternative passages of *organum purum*. Five of these appear in the same or almost the same way in F and W2 but very differently in W1. The relationships between the versions of these *organa* are summarised in **Table 5.9** and passages are marked as either in the core style, or using building-block melodies. Blank boxes show melodies that are neither in the core style nor made up of building blocks.

The F and W2 versions of *In columbe V. Vox domini* are the same apart from a short passage on ‘deus’. They are different from the W1 version apart from the end of the responsory and the end of the verse, where the same passages of *discant* appear in all three versions. The passage on ‘super aquas’ is the same passage of *purum* in all three manuscripts and the passage on ‘deus’ is the same in W1 and F. All of the *organum purum* melodies in W1 are in the core style, as are those shared by W1 and F, or by all three versions. All of those melodies that appear either in F and W2 or only in W2 are in the building-block style.

The F and W2 versions of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* are the same. They share just one passage of *discant* with the W1 version. All of the *purum* melodies in W1 are in the core style. This *organum* is not in one of the three families outlined earlier in the chapter. The *purum* melodies in F and W2 do still make use of building-blocks from Group IV, however. Otherwise, the *purum* melodies shared by F and W2 move freely and do not use repetition or patterning like those in the core style.

The three versions of *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* share just one passage of *discant*. Again, all of the *purum* melodies in the W1 version are in the core style. The relationship between the F and W2 versions is complicated because the F version relates loosely to the F/W2 version of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem*, whereas the W2 version is a contrafactum of it. Even so, all of the *purum* melodies in both the F and W2 versions of *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* either use Group IV building blocks or are freely moving.

The three versions of *Ex eius tumba V. Cateratim ruunt* have the same setting of the responsory section but the verse is the same in F and W2 and unique in W1. The melodies shared between all three versions of the responsory are in the core style, as are those that are unique to W1 in the verse. Those shared only by F and W2 are made up of building-block melodies shared by the *organa* in Family III. In the Gloria, a short passage differs in F and W2. The passage in F is a Family-III building block and the passage in W2 is in the core style.

The three versions of *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* are related in the same way. The melodies shared between all three versions of the responsory are in the core style, as are those that are unique to W1 in the verse. Those shared by just F and W2 make use of building-blocks from Families II and III and Group IV, and otherwise move freely.

Almost always in these five *organa*, therefore, melodies shared by all three versions, as well as those unique to W1, are in the core style, whereas those shared by just F and W2 are in the building-block style. In the case of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem*, *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* and *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate*

ergo, the F and W2 versions use some building-block melodies and elsewhere contain freely moving-melodies which are stylistically very different from those in the core style.

Figure 5.9 The Style of *Organa* that are the Same in F and W2 and very different in W1

In columbe V. Vox domini (O4)

W1	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>
F	I	<i>Discant</i>	I	I	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant - I</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>	I	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>
W2	I	<i>Discant</i>	I	I	<i>Discant</i>		IV	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant - I</i>	I	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>
	In columbe		Vox	domini	super	aquas	deus	maiestatis	intonuit	dominus	super	aquas	multas

F	I	I	<i>Discant - I</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>
W2	I	I	<i>Discant - I</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem (O10)

W1	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
F	<i>Discant</i>		IV	<i>Discant</i>	IV	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2	<i>Discant</i>		IV	<i>Discant</i>	IV	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Non	conturbetur	Ego	rogabo	patrem	et alium	paraclitum	dabit	vobis	

F	IV	<i>Discant</i>	IV	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2	IV	<i>Discant</i>	IV	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto	

Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes (O11)

W1	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	
F	<i>Discant</i>		IV	<i>Discant</i>	IV	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
W2	<i>Discant</i>		IV	<i>Discant</i>	IV	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
	Dum	complerentur	Repleti	sunt	omnes	spiritu	sancto	et ceperunt	loqui	

W2	IV	<i>Discant</i>	IV	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto	

Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt (O25)

W1								<i>Discant</i>		
F			III	III	III	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2			III	III	III	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Ex eius	tumba	Catervatim	ruunt	populi	cernere	cupientes	que pro eum	fiunt	mirabilia

F	III	III	III	<i>Discant - III</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2	III	III	III		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et	filio	et spiritui	sancto

Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo (O28)

W1						<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
F		II	III	IV		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2		II	III	IV		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Sint lumbi	Vigilate ergo	quia nescitis	qua hora	dominus	vester	venturus	sit	

F	II	II	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

To demonstrate the style of these freely-moving melodies, **Figure 5.14** shows all of the *organum purum* in the F and W2 verse of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem*. Passages ‘A’, ‘C’ and ‘D’ are three Group IV building-block melodies. Apart from the use of pattern X at the cadence at ‘B’, the *purum* melodies that are not part of one of these building blocks move freely. They are not generated through repetition and development and they are not patterned, unlike the melodies in the core style.

Figure 5.14 *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): F (*ordines* 15-34) and W2 (*ordines* 14-35)

The figure displays musical notation for the organum *purum* in two versions: F (ordines 15-34) and W2 (ordines 14-35). The notation is presented in three systems, each consisting of a treble staff and a bass staff. The first system shows a treble staff with a melodic line labeled 'A' and a bass staff with a few notes. The second system shows a treble staff with a melodic line labeled 'B' and a bass staff with a few notes. The third system shows a treble staff with a melodic line labeled 'C' and a bass staff with a few notes. The fourth system shows a treble staff with a melodic line labeled 'D' and a bass staff with a few notes. The lyrics 'ro- ga- bo pa- trem' are written below the treble staff in the fourth system.

As already discussed, the F and W2 versions of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* and *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* are closely related and many of the same *duplum* melodies appear in each. There are, therefore, no different *duplum* melodies to discuss in *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* that do not appear in *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem*.

The other passage that contains these freely-moving melodies is on ‘quia nescitis’ in the F and W2 versions of *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo*. This passage is shown in **Figure 5.15**. The *ordines* at ‘A’ are a phrase usually shared by *organa* in Family III. The passage immediately after this is one of the Group IV patterns (‘B’). The rest of the melody is not made up of building blocks but it is still much more like the building-block melodies stylistically than like melodies in the core style. At ‘C’, the two short phrases begin in the same way, descending by step from c. The second phrase then continues differently. This development is, like all the melodic development in the building-block melodies, limited and contained within this pair of *ordines*. The two phrases themselves are short and the development minimal. This is very different from the extensive and often extended development in core style melodies. The melody then continues freely to the end of the passage. The only element of patterning is the use of pattern X at the cadence at ‘D’. Pattern X is used in this way in the building-block melodies.

Figure 5.15 *Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo* (O28): F (*ordines* 27-41) and W2 (*ordines* 25-38)

er- go qui- a

nes- ci- tis

Altogether then, the *purum* melodies in these five *organa* that are shared only by F and W2 are crafted in a very different way from those either shared by all three manuscripts or those unique to W1. They are either made out of fixed, building blocks that are shared exactly by different *organa*, or they move freely, without repetition or development. All the other melodies in these *organa*, whether they are shared by all three versions or unique to W1, are in the core style, and use repetition, development, sequencing and patterning regularly.

As well as these passages shared by just F and W2 that are in the building-block style, there are a handful of passages unique to F in the building-block style as well. *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* appears just in W1 and F (Table 5.10). The responsories of the two versions are the same but the verses are different. Like those melodies shared by all three manuscripts in the previous group, those shared between the two versions of this *organum* (in the responsory) are in the core style. Like the melodies unique to W1 discussed in the previous section, the melodies unique to W1 in this *organum* are also in the core style. Those unique to F use building-block melodies shared by the *organa* in Family III. The significance of the F Gloria being in the core style will be discussed later.

Table 5.10 *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* (O2)

W1		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
F		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	III	III	III	III	<i>Discant</i>
	Descendit	de celis	Tanquam	sponsus	dominus	procedens	de thalamo	suo	

F	<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

There are other passages unique to F in *Inter natos homo missus* (Table 5.11). The W1 and W2 versions are the same but the F version is unique on ‘homo missus a deo’ in the verse. All the *purum* melodies shared by either all three manuscripts or by just W1 and W2 are in the core style. The unique passages in F are made up of Family III building-block melodies. The two versions of the Gloria are the same apart from on ‘et filio et spiritui’. The *purum* melodies in the W2 version of this passage are in the core style. Those in F are Family III building blocks.

Table 5.11 *Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus* (O13)

W1								<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
F			III	III	III			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2								<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Inter natos	Fuit	homo	missus	a deo	cui nomen	Iohannes	erat	

F				III	<i>Discant - III</i>	<i>Discant</i>
W2					<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et	filio	et spiritui	sancto

These two *organa* are therefore like those explored in the previous section. Where two versions of an extended passages or section exist, one is in the core style and one is in the building-block style. In these *organa*, melodies unique to F and in the building-block style and all the others are in the core style.

The only other *organum* in the central repertory is *Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix* (Table 5.12). It appears only in F and W2 and the two versions are related in a more complicated way than versions of any other *organa* in F and W2. Both versions include both some melodies in the core style and some that make use of building-blocks from Family I and Group IV. This *organum* will be discussed in detail later in the chapter, as it is idiosyncratic in a number of ways.

Overall, a number of things can be said about the distribution of the two styles in the central repertory:

- Most of the *organum purum* in the central repertory is in the core style.
- Where a passage is shared by all three versions of an *organum*, it is almost always in the core style.
- Where a passage is shared between versions of an *organum* that appear in either just W1 and F, or F and W2, it is also in the core style.
- Melodies unique to W1 are in the core style.
- Melodies shared only by F and W2 are either building blocks shared across different *organa* or they move freely, without repetition or patterning.
- There are also some melodies unique to F that are in the building-block style.
- There are only a small number of building-block melodies in passages that are shared either by all three versions of an *organum*, or both versions of an *organum* where it appears only in F and W2.

From this, it can be concluded that creating melodies in the core style was a widespread and well-established practice, since by far the majority of the *purum* melodies in these *organa* are in the core style, as well as most of those shared by all versions of a particular *organum*. There was also an alternative way of making melody out of building blocks shared across different *organa*. These building-block melodies and the melodies used around them within the same sections and passages mostly moved freely and only used repetition, development and patterning in a limited number of very specific ways. It seems that this alternative way of making melody was specific to the musicians whose tradition is reflected in F and W2. This goes some way towards answering the questions that I set out earlier in this chapter. It suggests why the F and W2 versions are similar, and why they are often so different from the W1 versions. Melodies unique to W1 are in the core style, like the melodies in the rest of the repertory, and the melodies in F and W2 are made up of building blocks or are freely moving.

It cannot, of course, be said that the F and W2 repertories are entirely distinct from that in W1. On the contrary, large amounts of *organum purum* are shared between all three manuscripts. The use of building blocks and core style melodies are also not mutually exclusive. There are many core style melodies recorded in F and W2 and there are a number of *organa* that include individual building-block melodies alongside passages in the core style. For instance, building blocks appear at the opening of the verse and Gloria in all three versions of *Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote*. The rest of the *purum* melodies in this *organum* are in the core style. Similarly, there are some short building-block melodies used in the Gloria of *Concede nobis*

domine V. *Adiuvent nos*, all versions of which are the same throughout, and at the start of the Gloria in the two versions of *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset* in F and W2. In both these *organa*, all of the other melodies are in the core style.

In these three *organa*, however, there are only short passages of building-block melody used alongside many more passages of melody in the core style. By contrast, the F and W2 versions of a number of these central-repertory *organa* make markedly more extensive use of building-block melodies. In most cases nearly all of the *purum* melodies in sections shared just by F and W2 are made up of building blocks. Whilst building blocks do appear in other *organa*, therefore, they are used in a very different and much more pervasive way in the F and W2 versions of some of these *organa*. It is possible perhaps that many musicians sometimes exploited the possibility of reusing longer sections of *purum* melody over closely related tenor, but that those whose tradition is recorded in F and W2 made a particularly extensive and concentrated use of this technique.

I discussed in the previous chapter how stylistic chronologies have been used by scholars to explain how the repertory came to be recorded with such variety and how such chronologies do not stand up. We cannot assume that melodies in either the core style or building-block style are earlier or later. There is, however, evidence to suggest that sometimes passages in the building-block style might have been substituted into versions of *organa* in the core style.

The F version of *Inter natos* V. *Fuit homo missus* contains individual passages in the verse and Gloria in the building-block style. All of the other *purum* melodies, whether in all three manuscripts or shared just by W1 and W2, are in the core style. Given that they are stylistically distinct from the rest of the *organum purum* in all three versions, it is possible that the building-block passages in the F version were substituted into a complete version in the core style that was circulated fairly stably and was therefore recorded in the same way in W1 and W2.

The F version of *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* has the same setting of the responsory section as the W1 version. This is in the core style. The verse in W1 is in the core style and the verse in F is in the building-block style. The Gloria even though it appears only in F, is in the core style. The verse in F is, therefore, stylistically different from the rest of the *organum*. Perhaps then, the building-block melodies in the F verse were substituted into a whole version of the *organum* (including a Gloria) that was entirely in the core style.

Similarly, *Ex eius tumba* V. *Catervatim ruunt* and *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo* have the same setting of the responsory section in all three manuscripts. These are in the core style. The W1 setting of the verse stays in the same style as the responsory, but the verses and Glorias in F and W2 are in the building-block style. Perhaps, therefore, the verses and Glorias in the F and W2 versions were substituted into versions that were, like the responsories they appear alongside, in the core style.

It is possible then that sometimes passages in the building-block style replaced those in the core style. This may not always have been the case, however. Passages in the building-block style could have been replaced

with melodies in the core style, and musicians may not even have thought about replacing passages in one version with others at all. They may simply have sung versions of these *organa* using passages in the core style or the building-block style in whatever combination that preferred in that moment, perhaps also providing some new polyphony or singing in a style not recorded in the extant manuscripts at all. It also need not necessarily be the case that versions with building-block melodies were later, even if passages in the core style were replaced with those in the building-block style. There might instead have simply been two concurrent, alternative ways of creating *organum purum* melodies and using them when singing whole *organa dupla*.

Indeed, in some places in F, the same passage of tenor melody is elaborated twice, once in the core style and once in the building-block style. There are two versions of the verse *Et respicientes* (from the responsory *Et valde mane V. Et respicientes*) recorded in F. The first of these is almost entirely the same as the verse of *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* in F and is therefore in the building-block style. The second version is in the core style. It contains large amounts of repetition and development, some of which plays out across several *ordines*, as well as other kinds of repetition and patterning. Craig Wright has argued that the copying of two versions of *Et valde mane V. Et respicientes* was the result of these responsories being sung on more than one occasion in the celebration of the office. Based on a number of chant rubrics, he proposed that the second version was probably sung as a processional before Easter mass.⁹ This may have been true, but another reason for including both might have been the opportunity to include *organum purum* in two distinct styles. This seems possible given the fact that one of the aims of the compiler of F was to include as much polyphony as they could.¹⁰

Importantly, the tenor melodies of the two versions of *Et respicientes* are different. The first version, in the building-block style, has the same tenor melody as the verse of *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* in F and the second version, in the core style, has the same tenor melody as the verse of *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus* in W1. It is possible, therefore, that these two traditions, which had different ways of creating *dupla* polyphony, also had different ways of singing this particular chant melody. It is unfortunately not possible to make further comment on this based just on this one chant melody.

Similarly, there are two versions of the responsory *In columbe* recorded in F, one before and one after the verse *Vox domini*. The one before the verse is in the building-block style and the other is in the core style. The core style version also appears in W1.

The *organum purum* from the building-block version appears in **Figure 5.16**. It begins simply with the *duplum* melody moving by step, up and down within a limited range. Pattern X appears at the cadence at 'A'. The passage at 'B' is one of the Group IV building blocks.

⁹ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 264-5.

¹⁰ For an introduction to manuscript F, see pages 11-2.

Figure 5.16 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): W2 (*ordines* 1-9) and F (*ordines* 1-8)

The figure displays two systems of musical notation for the vocal part of 'In columbe V. Vox domini'. Each system consists of a treble clef staff with a soprano line and a bass clef staff with a bass line. The lyrics 'In co-lum-be' are written below the staves. The first system is marked with 'A' above a bracketed section of the soprano line. The second system is marked with 'B' above a bracketed section of the soprano line. The music features a series of repeated notes and descending scales.

The core-style version (the second version in F and the version in W1) appears in **Figure 5.17**. At 'A', a descending scale is followed by a repeated note cadential pattern. At 'B', there is another scale from *f*, this time a sixth rather than a fourth. This is followed by the same rising-falling repeated note figure, this time a third lower, before the *duplum* descends again into the cadence. The phrase at 'C' uses two fourth descending scales and then ends in the same way as 'B', but a fifth lower. There is no patterning of this kind in the other version of this responsory recorded in F and W2.

Figure 5.17 *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* (O4): W1 (1-8)

The figure displays two systems of musical notation for the vocal part of 'In columbe V. Vox domini'. Each system consists of a treble clef staff with a soprano line and a bass clef staff with a bass line. The lyrics 'In co-lum-be' are written below the staves. The first system is marked with 'A' above a bracketed section of the soprano line. The second system is marked with 'B' and 'C' above bracketed sections of the soprano line. The music features a series of repeated notes and descending scales, with some sections circled to highlight specific patterns.

There are also two versions of the responsory *Sint lumbe* recorded in F. The first, recorded at the beginning of the *organum*, is in the core style. The second, recorded after the Gloria, is the same as the building-block version of *In columbe*. (The tenor melodies are the same.) For this *organum* as well, therefore, F contains two possible versions of the reponsory section containing melodies made in different ways.

These examples confirm that, whilst sometimes passages of melody in the core style might be replaced by melodies made up of building blocks, this cannot be taken to indicate a chronological relationship between passages of polyphony in the core style and those in the building-block style. Instead, there were simply two different ways of creating *purum* melodies and singing *dupla* polyphony that coexisted and shaped the repertory as it was recorded.

5.6 Postscript

Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix: An Interesting Anomaly

There is one *organum* in the central repertory that I have not been discussed so far because it is unique in a number of ways and because a discussion of this *organum* functions as a good transition into the final chapter.

Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix is in F and W2 only. The relationship between the two versions of this *organum* is complicated (see **Table 5.13**). A number of passages are shared by both versions, but there are also passages of *organum purum* that are unique in both. I have marked the start of the verse in F and the start of the Gloria in W2 in yellow because these contain the same *duplum* melodies as each other and are therefore not really unique.

Both versions contain some *organum purum* melodies in the core style, in the responsory and on ‘patri’ in the Gloria. The passage on ‘flos filius’ in F is also in the core style. This passage is *discant* in W2. There are also a large number of building-block melodies used in both versions of this *organum*. In this way, both versions seem to have been shaped by the same creative tradition that shaped many of the other *organa* in F and W2.

Table 5.13 *Stirps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix* (O16)

F		<i>Discant</i>	I	I	IV	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>
W2		<i>Discant</i>	?	?	IV	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Stirps	Jesse	Virgo	dei	genetrix	virga	est	flos filius	eius
F	I	I	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>				
W2	I	I	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>				
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto				

The passages on ‘Virgo’ and ‘dei’ in W2 deserve particular attention, however. These passages appear in **Figure 5.18**. Apart from the cadential *ordines* at the end of ‘Virgo’ and ‘dei’, the rest of the melody is generated by very tight repetition and development. At ‘A’, the second *ordo* is an almost direct repetition of the first but the final interval is extended from a fourth to a fifth. The pattern that finishes the first *ordo* at ‘A’ is then taken by itself and transposed upwards (at the start of ‘B’). Passages ‘A’ and ‘C’ begin in the same way, but at ‘C’, the melody finishes by descending rather than ascending. This means that all of the first five *ordines* of this passage are all very closely related melodically.

At ‘D’, there is a whole-*ordo* sequence with a very slight alteration of pitch at the end of the second *ordo*. At ‘E’, the first and second halves of the *ordo* are related. Both begin with an oscillation below a, before a scalic descent. The first time, the melody oscillates a third a-F-a, then descends a fourth. The second time, the melody oscillates a second, then descends a fifth.

Figure 5.18 *Stirps Jesse* V. *Virgo dei genetrix*: (O16): W2 (*ordines* 20-31)

Vir-

go de- i

The melodies in these passages are in many ways like those in the core style, since they were generated through extended repetition and development that governs a number of *ordines*. Perhaps, however, the development here is even more extensive and particularly more systematic than in the core style. Apart from the cadential *ordines*, the whole of the rest of the melody is generated through systematic intervallic expansion, direct transposition, or direct repetition. Both phrases (on ‘Virgo’ and ‘dei’) explore and develop a single melodic idea, in such a way as to make the whole of the phrase closely related to the melodic pattern sung in the first *ordo* on each of these words. Whilst there is development that governs a short passage in

this way in the core style, there are no core style melodies that are quite as carefully and intricately crafted as this.¹¹

It is possible, therefore, that this is an instance in which musicians experimented with creating melodies that were even more tightly patterned and made even more extensive use of repetition and development than was customary in core style melodies. This would seem to be supported by the fact this is one of two passages in the central repertory where there is unique *organum purum* in W2, sung at the same as *organum purum* in another version, rather than just where there is *discant* in another version. The other passage appears on ‘deus’ in *In columbe V. Vox domini*.

This passage is, however, the only one created in this way. Perhaps it was just an experiment, something that was created and enjoyed and therefore became an established way of singing this particular *organum*. Perhaps it might be a glimpse of another established way of creating melodies which uses repetition extremely systematically. Without more melodies created in this way, we will never know. What can be said with certainty, however, is that, by contrast, multiple passages were created in both the core style and in the building-block style so these were established ways of creating melody shared by a number of musicians.

¹¹ The three-voice versions of this responsory that are copied in F (fasc. 2, 26v-28r) and W1 (fasc. 7, 61v-62v) have also been characterized as idiosyncratic by Alejandro Enrique Planchart (see ‘The Flowers Children’, *Journal of Musicological Research*, 22, 2003, 303–348.) He pointed out that the *clausula* on ‘virga est’ is both stylistically unique compared to the material around it and similar in length to the two-voice mini *clausulae* in F (fasc.5, fols. 178r–184v). This makes it the only such ‘mini’ *clausulae* in the extant three- or four-voice repertory (310). As well as this, in the F version, two alternative *clausulae* are copied in succession over the tenor melodies on the words ‘Iesse’ and ‘eius’. This is in itself unusual, but Planchart also noted that the first of the two in each case (which were copied only in F, not W1) contain tenor variants not found in Parisian chant sources. He suggested, particularly given their use of undifferentiated tenor melodies usually associated with the earlier layers of Notre Dame composition, that they were perhaps copied into the exemplar from which F was copied before it had become established practice to copy separate collections of alternative *clausulae* (310-3). Finally, he explored two other three-voice *clausulae* in F that could be substituted into this setting, one on ‘flos filius eius’ (fasc. 1, fols. 11r–11v) and one on eius (fasc. 1, fol. 11v). He showed that the first of these has an unusual rhythmic construction and an extremely intricate phraseology, involving differing phrase lengths in the different voices and very few simultaneous rests (317-21).

6. Other Creative Styles in the F and W1 *Unica*

In Chapter 5, I identified within the central-repertory *organa* evidence to suggest that there were two different established ways in which musicians created *organa purum* melodies and used them as part of *organa dupla*. In this chapter, I will explore the other office *dupla* in F and W1, most of which are *unica* in the three manuscript collections under consideration here.¹ I will ask if these pieces show that there were yet other ways in which musicians created *purum* melodies.

As well as the sixteen *organa* discussed in the previous two chapters that appear in more than one manuscript (termed the central-repertory *organa*), there are also a number of *organa* that appear only in W1 and F. The creative styles evident in these groups of *organa* will be the subject of this chapter. The office *dupla* repertory in F, W1 and W2 is summarized in **Table 6.1**. Those *organa* that appear in more than one manuscript are marked in blue.

In F, there are fifteen *organa* in the main cycle of thirty-one that are not in either W1 or W2. Four of those are *organa* on processional chants. The processional pieces are shown in yellow and the others in purple. There are also three pieces at the end of the F collection (red) (again which do not appear in W1 or W2). These are physically separated from the other office *dupla* because they are preceded by a collection of *Benedicamus domino* settings. These form a small liturgical cycle of their own and two of them are for feasts that have already been provided with polyphony earlier in the collection.

At the end of the collection in W1, there are also three pieces that are outside of the main liturgical cycle (green). These include two *dupla* on office chants for St Andrew, which are not in F or W2, and then *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia*, a setting of a mass gradual, another version of which appears as part of the collections of mass *organa dupla* in all three manuscripts.

The fact that these *organa* are *unica* is probably as much related to source survival as to anything particular about the *organa* themselves or the chants they elaborate. There is always the possibility that further sources or fragments could be found. Also the appearance (or not) of these *organa* within more than one of the three manuscripts under consideration here may also be related to liturgical need or interest; it may have nothing to do with the way these *organa* were created. The division between those pieces discussed in the previous two chapters and those under consideration here is therefore as much an analytical one as anything

¹ The mass *organum*, *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia*, is recorded with the office *dupla* only in W1. It is, however, recorded with the mass *dupla* in all three manuscripts. As will be discussed later in this chapter (section beginning page 270), there is only a small amount of overlap between the version recorded in W1 with the office *dupla* and the version recorded with the mass *dupla* in all three manuscripts. Whilst there is no two-voice version of *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset* (O14) in either W1 or W2, a fragment of a two-voice setting of this chant can be found in the Stary Sacz fragments (Stary Sacz, Klasztor PP. Klarysek, fragments extracted from the binding of the gradual D.2).

else: there is simply the opportunity to compare different versions of the *organa* in the central repertory, an opportunity that does not exist for the majority of the *organa* under discussion here. The starting point for this analysis is not therefore that these *organa* are definitely different from those in the central and that therefore they must have been created in a different way. It is simply that, taking into account the whims of source survival and liturgical need and interest, there is the possibility that these pieces might have been different from those in the central repertory and that therefore it might be revealing to ask if they were created in different ways.

This is particularly important in discussion of the *unica* recorded in the main cycle of thirty-one in F that are not processional pieces. The pieces at the end of the cycles in F and W1 are physically separated from the other pieces in the collection and form their own separate liturgical cycles. The processional pieces in F have a different liturgical function. The remaining pieces in the main cycle in F are not separated from the rest of the collection in any of these ways. Very possibly therefore the only thing to distinguish these pieces from the *organa* in the central repertory is the fact that they happen not to have been copied in W1 or W2. This may have been for a reason entirely unrelated to how they were created.

Table 6.1 The Office *Organa Dupla*

	Ludwig No.	F	W1	W2
<i>Iudea et Iherusalem V. Constantes estote</i>	O1			
<i>Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus</i>	O2			
<i>Verbum caro factum est V. In principio</i>	O3			
<i>In columbe V. Vox domini</i>	O4			
<i>Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum</i>	O5			
<i>Hodie beata virgo</i>	O6			
<i>Et valde mane V. Et respicientes</i>	O7			
<i>Dicant nunc Iudei</i>	O8			
<i>Crucifixum in carne</i>	O9			
<i>Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem</i>	O10			
<i>Dum completerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes</i>	O11			
<i>Invenit eos concordēs</i>	O12			
<i>Inter natos V. Fuit homo missus</i>	O13			
<i>Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset</i>	O14			
<i>Petre amas me V. Symon Iohannis</i>	O15			
<i>Styrps Jesse V. Virgo dei genetrix</i>	O16			
<i>Veni electa V. Specie tua</i>	O17			
<i>Ad nutum V. Ut viciū virtus</i>	O18			
<i>Solem iusticie V. Cernere divinum</i>	O19			
<i>Maria qui dimissa sunt V. Cui proprium</i>	O20			
<i>Per tuam V. Misere nosti</i>	O21			
<i>Te sanctum dominum V. Cherubin quoque ac seraphin</i>	O22			
<i>Preciosus domini Dyonisius V. Athleta domini Dyonisius</i>	O23			
<i>Concede nobis domine V. Adiuvent nos</i>	O24			
<i>Ex eius tumba V. Catervatim ruunt</i>	O25			
<i>Qui sunt isti V. Candidiores nive</i>	O26			
<i>Sancte Germane V. O sancte Germane</i>	O27			
<i>Sint lumbi V. Vigilate ergo</i>	O28			
<i>Regnum mundi V. Eructavit cor meum</i>	O29			
<i>Deum time V. Timentibus deum</i>	O30			
<i>Terribilis est V. Cumque evigilasset</i>	O31			
<i>Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo</i>	O32			
<i>Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis</i>	O33			
<i>Igitur dissimulata V. Cui sacerdos</i>	O34			
<i>Vir Perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi</i>	O35			
<i>Vir iste V. Pro eo ut</i>	O36			
<i>Propter veritatem V. Audi filia (mass organa)</i>	M37			

6.1 The *Unica* in the Main F Collection

I will begin with the eleven pieces in the main cycle of thirty-one *organa* in F that are *unica* (excluding the processional pieces which I will discuss in the next section). These *unica* are listed in **Figure 6.1**.

Figure 6.1 The *Unica* in the main F Collection

- Verbum caro factus est* V. *In principio* (O3)
Et valde mane V. *Respicientes* I and *Respicientes* II (O7) (There are two versions of the verse.)
Cornelius centurio vir V. *Cum orasset* (O14)
Petre amas me V. *Symon Iohannis* (O15)
Veni electa V. *Specie tua* (O17)
Solem iusticie V. *Cenere divinum* (O19)
Maria qui dimissa sunt V. *Cui proprium* (O20)
Per tuam V. *Miserere nostri* (O21)
Preciosus domini Dyonisius V. *Athleta domini Dyonisius* (O23)
Sancte Germane V. *O sancte Germane* (O27)
Deum time V. *Timentibus Deum* (O30)

A stylistic analysis of these *organa* shows that they are in many ways an extension of the central repertory as recorded in F, since all the melodies in these *organa* are either in the core style or in the building-block style. The distribution of the two styles within these *organa* is summarized in **Table 6.2**.

As in the central-repertory *organa* in F, most of the *purum* melodies were created in the core style. A number of *organa* contain only melodies in the core style: *Verbum caro factus est* V. *In principio* (O3), the second version of *Et valde mane* V. *Respicientes* (O7), *Petre amas me* V. *Symon Iohannis* (O15), *Maria qui dimissa sunt* V. *Cui proprium* (O20), *Per tuam* V. *Miserere nostri* (O21), *Sancte Germane* V. *O sancte Germane* (O27) and *Deum time* V. *Timentibus Deum* (O30).

There are also *organa* that make use of building-block melodies alongside core style melodies. These are *Cornelius centurio vir* V. *Cum orasset* (O14) and *Solem iusticie* V. *Cenere divinum* (O19), both of which use building blocks from Family II alongside melodies in the core style. In this way, they are like *Iudea et Ierusalem* V. *Constantes estote* and *Terribilis est* V. *Cumque evigilasset* in the core repertory.

Finally, there are a small number of *organa* that contain almost entirely building-block melodies. These include the first version of the verse of *Et valde mane* V. *Respicientes* (O7), which is the same as the verse of *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* in F. It uses building-block melodies from Family III. The *duplum* melodies of *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* (O17) and *Preciosus domini Dyonisius* V. *Athleta domini Dyonisius* (O23) are made up almost entirely from building-block melodies from Family I.

These pieces were then created in the same way as the others in the main cycle in F. The *purum* melodies are mostly in the core style, but there are individual *organa* which use almost entirely building-block melodies. These *organa* seem therefore to be representative of the same tradition as the central-repertory *organa* in F. This is to be expected, since the *unicum* pieces and central-repertory *organa* were recorded altogether in one continuous series. What separates the two sets of pieces has nothing to do with how they were copied in F but simply whether they were copied in the other manuscripts too. As previously mentioned, the fact that these are *unica* is probably related either to source survival or to the liturgical needs or interests of those who copied the extant manuscripts.² As we might expect therefore, there is nothing to distinguish between these and the central-repertory *organa* in F musically.

These *unica* are often considered to be younger than much of the rest of the repertory, because they are recorded only in F and do not therefore seem to have had a particularly wide dissemination. For instance, Husmann saw them as part of a later compositional layer than those pieces that appeared in more than one manuscript.³ Roesner also suggested that perhaps they appear only in F because they were created after the tradition had spread (in a more limited form) from Paris.⁴ This discussion has shown, however, that the *unica* are stylistically an extension of the central-repertory *organa* in F: that they are representative of the same creative tradition. Even though these pieces do not appear in W1 or W2 therefore, they should not be viewed as somehow separate from those *organa* in F that were also copied in the other manuscripts. All of them were shaped by musicians who created *organum purum* melodies and sang *organa dupla* in the same ways.

² See pages 233-4.

³ Husmann, 'The Origin and Destination of the Magnus liber organi', 311-30.

⁴ Roesner, 'The Problem of Chronology', 372.

Table 6.2 The Style of the *Unica* in the Main Liturgical Cycle in F

Verbum caro factus est V. In principio (O3)

F			<i>Discant</i>					<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	
	Verbum	In principio	erat	verbum	et verbum	erat	apud	deum	et deus	erat	verbum

F			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui sancto

Et valde mane V. Respicientes (O7)

F		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	III	III	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Et valde		Et respicientes		viderunt	revolutum	lapidem	erat	quippe	magnus	valde

		<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>		
	Et respicientes		viderunt	revolutum	lapidem	erat	quippe	magnus	valde

Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset (O14)

F		II	II	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>				
	Cornelius	Cum	orasset	Cornelius	non dum in Christo	renatus	apparuit ei	angelus	dicens

F	II		<i>Discant</i>		
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Petre amas me V. Symon Iohannis (O15)

F			<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>						<i>Discant</i>	
	Petre	amas me		Symon	Iohannis	diligis me	plus hiis	tu scis	domine	quid	amo te	

F				<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui sancto

Veni electa V. Specie tua (O17)

F		I	<i>Discant - I</i>	<i>Discant</i>	I	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	I
	Veni	Specie tua	et pulcritudine	tua	intende	prosperere	procede	et regna

Solem iusticie V. Cenere divinum (O19)

F		II	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Solem	Cenere	divinum	lumen	gaudete	fideles

F	II			<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Maria qui dimissa sunt V. Cui proprium (O20)

F			<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Maria	Cui	proprium est	misereri	semper	et parcere

F		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Per tuam V. Miserere nostri (O21)

F						<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>
	Per tuam	Miserere	nostri	Ihesu	benigne	qui	passus es	clementer	pro nobis	

F			<i>Discant</i>			<i>Discant</i>	
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto		

Preciosus domini Dyonisius V. Athleta domini Dyonisius (O23)

F		<i>Discant</i>	I	I	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>	<i>Discant - I</i>
	Preciosus	Athleta	domini	Dyonisius	psalebatur	dicens	

Sancte Germane V. O sancte Germane (O27)

F		<i>Discant</i>						<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>		
	Sancte	Germane	O	sancte	Germane	sydus aureum	domini	gratia servorum gemitus	solita	suscipe		clementiam

F				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

Deum time V. Timentibus Deum (O30)

F		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>				<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Deum	time	Timentibus	deum	nichil deest	nec hiis	qui eum	diligunt	inveritate	

F		<i>Discant</i>		<i>Discant</i>	<i>Discant</i>
	Gloria	patri	et filio	et spiritui	sancto

6.2 The Processional *Organa* in F

The same cannot be said of the processional *organa* recorded alongside these in the main collection of thirty-one in F. There are five of these pieces: *Hodie beata virgo* (O6), *Dicant nunc Iudei* (O8), two settings of *Crucifixum in carne* (O9) and *In venit eos concordēs* (O12). The second of the two settings of *Crucifixum in carne* is also found in W2 at the end of the collection of mass *organa* (fol. 87v). These consist of single section of polyphony, rather than a responsory, verse and Gloria.

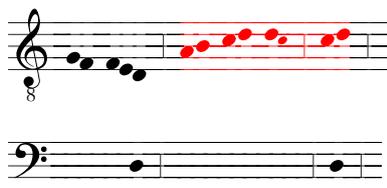
Two of the five pieces (*Crucifixum in carne* II and *In venit eos concordēs*) are written in the core style, so they are no different from many of the pieces they are copied within F. The other three pieces, however, show musicians experimenting with markedly different kinds of creation from those seen anywhere else in the repertory (in any of the three manuscripts).

6.2.1 *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): A Game of Repetition

In the core style, repetition is used ubiquitously. This repetition is on the short term. Patterns are immediately repeated, developed or used in sequence, and sometimes a short pattern is repeated a number of times across several consecutive *ordines*. In *Hodie beata virgo*, repetition is used differently from anywhere else in the repertory. There are three melodic patterns that are repeated a number of times not in successive *ordines* or across a short passage but separated across the whole *organum*.

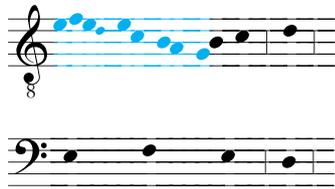
The first pattern that is repeated in this way is the cadential pattern in **Figure 6.2**. It appears at the end of every individual passage to articulate the cadence so is used on five separate occasions. No other cadential patterns are used anywhere in the piece.

Figure 6.2 *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): F (*ordines* 7-9)



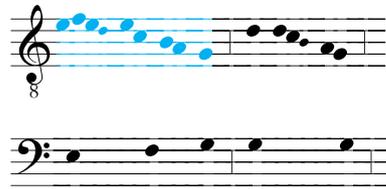
The next pattern appears in **Figures 6.3** and **6.4**. It is an oscillation around an e followed by a descent. It is used on seven separate occasions during the *organum*. It appears over a tenor melody that rises from E to F.

Figure 6.3 *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): F (*ordines* 18-9)



ma- ri- [a]

Figure 6.4 *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): F (*ordines* 39-40)



re- ple- [tus]

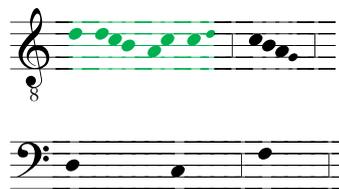
The final pattern is used over a tenor melody that descends by step. It begins on a d, both at a fifth over a tenor G (**Figure 6.5**) and at an octave over a tenor D (**Figure 6.6**). It is used on five separate occasions during the *organum*.

Figure 6.5 *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): F (*ordines* 30-1)



[presen-]ta- vit

Figure 6.6 *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): F (*ordines* 43-4)



spi- ri- [tu]

All of the appearances of these patterns are marked in the full transcription of this *organum* in **Figure 6.7**: Pattern 1 (red); Pattern 2 (blue); Pattern 3 (Green). They are spread out evenly through the verse.

Figure 6.7 *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): F

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a common time signature (C) and a '8' below it. It contains a melodic line with various notes, some of which are highlighted in red. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a common time signature (C) and a '8' below it, containing a bass line with several notes.

Ho- di- e be- a- ta vir- go

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a common time signature (C) and a '8' below it. It contains a melodic line with various notes, some of which are highlighted in blue, red, and green. A fermata is placed over the notes for 'e be- a- ta'. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a common time signature (C) and a '8' below it, containing a bass line with several notes.

ma- ri- a pu- er- rum Ihe- sum pre- sen- ta- vit in tem- plum

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a common time signature (C) and a '8' below it. It contains a melodic line with various notes, some of which are highlighted in blue and green. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a common time signature (C) and a '8' below it, containing a bass line with several notes.

et Sy- me- on re- ple- tus spi- ri- tu sanc-

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a common time signature (C) and a '8' below it. It contains a melodic line with various notes, some of which are highlighted in red, green, and blue. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a common time signature (C) and a '8' below it, containing a bass line with several notes.

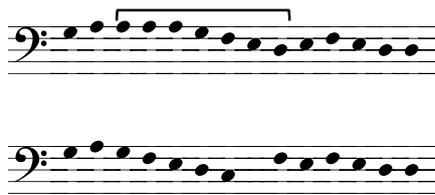
cto ac- ce- pit e- um in vul- nas su- as et

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and a bass line. The vocal line is written on a soprano clef (treble clef) and the bass line on a bass clef. The vocal line has a melisma starting with a 'B' above a bracket, indicating a breath mark. The notes in the melisma are highlighted in blue, green, blue, and red. The bass line consists of a simple harmonic accompaniment.

be- ne- di- xit de- um et di- xit

There is also a longer passage (marked ‘A’) that is repeated later in the piece (at ‘B’). In the core style, longer passages of *duplum* melody are often shared between the verse and Gloria of the same piece but they are not usually repeated within the same section of a piece, as here. In this passage, the *duplum* melody is repeated almost exactly but the tenor underneath over which it is sung is very different. The tenor melodies are compared in **Figure 6.8**. The tenor notes in vertical alignment appear at the same point in the *duplum* melody. The two tenor melodies start and end in the same way, but their middles differ (bracketed) because the first has repeated as the second has a rising C-F.

Figure 6.8 Tenor Melody Comparison



The two versions of this passage are set out in **Figures 6.9** and **6.10**. The *duplum* melodies are varied only slightly to accommodate these differences between the tenor melodies. They begin in the same way over the same tenor pitches, then the pitches of the *duplum* differ at ‘A’ where the first passage has an a in the tenor and the second a G. The *duplum* melodies then continue in the same way but over entirely different tenor pitches (‘B’). There are small differences in the *duplum* at ‘C’ because of the notes of the tenor. Both the *duplum* and tenor melodies are then the same until the cadence at ‘D’. The final *ordines* in the first passage are short and simple, appropriate to the ending of an internal passage. The second passage comes at the end of the piece and so the cadence is more elaborate. The melody uses the cadential pattern already discussed that is repeated spread across the *organum*.

Figure 6.9 *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): F (*ordines* 26-34)

The musical score for Figure 6.9 consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef with a soprano clef (8) and contains a vocal line with four melodic patterns labeled A, B, C, and D. The lower staff is a bass clef with a bass clef (8) and contains a bass line. The lyrics are: Ihe- sum pre- sen- ta- vit in tem- plum.

Figure 6.10 *Hodie beata virgo* (O6): F (*ordines* 63-71)

The musical score for Figure 6.10 consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef with a soprano clef (8) and contains a vocal line with four melodic patterns labeled A, B, C, and D. The lower staff is a bass clef with a bass clef (8) and contains a bass line. The lyrics are: di- xit de- um et di- xit.

The creator(s) of this *organum* enjoyed reusing melody in two different ways. They used a number of short patterns on several separate occasions spread out through the piece. They also repeated a more extended passage of melody within the same verse section. Melodies are not reused in this way in the rest of the repertory. Short patterns are usually repeated across successive pairs of *ordines*, or a single pattern might be used a number of times in a short passage. Individual patterns do not recur throughout the piece. Similarly, extended passages of melody are shared between related verse and Gloria sections, as well as between *organa* with related tenor melodies, but they are not reused within the same verse section.

As discussed in the previous chapter, passages of both *discant* and *organum purum*, as well as shorter *purum* phrases, were circulated individually either substituted into existing versions of *organa* or used as building-blocks for longer melodies. Some of the extant versions were then created like jigsaw puzzles created piecemeal from different short passages of polyphony. This is certainly not the case with *Hodie beata virgo*. It was created as one whole *organum*, and its creator(s) experimented with how melodies might be used and reused across an extended piece of polyphony.

6.2.2 *Dicant nunc Iudei* (O8): Part Crossing

The second of the idiosyncratic processional pieces in F is *Dicant nunc Iudei*. The creators of this piece also experimented with a way of making melody not recorded in the rest of the extant repertory.

In other *purum* melodies, the *duplum* voice tends to stay within an octave of the tenor most of the time and the two voices use octave, fifth and unison consonances regularly. In *Dicant nunc Iudei*, the two voices are consistently closer together in range than in any other piece in the *dupla* repertory. The interval between them stays almost entirely inside a fifth. In the rest of the repertory, octave consonances are used most frequently, but there are just four in this whole *organum*. One of these is at the very opening and another over the penultimate tenor note.

In other *organa*, it is unusual for the *duplum* to move underneath the tenor and when it does, there is usually just one consonance with the *duplum* underneath the tenor before the voices swap back again. An example of this comes at the beginning of the verse of *Iudea et Ierusalem V. Constantes estote*, as part of the building-block melody shared between *organa* in Family II (Figure 6.11). The *duplum* starts at an octave D-d consonance; then descends slowly through an octave, moving beneath the tenor. There is just one consonance with the *duplum* below the tenor (D *duplum* – a tenor) before the *duplum* ascends again to a unison G.

Figure 6.11 *Iudea et Ierusalem V. Constantes estote* (O1): F (*ordines* 19-23)

Con- stan- [tes]

In *Dicant nunc Iudei*, the voices cross over much more frequently; the *duplum* sits underneath the tenor for a number of consonances consecutively and a greater variety of consonances on many more pitches are formed with the *duplum* beneath the tenor. The two voices often stay in the same range for an extended passage with the *duplum* moving beneath the tenor regular and freely. In Figure 6.12, for instance, the two voices are in a similar range. The *duplum* moves in contrary motion with the tenor and so it swaps back and forth underneath the tenor as the tenor rises and falls. The points at which the *duplum* is beneath the tenor are marked in red.

Figure 6.12 *Dicant nunc Iudei* (O8): F (*ordines* 9-16)

quo mo- do mi- li- tes

Similarly, in **Figure 6.13**, the *duplum* sits underneath or at a unison with the tenor throughout.

Figure 6.13 *Dicant nunc Iudei* (O8): F (*ordines* 24-7)

se- pul- chrum

In **Figure 6.14**, the *duplum* and tenor again move in contrary motion and the *duplum* is beneath or at a unison with the tenor almost throughout.

Figure 6.14 *Dicant nunc Iudei* (O8): F (*ordines* 56-60)

iu- sti- ti- e

As can be seen, therefore, the creator(s) of this *organum* experimented with a very different relationship between the two voices than is typical across the rest of the repertory.

6.2.3 *Crucifixum in carne* I (O9): Long Cadential Melismas

The last of these idiosyncratic processional pieces is the first version of *Crucifixum in carne*. Its creator(s) crafted *duplum* melodies in yet another way not seen across the rest of the repertory. It is similar to pieces in the core style, since its melodies make regular and extended use of repetition, development and sequence. Roesner noted, however, that it is idiosyncratic in its use of *organum purum* throughout.⁵ As well as this, some of the cadential patterns used in this *organum* are much longer than those in other *purum* melodies. **Figure 6.15** from *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* shows the typical length of final *purum* melismas in the core style.

Figure 6.15 *Concede nobis domine* V. *Adiuvent nos* (O24): F (*ordines* 42-6)

The figure shows a musical score for a final melisma. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature (C) and a fermata over the final note. The bottom staff is in bass clef. The lyrics below the staves are: [impede-]unt sce- le- ra

Another example can be seen in **Figure 6.16** from *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus*. This sequential version of pattern X is amongst the longest final melismas in passages in the core style.

Figure 6.16 *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2): F (*ordines* 38-40)

The figure shows a musical score for a long final melisma. The top staff is in treble clef with a common time signature (C) and a long fermata over the final note. The bottom staff is in bass clef. The lyrics below the staves are: [Tan-] quam

A number of the final melismas in *Crucifixum in Carne* I are much longer than this. One example is the sequential passage in **Figure 6.17**. Compared to sequences that appear at cadence points in the core style, this is very extended and it has a long repeating unit that is strikingly melodically virtuosic.

⁵ Roesner, 'The Problem of Chronology', 372. Roesner pointed out the fact that the first of these two versions of O9 used an unusual amount of very florid *organum purum* that followed no regular rhythmic patterning of any kind.

Figure 6.17 *Crucifixum in carne* I (O9): F (*ordo* 67)

The figure shows two staves of musical notation. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a melodic line consisting of a series of eighth notes, starting on a G4 and moving in a generally ascending and then descending pattern. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a single note on a G3.

[ora-]

[te]

Three even longer and more virtuosic examples are shown in **Figures 6.18 – 6.20**. Movement by third features in **Figure 6.18** before the passage ends with a typical repeated-note cadential pattern.

Figure 6.18 *Crucifixum in carne* I (O9): F (*ordines* 54-7)

The figure shows two staves of musical notation. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a melodic line consisting of a series of eighth notes, starting on a G4 and moving in a generally ascending and then descending pattern. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a single note on a G3.

[surgentem]

que

In **Figure 6.19**, the *duplum* moves scalically between different points of consonance over the tenor D, beginning at a fourth, moving up to an octave, and then through a fifth to a unison.

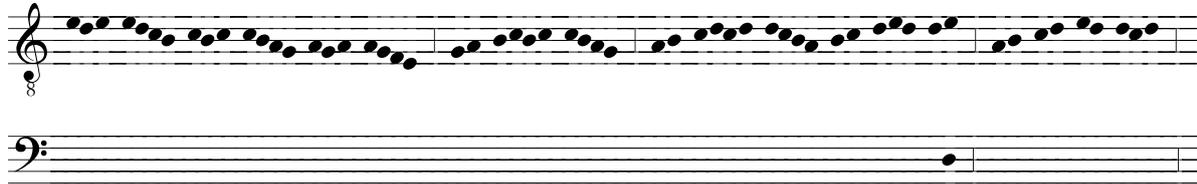
Figure 6.19 *Crucifixum in carne* I (O9): F (*ordines* 15-7)

The figure shows two staves of musical notation. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a melodic line consisting of a series of eighth notes, starting on a G4 and moving in a generally ascending and then descending pattern. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a single note on a G3.

[carne]

Figure 6.20 first uses pattern X in a descending sequence, and then a longer version of 'X' in a rising sequence, creating an extremely long final melisma.

Figure 6.20 *Crucifixum in carne* I (O9): F (*ordines* 31-4)



[sepultum]

The creators of this piece took something typical of the core style, ending passages of both *discant* and *purum* with substantial cadential *purum* melismas, and exaggerated it, ending with patterns that are much longer and more elaborate than those used at cadence points in the rest of the repertory. Craig Wright proposed that the second version of *Crucifixum in carne* was probably included in F for variety, since there were thirteen occasions where this chant might have been sung in Easter Week and Paschaltide.⁶ This may have been the case, but the second version of this piece might also have been included because it contains *duplum* melodies unlike those recorded anywhere else in the extant repertory.

Each of these three processional *organa* demonstrates a way of creating melody and polyphony that is totally unique and not found anywhere else in the extant repertory. Each of these *organa* is different from the other two. These three *organa* are not therefore the product of another distinct creative tradition. They simply show musicians experimenting with other methods of creating *dupla* polyphony. It is possible that the idiosyncratic nature of these three *organa* is related to their different liturgical function, a function which encouraged musicians to explore very different modes of creation from those they usually used.

⁶ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 264-5.

6.3 The *Unica* at the End of the F collection

The main collection of thirty-one office *dupla* in F is followed by a collection of *Benedicamus domino* settings. There are then three more settings of office responsories, *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo*, *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis*, and *Igitur dissimulatur* V. *Cui sacerdos*. These are only in F.

As well as being physically separated from the rest of the office *organa dupla* in the collection, they also form a short liturgical cycle of their own. Two of the pieces are for feasts already provided with polyphony earlier in the collection. *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* is for Ascension, like *Non conturbetur* V. *Ego rogabo patrem*. *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis* is for Pentecost, for which there are two pieces in the main collection, *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* and *Invenit eos con cordes*. Only *Igitur dissimulatur* V. *Cui sacerdos* is for a feast not provided with polyphony in the main cycle, the Invention of St Stephen on August the third.⁷

Just as these pieces are physically and liturgically set apart from the rest of the F repertory, they are stylistically distinct from it also.

6.3.1 Opening Melodies

The beginnings of passages in these three *unica* are generally similar to those in the core style, since the *duplum* melodies move freely through a wide range, sometimes using patterning and repetition. In the core style, however, there are rarely sequences at the start of sections and where there are sequences, they are short and simple. By contrast, there are a number of beginning melodies in these three *unica* which use extended sequences.

One example of this can be seen at the start of the verse of *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis* (**Figure 6.21**) where a relatively long repeating unit is sung five times. Across the core repertory, whether at the start of a section or elsewhere, sequences rarely involve more than three iterations of a repeating unit, especially one as long and elaborate as this.

⁷ Bradley has discussed these three pieces, noting that O32 and O33 should appear after O10 and O11 respectively. She pointed out that this is one of a number of instances in the office responsories in F where *organa* on related chant melodies are grouped together at the expense of correct liturgical ordering. This includes the grouping of O10 and O11, O24 and O25, and the inclusion of O32 alongside O33 and O34, all of which have very similar tenor melodies ('Mini clausulae and the *Magnus liber organus*?, 68-9). This would suggest that possibly the scribe of F (or the scribe(s) of the exemplar(s) from which they were copying) deliberately changed the ordering of the responsories, moving O32 into the appendix to pair it with *organa* with similar tenor melodies. It seems more likely that such reordering would take place within the main cycle of thirty-one, rather than that an *organum* would be moved into this appendix, since it is physically separated and the *organa* it contains are, as I have will show here, stylistically distinct from the rest of the extant office *dupla* repertory.

Figure 6.21 *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis* (O33): F (ordines 21-4)

Lo- que- [bantur]

The verse of *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* (Figure 6.22) also begins with an extended descending sequence (at ‘B’). In the core style, sequences with repeating units this long are rare anywhere and they do not appear at the start of sections at all. It is also worth noting the direct falling fourth d-a which appears right at the beginning of this passage. Many sections in other *organa* start on d then descend to a but usually this fourth is filled in as d-c-a. In fact, there are no other sections across the whole repertory that begin with a direct fall of a fourth from d to a.

Figure 6.22 *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* (O32): F (ordines 24-9)

A sum- [mo]

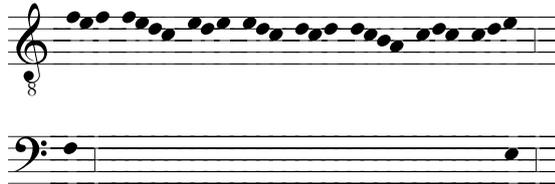
The opening phrase of the Gloria of *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis* (Figure 6.23) also ends with a sequence.

Figure 6.23 *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis* (O34): F (ordines 62-4)

Glo- [ria]

This is not such an elaborate sequence as those just discussed but its usage here is nonetheless striking. In other *purum* melodies, sequences using this particular version of pattern X (oscillation followed by a stepwise descent) appear almost exclusively at cadences starting on f, not at the beginning of sections starting on c. An example of this can be found in *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (Figure 6.24).

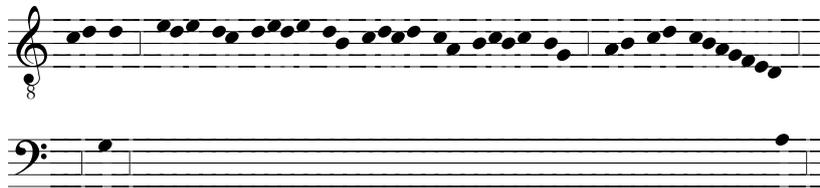
Figure 6.24 *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* (O2): W1 (ordo 26) and F (ordo 40)



[Tanquam]

Another extended sequence appears at the beginning of an internal passage in the responsory section of *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* (Figure 6.25). In the core style, sequences are much more common at the end rather than beginning of internal passages and where there is a sequence at the start of an internal passage, they are never as extended as this one. The same pattern is used here as at the start of the verse of *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis* (Figure 6.22).

Figure 6.25 *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* (O32): F (ordines 34-6)



ce-

[lo]

6.3.2 Ending Patterns

The ends of sections and internal passages in these *unica* are also idiosyncratic in a number of ways. They mostly use the same ending patterns as other *purum* melodies but do so in a different way.⁸ As in other *organa*, often there are repeated notes at the end of passages, as in **Figure 6.26** from *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos*. In other places, pattern X is used at cadences most often followed by an ascending third scale (**Figure 6.27** from *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo* and **Figure 6.28** from *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos*). Other phrases end with an ascending leap of a fourth (**Figure 6.29** from *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos* and **Figure 6.30** from *Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis*). Others end with two rising thirds by step (**Figure 6.31** from *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo* and **Figure 6.32** *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos*). This is almost always two thirds that ascends from a to c. Finally, a large number of phrases end with two pitches over the final tenor note, moving from dissonance to consonance (**Figure 6.33** from *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo*).

Repeated-Note Cadential Patterns

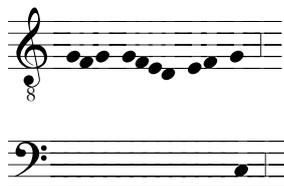
Figure 6.26 *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos* (O34): F (*ordines* 10-11) & (*ordines* 13-14)



[I-] gi- [tur] [Igi-] tur

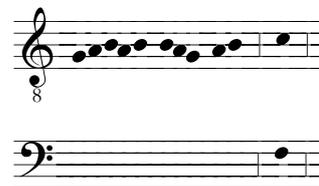
Phrases ending with pattern X and an ascending third

Figure 6.27 *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo* (O32): F (*ordo* 13)



[pulcri-] [tudo]

Figure 6.28 *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos* (O34): F (*ordines* 88-9)

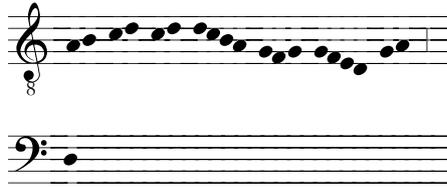


[Glo-] ri- [a]

⁸ Cadential patterns are discussed in Chapter 2 in the section beginning on page 88.

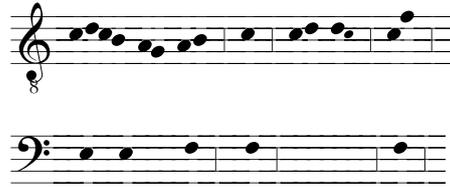
Phrases ending with an ascending fourth leap

Figure 6.29 *Igitur dissimulatur* V. *Cui sacerdos*
(O34): F (ordo 7)



[I-] [gitur]

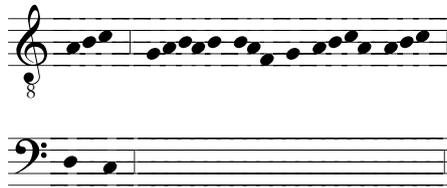
Figure 6.30 *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis*
(O33): F (ordines 65-8)



[Glor-] ri- a

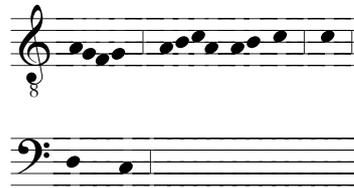
Phrases ending with two rising thirds

Figure 6.31 *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo*
(O32): F (ordines 76-7)



[e] -ius

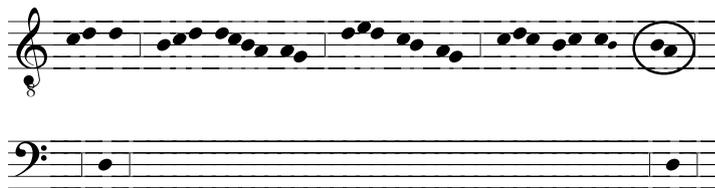
Figure 6.32 *Igitur dissimulatur* V. *Cui sacerdos*
(O34): F (ordines 22-4)



[dissimula-]tur

Phrases ending with two pitches over the final tenor note

Figure 6.33 *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* (O32): F (ordines 65-9)



us-

que

All of these patterns are found regularly in other *purum* melodies as well as in these *unica*. What is different about these *unica* is the frequency with which these patterns are used. In the core style, patterns with a specifically cadential function mostly mark only the ends of words. They sometimes mark syllable changes in the middle of a word but are rarely ever used where there is no syllable change at all.

An example of a passage in the core style is shown in **Figure 6.34** (the beginning of the verse of *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum*). Here only the ends of words are marked with cadential patterns. ‘Gabrielem’ ends with the *duplum* rising from a second below to a unison with the tenor a (at ‘C’) and ‘archangelum’ ends with the *duplum* falling from a second above into unison with the tenor c (at ‘D’). The only other cadential-type patterns do not appear where tenor notes change at all but as part of the extended phrase over the very first tenor note (repeated-note patterns at ‘A’ and ‘B’).

Figure 6.34 *Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum* (O5): W1 (*ordines* 16-36), F (*ordines* 16-37) and W2 (*ordines* 16-34)

The figure displays three systems of musical notation for the beginning of the verse 'Gaude Maria V. Gabrielem archangelum'. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a tenor line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal line, with syllables hyphenated across lines: 'Ga-', 'bri', 'el-', 'em', 'arch-', 'an-', 'ge-', 'lum'. Four specific cadential patterns are marked with brackets and letters: 'A' is a repeated-note pattern over the first tenor note; 'B' is another repeated-note pattern over the first tenor note; 'C' is a rising *duplum* pattern at the end of the word 'Gabrielem'; and 'D' is a falling *duplum* pattern at the end of the word 'archangelum'. The tenor line shows the corresponding notes for these patterns.

Cadential patterns are used in a similar way in the responsory section of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* in W1 (**Figure 6.35**). Here only three changes of tenor notes are marked with cadential patterns. At the end of ‘A’, there is a rising-fourth pattern. At ‘B’, a repeated-note pattern marks the syllable change on ‘tur’, and another repeated-note pattern comes at the end of the passage (at ‘C’).

Figure 6.35 *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* (O10): W1 (*ordines* 1-14)

Non con-

tur- be- tur

One final similar example can be seen in **Figure 6.36**, another passage in the core style, this time from an *organum* that appears only in F, *Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset*. The ends of the words ‘renatus’ (at ‘A’) and ‘apparuit’ (at ‘B’) are marked by repeated-note patterns but none of the other melismas end with specifically cadential patterns.

Figure 6.36 *Cornelius centurio vir V. Cum orasset* (O14): F (*ordines* 34-45)

re- na-

tus ap- pa- ru- it

By comparison, in the three *unica* in F, many more changes of tenor note are marked with cadential patterns. **Figure 6.37** shows all of the *purum* melodies in the responsory section of *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo*. The second tenor note at ‘A’ is marked with a repeated note pattern. At ‘B’, pattern X is followed by a rising three-note scale into the new consonance. This cadential pattern is then extended through a repeated note pattern ending with a rising fourth. The passage at ‘C’ ends with the *duplum* rising from a fourth to a fifth over the tenor D. The tenor note at ‘D’ is marked with pattern X and a rising scale, and the final tenor note of the passage (at ‘E’) is marked with a repeated-note pattern. This means that nearly every tenor note is marked with a cadential pattern, even where there is no syllable change. Of the two tenor notes that are not marked with a cadential pattern, one is the start of the new passage on the word ‘pulcritudo’. This leaves just the penultimate tenor note of the passage on the syllable ‘tu’ without a cadential pattern.

Figure 6.37 *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo* (O32): F (*ordines* 1-18)

The figure displays five systems of musical notation for the tenor part. Each system consists of a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (F major) and a common time signature (C), and a bass clef staff below it. The lyrics are written below the treble staff. Cadential patterns are indicated by brackets and letters A through E above the notes.

- System 1:** Treble staff shows a melodic line with a bracket labeled 'A' above the second note. Bass staff shows a single note.
- System 2:** Treble staff shows a melodic line with brackets labeled 'B' and 'C' above it. Bass staff shows three notes.
- System 3:** Treble staff shows a melodic line with brackets labeled 'D' and 'E' above it. Bass staff shows three notes.
- System 4:** Treble staff shows a melodic line. Bass staff shows three notes.
- System 5:** Treble staff shows a melodic line. Bass staff shows three notes.

The lyrics are: Om- nis pul- cri- tu- do

Figure 6.38 shows a passage from the verse of *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos*. Here again, all but one of the tenor notes are marked with a cadential pattern. Pattern X followed by an ascending scale appears at ‘A’, ‘C’ and ‘D’. Pattern X also appears at ‘B’ but this time it is followed by an ascending leap of a fourth.

Figure 6.38 *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos* (O34): F (*ordines* 41-9)

The figure shows two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a vocal melody line (treble clef, 8va) and a tenor line (bass clef).
 System 1: The vocal melody starts with a cadential pattern 'A' (ascending scale) over the tenor note 're-', followed by a cadential pattern 'B' (ascending leap of a fourth) over the tenor note 'spon-'.
 System 2: The vocal melody starts with a cadential pattern 'C' (ascending scale) over the tenor note 'dit', followed by a cadential pattern 'D' (ascending scale) over the tenor note 'dit'.

As well as marking more changes of tenor note with cadential patterns, there are also many more melodies in these *unica* that use two different cadential patterns in succession over one tenor note than in other *organum*. In **Figure 6.39**, from *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo*, pattern X with a rising scale appears before the new tenor note. This is followed immediately with a repeated note pattern ending with a rising fourth once the new tenor note is sounding. In **Figure 6.40**, from the same *organum*, pattern X and a rising scale lead into the cadence. Then a similar pattern to X but using a falling fifth rather than a scalic descent appears over the final tenor note of the passage. The *duplum* then rises a third by step into the cadence.

Figure 6.39 *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo* (O32): F (*ordines* 31-3)

The figure shows a single system of musical notation with a vocal melody line (treble clef, 8va) and a tenor line (bass clef). The tenor line has two notes: '[sum-]' and 'mo'.

[sum-]

mo

Figure 6.40 *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo* (O32): F (*ordines* 37-9)

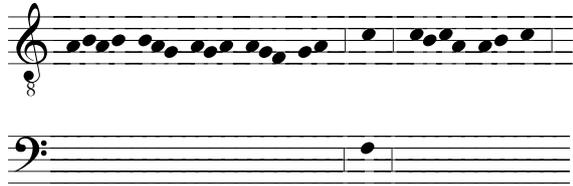
The figure shows a single system of musical notation with a vocal melody line (treble clef, 8va) and a tenor line (bass clef). The tenor line has two notes: '[ce-]' and 'lo'.

[ce-]

lo

In **Figure 6.41** from *Igitur dissimulatur* V. *Cui sacerdos*, versions of pattern X with a rising scale appear both before the new tenor note, and then above it.

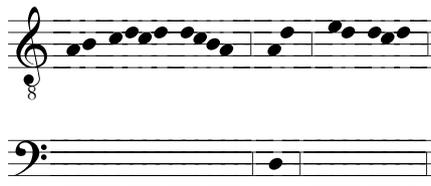
Figure 6.41 *Igitur dissimulatur* V. *Cui sacerdos* (O34): F (*ordines* 31-3)



[Cu-] i

Pattern X also appears at the cadence in **Figure 6.42** at the end of the Gloria of the same *organum*. It is followed by a rising fourth and then a repeated-note pattern over the final tenor note.

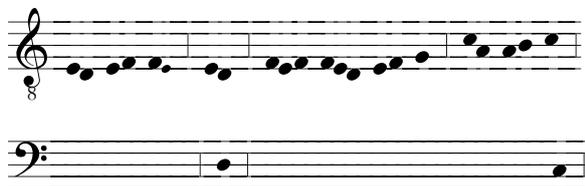
Figure 6.42 *Igitur dissimulatur* V. *Cui sacerdos* (O34): F (*ordines* 112-4)



[sanc-] cto

Finally, three different cadential patterns appear in direct succession at the end of the verse of *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis* (**Figure 6.43**). First, a repeated-note pattern leads onto the tenor D; this is followed by a version of X with a rising scale, and then the final tenor C is approached with a rising third up from a-c.

Figure 6.43 *Repleti sunt* V. *Loquebantur variis* (O33): F (*ordines* 16-20)



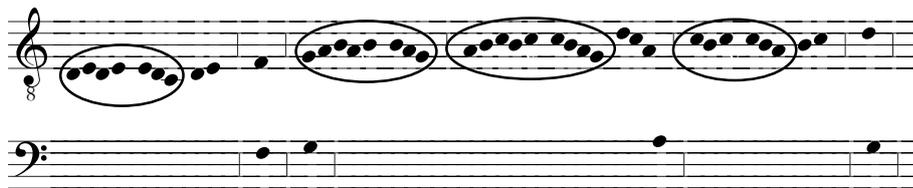
[om-] nes

There are then a number of ways in which both the beginnings and endings of sections and passages are idiosyncratic in these *F unica*. Some sections begin with much more extended sequences than usually appear at the beginning of sections in the core or building-block styles. These pieces use the same ending patterns as the rest of the repertory but many more changes of tenor note are marked with cadential patterns than across the rest of the repertory. In other *purum* melodies, it is only the ends of words that are marked with specifically cadential patterns. Finally, on a number of occasions in these *unica*, two or three cadential patterns appear in immediate succession. This is rare in other *purum* melodies.

6.3.3 Use of Pattern X

As well as differing at the opening of sections and at cadence points, the melodies in these three *unica* also use pattern X much more frequently than melodies in the core style. For instance, almost all of the *duplum* melody in **Figure 6.44** from *Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis* is made up of pattern X.

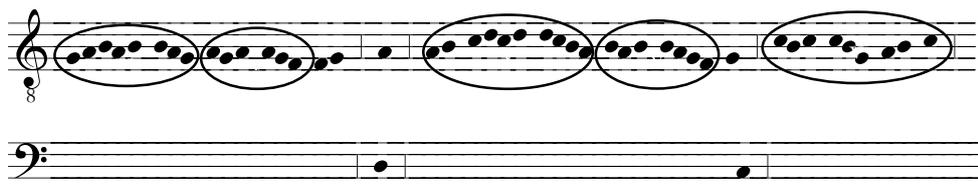
Figure 6.44 *Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis* (O33): F (*ordines* 31-6)



[Loqueban-] tur va- ri- [is]

The melody in **Figure 6.45** from *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos* uses X with a similar frequency.

Figure 6.45 *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos* (O34): F (*ordines* 46-9)



[respon-] dit

Figure 6.46 shows a longer passage from the verse of *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo*. Pattern X appears a total of fourteen times in just this passage.

Figure 6.46 *Omnis pulcritudo* V. *A summo celo* (O32): F (*ordines* 40-60)

The musical score consists of four systems, each with a vocal line in treble clef and a bass line in bass clef. The lyrics are: e- gres- si- o e- ius et oc- cur- sus. The vocal lines feature a melodic pattern of eighth notes, which is circled in each system. The bass lines are mostly whole notes or half notes.

System 1: Treble clef, eighth notes, circled pattern. Bass clef, whole notes. Lyrics: e- gres- si- o

System 2: Treble clef, eighth notes, circled pattern. Bass clef, whole notes. Lyrics: e- ius et oc-

System 3: Treble clef, eighth notes, circled pattern. Bass clef, whole notes. Lyrics: cur-

System 4: Treble clef, eighth notes, circled pattern. Bass clef, whole notes. Lyrics: sus

Pattern X also features at the beginning of many of the major sections in these *unica*. **Figures 6.47 – 6.51** show five of the nine section beginnings in these pieces, demonstrating how frequently X is used. In **Figures 6.47 and 6.48** from *Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis*, it appears in extended sequences.

Figure 6.47 *Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis* (O33): F (*ordines* 21-4)

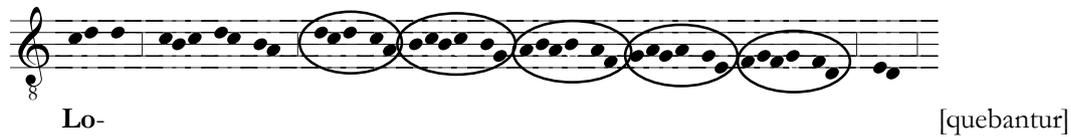
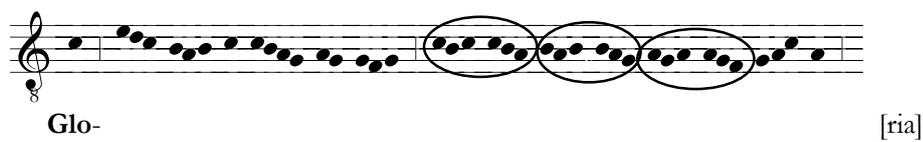


Figure 6.48 *Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis* (O33): F (*ordines* 62-4)



In **Figures 6.49 – 6.51**, it appears a number of times in almost direct succession, but not in sequence.

Figure 6.49 *Omnis pulcritudo V. A summo celo* (O32): F (*ordines* 1-5)

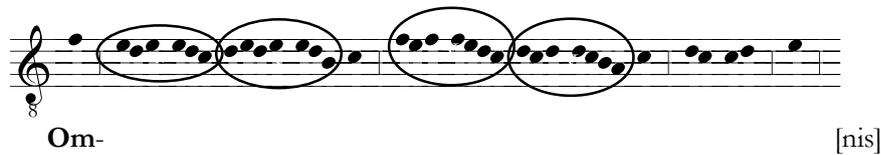


Figure 6.50 *Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis* (O33): F (*ordines* 1-4)

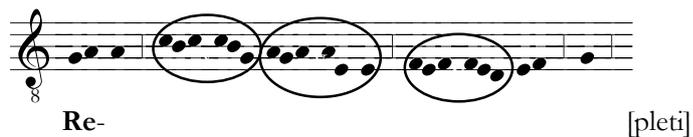


Figure 6.51 *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos* (O34): F (*ordines* 24-7)



This very frequent use of pattern X means that, in these pieces, there is very little melodic material that is not created either from an extended sequence at the start of a section or passage, pattern X in one or another form, or a cadential pattern marking a change of tenor note. The melodies not created in one of these ways are like the melodies in the core style, in that they use other kinds of repetition and development. This means that almost all of the *purum* melodies in these *organa* are generated through repetition or patterning of some kind. Lots of repetition is a feature of melodies in the core style but it is even more marked in the *purum* melodies in these three *organa*.

In order to demonstrate this, nearly all of the verse of *Igitur dissimulator V. Cui sacerdos* is presented in **Figure 6.52**. This is followed only by a passage of *discant* concluded with a final few *ordines* of *purum*. It is a good example of quite how many of the *purum* melodies in these pieces were generated through either repetition, sequence, or are made up of pattern X or typical cadential patterns.

Pattern X dominates the opening phrase, appearing five times in passage ‘A’. X is also used in sequence at ‘C’, ‘E’ and ‘K’ and four times in quick succession, but not in sequence, in passages ‘G’, ‘I’ and ‘N’. It also appears at cadences at ‘D’ and ‘J’. Other cadences at ‘M’ and ‘O’ are marked with repeated-note patterns.

Otherwise, there is a direct repetition of a descending repeated-note pattern at ‘B’ and more descending pairs of repeated notes at ‘F’, sung in an extended descending sequence. There is an almost direct repetition of a whole *ordo* at ‘H’ and a whole *ordo* repeated transposed down a fifth at ‘L’.

This leaves just five *ordines* in this whole passage that do not include repetition, sequence, pattern X or a cadential pattern. These are marked in red.

Figure 6.52 *Igitur dissimulatur V. Cui sacerdos* (O34): F (ordines 24-66)

The first system of musical notation consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with several groups of notes circled in black. A red horizontal line highlights a specific interval in the treble staff. The bass staff contains a few notes. Labels 'A', 'B', and 'C' are placed above the treble staff to indicate different sections of the music.

Cu- i

The second system of musical notation consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with several groups of notes circled in black. A red horizontal line highlights a specific interval in the treble staff. The bass staff contains a few notes. Labels 'D', 'E', and 'F' are placed above the treble staff to indicate different sections of the music.

sac- cer- dos

The third system of musical notation consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with several groups of notes circled in black. The bass staff contains a few notes. Labels 'G', 'H', and 'I' are placed above the treble staff to indicate different sections of the music.

res- pon- dit

The fourth system of musical notation consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with several groups of notes circled in black. A red horizontal line highlights a specific interval in the treble staff. The bass staff contains a few notes. Labels 'J' and 'K' are placed above the treble staff to indicate different sections of the music.

quis es do- mi- ne ac

A musical staff in treble clef with an 8va marking. It contains a sequence of notes. The first group is marked 'L', the second 'M', and the third 'N'. A red line highlights a section of notes. Four groups of notes are circled with ovals.

A musical staff in bass clef containing several notes.

il- le di- xit

A musical staff in treble clef with an 8va marking, containing a group of notes marked 'O'.

An empty musical staff in bass clef.

6.3.4 Another Parisian Tradition

Whilst this is a group of just three *unica* in F, it is still possible to identify characteristics shared by these three pieces, which set them apart as a group from the rest of the repertory. The *purum* melodies in these pieces use very extended sequences with melodically complex repeating units at the start of sections. In the rest of the repertory, such sequences usually appear only at the end of sections. Sequences are rare at the start of sections, even in core-style melodies, and where they do appear, they are shorter and simpler than those in these pieces. The melodies in these pieces mark many more changes of tenor notes with cadential patterns than other melodies, and they use pattern X much more frequently. Pattern X appears regularly in core-style melodies but in these pieces it completely dominates the *duplum* melodies.

As well as being stylistically distinct from the rest of the repertory, these three *unica* are also physically separated from the rest of the office *dupla* in F by a collection of *Benedicamus domino* settings and they form a small liturgical cycle of their own.

Before considering what these two things might mean in conjunction, it is important first to revisit the nature of F as a source.⁹ Particularly important to this discussion are the three reasons why F was most likely copied from multiple different exemplars.

First, F often contains many different settings of the same chant. For instance, its scribe copied both two- and three-voice versions of tens of office responsories, and there are in some cases tens of equivalent *clausulae* in two, three and four voices. Within the collection of office *dupla* itself, the scribe copied two settings of the processional antiphon *Crucifixum in carne*, two versions of the verse of *Et valde mane* V. *Et respicientes* and two versions of the responsory sections of *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* and *Sint lumbi* V. *Vigilate ergo*. The amount of polyphony in F elaborating the Christmas responsory *Descendit de celis* V. *Tanquam sponsus* provides an extreme but illustrative example of just how extensive a collection of polyphony F is. As well as the *dupla* setting in fascicle 3 (65v-66v), there is a complete three-voice version (14r-16r) in fascicle 2 and a further three-voice setting of just the responsory section (46v), copied separately at the end of the same fascicle. In fascicle 1, there is a two-voice ‘Tanquam’ *clausula* (10v-11r) and a further three-voice version of the responsory and the Gloria (12v-13r). In fascicle 5, there are two separate collections of *clausulae* on sections of this chant. The first collection includes two on ‘Descendit de celis’, seven on ‘Tanquam’, one on ‘Gloria’ and two others on ‘Tanquam’ (147r-148v). The second includes one on ‘dominus’ and one on ‘et filio’ (178r).

The second reason to suggest that F was copied from multiple exemplars relates to its arrangement. Generally, the scribe grouped pieces of the same genre and for the same number of voices together and arranged them according to the liturgical cycle of the mass and the office, beginning with pieces for Advent and Christmas and continuing throughout the liturgical year. Within some groups of pieces, however, there

⁹ A more detailed discussion of F, as well as relevant bibliography, can be found in the introduction (11-2).

are smaller subgroups also arranged into separate liturgical cycles. The various separate cycles of *discant clausulae* are a good example of this.

Finally, the scribe, unusually, left pages in the manuscript ruled with stave lines, but without music copied onto them. These pages appear in various places: at the end of the collections of office *dupla* (93v-98v), mass *dupla* (145v-46v), three-voice *conductus* (257r-262v) and two-voice *conductus* (375r-380v), as well as following the two sets of monophonic songs (452r-462v), and at the very end of the manuscript (following 471v). It is possible that this space was left in order that other pieces could be copied at a later stage from other exemplars. In this way, it would have been possible to copy any additional pieces next to those of the same genre for the same number of voices, office *dupla* with the other office *dupla*, for instance, without disrupting the careful arrangement of the book.

Altogether, the scribe aimed to make a very comprehensive collection of as much polyphony as they could, organised it carefully and left space to copy more polyphony into the book if they found any. Given the appearances of multiple versions of the same piece, separate liturgical cycles within groups of pieces and space left to record more music without disrupting the arrangement of the book, it is also probable that they were copying from different exemplars.

Seen in this light, it is likely that the three *unica* discussed here were copied from a separate exemplar from the rest of the office *dupla* in F. They are at the end of the fascicle, after the *Benedicamus domino* settings. They were probably added therefore when the scribe saw the opportunity to provide more polyphony for the important feasts of the Ascensions and Pentecost, as well as a piece for a feast day not yet provided with polyphony within the earlier collection, the Invention of St Stephen.

Given the stylistic contrast between these *organa* and others in the extant repertory, it is possible that this exemplar recorded polyphony made in a different way from the rest of the *organa dupla* in F, by musicians who were part of a different creative tradition. F was copied sometime after the third decade of the thirteenth century. This means there was a large chronological gap between the first time polyphony like this was sung at Notre-Dame (certainly by the last decade of the twelfth century) and its copying. In aiming to create as extensive a collection as possible, the scribe of F might have collected various different styles of singing that had existed over the previous fifty years. Perhaps these three pieces give us an insight into one of these styles.

Other scholars have already suggested that F possibly included pieces not attached to Notre-Dame, a stance supported by the fact that F was copied from multiple exemplars. For instances, Smith identified a number of *clausulae* in F that could not have been sung as part of any of the F *organa*, or whose tenor melodies differ from the equivalent passage in the *organum* in which they might have been sung. He suggested that this was just one sign that ‘what is preserved in the sources departs from the central traditions and practices of

Notre-Dame or modifies our concepts of what those traditions and practices actually were'.¹⁰ Husmann examined *Quindenis gradibus V. Post genitum*, a three-voice *organum* in F for the Feast of the Assumption. He argued that it could not have formed part of the liturgy of Notre-Dame and that it was also stylistically abnormal.¹¹

More recently Babara Haggh and Michel Huglo have suggested that F was an anthology manuscript, not for one particular institution but containing lots of different repertoires: *organa* from Notre-Dame, polyphony from the archdiocese of Sens (to which Paris belonged), pieces for royal saints, conductus for the royal family of Louis IX and a collection of rondeux, some of which were also from Sens, and one of which was probably for the dedication of the Sainte-Chapelle. This state of affairs would be strange, they acknowledged, if F was copied for Notre-Dame, but through a detailed discussion of the content of the book, its illumination, and its history after copying, they argued strongly that it was not copied for Notre-Dame at all, but was a royal manuscript commissioned by Louis IX that ended up in Florence because it was gifted to the Medici family.¹²

The three *unica* at the end of the office *dupla* collection in F might also have been created for a musical centre other than the cathedral, a centre which cultivated a particular way of creating *dupla* polyphony that was related to but distinct from the way(s) of creating *dupla* polyphony cultivated at Notre-Dame. Support for this idea can be found in Bradley's work on the mini *clausulae* in the 5th fascicle of F.¹³ She suggested that these might also be a record of a tradition different from that associated with Notre Dame. She argued that the mini *clausulae* differ from the other *clausulae* in the MLO manuscripts in a number of ways: they elaborate syllabic, rather than melismatic portions of the plainchant. They include none of the chant melismas that were usually popular *clausula* tenors, never offer multiple settings of the same chant melisma, and do not share any music with motets. They use a faster *discant* style, do not include tenor repetitions and have tenors that are unpatterned and move in irregular strings of long notes.¹⁴

As well as this, unlike most of the other *clausulae* in the MLO sources, they are not self-contained. They start and end in the middle of sections and lack clear phrase structure.¹⁵ She suggested therefore that they needed to be sung as part of a complete *organum* in order to make musical sense and so they must have been intended to be substituted into complete *organa*.¹⁶ As she pointed out, however, the problem is that it would often be problematic to substitute these mini *clausulae* into the Parisian *organa* recorded in the MLO sources, because they use sections of tenor melody that do not necessarily correspond with section divisions within the MLO *organa*, they have text underlaid in unusual ways, and some use different versions of the chant

¹⁰ Norman E. Smith, 'Some Exceptional Clausulae of the Florence Manuscript', *Music & Letters*, 54, 1973, 405-14, at 414.

¹¹ Heinrich Husmann, 'Ein dreistimmiges Organum aus Sens unter den Notre-Dame Kompositionen', in *Festschrift Friedrich Blume*, 6d. Anna A. Abert et Wilhelm Pfannkuch, Kassel: Barenreiter, 1963, 200-253.

¹² Haggh and Huglo, 'Magnus liber – *Maius munus*: Origine et destinée du manuscrit F', 193-230.

¹³ Bradley, 'Mini clausulae and the *Magnus liber organi*', 49-80.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 54-6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 55.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 76.

melodies from those in the MLO *organa*, sometimes at different transpositions.¹⁷ Based on both the fact that they are so different stylistically from other *clausulae* and on the fact that they could not easily be substituted into MLO *organa*, she suggested that they were likely excerpted by the scribe of F from an otherwise lost *organum* cycle, one which was possibly Parisian but which was not necessarily associated with the cathedral. These *clausulae* may be a record of the kind of polyphony that was perhaps widely performed in Paris but which was more functional than the elaborate and complex polyphony associated with Notre Dame.¹⁸

There was indeed a number of institutions apart from the cathedral where polyphony might have been sung. These include the Sainte-Chapelle, the Churches of St-Victor and St-Geneviève and the Augustinian Abbeys of St-Denis and St-Maur-des-Fossés. It is beyond the scope of this study to ascertain whether it would be possible to assign the three pieces at the end of the F collection (or indeed the mini *clausulae*) to a particular one of these places. The existence of other established ways of creating polyphony most probably in Paris does confirm, however, that Paris was full of creative and ambitious musicians who might have had many different styles of singing polyphony. In seeking to collect as much polyphony as they could, the scribe of F gave us a glimpse of this diverse and thriving creative culture.

¹⁷ Bradley, 'Mini clausulae and the *Magnus liber organi*', 76-7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 79-80.

6.4 The W1 *Unica*

The final group of pieces in the office *dupla* repertory to be discussed are the three *organa* at the end of the collection in W1. Fascicle 3 of W1 contains fourteen *organa dupla*. The first eleven of these also appear in F (and W2), and were discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The three final pieces in the collection are *unica*. Two of these are on chants for the office of St Andrew, *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* (fols.18v-19r) and *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut* (fols.19r-19v). The third is a mass *organum*, *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia* (fols.19v-20r). Another version of this piece appears with the mass *organa dupla* in all three manuscripts, F (fols.128-9), W2 (fols.84r-v) and W1 (fols.35-6), but the version included with the St Andrews *organa* is an *unicum*, apart from one short *discant clausula* on ‘aurem tuam’, which appears in the version in the mass fascicles, and a shorter section on ‘et inclina’ that appears in the F *clausulae* collection on fol. 183r.

These pieces were, like the *unica* in F just discussed, likely copied from a different exemplar from the rest of the office *dupla* in W1.¹⁹ They come right at the end of the fascicle, were possibly copied by a different hand from the main collection, and are not in their proper place in the liturgical cycle. It seems therefore that, as is also the case elsewhere in W1, extra pieces were copied to fill up empty space at the end of the fascicle, after the main collection had been copied. As well as being physically separated from the rest of the collection, they are also stylistically different from the other office *dupla* pieces in W1. Here I will consider these *unica* stylistically, considering the ways in which they differ from the other office *dupla* in the extant repertory.

In some ways, they are in fact no different at all. This might be expected, given that they are copied alongside *organa*, some of which are almost exactly the same as those copied in F and W2, and the rest of which are stylistically consistent with all the *organa* in the core style. Musicians in St Andrews clearly did have access to Parisian polyphony, therefore, and this would likely have served as a basis for their own creation.

Like most of the rest of the office *dupla*, these *unica* are made up of passages of *purum* and *discant*. The passages of *discant* they contain often end with short *purum* phrases before the cadence. The two voices stay mostly within an octave of one another, and they form mostly unison, fifth or octave consonances. The *purum* melodies themselves move largely by step within a limited range and are similar to those in the core style, since they use repetition, development, sequence and pattern X frequently.

¹⁹ Roesner discusses the origin of W1 and its codicology in detail in his introduction to *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris, Volume VII*, xlvii-xlviii.

A passage from the beginning of the verse of *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut* that exhibits all the characteristics of the core style is shown in **Figure 6.53**. It uses repetition in various ways and pattern X appears a number of times. At the beginning, pattern X is used in sequence ('A'), then two consecutive *ordines* end with the same pattern ('A' and 'B'). At 'C', an oscillating pattern then a three-note ascent is repeated. The second time, the final interval of the ascent is extended from a second to a third. Pattern X appears again at the beginning of passage 'D'. It is followed by a stepwise descent of sixth. Another long descending scale follows immediately, starting a fourth lower.

Figure 6.53 *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut* (O36): W1 (*ordines* 17-25)

The figure shows two systems of musical notation. The first system is labeled 'A' and 'B'. The second system is labeled 'C' and 'D'. The music is written on a treble clef staff with a soprano line and a bass line. The treble staff contains a melodic line with various patterns circled and labeled. The bass staff contains a few notes. Below the second system, the syllables 'e-' and 'o' are written under the corresponding notes.

Despite these similarities, however, there are still a number of ways in which the W1 *unica* behave differently from the rest of the office *dupla*.

6.4.1. The Tenor Melody of the *Propter veritatem V. Audi Filia Unicum*

Before discussing the how these three *unica* elaborate their tenor melodies polyphonically, it is important first to draw attention to work on the tenor melody used for this *unicum* version of *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia*, work that shows this version to be unusual in a number of ways. In this piece, the *clausula* on 'aurem tuam' appears twice with the text as well as the melody repeated. The first version of the *clausula* is an *unicum*, but the second appears in the other setting of this piece copied with the mass collections. There are only a small number of tenor repetitions in the extant *dupla* repertory and where the tenor does repeat, it is just the melody that repeats, not the text.

The unusual nature of this tenor repetition was noted by Smith. He suggested that this repetition made this *unicum* setting stylistically later than the other setting that appears in all three manuscripts. He supported this with the observation that it uses a large amount of *discant* (it is entirely *discant* after the respond and the

first two notes of the verse) and appears in an usual place, not with the mass *organa dupla* but with those of the office.²⁰ Roesner used this tenor repetition to support his assertion that this *unicum* setting was a ‘peripheral’ recomposition of the Parisian setting found in all three manuscripts.²¹ The version in all three manuscripts uses a version of the tenor melody that is particular to the *organum* setting and that is not found in contemporary monophonic sources. The W1 *unicum* version also uses this specific, polyphonic tenor. Roesner suggested that this means that the composer must have stripped away the original, Parisian *duplum* melody, leaving only this *clausula* and some cadence formulae and replacing the rest.²² In his view, the repetition of the text on the ‘aurem tuam’ repetition confirms this reading, since it showed that the first of the two *clausula* was added to an existing work.²³

Bradley has looked in more detail at the relationship between the tenor melodies in the different extant *organa* and *clausula* on this chant.²⁴ When comparing the two versions of the *clausula* on ‘aurem tuam’, she noted that, although the second version is otherwise the same as that recorded in all three manuscripts, the opening of the tenor melody is C-A-C (more often found in monophonic sources), rather than C-B-C as in the other versions, even though this results in a dissonant ninth between the two voices. The first of the two settings also uses this C-A-C opening and there are two other pitches that differ between these two tenors as well.²⁵ There are then reasons to consider at least this one of the three W1 *unica* as unusual before even considering how they elaborate their tenor melodies polyphonically. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that it is not necessarily the case that the *unicum* version was a direct recomposition of the version recorded in all three manuscripts, as suggested by Roesner. It is possible that St Andrews musicians simply knew and liked the alternative setting of ‘aurem tuam’ recorded elsewhere in the manuscript and sometimes used one *clausula* and sometimes used the other. This practice might then have been recorded by the scribe of W1. Indeed, Bradley has argued that the *unicum* would not have been performed as it was notated and

²⁰ Norman E. Smith, ‘Tenor Repetition in the Notre Dame Organa’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 19, 1966, 329-51, at 332-4.

²¹ Roesner, ‘The Problem of Chronology’, 372.

²² *Ibid.* 372.

²³ *Ibid.* 359.

²⁴ Bradley, ‘Plainchant in Polyphony’, 15-30. She also pointed out a number of differences between the tenors of the *Propter veritatem organa* and the melodies recorded in contemporary chant sources, arguing that these evidence musicians changing chant melodies for musical reasons to make tenors that were more exciting as bases for polyphonic elaboration in *discant*. For instance, on ‘veritatem’, the *organa* use a longer version of the chant melisma which is a common opening for graduals in mode 5 but is different from that recorded in monophonic sources (17-9). She suggested that this alternative melisma was probably selected deliberately because it is arguably a more exciting foundation for a polyphonic setting, particularly in *discant*, since it is tonally and melodically more expansive and contains more notes (20). She argued that this selection was deliberate because polyphonic settings of the shorter melisma did exist and were known to the compiler of F: the mini *clausula* on ‘veritatem’ in F uses the shorter version of this melisma (20). Similarly, the tenor melody on ‘aurem tuam’ is again more elaborate than that which appears in monophonic sources (21). Four additional pitches are added at the end and it is earlier decorated by additional passing notes and oscillations of a third (22). She again suggested that this was a polyphonically motivated alteration, since longer tenors are better for *discant* and the elongated version also divides well into groups of three notes – good for tenors that follow a mode 5 pattern (22-3).

²⁵ *Ibid.* 24.

only one of the two *clausulae* would have been selected, as suggested by the repetition of the text of the tenor and the gap between the two statements of the melisma.²⁶

6.4.2 Structure

Moving now to the way in which the three *unica* elaborate their tenor melodies, to begin with, there are two structural characteristics that set these pieces apart from the rest of the repertory. Firstly, *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Cristi* is the only one of the W1 office *organa dupla* to have a notated polyphonic Gloria. It is also the only *organum duplum* in any of the three manuscripts that has all of the Gloria text sung polyphonically, including ‘Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper’. It is usual to sing only the first half of the Gloria polyphonically so this unusual decision may be reflective of a particular performance practice; or at the very least indicative of a different choice from that witnessed by the office *dupla* in F and W2, where only the first halves of the Glorias are notated polyphonically.

As well as this, all three *organa* use *discant* in a different way from the rest of the repertory. They do not alternate passages of *purum* and *discant*. Instead, each verse begins with *purum* and there is then one continuous section of *discant* until the end of the verse, containing only single phrases of *purum* articulating important cadence points. This was noted by Smith in his discussion of *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia*, but he did not consider that this was also the case in the two St Andrews *organa* with which *Propter veritatem* was copied.²⁷

Figure 6.54 shows the words of the polyphonic portions of each of these pieces (the start of the responsory and the verse, as well as the Gloria of *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Cristi*). Passages in bold are set in *discant*. The polyphonic portions of responsory sections are in *organum purum* apart from a short passage on ‘iste’ in *Vir iste*, but there is only one passage of *organum purum* in each verse, at the start. The rest of the verses are then *discant* to the end.

Figure 6.54

Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Cristi (O35): W1

Vir Perfecte	V. Imitator Ihesu Christi sub crucis patibulo nos andrea fac consortes celi contubernio Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper.
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²⁶ Bradley, ‘Plainchant in Polyphony’, 24.

²⁷ Smith, ‘Tenor Repetition in the Notre Dame Organa’, 332-4.

Vir iste V. *Pro eo ut* (O36): W1

Vir iste V. Pro eo ut me **diligent detrahebant michi ego...**²⁸

Propter veritatem V. *Audi filia* (M37): W1

Propter veritatem V. Audi **filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam quia concupivit rex**

By comparison, **Figure 6.55** shows the polyphonic portions of the responsory and verse sections of three other office *organa dupla*: *In columbe* V. *Vox domini* in F and W2, *Dum complerentur* V. *Repleti sunt omnes* in W1, and *Veni electa* V. *Specie tua* which is in F only. In these pieces, extended sections of *organum purum* alternate with *discant* throughout.

Figure 6.55

In columbe V. *Vox domini* (O4): F and W2

In columbe V. Vox domini super aquas deus **maiestatis intonuit** dominus **super aquas maris**

Dum complerentur V. *Repleti sunt omnes* (O11): W1

Dum complerentur V. Repleti **sunt** omnes spiritu sancto **et ceperunt** loqui

Veni electa V. *Specie tua* (O17): F

Veni V. Specie tua **et pulcritudine tua** intende prospere procede **et regna**

All three of these *unica* use *organum purum* and *discant* in a different way from other *organa* in the extant *dupla* repertory. It is worth noting here also that Bradley has drawn attention to a related reason why the *Propter veritatem unicum* differs from version recorded in all three manuscripts. She pointed out that it is the only extant source which elaborates ‘veritatem’, a long melisma that has lots of potential for exploitation in a *discant* setting, in *organum purum*, rather than *discant*.²⁹ As well as this, she draw attention to the fact that the ‘et inclina’ *clausula* from the *unicum* setting also appears in the mini *clausula* in F.³⁰ Elsewhere, she has argued that the mini *clausula* are a record of a musical practice not connected with Notre Dame, outside the central

²⁸ This is followed by notated *discant* but with the text missing.

²⁹ Bradley, ‘Plainchant in Polyphony’, 21. She also argued that the mini *clausula* on ‘concupivit rex’ more closely resembles the *discant* in the W1 *unicum* than in the other setting. I do not think that this overlap is extensive enough to argue that they were the same *clausula*.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 74-5.

MLO tradition, perhaps just like these three *organa* connected with St Andrews.³¹ This link might be another reason to see the *unicum* setting of *Propter veritatem* as peripheral.

The appearance of this *clausula* in the W1 *unicum* setting has implications for the question of how the *unicum* was created and how it might have been related to Parisian polyphony. It suggests that the ‘inclinā’ *clausula* made its way to St Andrews either as part of a *clausula* collection (but was then not recorded in W1 as a *clausula* itself), or as part of an alternative setting of *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia*, other than that recorded in all three manuscripts. This might lend support to Roesner’s idea that the *unicum* was a recomposition of a Parisian version (although not, as he suggested, perhaps the exact version recorded in all three manuscripts). As I shall show, there are a number of ways in which particularly the *organum purum* in the *unicum* version is stylistically similar to that in the two St Andrew responsories so, however it came to include the Parisian *clausula*, it can certainly be considered alongside these two other, probably Scottish *organa*, since much of it appears to have been fashioned in the same way.

6.4.3 Extended Repetition and Sequence

As well as in these structural ways, these three pieces also differ from the rest of the office *dupla* repertory melodically. Like melodies in the core style, the melodies in these *organa* use repetition, sequence and patterning regularly. Sometimes, however, this repetition and sequence is even more extended than that which appears in melodies in the core style.

³¹ Bradley, ‘Mini clausulae and the *Magnus liber organi*?’.

Figure 6.56 shows an extended passage from *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut*. All of this passage is a development of the same long pattern. The *ordines* ‘A’-‘D’ all begin with a repeated three-note ascent. This is followed each time by pattern X. The descent that follows pattern X is made progressively longer: at ‘A’ a third, at ‘B’ a fourth and at ‘C’ a sixth. The *ordines* at ‘A’ and ‘C’ are paired, since they end with the same repeated-note oscillating pattern. The *ordines* at ‘B’ and ‘D’ also both end with a similar rising stepwise pattern. Sometimes in the core repertory, a single short pattern is repeated a number of times across a short passage, but there are not melodies of this length that explore such a long pattern so systematically.

Figure 6.56 *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut* (O36): W1 (*ordines* 28-32)

[eo]

There is another example of very extended repetition in the verse of *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia* (**Figure 6.57**). A long pattern is repeated five times in a direct, descending sequence. The pattern uses descending pairs of repeated notes so is itself sequential. Scales decorated with descending pairs of repeated notes are used in the core style but usually such patterns are repeated just once or twice. In fact, most sequences in the core repertory have only three iterations of the repeating pattern, especially when the repeating unit is a whole *ordo* as it is in this melody.

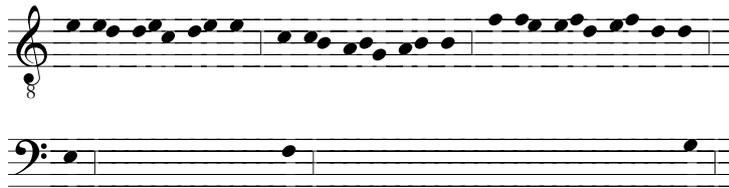
Figure 6.57 *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia* (M37): W1 (*ordines* 12-16)

[verita-]

tem]

A final example of extended repetition appears slightly later in the same verse (**Figure 6.58**). A long *ordo* is almost exactly repeated three times, transposed to begin on different pitches. The core style does include transposed repetition, but a pattern would usually be repeated just once if it is transposed, particularly if it is as long as this one. Nearly always this repetition would not be exact, but would involve considerable development of the pattern on the repeat. In this melody, there are just very small changes made to the end of the third iteration of the pattern to bring the *duplum* to a fifth consonance with the tenor.

Figure 6.58 *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia* (M37): W1 (*ordines* 18-20)



[verita-]

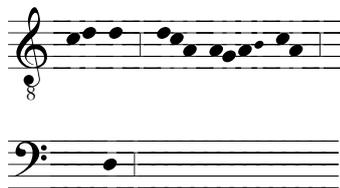
tem]

6.4.4 Opening Melodies

Apart from these examples of particularly extended repetition, other idiosyncratic features of these *organa* appear at the beginnings and endings of sections and internal passages.

Across the whole repertory, the *duplum* often approaches the opening consonance of a main section from one note below, moving from dissonance to consonance with the opening tenor note. The *duplum* then repeats the consonant note before the melody starts properly in the second *ordo*. An example of this behaviour can be seen in **Figure 6.59**, the beginning of the verse of *Iudea et Ierusalem* V. *Constantes estote*.

Figure 6.59 *Iudea et Ierusalem* V. *Constantes estote* (O1): W1 (*ordines* 19-20), F (*ordines* 19-20) and W2 (*ordines* 17-8)

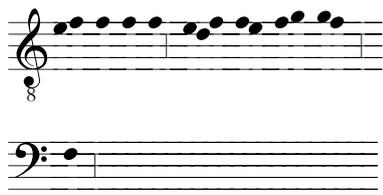


Con-

[stantes]

The same procedure is followed at the beginning of main sections (and occasionally of internal passages) in these *unica*, but instead of being repeated just once, the consonant note in the *duplum* is often repeated twice or three times. Examples of this from *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* and *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia* appear in **Figure 6.60**. They are also labelled on the complete transcriptions of these *organa* (**Figures 6.91 - 93**).³²

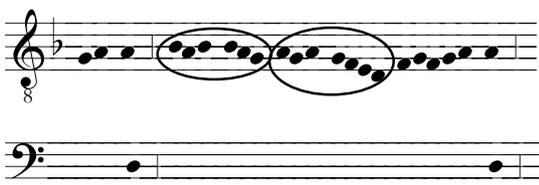
Figure 6.60

<i>Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi</i> (O35): W1 (<i>ordines</i> 10-11)	<i>Propter veritatem V. Audi filia</i> (M37): W1 (<i>ordines</i> 1-2)	<i>Propter veritatem V. Audi filia</i> (M37): W1 (<i>ordines</i> 23-4)
		
per-	[fecte] Pro-	Au- [di]

Aside from this, the W1 *unica* do not use different beginning and ending patterns as other *purum* melodies. They do, however, use only a limited selection of those used in other melodies. This means that individual patterns appear with much more frequency in these *unica* than they do in the other extant office *dupla*.

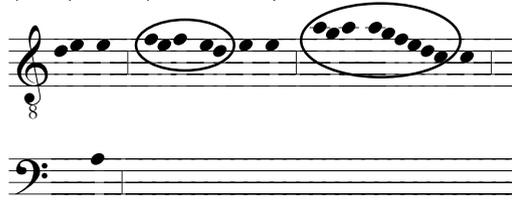
Across just three *organa*, there are only seven main sections (three responsories, three verses and a Gloria), and there is therefore only a limited number of opening melodies to analyse. Even across this select number, however, one way of starting a section is dominant: by using pattern X and then repeating it. Four of the seven main sections begin in this way. In the core style, sections do start with pattern X (approximately one in ten); certainly not four in every seven. The opening melodies of all three sections in *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* as well as the verse of *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* were made in this way (**Figures 6.61-6.64**).

Figure 6.61 *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi*
(M37): W1 (*ordines* 1-2)



Vir

Figure 6.62 *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi*
(M37): W1 (*ordines* 16-7)



I-

[mitator]

³² Beginning page 287.

Figure 6.63 *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* (M37): W1 (*ordines* 45-50)

Glo- ri- a

Figure 6.64*Vir iste V. Pro eo ut* (O36): W1 (*ordines* 17-8)

Pro

Pattern X also appears at the beginning of two internal passages in *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* and *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut* (**Figures 6.65** and **6.66**). Like the beginning of major sections just discussed, both melodies begin by approaching the opening consonance from the note below and they then continue with pattern X.

Figure 6.65 *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* (O35): W1 (*ordines* 10-11)

Im- [itator]

Figure 6.66 *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut* (O36): W1 (*ordines* 36-7)

ut

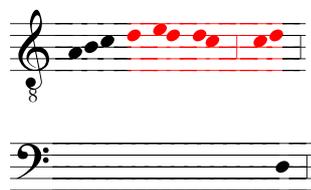
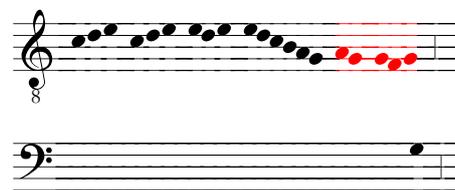
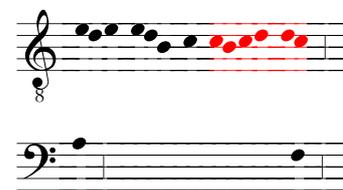
All these beginning patterns are labelled on the complete transcriptions of these *organa* (**Figures 6.91 - 93**).

6.4.5 Ending Patterns

Just as one pattern appears very frequently at the beginning of sections in these *unica*, there is also a limited number of cadential patterns used in these *organa*. Whilst these patterns do appear in other *purum* melodies, they are used markedly more frequently in these *unica* than elsewhere.

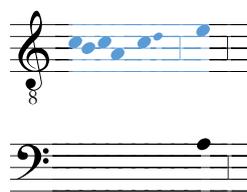
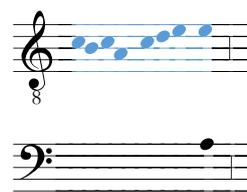
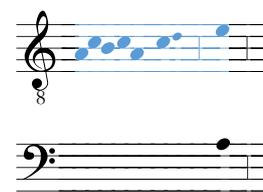
The first of these patterns involves repeated notes and oscillations either side of the final pitch. **Figure 6.67** shows three examples of this. These ending patterns are shown in red in the complete transcriptions of these *organa* (**Figures 6.91 - 93**).

Figure 6.67

<i>Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi</i> (O35): W1 (<i>ordines</i> 43-4)	<i>Vir iste V. Pro eo ut</i> (O36): W1 (<i>ordo</i> 30)	<i>Propter veritatem V. Audi filia</i> (M37): W1 (<i>ordo</i> 11)
		
[contuberni-] o	[eo]	[veri-]ta- [tem]

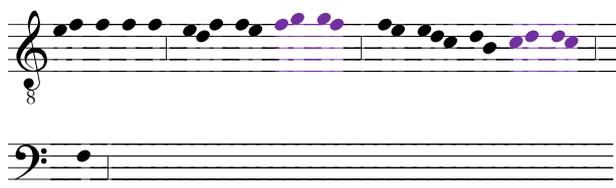
These *unica* also make particularly frequent use of an oscillating pattern which is followed by a stepwise ascent into the cadence. It appears particularly starting on c in *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* (**Figure 6.68**) and starting on b and e in *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut* (**Figure 6.69**). This pattern is shown in blue in the complete transcriptions of these *organa* (**Figures 6.91 - 93**).

Figure 6.68 *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* (O35): W1
(*ordines* 23-4)

		
[Imita-] tor	[patibu-] lo	[Glori-] a

Finally, in *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia*, a large number of passages end with the same repeated note pattern (Figure 6.73 and 6.74). These are marked in purple on the complete transcriptions of these *organa* (Figures 6.91 - 93).

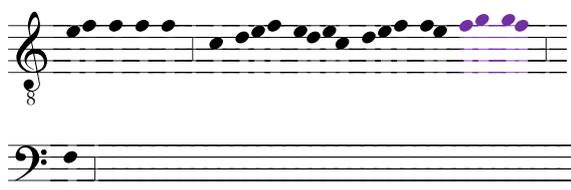
Figure 6.73 *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia* (M37): W1 (*ordines* 1-3)



Pro-

[ter]

Figure 6.74 *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia* (M37): W1 (*ordines* 23-4)



Au-

[di]

6.5 A Scottish Tradition

These three *unica* are in some ways similar to the other extant *organa dupla*. They use *organum purum* and *discant* and the polyphony is divided into passages following the words of the chant. They use the same small selection of consonances and the tenor and *duplum* voices stay mostly within an octave of each other with the *duplum* staying above the tenor the majority of the time. The *duplum* melodies themselves are similar to those in the core style. They use repetition, development, sequence and patterning regularly.

There are, however, ways in which these *unica* are stylistically idiosyncratic. *Vir perfecte* V. *Imitator Ihesu Cristi* is the only one of the W1 *organa* to have a notated polyphonic Gloria section. It is also the only one across the whole extant repertory which includes all of the text of the Gloria rather than just the first half. These *organa* also do not alternate passages of *purum* and *discant* as in the rest of the repertory. Once the *discant* starts in the verse, it continues until the end, with *purum* used only to mark cadential points.

Their *duplum* melodies are also idiosyncratic. They include some instances of repetition and sequence that are even more extended than those found in the core style. Across the repertory, where the *duplum* approaches the opening consonance from a note below, the consonant note is usually repeated just once. In these *unica*, the opening consonant note is repeated twice or even three times. Also in these pieces, a

much greater percentage of the major sections begin with pattern X, and a similarly limited number of cadential patterns are used with much greater frequency than elsewhere.

Whilst a sample of three *organa* is limited, these W1 pieces do then clearly contrast with the rest of the office *dupla* stylistically. This needs to be considered alongside the fact that they were copied at the end of the main collection (possibly by a different hand, although this has been debated), and, as discussed in the introduction, in a manuscript most likely copied at or for St Andrews in Scotland.³³ Two of these *unica* are also for the Feast of St Andrew.

For these reasons, it is possible then that these three *unica* were created by musicians at St Andrews. The two St Andrews responsories were perhaps, as Roesner argued, created to fill a gap in the St Andrews liturgy for which no Parisian polyphony existed.³⁴ It is possible that St Andrews musicians learnt to create *dupla* polyphony by singing Parisian polyphony such as that recorded in the rest of W1 collection. Because of this, they created melodies that were similar to those in the core style. Perhaps in these three *unica*, however, it is possible to see how they assimilated the Parisian style and developed from it their own distinct way of singing *dupla* polyphony.

This suggestion is supported by similarities between these three *unica* and other portions of the W1 repertory that have for one reason or another been branded insular. Particularly, Kennedy Steiner has explored the relationship between the settings of Ordinary chants found in fascicle 11 with other pieces added, like the *unica* discussed here, at the end of fascicles to fill up empty space. She identified a number of melodic traits shared by these insular pieces.

The first of these is a cadential pattern that appears on d, and which Kennedy Steiner identifies as appearing frequently in the two St Andrews responsories in fascicle 3, the *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei* tropes in fascicle 8, and in parts of the monophonic *sanctus* trope collection. It can be seen in **Figure 6.75** from the first of the fascicle 11 pieces, (Kyrie) *Rex virginum* (fol. 176r) and **Figure 6.76** from the second, (Kyrie) *Creator puritatis* (fols. 176r-v).³⁵

Figure 6.75 (Kyrie) *Rex virginum* (ordo 2)



[e-] ley- son

Figure 6.76 (Kyrie) *Creator puritatis* (ordo 5)



[eley-]son

³³ For an introduction to W1 and the relevant bibliography, see pages 8-11.

³⁴ Roesner's introduction to *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris, Volume VII*, xlvi.

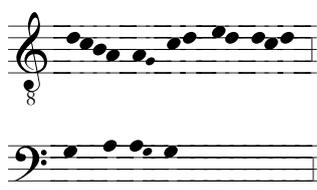
³⁵ Kennedy Steiner, *Notre Dame in Scotland*, 135-6.

Generally, the fascicle 11 pieces are more like Parisian *conductus* in style, since their tenor melodies move quickly against the *duplum* and they do not include extended passages of *purum* with sustained tenor notes. The comparisons that can be made between these and the fascicle three *unica* are therefore limited almost entirely to cadential patterns, but the pattern identified by Kennedy Steiner does appear with particular frequency in both the fascicle 11 pieces and the fascicle 3 *unica*.

Figures 6.77 – 6.80 compare uses of this pattern in the fascicle 11 pieces and in the fascicle 3 *unica*.

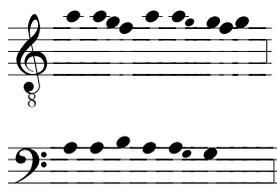
Fascicle 11

Figure 6.77 (Kyrie) *Lux et gloria* (ordo 9)



[eley-] son

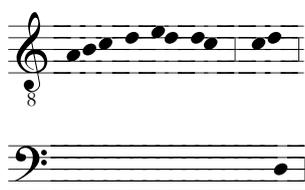
Figure 6.79 (Kyrie) *Virginis lux* (ordo 9)



e- ley- son

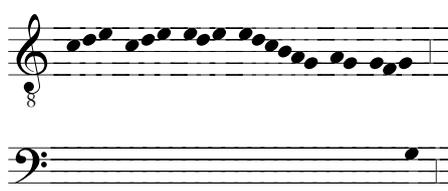
Fascicle 3 *Unica*

Figure 6.78 *Vir perfecte V. Imitator Ihesu Christi* (O35): W1 (ordines 43-4)



[contuberni-] o

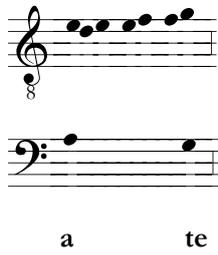
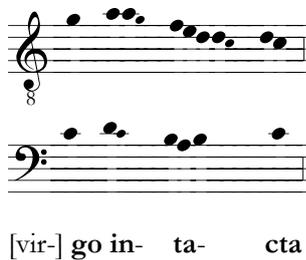
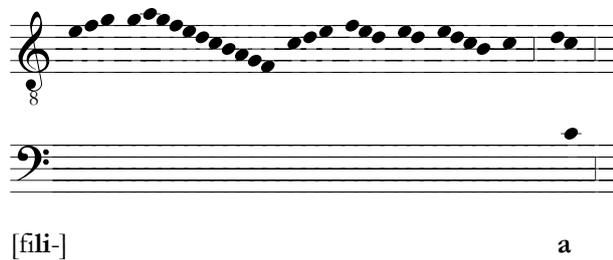
Figure 6.80 *Vir iste V. Pro eo ut* (O36): W1 (ordo 30)



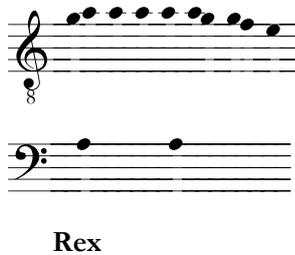
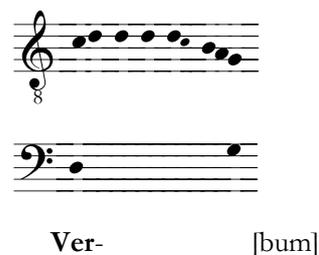
[eo]

As well as this similarity noticed by Kennedy Steiner, there are also other similarities between cadential melodies in the fascicle 3 *unica* and the fascicle 11 pieces. Whilst the repeated-note pattern discussion above is by far the most frequently used ending pattern in the fascicle 11 pieces, passages also regularly end with the *duplum* moving from dissonance to consonance over the final tenor note. This is also among the limited number of ending patterns/procedures used frequently in the fascicle 3 *unica*. Comparisons of such patterns in the fascicle 11 pieces and the three *unica* appear in Figures 6.81 – 6.84.

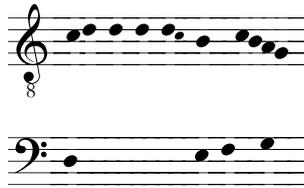
Fascicle 11

Figure 6.81 (Kyrie) *O Marie creator pie* (ordo 27)Fascicle 3 *Unica*Figure 6.82 *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia* (M37): W1 (ordines 79-80)Figure 6.83 *Ave Maria gratia plena* (ordo 14)Figure 6.84 *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia* (M37): W1 (ordines 38-9)

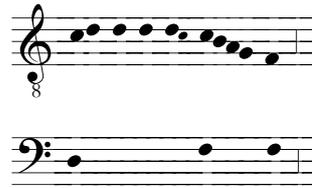
Kennedy Steiner also noted a similarity between the fascicle 11 pieces and fascicle 3 *unica* at the beginning of sections. Many *purum* melodies begin with the *duplum* voice approaching the opening consonance from a step below and then repeating that consonance. In some of the unique portions of W1, this same intonation pattern is used but the consonant note is repeated sometimes four or five times. This intonation pattern is also used more frequently at the start of internal passages in melodies unique to W1 than elsewhere. Examples of this behaviour in the fascicle 11 pieces can be seen in **Figures 6.85 – 6.90**. Examples of this in the fascicle 3 pieces were discussed above.³⁶

Figure 6.85 *Kyrie V. Rex virginum* (ordo 1)Figure 6.86 *Verbum bonum et suave* (ordo 1)

³⁶ Page 284.

Figure 6.87 *Alleluia V. Salve virgo dei mater (ordo 1)*

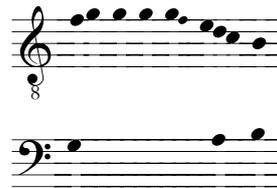
Al- le- [luya]

Figure 6.88 *Alleluia V. Virga florem germinavit (ordo 1)*

Al- le- [luya]

Figure 6.89 *Alleluia V. Virgo intermerata (ordo 1)*

Al- le- lu-[ya]

Figure 6.90 *Mittit ad virginem (ordo 27)*

Qui no-bis

This is only a very brief comment on the relationship between the fascicle 3 *unica* and the settings of ordinary chants in fascicle 11. These observations should, however, inspire a more detailed study of the relationship between the fascicle 3 *unica*, the fascicle 11 pieces and the W1 repertory more widely. Such a study might both shed further light on the place of these pieces within the manuscript collection as a whole, and it might possibly contribute to a greater understanding of how the musicians at St Andrews developed their own way of crafting polyphony. What certainly can be said at this stage is that the sharing of these idiosyncrasies between these groups of pieces supports the idea that they might be revealing of a St Andrews style and that it is right to consider the three fascicle 3 *unica* as different from the rest of the office *dupla* repertory .

Complete Transcriptions of the W1 *Unica*

Figure 6.91 *Vir perfecte V. Imitator ihesu Christi* (O35): W1

R

Intonation pattern followed by pattern X

Vir

Intonation pattern followed by pattern X

per- fec- te

V

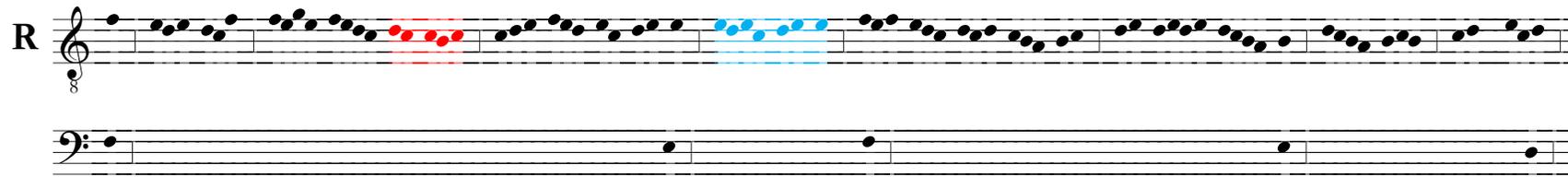
Intonation pattern followed by pattern X

I- mi- ta- tor Ihe- su Chri- sti sub

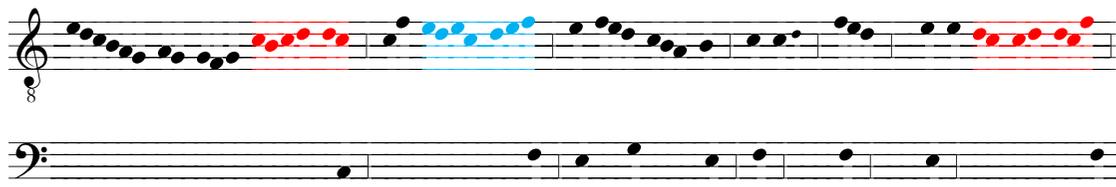
cru- cis pa- ti- bu- lo nos an- dre- a fac con- sor- tes ce- li con- tur- ber- ni-

Figure 6.92 *Vir iste* V. *Pro eo ut* (O36): W1

R



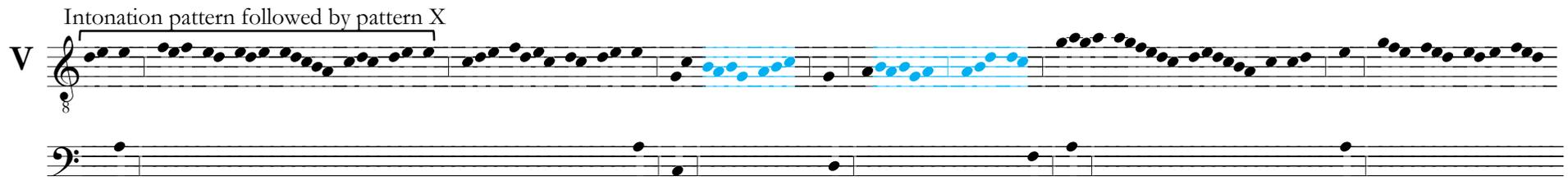
Vir



i- ste

V

Intonation pattern followed by pattern X

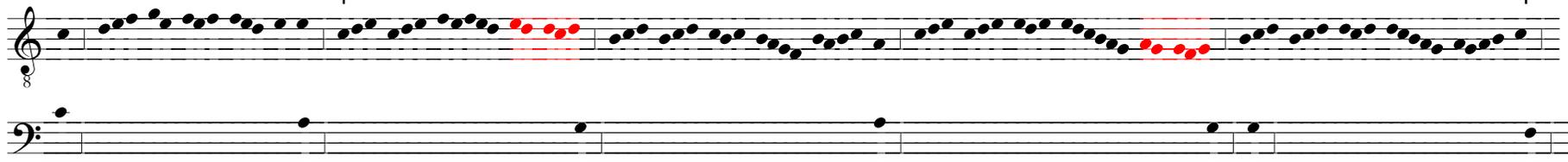


Pro

e-

o

Very extended and direct repetition



Intonation pattern followed by pattern X

The first system consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a 2-octave range. It contains a melodic line with several segments highlighted in light blue. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a 2-octave range, containing a few notes. A bracket above the treble staff spans from the beginning to the end of the blue-highlighted section, with the text "Intonation pattern followed by pattern X" positioned above it.

ut me

The second system consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a 2-octave range, containing a melodic line. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a 2-octave range, containing a few notes.

di- li- ge- rent de- tra- he- bant mi- chi e- go

The third system consists of two staves. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a 2-octave range. It contains a melodic line with a blue-highlighted section at the beginning and a green-highlighted section. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with a 2-octave range, containing a few notes.

The fourth system consists of a single treble clef staff with a 2-octave range. It contains a melodic line with a red-highlighted section at the end.

Figure 6.93 *Propter veritatem* V. *Audi filia* (M37): W1

R

Pro-

ter

Very extended and direct repetition with a melodically simple repeating unit

ver-

ri-

ta-

Very extended and direct repetition

tem

V

A musical system consisting of a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The vocal line begins with a circled group of four notes. Following this, there are several notes highlighted in blue, purple, and green. The bass line provides a steady accompaniment.

Au- di fi-

A musical system with a vocal line and a bass line. The vocal line continues with a series of notes, and the bass line provides accompaniment.

li-

A musical system with a vocal line and a bass line. The vocal line ends with a red box highlighting the final notes. The bass line continues with accompaniment.

a et vi- de

A musical system with a vocal line and a bass line. The vocal line continues with a series of notes, and the bass line provides accompaniment.

et me- li- na au- rem tu- am

au- rem tu- am

qui- a con- cu- pi- vit rex

6.6 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have considered those pieces in the office *dupla* repertory that are only in F or W1. The pieces in the main F collection are in many ways an extension of the central repertory as recorded in F. They contain melodies that are either in the core style or in the building-block style.

Although they also appear in the main cycle of thirty-one *organa* in F, the processional pieces in F are slightly different. Whilst two of them are in the core style, three are very different both from anything else in the extant repertory, and from each other. It seems therefore that their liturgical function might have encouraged musicians to experiment with alternative ways of crafting polyphony.

The three *unica* at the end of the F collection are all created in the same style as each other, a style that is distinct from the rest of the extant *dupla*. Since these pieces are separate from the main collection in F, it is likely that they were copied from a different exemplar. It is possible that they were created by a different group of musicians, perhaps attached to a different institution.

The three *unica* at the end of W1 are similar in that they are stylistically the same as each other but different from the rest of the repertory. It is likely that they are the result of musicians at St Andrews absorbing Parisian polyphonic style and making it their own.

7. Conclusions, Broader Questions and Further Exploration

7.1 Conclusions

In this thesis, I have explored how musicians created *organum purum*. In the first half, I focused on how musicians crafted *purum* melodies and sang them over chant tenors as part of whole *organa dupla*. Most earlier scholars saw the VOT as the best way to learn about the creation of *organum purum* and only Roth Burnette had tackled the question of creation by engaging with any of the *organa dupla* recorded in the three main sources of Parisian polyphony.¹ She analysed four *organa* with related tenor melodies and used them to argue that the elaboration of a tenor melody polyphonically was similar first to the exegesis of a biblical or theological theme in a chant text, and then to the elaboration and illumination of a chant text with a melody. Her analysis was intended to show that all these processes were different manifestations of the same rhetorical processes, one based on the medieval *ars memoriae*. I have approached the same question in a different way, by analysing all thirty-six surviving office *organa dupla* as they are recorded in W1, F and W2. Whilst I have considered the historical and musical context in which this polyphony was sung, I have not sought to draw such a direct parallel between the mechanisms by which *organum purum* was created and those supporting literary creation.

This comparative analysis of a large portion of the surviving repertory has shown that in many ways the extant *organa dupla* are very similar to each other. They are structured in the same way, with alternating sections of *organum purum* and *discant* and with one or two words of the chant text in each passage. The melodies they contain all form mostly unison, fifth and octave consonances with the tenor. Most main sections end with an octave consonance and particular opening consonances tend to be sung with particular tenor pitches.

Organum purum melodies move in similar ways. They are mostly conjunct; they use large numbers of repeated notes and where there are larger intervals, these are carefully balanced within the melodic line as a whole. Melodies are often generated through the use of repetition, development and sequence. Most repetition and development is contained within consecutive pairs of *ordines* but sometimes a single pattern might be explored a number of times across a short passage. Sequences appear most often in descending forms and at the end of sections. There are also a number of patterns that were used regularly as part of different

¹ Roth Burnette, *Organizing Scripture*.

purum melodies. These include various versions of what I have named pattern X, as well as patterns and behaviours typical at the beginning of sections and at cadence points.

This similarity between the different *organa dupla* and the *purum* melodies they contain suggests that musicians had a shared idiom that supported their creation. This idiom supported musicians not only in crafting *purum* melodies but also in using and reusing them. The chant melodies of verses and their Glorias are almost always closely related. This allowed *duplum* melodies from the verse to be reused in the Gloria. From an analysis of the extant versions that have polyphonic Glorias, it seems that singers often reused *duplum* melodies in this way but that they also often sang other *duplum* melodies in the Gloria. The extant versions might not, however, necessarily reflect how often melodies were reused and how often new melodies were sung. Those compiling the extant manuscripts, especially F, sought to collect as much polyphony as they could. Therefore, if a version of the Gloria existed which did not reuse melodies from the verse, they might be more likely to record that version. It is likely that singers would easily have been able to fashion a version of a Gloria that reused melodies from the verse, since they would have known how the tenor melodies of the verse and Gloria related, so the record in writing would not have been of any particular use or interest. It is possible that there are no polyphonic Glorias notated in W1 for this reason.

As well as the possibility of reusing *duplum* melodies between the verse and Gloria of the same *organum*, there was also the possibility of reusing melodies across different *organa* with related chant melodies. This happened in various ways depending on the particular relationship of the tenor melodies. Sometimes two tenor melodies are almost the same and so whole sections of *duplum* material could be shared between the different *organa*.

Sometimes the relationship between the tenor melodies only facilitated the sharing of short passages of *duplum* melody across different *organa*. This might have been at the start of the verse and Gloria (Family II) or as part of the verse (Family III). In the case of Family III, the portion of the tenor melody shared between the different *organa* oscillates around the same pitches. This allows short passages of *duplum* melody to be used in different orders and combinations but over the same tenor pitches. Melodies are reused in various ways and combinations in the extant repertory and this variety suggests that the extant versions record only a small number of possibilities for reuse. Singers probably reused melodies in many other ways not recorded in the extant repertory too, substituting in and out of whole sections these reusable passages of *duplum* melody. Reusing *duplum* melodies should be viewed as a creative possibility, one that was probably exploited in different ways by different singers at different times. (Indeed, in Chapter 4, I showed that different groups of singers did reuse melodies to different extents.)

In the second half of this thesis, I focused on another, related question: what the differences between versions of ‘the same’ *organum*, as well as differences between different portions of the repertory might reveal about how musicians created and recreated *organum purum*. Some *organa* in the office *dupla* repertory are recorded in almost exactly the same way in the different manuscripts; others are almost entirely different.

Some are mostly the same apart from one or two short passages, and some are mostly different apart from one or two short passages. Individual passages also differ to varying extents. Sometimes equivalent passages in different versions of the same *organum* contain melodies that are very similar; sometimes the melodies differ slightly, and sometimes they are almost entirely different.

For a number of years, differences between versions of the same *organum* were seen as the result of the recomposition of Leonin's original repertory by Perotin (as described by AIV). Some versions were viewed as stylistically earlier (close to Leonin's originals) and some later (updated by Perotin). Roesner moved away from considering the repertory as the product of these two named composers and argued that differences between versions were the result of singers differently realising variously prescriptive models, some of which included only consonances and some details of melodic shape.² The less detail included in the model, the more creative work singers had to do to realise it and the greater the variety they would be in those realisations.

Here I have reconsidered Roesner's model and the processes of creation and recreation revealed by this kind of comparative analysis by bringing it into dialogue with the shared creative idiom outlined in the first half of the thesis. I have shown that sometimes musicians recreated melodies by shortening, altering and replacing melodic patterns. They made particularly extensive changes at the start of major sections, sometimes singing a number of *ordines* of melody in a very different way. At other times, they simply sang different elaborations of the same passages of tenor melody. This might have involved exchanging individual passages of *discant* or *organum purum* within longer sections of polyphony, or singing almost entirely different elaborations of whole sections. I have suggested that, in these cases, any similarity between different elaborations was either the result of musicians creating *duplum* melodies over the same tenor melody and according to the same creative principles, or the result of the musician knowing another elaboration and that informing their creative choices.

In Chapter 5, I considered those passages that do not include recreations and reworking of the same melodies but which include entirely different melodies. I showed that these alternative passages were created in one of two ways. Most *organum purum* melodies were created in a 'core style'. Core style melodies use various kinds of repetition and pattern X frequently. A small but significant proportion of the others were created in the 'building-block style'. They were made up of fixed melodies that were shared across different *organa* with related tenors. These melodies only use repetition and pattern X in a limited number of specific ways. Otherwise they move freely and are not patterned in any way. The distribution of these two styles across the extant central-repertory *organa* is important. Nearly all melodies that appear in all versions of a particular *organum* are in the core style, as are those that are unique to W1. All of the melodies shared by just F and W2 (in *organa* that appear in all three manuscripts) are in the building-block style, as are a number unique to F. The extant central-repertory *organa*, therefore, bear witness to the existence of

² Roesner, 'Who "Made" the Magnus liber?', 227-66.

two distinct creative styles, one of which seems to have shaped the versions of the central-repertory *organa* as they were recorded in F and W2.

Most of the *unica* recorded in the main cycle of thirty-one office *organa dupla* in F seem to be an extension of the core repertory as it was recorded in F, since the melodies they contain are a mixture of the core style and building-block style. The processional pieces in the main cycle are more idiosyncratic. Whilst two of these are similar in style to the rest of the repertory in F, three are unlike anything else found in any of the three manuscripts. They are not even stylistically consistent with each other. The creator(s) of each seems to have been exploring different ways of crafting polyphony. This means that these are not evidence of another distinct creative tradition but it does perhaps suggest that their different liturgical function encouraged musicians to explore alternative creative possibilities.

Where an alternative, established creative idiom can be identified in F is in the three *unica* recorded at the end of the office collection (fols. 90v-93r). They are separate from the other office *dupla*, copied after the *Benedicamus domino* settings and they form a short liturgical cycle of their own. It is likely therefore that these three pieces (*Omnis pulcritudo V. Summo celo, Repleti sunt V. Loquebantur variis* and *Igitur dissimulata V. Cui sacerdos*) were copied from a different exemplar from the rest of the fascicle. They are both stylistically distinct from the rest of the repertory and stylistically consistent with each other. It is possible therefore that, in seeking to collect as much polyphony as possible, the scribe compiling F copied pieces that were from an exemplar attached to a different ecclesiastical center other than the cathedral. In that church, musicians developed their own particular way of creating *dupla* polyphony that was related to the Notre-Dame style but nonetheless distinct from it.

The three *unica* in the W1 collection are similarly separate from the rest of the office *dupla* with which they are copied. They were copied at the end of the collection (possibly by a different hand) and were perhaps a later addition to fill up space in the fascicle. They are similar to the Parisian *organa* in a number of ways but there are also ways in which they differ from all the other extant office *dupla*. Given that W1 was likely copied at or for St Andrews, it is possible that these pieces show St Andrews musicians assimilating Parisian polyphonic style and making it their own.

Thus, through detailed analysis of all of the extant office *organa dupla*, I have been able greatly to develop existing understanding of the creation of *organum purum*. I have shown the large extent to which its creation was supported by approaches and procedures shared across communities of musicians who sang chant and created polyphony together on a very regular basis. In this way, the creation of Parisian *organum purum* was similar to the creation of earlier polyphony. The results of that creation were just more complicated. The extant *organa dupla* should therefore be viewed not as individual pieces but as a repertory, a reflection of various established ways of creating and singing polyphony in two voices.

By the time the extant manuscripts were copied, there were of course versions of particular *organa* that had a fairly wide and stable circulation. This does not mean, however, that these were the only ways in which

these *organa* were sung even at that late stage, since musicians had systems not just for creating polyphony but also for recreating it and different groups of musicians had related but distinct ways of crafting *purum* melodies and singing *organa dupla*.

Comparing different *organa* has allowed me to reveal these creative and recreative systems. It has also helped to solve many of the problems which arise from using fixed, notated *organa* to explore a creative tradition in which melodies were frequently recreated perhaps both before and during performance and in which musicians sang many different versions of the same melody and of the same *organum*. It has allowed me to develop an understanding not only of how the extant *organa* were created, but also of the processes which supported the creation of all the polyphony that was sung and never notated, or that was notated and is now extant. Methodologically, I have shown the importance of stylistic analysis and comparison when considering *organum purum*, since it is this that revealed the different creative traditions reflected in the extant *dupla*.

7.2 Oral Creation

This thesis has built upon a body of work on oral creation in medieval music that started with Treitler's work on chant then moved into studies of Parisian polyphony. The idiom supported the creation of *organum purum* that I have identified here is similar to that which Treitler found to be supporting the creative transmission of chant. Both provided musicians with patterns to use as part of these melodies and techniques for spinning them out. They also showed musicians where and how to use those patterns and techniques. It is likely that these two systems developed in similar ways. As musicians sang melodies, they learnt 'how they went' and internalized an idiomatic system that would then support them in creating melodies in similar ways.

Treitler's formulae and formulaic system were in the service of explaining how such a large corpus of chant melodies could have been transmitted with such stability when that transmission was oral. The idiom supporting the creation of *organum purum* could certainly have supported musicians in memorizing and circulating *purum* melodies orally stably if they had wanted to. The singers knew the chant melodies over which they sang. They also knew that particular consonances were likely to be sung at the start and end of sections, depending on the particular pitches of the tenor melody. If they started on the right consonance, idiomatic principles of melodic movement would have helped remind them which consonance came next. Where they reached a part of the melody that was patterned (in the core style this would have been very frequent), they did not have to remember the exact pitches of the whole melody, but could recall the technique used to create that melody and use that to help them recreate it. At cadence points, they could have also recalled which kind of pattern was used, rather than reproducing the exact pitches. This would have been supported by, for instance, the direction in which the line was moving and the final pitch of the *duplum* towards which they were headed, since particular patterns were more likely to be used in particularly

melodic situations on particular pitches. These are just a small handful of the ways in which the shared idiom which supported the creation of *purum* melodies and *organa dupla* could have helped singers to circulate them orally, in a way similar to that outlined by Treitler in discussion of Gregorian chant.

It is also possible that this creative idiom might have supported musicians to maintain what Parry and Lord called ‘continuity in performance’. In their work on oral poetic traditions, Parry and Lord found that formulas and systems helped the poet to cope with the pressure of composing in performance lines of poetry that made syntactical and narrative sense and that also conformed to repeating metrical patterns. A singer creating *organum purum* in performance would not be under quite the same kind of pressure. There is no need to create melodies that fit into a repeating meter, as in poetry, or even to create melismas that are a particular length, but he/she does still have to keep going. It is possible that melodic patterns such as pattern X and those that appear at cadence points could have supported a singer in this situation because they could turn to them to help him continue their melody. Similarly, sequence and various kinds of repetition and development might have been very useful, since they could be used to create sometimes a fairly extended melody quite easily.

It is necessary to see this in light of the large chronological gap between the earliest creation of Parisian *organum purum* (probably the last decades of the twelfth century) and the earliest surviving manuscript witness (probably from the 1230s). By the time W1 was copied, there was definitely a repertory of two-voice pieces, many of which were circulated in a very stable form. 50 years earlier, however, there may have been many other ways of singing the office *dupla*. There may not have been ‘pieces’ at all. Instead, singers may have just elaborated chants orally in performance. In this context, oral creation of *organum purum* could have been supported by recurring patterns and technique as discussed above, and the need for continuity of creation in performance could have been linked to the development of a shared creative idiom. From there, particular melodies might have been sung more often, ‘favourite’ versions of the *organa dupla* might have developed, and these might have ended up with a stable circulation.

Perhaps the shared creative idiom which provided ‘formulas’ and a ‘formulaic system’ evident in the extant *organa* might be termed ‘residual orality’. Residual orality might be considered to be indications in the notated records that oral processes were important in the creative practice to which they bear witness and in the development of the repertory up until the point at which it was written down. This does not mean that oral processes stopped being important after it was written down. As has been explored, the existence of notated versions did not mean that notated versions were used regularly by musicians, particularly in performance.

‘Residual orality’ was noted in the Parisian repertory by Susan Rankin, who considered the intonation pattern that begin so many of the main sections and have been discussed a number of times in this study. It involves the *duplum* rising from one step below the opening consonance to form the consonance with the tenor. She suggested that this was a visual representation of an oral ‘tuning up’, whereby the singers

found which pitches to begin on.³ As well as here and in the shared creative idiom, it is also possible that such ‘residual orality’ might be found in, for instance, the lack of *Glorias* in the W1 *organa*. Whilst it is possible that the singers whose tradition is represented in W1 did not sing *Glorias* polyphonically, it is also possible that the lack of notated *Glorias* was a result of singers being able to adapt polyphony from the verse to be sung in the *Gloria* orally, depending on the relationship between the verse and *Gloria* tenor melodies. Furthermore, nearly all of the repetition and development in *organum purum* takes place from one *ordo* to the next: that is to say, in the short term. There are not processes of repetition or development that play out across whole sections or whole *organa*. This is also perhaps residual orality, since this kind of repetition and development would have been more likely as singers moved through the chant in a linear fashion, creating *duplum* melodies as they moved from one *ordo* to the next, rather than taking a more long-term view.

The idiom that supported the creation of *organum purum* was, however, most likely more than just a necessity that facilitated stable oral transmission or continuity in performance. Unlike in the transmission of chant, there is much less burden on this creative idiom to support memorisation leading to recreation of the same or very similar melodies. Instead, perhaps it might be viewed as furnishing singers with creative options for making lots of different melodies. This is perhaps something to do with the environment in which it developed. The creation of Parisian polyphony was fuelled by musical ambition, the desire to make polyphony in entirely new ways and on entirely new scales. Singers worked together every day, perhaps one day singing the chant to support the creation of new melodies in the upper voice(s) and the next creating those new melodies themselves. In this context, some things would have worked better than others. Some patterns and creative ideas would have therefore been repeated and would have become favourites.

Of course, elements of this idiom, for instance the mostly conjunct movement of melodies and some of the cadence patterns, would have come from chant, since Parisian singers spent a great deal more time singing chant than polyphony and they held the corpus of chant melodies in their heads. That is also not to say that the idiom that supported the recreative transmission of chant was not developed because singers liked melodies that went in particular ways and then these ways of singing were shared and became favourites. It does seem, however, that the kind of formulae and formulaic system that Treitler found in chant was more in the service of recreating the same or similar melodies and the idiom supporting the creation of *organum purum* was more about supporting singers exploring ways of creating complex and ambitious polyphony in lots of different ways. This creative exuberance is certainly reflected in amount of variety in the extant *dupla* repertory and it also led to the establishment of different ways of singing *organum*

³ Susan Rankin, ‘The Study of Medieval Music: Some Thoughts on Past, Present, and Future’, in David Greer (ed.), *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future. Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, London, 1997*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 154-68.

purum (as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6). Singers did also take certain opportunities to push the boundaries of that idiom and to create *organum purum* in very different ways (in the processional pieces in F).

In exploring the systems, creative techniques and melodic patterns that supported the creation of *organum purum*, this thesis has built on work on polyphony by Tischler and Gross. They worked on rhythmic polyphony, exploring the melodic formulae and creative techniques (taken from the art of rhetoric) that underpinned the creation of *discant* melodies respectively. Where the creation of *organum purum* is concerned, I have built on work carried out on the VOT that has explored how the memorization of its melismas might have supported the oral creation of *purum* melodies. Both Roesner and Busse Berger suggested that the melismas in the VOT might have been memorized and then used to move between two points of consonance over two consecutive tenor notes. Both suggest this would not have been a rigid process and that melismas might have been shortened, lengthened, altered or combined in lots of different ways. In this thesis I have shown, however, that the only patterns that appear regularly across different *organa* are pattern X and some patterns that appear at cadence points. All of these can be sung in very different ways and on different pitches. Even with the possibility of varying the melismas of the VOT (or melismas like them), if there was widespread memorization of melodic patterns which were then used to support creation, we would expect more patterns to be shared across different *organa* and for those patterns to recur in a more consistent form. Whilst it is possible that the memorizing of melismas was a method by which some singers learnt to create *organum purum* therefore, it seems that it cannot have been the only way.

7.3 Broader Questions

I will turn now to the two broader questions that I set out in the introduction. This thesis contributes to answering these questions in small but significant ways.

The first is the question of *who* created Parisian polyphony. As discussed in the introduction, for a large part of the twentieth century, the Parisian repertory was considered the work of the two composers named by AIV. More recently, this has been reconsidered, partly due to potential problems with the reliability of AIV's account, but also through detailed analytical work on the repertory. Roesner's 'Who "Made" the Magnus Liber?' considered the state of the *organa dupla* repertory and as a result of his findings, Roesner argued that the role of both the singer and the scribe was much more important in shaping the repertory than had ever previously been acknowledged.⁴ Other scholars then focused on the role of the singer, asking how singers could have created particularly *organum purum* and other kinds of polyphony, orally in performance.⁵

⁴ Roesner, 'Who "Made" the Magnus liber?'

⁵ See particularly, Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*; and Gross, 'Organum at Notre-Dame in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', 87-108.

It is generally accepted that the repertory was probably shaped by a number of different creative processes: some separate from performance (either oral or written) and some during performance. It is not, however, necessarily helpful to consider these to be the work of three separate categories of musician (composer, singer, scribe). Anyone who composed this kind of music in writing probably also sang it, and singers probably created and recreated polyphony orally in a way that should certainly be considered composition. Many of the scribes who copied this music were themselves very knowledgeable, perhaps even composers or singers of polyphony themselves. Certainly, the kind of creative and recreative work done by scribes as they copied should also in many cases be considered composition.

It is sometimes possible to determine what might have been the result of creative work by scribes in the extant versions. One particularly striking example of scribal creativity is *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* in W2. It is possible that the exemplar from which the W2 scribe copied did not contain this *organum* and that, in order to fill the gap, they chose to create a *contrafactum* of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem*, the *organum* copied next to it in the manuscript which has, as discussed, a closely-related tenor melody.⁶ This involved removing some passages of *duplum* and adding others to accommodate differences between the tenor melodies. The passages of *duplum* melody shared between the two *organa* in W2 are close to identical, containing only a tiny handful of notational differences and differences in individual pitches and the use of repeated notes. There are many fewer than are usually seen in two other versions of ‘the same’ polyphony: for instance, where the same *duplum* melodies appear in two different versions of the same *organum*.

More definite evidence to suggest that the scribe was adapting a notated version of *Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem* comes right at the start of the verse. Here the two tenor melodies differ very slightly. There is an extra E in the *Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes* tenor (red):

Non conturbetur V. Ego rogabo patrem



E- go

Dum complerentur V. Repleti sunt omnes



Reple- ti sunt

⁶ See page 116. The close relationship between these two *organa* and the probability of O11 being a scribal *contrafactum* of O10 in W2 is discussed by Roesner in ‘Who “Made” the Magnus Liber?’, 246-8. He showed that the polyphonic settings of O10 and O11 in F and W2 are all very closely related and suggested that the omission of the final melisma on ‘tur’ in O11 in W2 is explained by the fact that it was a scribal reworking of O10 in the same manuscript. Bradley has noted that one of the mini *clausulae* (no.295) provides polyphony for the four pitches of the melisma on ‘tur’ that appear in O11 but not in O10. She suggested that this short passage of polyphony would have allowed someone to refashion O10 as a setting of the O11 responsory with more success than had the scribe of W2 (‘Mini clausulae and the *Magnus liber organi*’, 64-5).

At the beginning of *Repleti*, the scribe of W2 notated the second pitch of the tenor as a G, the second pitch of the *Non conturbetur* tenor. He then had to erase it in order to correct it to an E (circled), suggesting they were copying from the start of *Ego rogabo* and made a mistake:



Apart from in cases such as this, and in those where a scribe has clearly had to adapt what they were copying because of the layout of the page, it is difficult to distinguish between the creative work of composer-singers, singer-composers and scribes in the extant versions. Roesner divided up the work of scribes from that of singers, arguing that scribes making changes as they copied were responsible for smaller differences between versions, and cantors realising skeleton models of consonances were responsible for larger differences between versions. Creative roles cannot be divided in this way, however. All different kinds of musician could have been responsible for the processes of creation and recreation identified in this thesis. Small differences in notation could have been the result of the style of a particular scribe, but they could also reflect a different way of singing. Larger recreations of melodies could have been made either by singer-composers before or during performance, or by scribes as they were copying, particularly if those scribes were themselves singer-composers. Substitutions of one passage for another could likewise have been made either before or during performance, or as a scribe compiled a manuscript.

Whilst this thesis has not made it possible to distinguish between the work of different kinds of musician any more specifically, it has contributed to the question of *who* created Parisian polyphony in a different way. It has shown the extent to which the different musicians who created the office *organa dupla* were a community, a group who worked closely together and in doing so developed shared ways of creating, using, and reshaping *organum purum* melodies and *dupla* polyphony. It has also demonstrated that there was not just one such community but that the repertory was shaped by different groups of musicians, who had related but distinct ways of crafting polyphony. It has shown that these different styles were not just cultivated at St Andrews but that there were also different ways of singing in Paris itself.

One possible avenue for future exploration might be to build on Craig Wright's work on the liturgies for which the pieces recorded in the extant manuscripts might have been intended, seeking to ascertain whether

it possible to link any of these particular creative styles to any particular institutions in Paris or elsewhere.⁷ In this way, it might be possible to answer more exactly the question of *who* made this repertory. Even though it is not possible or even necessarily appropriate to try and identify the creative work of different kinds of musicians in the extant repertory, it might still be possible to identify the groups of musicians (singers-composers-scribes) who were responsible for shaping it.

The next of the three broad questions posed in the introduction concerns the relationship between the three main manuscripts and the repertories they contain. Ludwig first suggested that the manuscripts were related chronologically (W1 being the earliest, then F and then W2). He based this on a stylistic chronology shaped by the words of AIV.⁸ Various other scholars used similar chronologies but to explain the relationships between different versions of the same *organum* or different versions of the same passage, rather than whole manuscript collections. Husmann looked at the extant repertory liturgically rather than stylistically, arguing that those pieces that he saw as appropriate for the liturgy of Notre-Dame were the earliest (those in all three manuscripts).⁹ He then suggested a process of enlargement, as the repertory spread from Notre-Dame, where the other pieces in the extant repertory were added so that the repertory might be appropriate for performance at other liturgical centres. Wright re-examined the liturgical evidence, arguing to the contrary that all of the pieces in the extant repertory were intended for the liturgy at Notre-Dame and that as the liturgy spread from there, it was actually reduced in size rather than augmented so that it might be made liturgical appropriate for other centres.¹⁰

Scholars have puzzled particularly over the relationship of W1 to the Parisian tradition and the extent to which its repertory might have been shaped by musicians at St Andrews. Roesner argued that parts of the W1 repertory were the result of local musicians creating polyphony based on Parisian models.¹¹ Everist argued similarly that a polyphonic tradition was developed at St Andrews based on Parisian polyphony, a tradition that was later recorded in W1.¹² Kennedy Steiner pointed out, however, that if a polyphonic tradition based on the Parisian one had been cultivated at Notre-Dame for a number of years before W1 was copied, then we would expect both the Parisian *organa* to have been reshaped much more by local musicians and for there to have been more integration of the Parisian music and that written at St Andrews, particularly in how the book was arranged.¹³ Instead, W1 contains lots of polyphony that is the same or very similar to that recorded in F and W2 and that has therefore not been reworked to any particular extent

⁷ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*.

⁸ Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum*.

⁹ Husmann, 'The Enlargement of the Magnus liber organi'; and 'The Origin and Destination of the Magnus liber organi'.

¹⁰ Wright, *Music and Ceremony*.

¹¹ Roesner, 'The Origins of W1', 358-69.

¹² Everist, 'From Paris to St Andrews', 1-42.

¹³ Kennedy Steiner, *Notre Dame in Scotland*.

by musicians at St Andrews. Also, the portions that are most likely to be the result of creation at St Andrews appear at the end of fascicles containing Parisian pieces or in entirely separate fascicles altogether.

In this thesis, I have identified two distinct creative styles within the central repertory of office *organa dupla*. By considering the distribution of these styles within the different manuscript collections, I have shown that the F and W2 versions of the central-repertory *organa* were shaped by a tradition that was related to but also distinct from that which shaped the W1 versions, one in which singers reused melodies regularly across different *organa*.

Even though it was both the F and W2 versions that were shaped by this style, however, and even though W1 contains the most unique material, it is not the W1 office *dupla* that are stylistically idiosyncratic. The unique material in W1 is in the same style as those passages which appear in all three manuscripts or in F and W2, when an *organum* appears in those two manuscripts only. This means that, even though F and W2 were copied in Paris and their office *dupla* contain much less unique material than the pieces in W1, the F and W2 collections are the ones that contain some idiosyncratic elements.

W1 contains some office *dupla* that were recorded in essentially the same way in all three manuscripts. These were likely Parisian *organa* transmitted to St Andrews and not altered by St Andrews musicians. The same thing could have happened with the other W1 office *dupla*, those that are not recorded in the same way in F and W2 and that contain much unique material. They could have been Parisian versions, of which no other record survives, that were transmitted to St Andrews with the pieces that are copied in the same way in all three manuscripts and not reshaped to any particularly large extent by the musicians at St Andrews. This is supported by the stylistic consistency of the pieces recorded in the same way in all three manuscripts and the portions of the W1 pieces that are unique.

Perhaps then, as argued by Kennedy Steiner, W1 must have been copied close to the point at which Parisian polyphony was transmitted to St Andrews, because otherwise we would expect more integration of the Parisian repertory with the 'house style' of the musicians at St Andrews. It is also possible, however, that, even if the musicians at St Andrews had had access to Parisian *organa* for an extended period before W1 was copied, they might simply have chosen not to change them out of reverence to the tradition transmitted to them. Another possibility is that the musicians at St Andrews developed their own ways of *singing* the Parisian *organa*, but that their performance practice was never actually recorded because the scribe(s) of W1 copied versions close to the Parisian originals. Where the creative style of the musicians at St Andrews most likely can be seen is in the stylistically unique *unica* at the end of the W1 collection. The similarities between these and the pieces in fascicle 11 support this suggestion.

A similar stylistic consideration of the mass *dupla* recorded in the three manuscripts might be a useful direction for future research. It would perhaps shed further light on the extent to which the W1 repertory might be considered Parisian and the ways in which the W1 versions relate to those in F and W2.

7.3 Further Exploration

This is just one of a number of avenues for future research that this thesis has opened up. Some of these have been mentioned briefly already in this chapter. I will now draw them all together and provide some other suggestions.

Perhaps the first thing to be done is to undertake a similar study of the mass *organa dupla* to ascertain whether the conclusions reached here are also applicable to them. Particularly, it might be useful to consider them stylistically, since this study has shown differences in style to be vital in understanding creation. There are also ample overlaps between the chant tenors in the mass *organa*, particularly in the Alleluys and Graduals. It might be fruitful to consider how *duplum* melodies were shared across different *organa* over these tenors, both to expand the discussion of melodic reuse in the office *dupla* (where there are fewer closely related tenor melodies), and to consider whether particularly extensive reuse in the mass *dupla* might be indicative of a particular creative style, as it is in the office pieces. Such investigations will need to engage carefully with the work of Norman Smith.¹⁴

There is also a need for continued work on what might be termed the ‘St Andrews style’ in W1. The relationship between the style of fascicle 3 *unica* and the pieces in fascicle 11 needs investigating in more detail and work is also needed to explore whether the same idiosyncratic style might have shaped any of the other *unicum* portions of the W1 repertory. Certainly, at least, work on the W1 repertory should consider melodic and polyphonic style as a potentially useful avenue of exploration and one that could possibly help to increase our understanding of how musicians at St Andrews developed their own ways of singing polyphony and how and to what extent they reshaped the Parisian repertory transmitted to them.

In fact, this thesis might perhaps encourage a closer consideration of style in work on the Parisian repertory more generally, not just on *organum purum*. Direct stylistic comparisons between *organum purum* and *discant* might not be a useful avenue to pursue, since the upper voices and tenors have fundamentally different relationships in each. The fact that stylistic comparison has proved so useful in increasing understanding of *organum purum*, however, might encourage stylistic investigations into other portions of the repertory as well. This study has not focused on the detail of the *discant* that was recorded as part of the office *dupla*. There is certainly scope, however, for a comparison of these passages with each other, with those recorded as part of the mass *dupla*, and with those in the *clausulae* collections in W1 and F. This might help to develop a clearer picture of the relationship between the different portions of the *dupla* repertory as a whole.

Having identified a number of different creative styles in the office *dupla*, it might now be fruitful to return to the work carried out by Husmann and Wright on the liturgical use of the different *organa* in the extant sources. Rather than being able to say just that there were different groups of musicians, who had different

¹⁴ Norman E. Smith, ‘Interrelationships among the Alleluys of the Magnus Liber Organi’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25, 1972, 175-202, and ‘Interrelationships Among the Graduals of the Magnus Liber Organi’, *Acta Musicologica*, 45, 1973, 73-97.

ways of creating *duplum* polyphony, it might then be possible to say at which institutions those different groups of musicians worked and sang. The advantage of this study focusing on the office is that the office liturgy tends to vary more by center than does the mass. Such an investigation might therefore be more fruitful in the case of the office than in the case of the mass.

This thesis has built on work on the creation of *organum purum* that has focused on the processes outlined in the VOT. The VOT tells us a great deal about creation, but there are also things that it cannot tell us and ways in which both the process it outlines and the melodies it contains differ from those represented in the MLO sources. We cannot therefore automatically consider the VOT and the practical sources to be representative of the same tradition. Very possibly the VOT shows one way of going about creating *organum purum* but this thesis has shown that it certainly cannot have been the only way, or, at least, the VOT only gives us part of the picture. Until this point, the VOT has been used to learn about the creation of Parisian *organum purum*, but this thesis has shown the need to bring the VOT and the practical sources into dialogue, not just to learn about practical creation through the VOT, but to learn about the nature of the VOT as a witness by comparing its processes and melodies with those represented and found in the MLO sources.

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