

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
GRADUATE SCHOOL

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This is to certify that we the
undersigned, as a committee of the Graduate
School, have given Donald Nivison Ferguson
final oral examination for the degree of

Master of Arts

We recommend that the degree of

Master of Arts

be conferred upon the candidate.

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Date June 2 1922

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report
of
Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Donald Nivison Ferguson for the degree of Master of Arts.

They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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THE RELATION OF MELODY TO THE
POETRY OF THE TROUBADOURS

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the
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by

Donald Nivison Ferguson

In partial fulfillment of the requirements
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THE RELATION OF MELODY TO THE POETRY OF THE TROUBADOURS

The music of the Troubadours and the Trouvères, the earliest known popular melody of Western Europe, has importance not only for the student of musical history but for the investigator of the origins and characteristics of the poetry of France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Upon the poetic side, the question is obviously that of poetic rhythm. In a manner not yet accounted for, the accentual principle of vulgar Latin verse (which principle, as early as the 5th century, had superseded the quantitative meter of classic Greek and Latin) is abandoned, in Old French and Provençal and in closely related languages, the Spanish and Italian, for a principle based upon a strict numerical syllable-count, without consideration of accentuation. Inasmuch as no poetry was ever, probably, made without an inherent rhythm of some sort, it is of the greatest interest to discover the essential rhythm of this unaccentual, non-quantitative poetry. The sources of the subtle rhythmic qualities of modern French verse may thereby be revealed, and their differences from the accentual rhythms of the Germanic languages made clearer. Inasmuch as the poetry in Old French and Provençal was conceived--at least as far as the lyrical forms are concerned--in conjunction with music, and in an apparent closeness of conjunction which strikingly recalls the intimate relationship of word and tone in classic Greek poetry, the solution of the problem of the actual rhythm of the original Troubadour music cannot but

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be of the highest value in the elucidation of this problem of differentiation in poetic principle between Provençal and Old French and their parent languages.

Although the examples of Troubadour music are fairly numerous, and of the Trouvère melody extremely so, the notation in which this music was written places great difficulties in the way of its translation into modern notes. The manuscripts (which, of course, offer only a third or fourth hand copy of the actual originals) are of a date not earlier than the end of the thirteenth century. At this time, the art of musical notation had progressed to a degree which rendered possible the indication, not only of the exact pitch, but of the exact, relative time-lengths of the sounds. Yet, vastly the greater part of the melody of the Troubadours is written without this indication of relative time-value, and therefore without definite rhythm. This indefinite notation was in current use during the period we are considering, (and, with some modifications is indeed still in use) for that ancient, rhythmically indefinite music of the Church which is known as the Gregorian chant. We shall speak of this type hereafter as the "choral" notation. That type in which the strict rhythm of polyphonic music was noted we shall call the "measured" notation. A great part of the Latin text to which the Gregorian chant was sung was in prose. Although the delivery of this prose was in a considerable degree made rhythmic by the music, the rhythm is in no sense musically strict, and differs essentially from the rhythm in which one would expect any poetry naturally to be sung. The extent, then, and the nature of the rhythmic suggestion conveyed by the chorale notation in conjunc-

tion with poetic texts, constitute the largest factor in the problem of determining the proper reading of Troubadour melody. It should be understood that the two types of notation, especially as used for Troubadour music, exhibit identical note-characters: the square block (■) known in the mensural type as the breve, and the same sign with a stem (cauda) (⌞) known as the long, and various combinations of these (⌞⌞, ⌞, ⌞) known as "figurae" or ligatures. In the rhythmic notation of measured music, the relative values of long and breve are determined by their order of succession. There are no bar-lines, but certain pauses are indicated by strokes across the staff somewhat resembling bars. It is not necessary for our purpose to give a tedious explanation of the conventions understood as governing the time-values of these notes. It will be seen that the actual pitch of the notes is not in doubt.

Until the end of the 19th century, the problems offered by this notation had received but scant consideration--at least, in connection with Romance poetry. E.H.de Coussemaker, in the course of various epoch-making studies of mediaeval music, gave a version of some examples; but his reading of the choral notation as if it were measured is obviously at fault. The accounts of the Abbé de la Rue, and of the great French musical historian Fétis are valueless. The German historian Ambros is much more careful, but offers no elaborated theory as to the problem of translation.

A new stimulus was given to the study of these sources by the publication by Restori of a collection of Troubadour

(1) melodies which was augmented by the publication by Paul Runge, in 1896 of the Kolmar MS., containing works of the German contemporaries of the Troubadours, the Minnesinger, and by K.K. Müller and others of other sources. In the investigation of these the great German musicologue Dr. Hugo Riemann came to the conclusion that the notation of the monodies ⁽²⁾ was neither definitely rhythmic nor of the character of the choral notation, but that the rhythm of the melodies was indicated by the verse-structure of the poems to which the music was set. This idea was the first step in the direction which the most recent studies of the mediaeval monody have taken; and the considerable differences between this method and that of a later investigator Dr. Jean-Baptiste Beck (with whose theory we have mostly to deal) make necessary here a summary of Riemann's view.

Riemann takes the so-called "Ambrosian Hymn", which had a normal metrical structure of four trochaic or iambic feet, examples of which may be seen in the lines:

"O lux beata trinitas" and
 "Dies irae, dies illa,"

to have been the rhythmic model for a kind of fundamental melody-type to which the 8-syllable verse--perhaps the most popular of

(1) Per la storia musicale dei trovatori provenzali, Rivista musicale italiana, 1895-96.

(2) It may make for clearness to note that we use the word monody in a musically technical sense, to imply a melody without accompanying harmony, and in antithesis to the general term polyphony, meaning, of course, a combination of two or more different voices. The monody might be accompanied, to some extent, by instruments but this was always in unison, and no harmonic effect was produced.

the Provençal and Old French lyric forms--exactly corresponds. He assumes the exclusive employment of iambic or trochaic rhythm for all secular melody, and the equally extensive governance of a fundamental "Vierhebigkeit" or arrangement of accents into symmetrical groups of four. This scheme may be graphically put as follows:

Trochaic  |  etc.

In shorter verse-forms, the 4-accent period is achieved by extension of the length of sufficient of the syllables to fill the normal group; six trochaic syllables giving, normally,



or a different valuation in detail where the normal pronunciation suggests a different emphasis. For longer than 8-syllable verses the plan is to make a division allowing of the construction of two 4-accent periods, the divisions, where necessary, being treated like the lines of fewer than eight syllables, and expanded to the necessary extent. The treatment of a 10-syllable line, according to this method, will be seen from the following, which is Riemann's version of a chorally noted melody found in the Chansonnier de l'Arsenal, and transcribed, also, in a quite different manner, by Pierre Aubry, as No. 2 in his series of transcriptions from that source. Aubry's method approximates that of Beck, and his version, for convenience of application to another point, will be quoted later.

Sei-gneurs sa-chiez qui or ne s'en i...ra En
Et qui la croiz d'ou-tre mer ne pren-dra A

cele terre ou Dex fu mors et vis, Qui en soi
paines mes i-ra en pa-ra-dis.

a pi-tié ne re-mem-bran-ce Au haut Sei-
gneur doit quier-re sa ve-nian-ce Et de-li...

vex sa terr' et son pa--is.

Observe that the normal caesural pause after the fourth syllable forms the point of division for the two 4-accent periods, and that the time of the first four syllables is extended, by lengthening the last three of these, so as to equal that of the six syllables following the caesura. The rhythm may be graphically indicated thus:

Seigneurs sachiez || qui or ne s'en i-ra
En cèle terre || où Dex fu mors et vis.

The second note e for terre, in the second line, stands written also in the MS: an indication that this syllable was separately enunciated in singing. Aubry, in his version, omits this second

o and prints terr'; thus avoiding the discussion which might be raised by this note. For, though elision is not obligatory at the (feminine) caesura in Old French, the interjection of an occasional eleventh syllable into a 10-syllable line is seriously disturbing to the flow of such an even, measured rhythm as Aubry and Beck, as we shall see, consider to have been employed by the musician-poets of the time.

The foregoing will suffice to give a fairly clear idea of Riemann's method.* It may be said to rest mainly upon the following assumptions: 1) that the notation of the monodies is in intention neither choral nor mensural, but that there is a rhythm in the words which governs and, indeed, supplies the rhythm of the music; 2) that the versification, assuming the 8-syllable verse as the norm in Provençal and Old French, is parallel to that of the trochaic or iambic tetrameter of the Ambrosian hymns; (3) that "Vierhebigkeit" was, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a characteristic of all popular melodic structure, and (4) that there is no reason to assume that triple rhythm, which governs all the learned music of the time, governs also the popular music.

* The original statement of this method is to be found in a series of articles in the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, Leipzig, 1897, on "Die Melodik der Minnesänger"; a summary is given in Riemann's "Handbuch der Musikgeschichte", Part II, Leipzig, 1905, and a re-statement, with some modifications, owing to discoveries by Aubry and Beck, in a criticism of "Die Beck-Aubry'sche modale Interpretation der Troubadour Melodien", in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XI, 569, from which the above melody and Aubry's version, quoted later, are taken.

P. Aubry, in a short discussion of the subject, "La Rhythmique Musicale des Troubadours et des Trouvères", (Paris, Champion, 1907) takes issue with Riemann on all but the first point. Riemann's system seems to him purely a construction of Riemann's mind, and he quotes from the "Handbuch der Musikgeschichte" the following--"Der eigentliche Beweis ihrer Richtigkeit ist aber das durchweg befriedigende Ergebnis ihrer Anwendung bei der Übertragung der alten Notierungen in bestimmte Notenwerte" (Vol. I, part II, p. 231) -- as an example of Riemann's logic in the matter. Aubry takes exception to the continuous 4-bar rhythm as heavy and monotonous; but bases his chief criticism on the fact that "Il s'ensuit donc qu'il faut faire table rase de l'enseignement des théoriciens du moyen âge relatif à l'ars mensurabilis." This matter of the relation of mediaeval musical theory to the melody of the Troubadours is the basis of most of the argument which has developed upon the question of the interpretation of that melody. In his opinion that the mediaeval theorists offer the explanation of the question, Aubry is followed, in point of publication, by Beck; but, it would appear that Beck was in many respects the actual innovator. A considerable strife over priority was aroused, but as we have no concern with that, and as practically all Aubry's argument is contained in the vastly larger and more detailed work of Beck*, we may proceed to

* Die Melodien der Troubadours. Nach dem gesamten handschriftlichen Material zum erstenmal bearbeitet und herausgegeben, nebst einer Untersuchung über die Entwicklung der Notenschrift (bis zum 1250) und das rhythmischmetrische Prinzip der mittelalterlich-lyrischen Dichtungen, sowie mit Übertragung in moderne Noten der Melodien der Troubadours und Trouvères, von Dr. J. B. Beck, Strassburg, Trubner, 1908.

an examination of this, the latest significant work on the subject.

Beck, after sketching the development of our knowledge of the music of the Troubadours and Trouvères, first describes the manuscripts in which this music is to be found, and then gives an extensive account, with several convenient tabulations, of their musical contents. He then proceeds to discuss the problem presented by the musical notation, showing the existence and the nature of that confusion which we have already noted between the measured and the choral notation. From the first general distinction of long and short notes, which was already made by the "neumes"-- a sort of musical graph, without stave or clef--to the precise definition of the relative lengths of all the notes is shown to have been a long step. Until 1250 (the approximate date of the "Ars cantus mensurabilis") there are considerable variations in the systems of the chief writers. [It seems sometimes advisable to interrupt our account of Beck's system by the insertion of comment such as that which follows. To make clearer the distinction between description and comment, we shall, during the exposition, enclose our comment in brackets. But we should remark here a mis-statement of Beck's in support of his exposition of the variability of notation. "Die übereinstimmenden Berichte der Musiktheoretiker des 13./14.Jahrhunderts bekräftigen durchaus unsere Annahme; wir verweisen nur auf den Abschnitt über die Entwicklung der Notenschrift bei J. de Grocheo, welcher besagt, dass man den Notenzeichen Longa, Brevis, und Semibrevis verschiedene Bedeutungen beilegte; infolgedessen kam es vor, dass jemand nach den Regeln gewisser Lehrer singen und notieren konnte

die Lehren anderer aber nicht verstand". This is not Grocheo's meaning; his words "isti autem figuris diversimode significationem tribuerunt" refer (as J. Wolf, the editor of Grocheo remarks, in a criticism of Beck's work) not at all to the simple note-forms, but to the ligatures. It is difficult, in any case, to see the value of this mis-statement, for if it were universally true the pre-franconian notation, in which much of the measured Troubadour music is written, would be too inaccurate to establish the point upon which much of his theory is based.]

That first great point is this. It is Beck's contention that the rhythm of certain old tunes, which are written in chorale notation and are therefore unrhythmically presented, is made clear, beyond doubt, by measured versions of the same melody. There are a considerable number of examples of unmeasured and measured notation for the same melody; and the conclusion seems natural that the measured version represents merely the same melodic and rhythmic idea, but presented by a mind more skilled in notation. [The implications of this assumption, however, are very great, and we may state them simply here, allowing later discussion to make clear the detail.*

The measured music of the 12th and 13th centuries, for technical reasons which we shall presently touch upon, is exclusively in triple rhythm. The identity of measured and unmeasured versions would mean, of course, that the unmeasured version is in triple rhythm also. If this rhythm governs the

* The basis of Beck's judgement in this matter is shown in some detail, in connection with another point, on pp.

tunes of which there are both measured and unmeasured notations, Beck apparently is willing to assume that it governs also all the unmeasured melody of the Troubadours and Trouvères. If that is true, the system of "rhythmic modes" which is a law for all the learned music of the time, and of which Beck goes on to give an extensive account, is a law also for the unlearned, popular music.

This, in fact, is the contention of both Beck and Aubry. Since we shall have considerable objection to raise against this assumption, we must make fairly detailed statement of the modal theory, and of its application as conceived by Beck.]

The rhythmic modes, which are the fundamental rhythmic patterns of all learned music in the 12th and 13th centuries, are the outcome and the musical counterpart of the more usual poetic feet. They are described, by most of the contemporary theoreticians as follows:

- Modus I, Trochee, - u = d d
 " II, Iambus, u - = d d
 " III, Dactyl, - u u = d. d d
 " IV, Anapaest, u u - = d d d.
 " V, Molossus, - - - = d. d. d.
 " VI, Tribrach, u u u = d d d

The musical notation given as the valuation of the indicated quantities will be seen to represent, invariably, triple rhythm, simple or compound. [Beck takes no account of the reasons which underlie this (in the dactyl and anapaest) distortion of both accent and quantity. They are technical reasons, which we shall

explain more in detail in another connection; but those reasons will show that the rhythmic modes, with their exclusive and rigid ternary beat, are a result of the development of learned methods in composition, and need not have developed in connection with monodic music at all.]

Beck first brings to the support of his theory illustrations consisting of mensurally noted melodies in Modes I, II, and III. He quotes 48 examples (all measured) of the first (trochaic) mode, pure (| ♩ ♩), and 41 with "Auftakt" or initial weak beat (♩ | ♩ ♩). There is nothing to dispute as to the existence of these, or the general accuracy of Beck's transcription.

The second (iambic) mode differs vitally in Beck's view, from the "auftaktig" first: though the order of short and long is the same, the position of the rhythmic accent (which in modern music immediately follows the bar-line) is obviously quite different. (Mode I, auftaktig ♩ | ♩ ♩ ; mode II | ♩ ♩ etc.) Beck quotes 35 mensurally noted examples of this mode. It is noteworthy that the normal speech accent is, in this mode, very frequently found on the second part (weak beat) of the musical measure. Beck, although his system generally attaches no value of accent to other syllables than those bearing the rhyme, sees here the working of a kind of "compensation", in which the normally strong accent, thus placed on the weak beat is given its proper value by being allowed twice the time of the weak accent. He holds this second rhythmic mode to represent "den echt Romanischen Rhythmus, weil er, und er allein dadurch in der Betonung

der einzelnen Wörter, bei der Wertung des Worttons und des Wortnebentons in der Kadenz der Verse das Gleichgewicht herstellt und sichert, so dass die ihrer Natur nach dynamisch-qualitativ stärkeren rhythmischen Ikten oder Hebungen auf der guten Taktzeiten nur eine Zeiteinheit (Brevis) auszufüllen haben, während die Senkungen auf den schlechten Taktzeiten dadurch kompensiert werden, dass sie quantitativ doppelt so lang gemessen werden (Longa) als die Hebungen."

Since this makes very important the distinction between the first and second modes we may again quote Beck's rule for the distinction: Fallen in einem zweiteiligen Modus die Hebungssikten auf die Longae, und gleichzeitig auf die Tonsilben, so bedeutet das für den Rhythmus den ersten Modus . . . () | < ∪ | < ∪ | < ∪ | < Pause; fallen die Hebungen mit den Breves auf Wortnebenton oder tonlosen Silben zusammen, so haben wir rhythmisch den zweiten Modus . . . ∪ - | ∪ - | ∪ - | ∪ Pause.

It is understood that the rhyme-syllable always has the strong accent, masculine rhymes giving | < pause, and feminine, | < ∪ . In "two part" modes (those consisting of two syllables) the rhythm for the whole line is obtained by counting backward from the rhyme syllable in alternate weak and strong accents; the rule just given will distinguish between the first and second modes. The following will serve as examples:

Mode I- Hui matin a la iornee toute manbleure (note the extension of the time of the two last syllables to fill a 4-measure musical period, exactly as in Riemann's method.)

Mode I with initial weak beat (auftaktig):

Amors qui seit bien enchanter

˘ | ˘ | ˘ | ˘ | ˘ | ˘ |
 As pluisors fait tel chant chanter.
 | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - |
 Mode II -- Lautrier just u-na se-bissa
 | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - |
 Trobey pasto-ra mestissa.

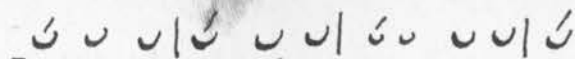
These two are the modes of most frequent occurrence. It was the opinion of Fr. Diez, whose work "Die Leben und Werke der Troubadours" was the foundation of the modern study of these poets, that Romance poetry possessed only iambic and trochaic verse. Riemann's system is obviously based upon that assumption; indeed, he denies Beck's especial distinction of Mode II, preferring to read it as identical with the "auftaktig" Mode I. But the undoubted existence of dactylic rhythm is shown by Beck, who quotes the original notation for thirteen melodies, and the verse rhythm for about 100 more, all measured. They are, of course, mostly Trouvère melodies, and some of them are from motets, a circumstance whose nature and importance will be made clear later. A single example will suffice here:

˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ |
 Mode III - Av comencier de ma novele amour.

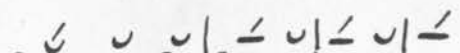
Beck follows the general rule of translation for the musical values as set down by the theorists, giving the accented syllable three beats, and the two short syllables one and two beats, respectively, thus: | ˘ . ˘ ˘ | . This has the obvious suggestion of a measure of 6/8 time; Beck uses the time signature 3/4, "without accentuation of the third quarter"; a distinction which we find somewhat confusing and unnecessary.

As fundamental modes, Beck finds that these three are the only ones occurring in the music under consideration. Occasional examples of Mode VI are to be found, however, as in the follow-

ing:


 Povre secors ai encore recovre

where, also, the third foot is expanded to contain four syllables, though, of course, in the time of only three beats. By a kind of process of attraction, also, the (normal) weak initial syllable of the "auftaktig" first Mode is joined to the next foot, as in :


 Quan ve la lauzeta mover

where the first bar is obviously in Mode VI. Similar results in different cases are fairly frequent, and are caused, invariably, by the observance of proper speech-accent in opposition to the governing mode.

In all the modes, the ornamental passages or ligatures are appropriated to the single syllable of text above which they are found in the MS., and they occupy exactly the time, whether long or short, which the syllable would fill if it were represented by a single note.

Since there is likely, both here and later, to be some confusion as to which is the governing factor, verse-form or rhythmic mode, we may again quote Beck's words: "Wir betonen noch einmal Zusammenfassend, dass die ausschliessliche Verwendung der . . . Zerliederungsformen der einzelnen Modi und Modusbestandteile im Prinzip nur musikalisch stattfindet und dass der Text dieser Division der Modusglieder nicht folgt, sondern im Versinnern (mit Ausschluss der Auftaktbildungen und Endreimdehnungen) Glied für Glied gewissermassen skandierend in dem eingeschlagenen Rhythmus vorwärts schreitet. Der Skansionsrhythmus wird durch den gewählten Modus dargestellt, wobei im

Versinnern Vers- oder richtiger gesagt: Taktikus und Wortton nicht gesetzmässig aneinander gebunden sind. Nicht die Versakzente bestimmen den musikalischen Rhythmus, sondern im Gegenteil, der zu benutzende Modus entscheidet über die Verteilung der Taktiken (Hebungen), ganz gleichgültig, ob dieselben mit dem Wortton oder Wortnebenton zusammenfallen."

Nevertheless, according to the treatise "Las Leys d'amore," which gives extensive consideration to the problems of versification, and some to musical composition, the normal speech-accent must, in certain cases, be respected. This is increasingly true as the elaborateness of Provençal versification is developed. To avoid the awkwardness of significant speech-accent coincident with weak musical accent, the singer, in certain cases, effected a change of Mode. From Beck's examples, shown by mensurally noted melodies, we may quote:

$\underline{\quad} \vee | \underline{\quad} \vee | \overset{\text{N.B.}}{\vee} | \overset{\text{N.B.}}{\vee} | \underline{\quad} | \underline{\quad}$
 Donna pos vos ai chausida

for the change from I to II, and

$\underline{\quad} \vee \vee | \underline{\quad} \vee \vee | \underline{\quad} \vee \vee | \underline{\quad} \vee \vee | \underline{\quad}$
 Molt mabelist quant joi au point du jour
 $\underline{\quad} \vee \vee | \overset{\text{N.B.}}{\underline{\quad}} | \overset{\text{N.B.}}{\vee} | \underline{\quad} \vee \vee | \underline{\quad}$
 le rossignol qui cri e

for the change from III to I. [In these cases a general sense of propriety, or even arbitrary choice would seem to govern, rather than any precise rule. The only definite principle given by Beck is that a verse of an odd number of syllables following one of an even number imposes the change from the "volltaktig" to the "auftaktig" mode, and vice versa. In the following example:

$\underline{\quad} \vee | \underline{\quad} \vee | \underline{\quad} \vee | \underline{\quad} \vee | \underline{\quad}$
 Chascun qui de bien amer . . . 7 syl., volltaktig I., 4 bars

$\cup \quad | - \cup \quad | \diagdown$
 guide avoir non . . . 4 syl., auftaktig I, 2 bars

the rule would seem to be pointless, for the unaccented syllable guide is only the completion of the modal foot (and the musical measure) begun with the preceding strong syllable mer; and the music, as transcribed by Beck, gives a regular 6-bar period in the unbroken rhythm of Mode I, pure ($|\underline{\text{d}} \text{d}|$)] . From nine such examples, some of which show more significant variation than the above, he derives the rule that in a two-part mode (I or II) a verse with an even number of syllables is to be read as "auftaktig;" one with an odd number as "volltaktig". The gender of the rhyme has no influence on the Mode, because the rhyme-syllable must always fall on the strong beat. A masculine rhyme either fills the complete measure or is followed by a pausa plana (either $|\underline{\text{d}} \cdot|$ or $|\underline{\text{d}} \text{z}|$); in the feminine rhyme the weak syllable occupies the place of the pause: $|\underline{\text{d}} \text{d}|$. In short verses (note the agreement with Riemann) the weak syllable may be extended to fill another bar: $|\underline{\text{d}} \cdot| \text{d} \text{z}|$. There is no especial difficulty in determining these values from music which is written in mensural notation, and all the rules and principles relative to the Modes which have so far been given are derived exclusively from that source.

As Beck says, however, the non-mensural notation offers a far different problem; and the rest of the book is devoted to an establishment of principles which will elucidate that problem. We translate from p.169: "What the mediaeval singers perceived by routine, per usum, we must reconstruct, in part, by the help of analogy. We shall therefore, in what follows, establish in what Modes the various verse-forms in the above mensural examples

are rhythmized; and the results thus obtained, in connection with certain indications which we may regularly follow in the course of the melody, we shall apply to the mediaeval lyric From the established obligation to continue a mode once begun * . . . and from the fundamental rule that in monodic music the accented rhyme-syllables must fall, without exception, upon the strong beats, we can now establish, for all verse-types, the rhythm in which they are to be read, and in which the accompanying melodies were composed. In translating the melodies we have merely to set the notes or note-groups [figurae or ligatures] mechanically against the syllables to which they belong."

Accordingly, we have a statement of the rhythms in which all verses, from 1 to 15 syllables, "are to be read." Since this catalogue also raises certain questions, we may give a summary:

1. One-syllable verses fall on the strong beat,
in 2 - or 3-part mode: \sloperightarrow (masc.) and $\sloperightarrow \cup$ (fem.)
2. Two-syllable verses, the same as in 1, with second syllable on strong beat: $\cup | \sloperightarrow$ (masc.),
 $\cup | \sloperightarrow \cup$ (fem). Occurs also as inner rhyme.

* Quarta regula est quod in omnibus modis ordo debet teneri. (Anonymus VII, in Coussemaker, Scr.I, 378). This note is Beck's. But this refers to learned music, and bears no specific relation to the monodic style. That this process of modal continuity was not observed, even in all polyphonic forms, we learn from Grocheo, who says: "In componendo vero organum (an older form than the motet) modorum alternationem quam plurimum faciunt, sed in componendo metellos et alia, modorum unitatem magis servant." (J.Wolf., Theoria de J.Grocheo, Sammelb. der Intern. Musikges. 1899, p.110.)

- *3. Three-syllable verse is in 2-part rhythm,
 "volltaktig": $\acute{ } \cup \acute{ } ;$ in 3-part rhythm
 "auftaktig", since last syllable falls on
 strong beat: $\cup \cup | \acute{ } .$
- *4. Four -syllable verse is regularly in "auftaktig"
 2-part Mode: $\cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } ;$ possible also in
 3-part Mode as $\acute{ } \cup \cup | \acute{ } \cup$ (with fem.rhyme)
- *5 . Five-syllable verse is ordinarily in 2-part Mode:
 $\acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } (3 \text{ bars, if masc.rhyme})$ or
 $\acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } | - (4 \text{ bars if fem.rhyme})$ In 3-part
 mode we may have $\acute{ } - \cup \cup | \acute{ } (\cup),$ (an instance of
 attraction of initial weak syllable into the first
 foot of Mode III).
- *6. Six-syllable verse is infrequent: gives 2-part mode,
 auftaktig: $\cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } (masc.)$ or $\cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } | -$
 (fem.) [compare 4 syl. for extension of fem.rhyme
 to 4 bars] or 3-part mode with two initial syll-
 ables: $\cup \cup | \acute{ } \cup \cup | \acute{ } .**$
- *7. Seven-syllable verse gives volltaktig I or II Mode:
 $| \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } (masc.)$ and $\acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } \cup | \acute{ } \cup (fem)$
 (Mode I) or $\acute{ } - | \acute{ } + | \acute{ } - | \acute{ } (masc.)$ and $\acute{ } - | \acute{ } - |$
 $\acute{ } - | \acute{ } - | (fem.)$ (Mode II.) Also, in III or VI,
 $| \acute{ } \cup \cup | \acute{ } \cup \cup | \acute{ } (III)$ or $| \acute{ } \cup \cup \cup | \acute{ } \cup \cup | \acute{ } (VI \text{ and III})$

* Those verse forms which may be read in more than one mode are marked with an asterisk. The confusion which this possibility presents will be seen at once, and will be further discussed.

** One verse so read is "Devers Chastelvilain" which might with greater reason be understood as Anapaestic (Mode IV.). Beck, however, excludes Mode IV from those in which he holds Troubadour and Trouvère melody and verse to be written.

8. Eight-syllable verse (the most popular) gives auftaktig I: $\cup|\sphericalangle\cup|\sphericalangle\cup|\sphericalangle$ or, by attraction of Auftakt into the next foot, $\acute{\cup}\cup|\sphericalangle\cup|\sphericalangle$; always with masc. rhyme. The feminine rhyme is possible when the following verse begins with a strong beat, or when the first bar has three syllables.

Theoretically 8-syllable verse should give a possible 3-part mode: $\cup|\sphericalangle\cup\cup|\sphericalangle\cup\cup|\sphericalangle$ or (by attraction) $\acute{\cup}-\cup-|\sphericalangle\cup\cup|\sphericalangle$; but the mensural melody gives no examples.

9. Nine syllable verse is unusual. According to the Leys d'amors it can have no satisfactory cadence, even when regarded as (5+4) or (4+5). It is possible only as 3+3+3 in a 3-part "auftaktig" mode: $\cup\cup|\sphericalangle\cup\cup|\sphericalangle\cup\cup|\sphericalangle$ (See note above on 6-syl. verse.)

*10. Ten-syllable verse occurs most frequently as dactylic: $\sphericalangle\cup\cup|\sphericalangle\cup\cup|\sphericalangle\cup\cup|\sphericalangle$ (pause), with or without caesura after 4th syllable. (In Mode III no other caesura is possible). It occurs also in auftaktig I: $\cup|\sphericalangle\cup|\sphericalangle\cup|\sphericalangle\cup|\sphericalangle$ (or with first bar as VI), with caesura after 4th or 6th syllable. If the caesura is after the 5th syllable the verse is to be read as 5+5:

$\acute{\cup} - | \acute{\cup} - | \acute{\cup}(\text{pause}) | \acute{\cup} - | \acute{\cup} - | \acute{\cup} - |$
 Quant ce vient en mai ke rose est panie.

Instead of the pause a rhyme-syllable belonging to the first half, or a weak beat for the second half is possible: $\acute{\cup} - | \acute{\cup} - | \acute{\cup} (-) || \acute{\cup} - | \acute{\cup} - | \acute{\cup} - | = 6+5$.

*11. Eleven-syllable verse gives volltaktig I or II Mode,

with or without caesura after 7th syllable. This caesura is ordinarily neglected in the music, which thus gives a 6-bar period:

Mode I $\acute{u} | \acute{u} | \acute{u} | \acute{u} | \acute{u} (u) \}$ } 6 bars
 " II $\acute{u} - | \acute{u} - | \acute{u} - | \acute{u} - | \acute{u} (u) \}$
 " III $\acute{u} - | \acute{u} - | -uu | -uu | \acute{u} (u) \}$ 5 bars, a

frequent motet rhythm.

12. Twelve-syllable verse is treated, in the Leys d'amors, as 6 6. No examples of 12-syllable verse occur in measured melody. It could give, however, $uu | \acute{u}uu | \acute{u}uu | \acute{u}$. (This again is rather IV than III.)
13. Thirteen syllables are taken as 7(m)+6, or 7(f)+5. Longer verses are to be taken, similarly, as combinations of shorter forms.

Beck holds that from the rules thus deduced and established the modal translation of the unmeasured monodies is very simple. The only comment he makes, upon a possible difficulty, is as follows: "The only difficulty lies, perhaps, for the uninitiated, in the establishment of the mode from the syllable-count of the verse, and from the relation of the verbal and musical accentuation. If, for example, we find that, after establishing the measure-limits, * two or more notes mostly fall upon the accented syllable, while the unaccented syllable is provided with a single note, this points to the I mode; if, on the other hand, the un-

* But exactly that difficulty which we have already noted, viz., the possibility of reading most of the verses in either two- or three-part modes, is left unsolved. And not until we are certain whether a two- or three-part mode is meant can we "establish the measure limits," for, as is quite obvious, the limits of measure

accented syllables have more notes than the accented syllables (Iktsilben), and if these [the musically unaccented syllables] are at the same time bearers of the normal, proper speech-accent, the II mode is indicated. The specific characteristics of Mode III have been indicated above.

"Only infrequently does it happen that a melody is composed syllabically throughout: that is, that for each syllable one note, and one only, is to be sung; in this case the musical-graphic criterion for the establishment of the mode fails, and the relationship of the musical-dynamic to the verbal accent alone governs, since the time-value of the syllables bearing the word accent is, by compensation, always doubled when these fall upon weak beats of the musical measure." (Mel. der Troub., pl89).

The differences between this method and that of Riemann are significant. For the fundamental rhythmic pattern, Riemann takes a duple measure, derived, originally, from vulgar Latin tetrameter, while Beck assumes the governance of the current learned theory as expressed in the rhythmic modes. (We may remark here that the origin of the "modal" rhythm is, so far as we know, also in the meters of Latin poetry.) The variety of rhythms in Beck's system is, of course, vastly greater, and the musical results must be, in general, more gratifying. That, however, is no criterion of their historical accuracy, nor, indeed are these results always better. The differences may be seen by

and of modal foot are identical.

comparing with Riemann's version of "Seigneurs sachiez", given above, the following, which is by Aubry. Aubry's method is largely the same as Beck's, though Beck takes exception to the present version. The reader will judge, however, what rule Beck gives to prevent the reading (as Aubry does here) of the 10-syllable verse in Mode III. A reading in the "auftaktig" Mode I is possible, according to Beck's statement of possible rhythms for 10-syllable lines; such a reading would more closely resemble Riemann's, but the unelided last syllable of "terre" in the second line (for which, it will be remembered, a note stands written in the original) would demand, one would suppose, about the same heroic treatment which it has here received at Aubry's hands:

seigneurs sachiez qui or ne-s'en li-ra en cele terrou Dex
 et qui la croiz d'outre mer-ne pren-dra a paines mes li-ra
 fu mors et vis, Qui en soi a partie ne remem-bran-ce
 en pa-ra-dis.
 au haut Sei-gneur doit quey-re sa ven-jan-ce et de-li-
 er sa terre et son pa-is.

There is not only a great difference in rhythmic character and consequently in expression, there is even a difference in key; the melody, according to Riemann, being Mixolydian, and not, as in Aubry's version, the transposed Dorian. (This seems undoubtedly right, and is mentioned to show that still other than rhythmic questions must be settled before we can feel that we have authoritative versions of the Troubadour and Trouvère music.)

Now, the basis of Beck's system (and of Aubry's) is the assumption that the theory which governed the learned music of the time governed also the popular music, insofar as that the rhythmic modes are to be taken as the structural basis of the musical rhythms of both types. Beck also contends that these modes are the representation of the rhythms in which Romance verse is to be read (though this is often spoken of as a latent rhythm, and we are unable to understand precisely the force of his words in this connection. *) It is therefore of the first importance to examine the grounds upon which he bases this assumption.

Before considering Beck's arguments in the matter, we may first show that the establishment of those precise values, in triple rhythm, which the modes represent, is the result of a purely learned technical process, and that they are the only possible means through which the earliest significant polyphonic music could have found a structural basis.

* See, however, Beck's statement, as we have translated it, on p.18 above. The German is, simply, "zu lesen sind".

All music historians are agreed that the rhythm of music preceding the invention of polyphony was derived from the poetic meters. We have no means of knowing how absolutely the relative values of long and short were observed, but may assume them to have been fairly strict in music set to regular hymn-meters, while in the freer utterance of the "proses" and "sequences" the rhythmic character was doubtless much less marked. But the gradual developement of the art of combining two or more simultaneous melodies of varying rhythm rendered more and more necessary the establishment of universal measure-units. And it is this purpose which the rhythmic modes fulfil. Of the many current musical forms in the 12th and 13th centuries we need, for our purpose, discuss but one, and that the chief -- the Motet.

This consists of a fundamental part, the tenor (tenor) which consists of short passages from the plain-song (unmeasured chant) which are arranged into a definite rhythmic pattern by the composer. (It was later permitted the composer to write an original tenor.) Above this is to be sung the "motetus" or accompanying voice, which is either a known melody, rhythmically arranged (as was the tenor) so as to suit the tenor harmonically, or is an original melody. The tenor in the motet mostly has but one or two words as "Aptatur", and it is not certain whether this implied a known text to be sung throughout or not. The motetus, in any case, and the "triplum" (treble), another melody added above the motetus, and the "quadruplum" or "supramus", if the ingenuity of the composer could take him the length of four-part structure, have each their own individual text, in different

rhythms, and frequently in different languages. The rhythms of the melodies are the natural correspondents of the meters of the texts; therefore combinations of dactyl with iambus and trochee with anapaest, and the like, are frequent, and it is necessary that some unit of measure be found upon which the duple and the triple poetic meters can be accommodated. It will be seen that a purely accentual valuation of trochee ($\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}} \text{ } \overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ | $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}} \text{ } \overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$) and iambus ($\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ | $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ | $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$) cannot combine with a parallel valuation of dactyl (| $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ |) and anapaest ($\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ | $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ | $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$) because the first two give a duple, and the last two a triple, measure. Nor if the long and short syllables be given a quantitative valuation, as $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ for trochee and $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ for iambus, $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ for dactyl and $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ for anapaest, is the situation any better, for now the shorter feet give triple rhythm, and the longer, duple. A slight modification of the unstressed syllables in dactyl and anapaest, however, gives the following possibilities of combination, which account for the assumption of triple rhythm, with all its monotony, as the sole rhythmic basis of the learned music of the 12th and 13th centuries:

Dactyl	$\overset{3}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{1}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{2}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$	(The figures indicate the number of time units or "beats" appropriated to each member of the poetic foot.)
Anapaest	$\overset{1}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{2}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{3}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$	
Two trochees	$\overset{2}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{1}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{2}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$	
Two iambs	$\overset{1}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{2}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{1}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$	
Two amphibrachs	$\overset{1}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{1}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{1}{\text{—}}$	$\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\text{d}}$	

The molossus is too slow and ponderous for application to other parts than the tenor, and each of its elements is made to correspond by giving it three beats.

We take so much time for this exposition in order to show that the triple measure, and the whole system of rhythmic modes in so far as they are exemplified by triple measure, are a result of the development of learned methods in composition, and need not have developed in conjunction with purely monodic music at all.* The natural supposition that a device of this sort, even though fundamental for a great part of musical expression, would have, still at this time, an exclusive application to the learned music is, as we see, disputed by Beck, who attributes to the popular monody that modal regulation which is described by the theorists exclusively in connection with polyphony.

The theorists, however, speak with great contempt or not at all, of the "popular" music. There is but one outstanding exception to this rule. Johannes de Grocheo, writing about 1300, gives an extensive account of contemporary music in Paris, both learned and popular. Him Beck cites as his principal authority among the theoreticians for the assumption that the modal system is applicable to the popular melody. Beck's reading of Grocheo's

* This account is from Wooldridge, Oxford History of Music, Vol. I p.106. The writers of the time do not give this explanation, but, with more or less emphasis, attribute the imposition of triple measure to the Deity, because of the analogy with the Trinity! The fact that the Trinity, acting either as a unit or as a multiple, is not to be made responsible for an artistic device is quite sufficiently established by Wooldridge, op. cit. p.104

text appears, however, to be curiously affected by his desire to find confirmation for his modal theory, and we may therefore consider Grocheo's statements somewhat minutely.

After considerable prelude, Grocheo remarks that the divisions of musical types made by his contemporaries are merely two, the measured and the unmeasured: "alii autem musicam dividunt in ¹panam sive immensurabilem, et mensurabilem, immensurabilem intelligentes ecclesiasticam, quae secundum Gregorium pluribus tonis determinatur. Per mensurabilem illam, quae ex diversis sonis simul mensuratis et sonantibus efficitur, sicut in conductibus et in motetis".* But he goes on to say that this division is inaccurate because it takes no account of the "musica simplex vel civilis, non ita praecise mensurata" since it may be rendered, as a solo, ad libitum, "ullo modo mensurata, immo totaliter ad libitum dicta"; and then gives his final opinion as to a proper classification of existing types: "Dicimus igitur, quod musica, qua utuntur homines Parisiis, potest, ut videtur, ad 3 membra generalia reduci. Unum autem membrum dicimus de simplici musica vel civili, quam vulgarem musicam appellamus", (The qualification as "non ita praecise mensurata" etc. is from another passage but applies to this type) "aliud autem de musica composita vel regulari, vel

* In his objection to Riemann's theory, Aubry (La Rhythmique musicale des Troub. etc) says: Ce que nous savons, c'est que la musique mesurée comprenait toute production musicale qui n'appartenait pas à la tradition ecclésiastique et, en premier ligne, l'oeuvre nouvelle des Troubadours et des Trouvères," quoting the above passage as if it were Grocheo's opinion, apparently without reading further! He goes on; "La chose allait si bien de soi que les théoriciens n'ont jamais cru qu'il fut autrement besoin d'insister sur cette distinction".

canonica, quam appellant musicam mensuratam. Sed tertium genus est, quod existis duobus efficitur et ad quod ista duo tamquam ad melius ordinantur. Quod ecclesiasticum dicitur et ad laudandum creatorem deputatum est."

Plainer words than these in describing popular music as differing from learned or from religious music one could scarcely expect to find, or a plainer ground of difference than that of the flexibility of rhythm which distinguishes the musica vulgaris from the others. Popular music, he expressly says, must be differentiated from the other types, because, if the musica immensurabilis were merely a free-rhythmic, instead of a really unmeasured type, no division would be possible.

After clear statement of these facts, however, Beck nevertheless comes to the following conclusions, which really sum up his logic in support of the rhythmic modes as applicable to the "musica non ita praeclise mensurata":

"Since

- I. Throughout many MS. modally measured and noted monodies are scattered;
- II. The Trouvère songs in MS. Paris, Bib. Nat. fr. 846 . with few exceptions, are written in a notation to which, in spite of its numerous peculiarities, the modally measured character cannot be denied;
- III. Songs occur in modal notation as monodies whose employment as distinctly modally-measured voice-parts in polyphonic compositions has been shown;
- IV. The treatise of Grocheo establishes the modal measuring of monophonic, secular music and cites as examples

known songs of Thibaut de Champagne and Châtelain de Coucy, and V. expressly treats of the Modi, according to which, in his time, all music (with the exception of the Gregorian chorale) was measured and sung; and finally

VI. the Modi as basic musical rhythms in the form in which we find them in Grocheo, circa 1300, are described by his predecessors Franco and Garlandia, who are called "antiqui", Aristotle, Anonymus VII, and the Discantus Positio Vulgaris, which latter dates back at least to the 12th century-- (because of all this) we shall go the only right way if we apply the Modi, as we have them explained and established by the theorists in the treatises, and by the scribes in the modally noted song MS., in Their original form, to the melodies in question". . .
(Melodien der Troubadours, p.142 ff.)

After many examples of Mode III, (to the establishment of whose reading in the regular fashion the above reasoning is especially devoted, though it applies, in general, equally well to Modes I and II) we have the following summation (p.155):

"Wir heben ausdrücklich hervor, dass in den für uns in Betracht kommenden Denkmälern der Troubadours und Trouvères diese Zerlegung der einzelnen Modusbestandteile innerhalb eines Modusfusses (Taktes) in der Regel nur musikalisch stattfindet. Der Text macht diese Zergliederung nicht mit, sondern er schreitet Takt für Takt zu je zwei Silben im ersten und zweiten und zu je drei Silben in dritten und sechsten Modus vorwärts. Das mittelalterliche gesungene Lied ist demnach eine regelmässige, streng symmetrische, melodisch ausgeführte Skansion."

These reasonings and the conclusion that the mediaeval song was a "regular, strictly symmetrical, melodically executed Scansion" are, in our opinion, without justification. They are, as we shall show, unsupported by the authorities Beck himself cites, and are contradicted by historical facts of great importance.

We may first deal with Beck's points in order;

To I, (that measured versions of Troubadour melody are more or less frequent) there is, of course, no exception. Of the 259 Troubadour melodies however, 15 only are measured; and of the nearly 4000 Trouvère melodies (including duplications) about 400 are in the mensural notation. We may note, merely, that of the 15 Troubadour melodies, seven are dances, whose rhythmic character would naturally be pronounced, so that they would lend themselves naturally to mensural notation. Of the Trouvère melodies it should be said that they were written by men more closely in touch than were the poets of Provence with the current movements in learned music. Paris was the center, during the 12th and 13th centuries, of the musical development of Western Europe. And it should not be overlooked that it was entirely possible for scribes at the end of the 13th century, to whom the measured type of music was already an old, familiar type, to conceive in strictly rhythmic shape, after the fashion and under the influence of the current measured melody of the motets, tunes whose original form may very well have been "non ita praecise mensurata".

II. The notation of MS.846 (which MS contains but one Pro-

vençal song, "Ar agues eu", and that translated into French) can not be discussed here. We have no original sources at our disposal. Its exclusively French character, however, renders the comment just made with respect to I in some degree applicable.

III. With the question of the identity of monodies and the motet-parts made from the same monodies, a very significant point arises. We have already described the structure of the motet, in another connection. We may quote, here, Grocheo's account of the method of its composition, which, it will be seen, Beck reads mistakenly. Grocheo says:

"Volens autem ista [the motet] componere primum debet tenorem ordinare vel componere et ei modum et mensuram dare. Dico autem "ordinare" quoniam in motellis et organo tenor ex cantu antiquo est et prius composito, sed ab artifice, per modum et rectam mesuram amplius determinatur. Et dico "componere" quoniam in conductibus (another and rather newer form, similar to the motet) tenor totaliter fit et secundum voluntatem artificis modificatur et durat. Tenore autem composito vel ordinato debet supra eum motetum componere vel ordinare, qui ut plurimum cum tenore in diapente proportione resonat".*

"Demnach erhielt," says Beck, though it is quite apparent that the meaning is exactly the reverse, "Demnach erhielt der Tenor, d. i. Unterstimme einer Merstimmigen Komposition, wenn er ein cantus prius factus war, eine dem rhythmischen Verlauf (modus) der Singstimme (motetus, motellus) entsprechende Glied-

* Johannes de Grocheo, "Theoria", Ed. Joh. Wolf, Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Jahrg. I, 1899-1900, p. 109.

erung." The plain statement of the text is that the tenor is either arranged (*ordinatus*) from the ancient liturgical chant (*ex cantu antiquo*) and given mode and measure, i.e., changed from the unrhythmic plain-song to a rhythmic figure, or that it is composed especially; and that this creation of the tenor is the first step in the composition of the motet. Thereafter (*tenore composito*) the "motet" or next upper voice is either composed or arranged above the tenor. The "arrangement" of the tenor consisted entirely in giving definite rhythmical values to notes originally without those values, and the expression "ordinare" means precisely to give those values. The same expression applied to the upper voice (note the almost prolix character of Grocheo's statement, obviously for the sake of clearness) means the same process applied to the upper voice or "motetus". Beck seems to see this, for he remarks on the next page, after noting the composer's liberty to use an original tenor part, "dem Tenor enteprechend sollte auch die Singstimme (motetus) geordnet werden; diese Äusserung des Grocheo erweckt den Anschein, als ob die hierzu verwendeten Melodien in ihrer Originalfassung noch nicht rhythmisch geordnet gewesen wären"-- which it certainly does. And he hardly escapes from his dilemma by his next words: "In unserem Falle ist aber nur das amplius determinare heranzuziehen, d.h. die bei einstimmigem Vortrag einer Melodie gestalteten Lizenzen mussten in der Mehrstimmigkeit wegfallen oder wenigstens geordnet werden." It is quite apparent that the words amplius determinatur describe nothing of the sort, and cannot, even in the exigencies of "our case",

be held merely to control "licences" of monodic execution. They refer, in the first place, to the tenor, which, being the fundamental part of the motet, and composed first, could show the original rhythmic form of the song from which it was taken only if that song happened already to be suitably arranged for motet composition. Moreover, it is in the later stage of motet composition as it was based upon the modal theory that popular songs were used as tenors. By this time (the beginning of the 14th century) the modal system was breaking down, and the "Ars Nova", of which we shall have something to say presently, was taking its place. And, in any case, an unbiased reading of Grocheo's Latin would certainly show the "ampler determination" to have been effected precisely by giving "mode and strict measure" to the original note-succession.

There is nothing, then, to show that the rhythmic form in which the upper voices of motets are written is the original form of those voices when they were sung as monodies. And Beck's admission of "gestattete Lizenzen" is not exactly in accord with a type of measure so strict as to be called a "streng symmetrische melodisch ausgeführte Skansion".

IV. There is no passage in Grocheo which can be said even remotely to "establish the modal measuring of monophonic, secular music". The two songs Beck mentions are mentioned by Grocheo when describing the "cantus coronatus", one of a considerable list of popular forms which he describes. He cites "Ausi con lunicorne", by Thibaut de Champagne, and "Quant li rossignol" by Châtelain de Coucy as examples, and the only words which could

by any stretch of the imagination be said to indicate a modal rhythm are: "Est enim cantus iste de delectabile materia at ardua sicut de amicitia et karitate et ex omnibus longis et perfectis efficitur. This is the only instance, in that part of Grocheo's treatise which deals with popular music, of the use of technical terms belonging to the mensural theory. "Longa" means the long note; "perfecta", when applied to longa means a long note of three beats (the longa imperfecta has two) and may have the same meaning when standing alone. We may regard it as doubtful whether the use of these terms, in dealing with popular music, is not an inadvertent slip into technical language, even though the suggestion is not strictly technical; especially since the meaning of the words is so simple that no one who cared to read a musical treatise could fail to understand them, whether their meaning were literal or general. But if the words are to be taken literally the expression, as Wolf, Grocheo's original editor points out *, must mean that the "cantus coronatus," consisting of "lauter langen und vollkommenen Noten", is in something like the fifth rhythmic mode -- the Molossus -- which Beck entirely excludes from the list* of modes governing the Troubadour melody. This mode, indeed, is too ponderous and slow to be used even in learned compositions like the motet, in any other than the tenor part.

* In a criticism of "Die Melodien der Troubadours" in Sammelbände der I.M.G., Jahrg.X, 1910.

V. Under this heading we have still another misreading of Grocheo, or else a disingenuous statement of the point at issue. Beck's words are: (Grocheo) "ausdrücklich die Modi behandelt, nach welchen zu seiner Zeit die gesamte Musik (mit Ausnahme des gregorianischen Chorals) gemessen und gesungen wurde". The only absolute fact in this statement precedes the comma. Grocheo "expressly treats of the modes". But he nowhere says, nor seems to say, that all but the Gregorian chorale was measured and sung according to them. Indeed, it is of the first importance, in this connection, that that part of Grocheo's treatise which deals with popular music is the first part, and that there is no mention of the modal system whatever until the subject of the "musica composita, vel regularis, vel canonica" is taken up.

Not only is the language of Beck's statement misleading (though, if strictly read, one perceives the structure to be that of a statement of fact followed by a gratuitous application of the fact to a desired end) but he tries to bolster his statement by suggesting, in a note on the above point V, a modified reading of Grocheo. The note is as follows: "Plurimi enim modernorum (mondanorum?) adhus eis [sex modi] utuntur et ad illos omnes suos cantus reducunt. (Wolf, op.cit.103)" Grocheo has here passed to the treatment of learned music. The "moderni" are simply the men of his own time who are composing motets and conducti according to the current learned theory. "Mondanorum" is therefore a reading which, under the circumstances, would occur only to one who wished the passage to have something other

than its real meaning.

VI. From the foregoing, and from the fact that Grocheo is a great exception to the general run of theorists in condescending to deal with popular music at all, it will be clear that the treatment of the modes by other theorists is no proof whatever of their application to popular music. This subject is as fundamental to the learned music of the time as addition-tables are to the simple arithmetic; the modes are the whole rhythmic basis of the first really independent polyphony, and neither their exposition by Grocheo or by the old "Discantus positio vulgaris" is any proof of their application to the Troubadour melody.

It seems beyond question established, then, that the theoretical treatises of the time offer no confirmation, but if anything the reverse, of the theory that the modal rhythm of the learned music governed the popular monody. There can be no question, however, that many examples of Troubadour and especially of Trouvère melody exist in the modally measured notation. The existence of these proves some degree (it would be difficult to say how much) of influence of the current rhythmic fashion upon popular melody. But if we look at the history of the development of musical measure we may more justly weigh that influence.

Of the precise nature of musical rhythm before the 13th century we have but inexact knowledge. We know, of course, that it was based upon poetic meter; but that it was executed by an observance of definite and invariable relative time-lengths for

the long and short notes is unlikely, except in such music (primarily non-vocal) as was used for dancing. The most conspicuous melodic type of which we have accurate knowledge is the Gregorian chant, whose note-values are described as, at first, of even length, the accentual principle having superseded the quantitative, so that the classical values of long and short syllables were forgotten. This was suitable for choral singing, and, indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a congregation keeping together on any other basis. But those portions of the service which were sung by the officiants, *solis*, were of a varied and ornamented character to which no rhythmic formula could be ascribed, and in which a natural feeling for rhythmic declamation was the guide. The relation of this type of music to the measured music of the 12th and 13th centuries is discussed by Ambros *, who says: "Als späterhin, mit dem 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, die Mensural- oder Figural musik aufkam, welche auf einer auf das Genaueste bestimmten Dauer der Notenwerthe durch Notengestalt und beigesetzte Zeichen beruhte und die Quantitäten langer und kurzer Noten gegeneinander regelte und ausglich und sich dem Gregorianischen cantus planus, der nie eine so mathematische genaue Tonmessung gekannt hatte, gegenüberstellte, wurde die strenge Gleichdauer des cantus planus in allen einzelnen Noten zum wesentlich unterscheidenden

* Geschichte der Musik, von August Wilhelm Ambros. 3d Ed. Leipzig, Leuckart, 1891, II, pp 69-70.

Merkmal desselben und zur Regel erhoben, und Franchinus Gafor selbst schreibt es auf Rechnung der Musiker (nicht des heil. Gregorius), dass "sie seine Noten in Gleichmässig langer Dauer geordnet haben". Die eigentliche Bedeutung der Gleichdauer der Bewegung des Gregorianischen Gesanges liegt aber nicht in dem tactmässigen, gleichlangen Aushalten jeder Note, sondern (im Gegensatz gegen die metrischen, d. i. die prosodische Eigenschaft jeder Silbe zur Geltung bringenden Gesänge) darin, dass an sich alle Silben ohne Rücksicht auf Prosodie für völlig gleichbedeutend, für isometrisch genommen werden, und daher nach den Bedürfnissen des Rhythmus die periodisch lange Silbe auch in der Geltung einer kurzen genommen werden kann und umgekehrt, und bloss die Gesetze der natürlichen Deklamation zu berücksichtigen sind".

It seems entirely just, then, to say that the function of "measure" in music was not merely to contrive a system of notation which should exhibit exactly the relative time values of notes whose values, in performance, were already exactly related to each other, but that the development of measured notation is in response to a growing sense of invariability in musical rhythm. There is no reason to doubt that this exactness of measure (which means, merely, strictness of time) is a product of the development of harmony; and we have shown above, in describing the structure of the motet, that the exclusive triple measure of the 12th and 13th centuries is simply an expedient necessary for composition in the very early type of harmony which the motet represents. The very earliest attempts at the combination of voices (i. e. harmony) are of the 9th century, and

the development is exceedingly slow, at first. The first treatises * describing a kind of music in which the voices are actually independent, and which we know as the "new" organum (to distinguish it from the old strict and free types, in which parallel motion at the fourth and fifth, and oblique motion -- but not contrary and therefore independent) -- date from about 1100, and exhibit no strictly mensural values. That is to say, the system of musical composition which was to require a definite rhythmic scheme in order to hold its parts together was in its earliest infancy at the time when Guillaume IX, the first of the Troubadours, was writing. It is not until about 1150 -- the period of Bernart de Ventadorn -- that these processes of musical composition, which must have been wholly the product of trained musicians, have developed to such a degree that the term "cantus mensurabilis" is employed by the theorists "to describe the music in which measure was present throughout as apposed to that in which it was either non-existent or only partially applied" (Wooldridge, Ox.Hist., I, 102). The exclusive triple rhythm of the mensuralists, which is the modal rhythm which Beck would apply to the Troubadour melody, in all its theoretical strictness, is thus seen to have developed into a settled system rather later than the earlier poetry of the Troubadours, and to have been so exclusively learned in character that it is inconceivable that a poet-singer, depending upon a native gift and upon popular tradition, rather than upon any scholastic theory,

* The "Musica" of Johannes Cotto, and an anonymous treatise "Ad organum faciendum",

for the principles of his art, should have felt himself bound by it. Upon this ground we feel that the undoubted mensural version of Marcabrun's "Lautrier just' una sebissa", for example, need not be taken to represent the rhythm in which Marcabrun sang it.

We know, also, that a duple measure struggled for some time to maintain itself against the triple, even in the learned music, and there seems no adequate reason for the complete rejection of duple rhythm from the music of the Troubadours.

If it seems doubtful that the learned rhythms could have been produced in the Troubadour music by historical conditions prior to that music, we are equally at a loss to account for certain characteristics of the learned music after the period of the Troubadours, unless the influence of the Troubadour and Trouvère melody, in quite another character than could have been possible unless there were vital differences between the two, can be said to have produced these characteristics. The opening of the 14th century exhibits, along with many changes in form and harmonic structure, a radical reaction against the triple rhythm of the preceding centuries. "This reaction was first displayed in a return to the duple measure, which was now again brought forward to stand beside the triple as a means of at least equal importance for the art of music. The circumstances of this restoration are unknown, though they have often been guessed at, and by most writers on the subject are supposed to be connected with the popular vocal and instrumental music of the time" * . . . It is quite true, however, as the same

* Wooldridge, op.cit, II, p2/.The date of this work, 1905, is

authority has just previously remarked, that the music of the 12th and 13th centuries, with its "complete confinement of interest within the bounds of a peculiarly rigid ternary measure, must give rise to methods which are not only fatiguing in their monotony, but which would seem also to offer in themselves no suggestion of improvement, since the defects are radical, and arise from the nature of the system." No hypothesis of mere reaction can wholly satisfactorily explain the "Ars Nova" of the fourteenth century. No significant artistic advance was ever achieved by working any system to exhaustion. The elements of every artistic revolution exist during the period of completion of earlier, and sometimes largely unrelated, systems. The "Ars Nova", then, would be much clearer to us if we were able to trace the influence of the music of the Troubadours as indicating the development of a spontaneous creative musical impulse based upon a rhythmic freedom quite foreign to the rigid ternary scheme of the learned music of the 12th and 13th centuries. With the adoption of Beck's theories we should be practically excluded from the consideration of those sources which seem to promise most in the way of an orderly explanation of the musical processes of transition.

With so much by way of establishing a negative result in respect to the actual musical inferences supporting a "modal" rhythm for the Troubadour melody, we may now turn to the poetical aspects of our problem.

earlier than the most significant work on the Troubadour melody. In a note, however, Prof. Wooldridge suggests the possibility of much light being thrown on the whole question by the Trouvère melody when that has been translated.

We are even more in the dark as to the actual origins of the Troubadour poetry than as to the processes which brought music to the condition in which we find it in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is incredible that so highly organized art as that of even the earliest Troubadours should have no deep-laid historic foundations; yet these are practically undiscovered. It is well enough to say that the comparative peace, that the intellectual stimulation due to the crusades, that the instinct for honor and decency which underlay the institution of chivalry, and that the peculiar elevation of woman to a place of sentimental supremacy are responsible for the artistic stimulation to those types of expression which we find in the early lyrics. They explain, well enough, both the desire for expression and the kind of idea which obsessed those poets; but they do not at all explain the form in which it was possible, apparently at the very beginning, to embody the idea. If anything is true about artistic forms it is true that they grow; that they respond, with a singular instinctive regard for a thousand contemporary conventions of thought and manner, to ever-changing conditions of emotional life, and that their mastery can only result from conscious endeavor.

The individuality of form of the Provençal lyric, aside from its fundamental basis of syllable-count instead of quantity or accent as a verse-determinant, lies chiefly in the extraordinary richness of rhyme, to which the Provençal language lends itself with unparalleled felicity, and in the elaborateness of strophic structure, which is, in many respects, doubtless, a correlative of its opulence in rhyme. But the syllabic

versification presents a peculiar lack of verse rhythm -- at least of that regularity which characterizes the accentual verse -- and as Beck seems to contend that the modal rhythm of contemporary learned music represents, in some measure at least, the rhythm in which this verse is to be read, we must test this application of his system.

Tobler remarks that foot or meter is contrary to the nature of French verse because there are in it no regular successions of accented and unaccented syllables. "Foot" then, he says, "in French verse, could mean only syllable-pairing; and to count syllables in pairs is no more reasonable than to count single syllables; and it would be still worse to speak of iambic or trochaic feet." In contrast we may note Diez's remark that only the iambus and the trochee can be said to exist in Romance poetry:* a postulate which Beck disputes by bringing forward, as we have seen, many examples of measured music giving a dactylic rhythm for the verse to which they are set.

That there must have been some sort of rhythmic feeling in this poetry in order that it should have suggested or supported an accompanying melody, is obvious. But was this verse rhythm, (inherent or latent,) scansional? Or, if the rhythmic foot is absent from the verse, does not the imposition of a regular musical rhythm go counter to a broader and subtler rhythmic quality in the verse? Or, lastly, (taking into consideration the type of musical performance, quite without accompanying harmony, of which the Troubadours were capable) is it probable that the musical rhythm of the Troubadour melody was, like that of the

* Poesie der Troubadours, p.73.

verse, free and untrammled by the regularity of scansion? We do not, as we have said, understand exactly the meaning of a "latent" rhythm (to use Beck's phrase) which is entirely imperceptible from the accent of the verse, but which is nevertheless strong enough to influence the choice of a definitely scansional musical mode. If we could do no more than urge further objection to Beck's theory by showing the many inconveniences of its application to the verse-forms, that process might be omitted, since we believe the theory already to have been seriously impaired. We are unable, it is true, to offer more than a very general constructive idea as to the solution of this whole problem; but since that is possible only through a consideration of the verse structure, we may take account of the positive indications which we are able to find, and at the same time show the failure of Beck's method, in that connection.

The most fruitful source is the "Leys d'amors" a fourteenth-century treatise on Provençal poetics. Beck makes fairly extensive quotation and comment from that work, and in the absence of the complete text we may abridge his observations, and add such other pertinent matter as we find in the fragment at our disposal.* We give first the statements in Beck:

Although the verse-accent does not determine the modal rhythm which moves on irrespective of the spoken accent, "according to the principles of the Leys the observation of the spoken accent was nevertheless obligatory . . . Every spoken word has one principal accent (accens principals) which corresponds to a quantitatively long time, while the unaccented syllables occupy

* We have only that portion contained in Appel's "Provenzalische Chrestomathie."

only a short time, and in such measure that the syllable which bears the principal accent is twice as long as the unaccented; in the word tēmēnsā the same time is given, in pronunciation, to the accented syllable men as is given to the two unaccented syllables te and sa together. The accented syllable thus has the value of two "times", the unaccented of one.

Provençal distinguishes three accents:

I the accens loncs - a syllable long by nature or position without obligatory primary accent.

II the accens agutz - syllable bearing the word-accent.

III the accens greus - short, secondary accent or unaccented syllable (nebentonige oder unbetonte Silbe).

In Provençal the word accent, in "stumpf", masculine ending, falls on the last syllable: senhór, tenér, conóish, alegráns; in "klingend", feminine endings, as accens loncs upon the penult: fína, paíre, brúna. The quantity and accent values of a word are known from every-day use.

The "Leys" puts great emphasis upon the "compas", the correct measure, dreytura mezura of a poem, which, once established, must be maintained. The Grail romance, for example, may not be called a "dictatz" because it does not observe the mezura de sillabas and does not maintain the compas.

"Bordo principal son aquel per los quals hom prosequish lo compas de son dictat", (I, 132). "Principal" verses are those in which the compas of the poem is carried out. Bordo bioccat may have like or unlike syllable count with the other verses, provided they do not disturb or alter the original compas of the poem.

A succession of syllables can be called "Verse" only when it has a "bela cazenza e cert compas fayt amb escien de far rim;" and "qui pren cert compas e no'l continua, vicis est." It is absolutely necessary to continue the compas in all poems which, by their nature, are suitable for melody.

There are three types of pauses:

I Pausa suspensiva: a short breath-pause within the verse: caesural pause, or phrase-end.

II Pausa plana: pause at the end of the verse: rhyme-pause

III Pausa finals: pause at the end of the strophe: full close.

Five- and seven-syllable verses have no pausa suspensiva, while ten- eleven- and twelve-syllable verses always demand them. An accented syllable must stand before every pause.

According to the "Leys", the observance of the word-accent at caesura and rhyme are obligatory, but within the verse are optional.

To this account from Beck we may add the following, from that portion of the "Leys" at our disposal. We select only those passages which have some reference to the character of the melody suitable for the various poetic types:

Vers deu haver long so e pauzat e noel, am belas e melodiozas montadas e deshendudas et am belas passadas e plazens pauzas.

Chansos deu haver so pauzat, ayssi quo vers.

Sirventes es dictatz que's servish al may de vers o de chanso en doas cauzas: la una cant al compas de las coblas, l'autra cant al so. E deu hom entendre: cant al compas, so's a

esaber que tengua lo compas solamen, ses las acordansas, oz am las acordansas d'aquelas meteyshas dictios o d'autras semblans ad aquelas per acordansa.

Dansa . . .deu tractar d'amors, e deu haver so icyos et alegre, per dansar, no pero ta lono coma vers ni chansos, mas un petit plus viacier, per dansar, segon qu'es estat dig. Enpero huey ne uza hom mal en nostre temps d'aquest so, quar li chantre que huey son, no sabon a penas endevenir en un propri so de dansa. E quar no y podon endevenir, han mudat lo so de dansa en so de redondel am lors minimas et am lors semibreus de lors motetz.

De tenso . . . dizem que non es necessitat ques haia so; enpero en aquel cas que s'faria al compas de vers o de chanso o d'autre dictat qu'aver deia so, se pot cantar en aquel vielh so.

Pastorela requier tostemps noel so e plazen e gay, no pero ta lono cum vers o chansos, ans deu haver so un petit cursori e viacier.

Retroncha sec lo compas de vers cant al so e cant a las coblas

Plangs deu haver noel so plazen e quays planhen e pauzat. Pero per abuzio vezem tot iorn qu'om se se servish en aquest dictat del so de vers o de chanso; et adonx, quar es acostumat, se pot cantar, qui's vol, en lo so del vers o de la chanso don se servish, la qual cauza permetem maiormen per la greveza del so, quar a penas pot hom trobar huey cantre ni autre home que sapia be endevenir en far propriamen un so segon que requier aquest dictatz.

Among the points which distinguish the "bal" from the "dansa", we find "Encaras pot haver altra diversitat, quar bala ha so mays minimat e viacier e mays apte per cantar amb esturmens que dansa. Encaras ha altra diversitat, quar hom comunalmen fa et ordena lo dictat de dansa, e pueysh li enpauza so, e·l contrari fay hom leumen en bal, quar hom primieramen troba·l so amb esturmens, e pueys, aquel trobat, hom fa lo dictat de bal...

These are practically all the references we find to the melodic character of the Troubadour song, the others being more fragmentary and generally to the same purpose. We should note that the author feels himself quite competent to judge of the fitness of a melody for a given verse-type, and that he is in some degree familiar with the learned music, for he speaks of semibreves and minims. The minim is unknown to Grocheo, and is, in fact, a comparatively new invention at the date (the middle of the 14th century) of the "Leys". If he possessed some technical knowledge of music, and if the rhythms of the melodies he is describing were understood as based, in any degree, upon a precise, learned rhythm, we should expect him to use these terms as aiding the clarity of his exposition. But the account of the change of the "dansa" into the "redondel" by means of "their minims and their semibreves of their motets" is certainly in a contemptuous tone, and can hardly be taken otherwise than as implying that the strict measure, the precise, invariable rhythm indicated by such notation is a fault. Although the song is expressly described as intended for dancing (per dansar) and though it is difficult for us to imagine a dance without a pretty marked and even rhythm of some sort, we do not feel that

the "modal" character of that rhythm is in any degree supported by the "Leys".

The rhythmic character seems to be almost exclusively described by the word "compas". Appel defines this word as "Mass, Umfang", and, in especial reference to its use in the "Leys", as "(Metrische) Form". But the word metrical is obviously intended in its poetical, not in its musical sense.

Beck's precise valuation of the word is nowhere expressly stated. We infer, however, that he reads into the word some meaning more rhythmically suggestive than the Provençal phrase dreytura mezura which, in the "Leys", appears to be the equivalent of compas, and which means no more than strict syllable-count in the verse. Beck, however, for the application of his modal theory to the translation of the unmeasured melody, is obliged to postulate a "latent" rhythm, in the verse, strong enough to determine the mode. He frequently and emphatically denies that the verse-accents determine the rhythm; but evidently sees in the modal regularity of musical beat, (represented clearly by the measured notation of the monodies) the essential features of this latent rhythm. And it is obvious that he intends this "latent" rhythm, discovered through the applied melody, to be, in some degree at least, understood as the rhythm in which the verse is to be read. On p.98 we find: "In den Ausgaben der Werke einzelner provenzalisch^{er} oder französischer Lyriker findet man unter der Rubrik "Metrisches" meist nur Strophen- oder Reimschemen, Additionen von Versen mit zu viel oder zu wenig Silben etc. In welchem Rhythmus aber die Gedichte zu lesen sind, darüber finden wir wenig Positives". And in a note on the

last sentence we have: "Für die rhythmische Deklamation der Troubadourslieder ziehen wir die innere Gliederung der den einzelnen Versen entsprechenden musikalischen Sätze, distinctiones in Betracht, so wie wir sie aus den mensuriert überlieferten Denkmälern kennen lernen". His description of the rhythmic modes as "at bottom nothing else than the fundamental meters of ancient poetry, continuing their existence as rhythmic norms in music", is, of course, quite just; but it is a long step from that fact to the inference that "Das mittelalterliche Lied enthält also in den Modi der Melodien die Elemente und Vorzüge der antiken Pedes und in den fakultativ betonenden Gedichttexten die Vorteile eines im Hinblick auf die Antike emanzipierten Verses, welchem erst unter der Einwirkung des Musikalischen Modus eine definitive rhythmische Form aufgeprägt wird". (p.164.) (Provençal poetry was apparently able both to have its cake and eat it)

The point (which Beck overlooks) would seem to be of importance that the present state of our knowledge of the origins of the Romance versification seems to indicate a definite lack of connection between the earlier vulgar Latin poetry and that of the Romance languages. The metrical form of the modes is, however, exactly that of the classical Pedes, applied in terms of accent rather than quantity. And we may ask, how is a rhythm which though "latent" is nevertheless strong enough to provide a clear basis of modal choice, to be understood as having developed in a poetry whose verse structure is practically known to have no connection with that verse which gave rise to the rhythmic modes? For that Beck assigns this character to the Provençal verse is to be seen in the catalogue he gives (and

which we have summarized above) of the rhythms in which verses of from one to fifteen syllables, are to be musically interpreted.

We find, then, in the "Leys" and in other manuals of grammar and poetics no single reference showing that there is any connection between the Modi and the rhythmic structure of Provençal or old French verse. That in itself is, however, insufficient as proof that that connection did not exist, for we may well enough imagine the connection to have been so obvious as to require no comment. In this case, however, the application must be so obvious and so easily made that there can be no doubt of its justification. We may therefore make some tests of Beck's system,

We have seen that Beck deduces for the 8-syllable verse the following rhythms:

Mode I (auftaktig): $\cup | \sphericalangle \cup | \sphericalangle \cup | \sphericalangle \cup | \sphericalangle$ or, by attraction of the "auftakt" into the first complete foot:

$\sphericalcup \cup | \sphericalangle \cup | - \cup | -$.The lines

Non es meraveilla seu chan

Miel de nul autre chantador

should, unless some convincing reason appears to the contrary, be rhythmized accordingly. There are two extant melodies for these words, one in G, fol.9a, and one in W, fol.191a. Both are in the chorale notation, and are thus unmeasured. (The notation as given by Beck in Ex.9, p.59, agrees as to pitch with that shown in the reproduction of this page in Appel's new edition of the works of Bernart de Ventadorn. The caudae, which Beck supplies to all the notes not in ligature are, in this reproduction,

either very short or quite invisible, but there is no suggestion of mensural notation.) Beck translates as follows:

Non es me-raveil-la seu chan miel de nul au-tre chan-ta---dor
(from MS. G, fol. q a.)

Note that the beginning is in the "auf-taktig" Mode II (of which beginning there are no examples in Beck's discussion of this mode), and that a change to Mode I is effected at the third (complete) bar. Beck gives it as a general rule that such changes occur when there is a difference of 1, 3, or 5 syllables in succeeding verses. This cannot apply here, for the Mode II governs 5 syllables of the first line, and Mode I, 3: a difference of 2; and these are not successive verses, but one verse. We suppose, then, that his version gives Mode II for these first syllables because the normal accentuation of the words is better observed than if he read

Non es meraveilla seu chan.

The normal speech-accent would be mé-[˘]ra-[˘]veilla with secondary accent on the first syllable. The long notes on the weak beats thus doubtless exhibit that "compensation" of which Beck makes so strong a point in dealing with Mode II. The three syllables miel de nul of the second line fall in one bar quite in accord with the principle of attraction or assimilation already explained; and the rest of the line is regularly in Modē I.

The translation is, then, in accord with Beck's principles, and, if these are correct we may assume that we have the definitive rhythmic form for these notes.

But the succeeding stanzas conform, of course, to the com-
pas of the first, and the same melody is intended to be sung to them all. If we apply the same rhythm to the first two lines of each succeeding stanza, we get the following results:

Stanza II $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Ben es mortz qui d'amor non sen
 $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Al cor qualche doussa sabor

Stanza III $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Per bona fe e ses enian
 $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Am la plus belha e la melhor

Stanza IV $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Aquest amors me fier tan gen
 $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Al cor du-na doussa sa-bor

Stanza V $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Ai Dieus car si fos-son trian
 $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
D'entrels fals li fin amador

Stanza VI $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Quant em la vey be mes parven
 $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Als huels al vis a la co-lor

Stanza VII $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Bona donna re no-us deman
 $\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
Mas que-m prendatz per servidor.

It is difficult to imagine a poet-singer as delighted with "Ben es mortz" when he could have sung "Ben es mortz qui d'amor non sen": a rhythm which gives, it is true, an unusual change from Mode I to Mode III at the second bar, but which is paralleled by Beck's example

$\cup | \cup - | \cup - | \cup | \cup$
"Qui or voudroit leal amant trouver"

which he quotes (apparently rhythmized from mensural melody) on p.180. We can imagine equal dissatisfaction with "Ai Deus car" instead of "Ai Dieus car"; with "d'entrels fals li fin amador" instead of "d'entrels fals li fin amador" (the change to Mode VI being parallel to the change to III suggested for stanza II); and certainly no one would rhythm stanza VI as given when he could have sung:

Quant eu la vey(Pause) be mes parven
 Als huels, al vis(Pause) a la co-lor.

The reader who will take the trouble to apply these various rhythms to the note-sequence of the melody as quoted above will see that the result is always quite "possible" musically, because the curve of the musical line is such that the only essential rhythmic point is at the end of the line, and the verse, with its normal accentuation of the rhyme-syllable, gives an obvious coincidence with the melodic cadence. The precise manner of the application of the melody as established from the first strophe to the words of the succeeding strophes is nowhere taken up by Beck. We have seen that the verse-structure is sufficient, in the first lines, to effect a change from the I to the "compensating" II mode. But would not the normal rhythm of Mode I for the first line:

Non es meraveilla seti chan,

bad as it is, be preferable to the rhythm which Beck's melody would give to the second line of strophe VI:

Als huels al vis a la co-lor ?

What sort of "latent" rhythm is there in this line to suggest a reading so entirely contrary to its rhetorical structure?

A similar difficulty, also, arises in those cases in which

different MS. give different melodies for the same words. Beck's theory would appear to be that a measured notation gives the "latent rhythm of the verse, and that, this rhythm being determined, it supplies the modal key to unmeasured melody found set to verses of similar structure. It should, then, most certainly, give the rhythmic basis of unmeasured melody set to the same words. For illustration we choose another poem of Bernart de Ventadorn, which has three different melodies, appearing in MSS. R, fol.57 b, (a measured melody) and in G, fol.9 c and W, fol. 202 a, (both unmeasured, and quite similar in note sequence, though not identical). (Beck, Ex.4, p.56). Because of a peculiarity in Beck's translation, we may first quote the original notation from R.



Observe the distinct variation of long (η) and breve (\bullet), which shows the notation to be mensural. The ligatures, however, are not of the precisely defined form presented by the "Ars Cantus Mensurabilis", but are of an earlier type, and it is not possible to determine exactly their meaning. The vertical strokes across the staff are pauses, but their form, again, is not that of the Francoonian notation, but is inexact. Beck (pp 76,77) shows the employment of these in the pre-Franconian notation to be very unsystematic, and concludes, apparently, that they may be observed or neglected at will. They appear in

the notation of this melody (MS. R) after the first five lines of the poem, and after the last, (the strophe has eight lines); in a different melody (MS. G) they appear after every line except the last. It would appear that they have, then, in this instance, some rhythmic value.

Beck's translation is as follows:

Ab joi muou lo uers et co--mens et ab joi reman e fe--nis.
(Beck, p. 190)

Observe that his rhythm, with the exception of the third (complete) bar, is in Mode II, and that he begins with an "auf-takt" of a half-note: a decidedly awkward rhythm. He gives no examples of the auftakt for Mode II in his exposition of the character of that mode, and no indication of it as suggested by the various verse-forms. He also ignores the "long" for et, the first word of the second line, giving it the value of a quarter-note instead of a half. Now, the succession of longs and breves for Ab joi muou lo is the clearest possible mensural indication of the volltaktig Mode I. It would appear, then, that Beck is here following the rhythmic pattern which he ascribes to the 8-syllable verse, (Auftaktig Mode I) so far as he is able, but that he is obliged, in deference to the mensural notation, to give to the syllables joi muou lo the values of short, long, short, respectively, and consequently to establish Mode II as the basic rhythm of the melody. We repeat that he is here ex-

emphasing his system in direct opposition to the clear indication of the mensural notation from which, it will be remembered, his system professes to be drawn. His reading of the ligatures would appear to be affected by a similar purpose. They are not, as we have said, in Franconian form; but a description of practically identical figures which have the value of the perfect long (three beats) is given in Oxford Hist of Music, I 241. The third of these, (that for the syllable co-) contains obviously two semibreves and a long, while the two preceding figures each contain a breve and a "longa plica" (the plica is a sort of "grace" indicated by the short downward stroke at the left). If the mensural intention obviously exhibited in the simple longs and breves governs also the ligatures, there is no apparent reason why these should show so different a time value as that assigned them by Beck: two beats for each of the first two and only one beat (two sixteenths and an eighth) for the third. If we give to each of the ligatures its apparent value of a perfect long (three beats) we get the following as a translation of the mensural notation:

Ab joi muou lo uers el co---mens et ab joi re-man e fe-nis.

The music is still in Mode I; but the poem has ceased to show that scansional quality of two syllables to a bar which Beck insists is the only proper rhythm. We have, thus, one of

the fifteen mensurally noted Provençal melodies (or one of eight, if we exclude the dances) upon which Beck relies to show the inner structure of Provençal verse, giving, if our translation is correct, a six-bar musical period in Mode I, volltaktig. Beck's scheme for the 8-syllable verse gives a four-bar period, auftaktig; the nearest approach he can make to this is a four-bar period in Mode II, auftaktig; and we have seen that this is only accomplished by a distortion of the clear mensural indication of the original notation.

Beck quotes also the music set to the first two lines of this poem in MSS. G and W. These two melodies are quite similar. The question naturally arises as to the rhythm in which they are to be interpreted. Several possibilities present themselves. Are we to follow the strict rule of Beck's established rhythm for 8-syllable verse, which prescribes the auftaktig Mode I? In that case we get:

G, fol. 9c
(Beck, p. 56)

Ab ioi mou lo uers el comeng et ab ioi re-man e fe--nis

Ab ioi mou lo uers el co-meng et ab ioi re man e fe----nis

which is obviously unsatisfactory. Are we to suppose that the intimate correspondence of latent rhythm in the verse with melodic accent (which is Beck's great principle) has produced the rhythm of the melody in R? If so, we have

W, fol. 202a c

(Beck, p. 56) En ioi mo f lou vers et comens et en ioi re-man et fe--nis

we find that while the melodic outline resembles much more closely that from G than that from R, the ligatures, in the first line are more similar in position to those in R. We can employ satisfactorily, for the first line, the version which we have presented as the correct translation of R, except for the syllable co (mens) which, with a single note, hardly bears extension to a full bar of three beats. Contracting et co- into one bar, we should get:

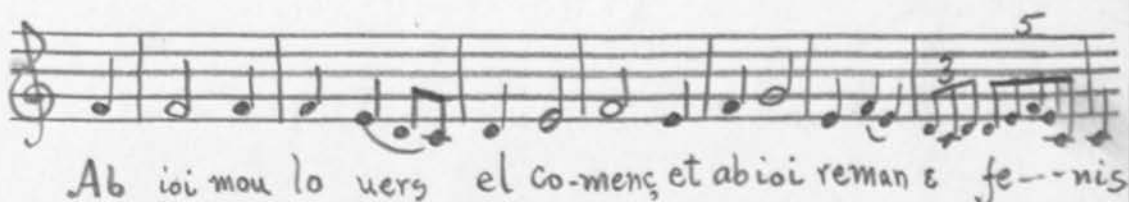
En ioi mo f lou vers et comens et en ioi re-man et fe---nis

But this adaption succeeds for only one line, for the position of the ligatures in the second line is exactly similar to their position in G. There is thus no single rhythmic pattern which can in any sense be said to derive from the words; nor is the pattern which derives from the mensural melody suitable to the unmeasured melody. Beck gives no account of the manner in which he has "established" the rhythm in which the verses of from one to fifteen syllables are to be rhythmized. But we feel sure that the assignment of the auftaktig Mode I as the rhythm of



whose distortion of verbal and musical accent is intolerable. Beck would doubtless repudiate such a version. But we may be allowed to ask why such a rhythm as this in R was ever conceived, (and mensurally noted) if it contradicts any actually existent latent rhythm such as Beck conceives to be the clue to the rhythm of unmeasured melody.

We may suppose, again, that, in response to the natural verbal accentuation, the change from Mode I to Mode II would be made, somewhat as follows:



This is the best result, for the melody in G, so far. It accords also with possibilities of Beck's system. But, again, if this is the "latent" rhythm of the words, what produced the version in R?

If we go further and compare with these the melody from W, fol. 202 a, of which Beck gives the original notation of the first two lines as follows

8-syllable verse was not derived from the measured melody of R, nor applied to the unmeasured versions of G and W.

If we are right in objecting to this instance of the "derivation" of a latent rhythm from mensural melody, we feel that similar question should be raised as to the process by which he assigns a rhythmic pattern to melodies, set to certain Provençal and Old French words, which have the same tone-sequence as a Latin poem presented in measured notation. The Latin, with its corresponding, mensurally indicated musical values is:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \\ \text{Ave gloriosam virginum regina.} \end{array}$$

Eight MS in all are quoted, (Mel. der Troub. p.76) two of which are identically measured and one of which has the Latin text just given. To the rhythm of this the text:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \\ \text{Virge glorieuse pure nete et monde} \end{array}$$

(which is obviously a translation of the Latin) is entirely fitted. But Beck insists that the same rhythm governs two secular songs "L'enc tens mai teu et encor me tercie", and "L'autrier chevauchie pensant par un matin", which are also in choral notation.

The debatable point with regard to "L'enc tens mai teu" is that in the music for this version a vertical stroke (pause) appears after the note for teu: after the fifth syllable, that is, whereas in the two other versions which give the pauses, they occur one note later: after the sixth syllable in "L'autrier chevauchie", and after a similar note in a textless version from MS. Florence, Naz. II, 1, 113, fol.90. The two measured versions and the other unmeasured readings show no pauses. Beck

would have us, on the authority of the measured versions, ignore three ^{ese} pauses. But the accuracy with which these are placed after the caesura in Long tens mai teu|| and in Lautrier chevauchie||, and the ease with which et after teu could be taken as up-beat to the next following strong accent, leave us unconvinced that these pauses are meaningless.

The text of "Lautrier chevauchie" shows, if rhythmized according to the Latin meter, an extraordinary contradiction of normal accent. The last half of Lautrier chevauchie pensant par un matin is contrary to every principle of French accentuation, and even to Beck's most fundamental principle, that which attributes the accent to the rhyme-syllable (certainly a just attribution) and makes the masculine rhyme either fill the whole bar or be followed by a pausa plana, while the weak syllable of the feminine rhyme either occupies the space of the pausa plana, or is extended to fill another (weak) bar. But the weak syllable is always weak; and there is no imaginable condition under which "matin" could be taken as feminine.

Such treatment as this of words whose normal accentuation is practically inviolable not only weakens the logic of that principle of modal change which Beck attributes to the natural desire to observe this accentuation, but also it casts some doubt upon the reasonableness of the theory of "compensation" especially brought forward in connection with Mode II, which is exalted to the position of representing the "true Romance rhythm". That compensation may be observed in the lines:

∪ - | ∪ - | ∪ - | ∪ -
 "Lautrier just una sebissa
 ∪ - | ∪ - | ∪ - | ∪ -
 Trobey pastora mestissa

in which the normally strong syllable is placed upon the unaccented part of the bar, and given twice the time of the accented weak syllable. But such accentuation and time-values as appear in

\sphericalangle \smile | \sphericalangle \smile | \sphericalangle | —
 pensant par un matin

give to the normally unaccented syllable not only the musical accent but twice the time of the normally accented syllable, which receives a short time and no accent at all!

And with regard to the undoubted mensural notation of "Lautrier just'una sebissa", (a poem of Marcabrun, and therefore early) we are inclined to Stengel's opinion that, if this rhythm can be said with certainty to represent the original character of the music, it seems to show that melody and verse, in the Romance countries, came very early into conflict.

If we look, then, at Beck's theory in the largest outlines, it seems to shape itself into a process which may be described as, (1) the determination of the rhythms of Romance verse as in accord with the modal theory of learned music, upon the assumption that the rhythmic principle of the measured melody governs also the unmeasured; (2) the precise determination of these rhythms for all Romance verse-forms; (3) the re-application of these rhythms to the unmeasured melody as the latent, rhythmically vitalizing factor. When we consider the large proportion of the unmeasured to the measured melody, together with the lateness of those versions which are measured, it would appear just to say that Beck's theory must really assume that the character of the verse itself is the rhythmically productive factor: that modal measure was inherent in Romance verse-structure from the

beginning. This would need proof from historical sources outside the materials themselves: we practically know, as we have said, that the origin of the syllabic Romance verse is not in the accentual Latin verse; and we know with certainty that the rhythmic modes themselves, as counterparts of the poetic feet, did have their origin in the Latin verse. The derivation, then, from measured examples of Troubadour melody, of principles of rhythm which are supposedly the rhythmic principles of the verse to which they are set, and the re-application of these principles to unmeasured melody and its accompanying verse, for the purpose of further establishing the original principles, is nothing but argument in a vicious circle.

The nature of this argument may be seen from Beck's own words. We find on p.98 the following: "Der Grund dafür, dass keine der bisher vorgeschlagenen Erklärungen das metrische Prinzip der mittelalterlichen Versbildung zu bestimmen und zu begründen vermocht hat, ist nur in folgender Tatsache zu finden: man bemühte sich, aus den oft Kontroversen und unverständlichen Angaben der Traktate, oder aus Vergleichen von mannigfaltigen Dichtungs- und Versarten unter sich Schlüsse zu ziehen, indem man dabei den wichtigsten Faktor vernachlässigte, nämlich die zu den betreffenden Liedern und Liedarten gehörigen Melodien, aus denen allein die innere Gliederung der Verse und das rhythmisch-metrische Prinzip der in die älteste Kunstperiode gehörenden lyrischen Denkmäler unzweideutig erkannt und wiederhergestellt werden kann".

That is, the inner structure of the verse can be known only from the melody.

But on p.161 we have: "Wir betonen noch einmal zusammenfassend dass . . . die ausschliessliche Verwendung der . . . Modusbestandteile im Prinzip nur musikalisch stattfindet, und dass der Text dieser Division der Modusglieder nicht folgt. . . Nicht die Versakzente bestimmen den musikalischen modalen Rhythmus, sondern im Gegenteil, der zu benutzende Modus entscheidet über die Verteilung der Taktiken (Hebungen) ganz gleichgültig, ob dieselben mit dem Wortton oder Wortnebenton zusammenfallen".

That is, the accentual structure of the verse has nothing to do with the melody. But the "latent" rhythm of the verse must consist in some sort of accentual principle (rhythm, we suppose, is impossible without some sort of accent) so unrelated to the natural accentuation of the verse that it can exist beside, and in spite of, natural accentuation, and yet be strong enough to determine melodic accents; for it is from the verse-structure itself that we are to discover the rhythmic patterns of unmeasured melody.

The systems of Dr. Riemann and of Aubry find analogous confutation. And the conclusion to which our argument leads is simply that no such purely mechanical system can reveal the nature of a type of melody individual in its origins, and intimately associated with the extraordinarily rich and varied versification of the Troubadours.

It would be a satisfaction to be able to give, in contrast to the negative character of the results of our work so far, at least the basis of a positive elucidation of the problem. We have too little material at our disposal to be able to attempt serious constructive work. But, with the certainty we feel that the

rhythmic basis of the Troubadour melody is largely verbal, and that the style of execution approximates the declamatory, we venture to give, on the following pages, as clear a copy as we can make by hand of the original notation of "Ab ioi mou lo vers vers", and a translation which seems to us more in accord both with the words and with the melodic design than any that we have given as supposedly according to Beck's system.

If we consider the rhythmic suggestion of the words we get something like this:

Ab ioi mou lo vers el comens
 et ab ioi reman e fenis;
 e sol que bona fos la fis,
 bons sai quer lo comensamens.
 Per la bona comensansa
 me ven ioi et alegransa.
 Per so deu om la bona fin grazir
 que toz bons faiz vei lauzar al fenir.

The sign \simeq indicates an intermediate accentuation. The translation is faithful to this valuation. It follows no rhythmic mode, though we give the time signature 3/4. It is possible that a 4/4 time might have given equally good results; but the poetic movement is often iambic, and for that the triple rhythm is more natural. We several times give a duple rhythm (indicated \downarrow \downarrow) for those intermediate accents which we have noted in the text. The music is undoubtedly elaborate; and we are in no sense contending that we have the only proper translation -- indeed, rhythms would need to be, and could be, changed for the succeeding strophes -- but if the reader will accept our accentuation

67 a

Ab joi mou lo vers — e-l co-mens, — et ab joi re-

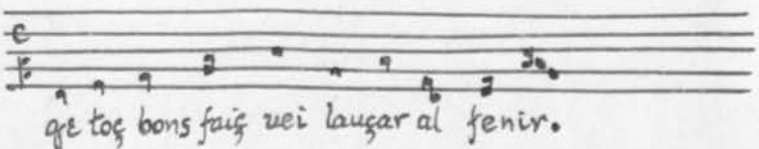
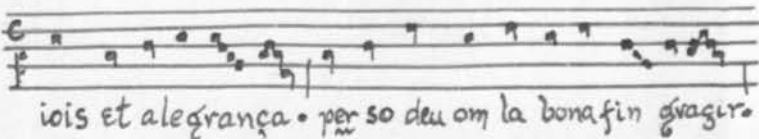
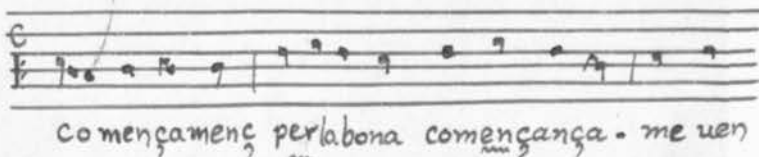
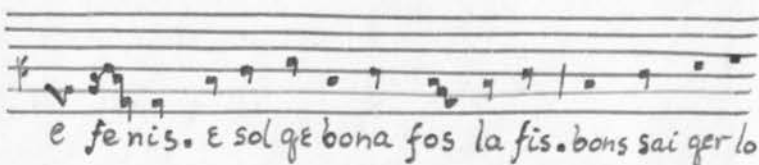
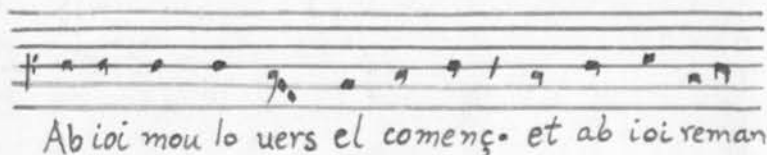
man — e fe-----nis; e sol que bona fos — la.

fis, bons sai qu'er lo co----men-ga--mens. Per la bona

co-men-san--sa mi ven jois et a-le-gran---sa; — Per

so deu lom la bo-na fin gra-zir, — que toz bons faiz vei

lauzar al — fe---nir.



The flats appearing above the b's are obviously not in the original. They are, however, in strict accord with the rules for "musica fiota", which were universally employed during this period, and may be taken as unexceptionable.

of the poem, and will sing the version we have given, with freedom and decent rhetorical emphasis, we believe he will find it a tolerable exposition of the sense of both music and poem.

There are certain correspondences of the old notation with the rhythm; but upon these we do not feel able to dwell, for they may be accidental. But the flow of the melodic line itself is certainly better, in our version, than in any conceivable "modal" rhythm. The melody is less modern than that for "Seigneurs sachiez", there being no exact period-repetitions here; but there is a certain suggestion of symmetrical structure, which the reader will at once perceive by the lifting of the melody at the words "Per la bona comensansa" into new, high register. This new section is also very interesting musically, being simply a free development of the figure of the first four notes, a, b(b), a, g. Observe the real artistry with which this pattern is varied. The last occurrence, entirely within the limits of the ligature for (alegran) oa, especially when compared with the shorter ornament for the figure in the previous rhyme-word (comencanca) is the product of a distinctly musical mind. Imagine the senselessness of this passage when confined, by Beck's system, to strict syllabic scansion, with the ligatures for alegranca compressed, as they must be, into a single measure ! It is impossible to believe that the musician who could design this passage could have sung it with so little sense of its value.

This is not like the Gregorian chant; it is much more definitely rhythmic. It contains suggestions of both duple and triple rhythm, and, if the whole of the music of the Troubadours

was of this character, originally, and if it developed its structural (and probably its rhythmic) character, to the point of which we have an example in "Seigneurs Sachiez", we feel that some rational association can be found between this music and the "Ars Nova".

It seems beyond reasonable doubt, in any case, that the solution of our rhythmic problem is to be found, not in the arbitrary application of a mechanical system, devised for special ends, such as that of the Modi, but in heeding the unequivocal statement of Grocheo that the musica civilis was distinct from the measured and the ecclesiastical types in that it was non ita praecise mensurata.

Such a type, though it lends itself to exact translation with difficulty, and perhaps not at all, is nevertheless entirely conceivable as a general type. And no other can be said to fit the obvious character of the Provençal and Old French poetry. It is past belief that this versification, conceived as it doubtless was in close association with music, could have developed and persisted in a principle of scansionless syllable-count if the music, in direct conjunction with which it was inspired, was directly and continuously scansional in its rhythm.

There is nothing inconceivable in music, intended for passionate lyrical utterance, which is "not precisely measured". Every music teacher knows that the development of a strong rhythmic sense in students is a matter of considerable difficulty. The missing out or the undue extension of beats, even in music which has a very vivid and obvious rhythm, is an every-day occurrence; and it occasions no distress to the student, once

the distorted version is learned, for the result is not absolutely unrhythmic but is only unsymmetrical with the strict rhythmic pattern. And rhythms of extreme variability are written, in slower and more lyrical movements, by many modern composers.* Moreover, the florid melody of the early opera, which was imitated in the first instrumental fantasias, which is continuously practiced up to the middle of the 18th century, and which finds its culmination in the work of J.S. Bach (see the Chromatic Fantasia, and the slow movements of the Italian Concerto and of the concertos for violin) is quite possibly referable to a type of extremely free musical utterance such as we are supposing the Troubadour melody to have been.

We contend, therefore, that the ^{original} rhythm of Troubadour music was not strict; that it had nothing directly to do with the rhythmic modes of the learned music; and that the only rational implication as to a "latent" rhythm in Provençal and Old French verse is an implication that it was either definitely rhythmic or not accordingly as the normal accentuation and the needs of properly rhetorical delivery demanded. The rhythm is, certainly, to be derived from the poetry; but not by distorting the poetry through the application of an unrelated theory of learned music.

* For instance, the Variations on a Hungarian Theme by Brahms in which the theme has continuous alternation of 3/4 and 4/4 time; the slow movement of Chopin's first sonata and the second movement of Tchaikowsky's Pathétique symphony, which are in 5/4 time; and especially the Etude in F minor by Liszt and the slow movement of the sonata for piano and violin by Guillaume Lekeu, in which the most irregular interjection of superfluous beats is heard without the slightest disturbance.

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