

www.cristoraul.org

EL VENCEDOR EDICIONES

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF MUSIC

VOL. I

THE POLYPHONIC PERIOD.

Part I

METHOD OF MUSICAL ART, 330-1330

BY

H. E. WOOLDRIDGE

EDITOR'S PREFACE

The histories of music in current use have for the most part adopted a method which is frankly and ostensibly biographical. Their spirit has been largely that of the Saga or the Epic, rousing our admiration for the achievements of princes and heroes, but leaving us uninformed, and indeed unconcerned, as to the general government of the kingdom or the general fortunes of the host. Such a method has no doubt obvious advantages. It is human, it is interesting, it readily compels our attention, it wins from us a full acknowledgement of the debt that we owe to the great masters. But at the same time it is liable to two attendant dangers: first, that of ignoring the work done by lesser men; second, that of placing genius itself in a false perspective. The history of an art, like the history of a nation, is something more than a record of personal prowess and renown. Tendencies arise from small beginnings; they gather strength imperceptibly as they proceed; they develop, almost by natural growth, to important issues: and the great artist has commonly inherited a wealth of past tradition and effort which it is at once his glory and his privilege to administer.

More especially is this true of music, which among all the arts has exhibited the most continuous evolution. Over six centuries of work went to provide Palestrina with his medium; Purcell succeeded in the fullness of time to a long line of English ancestry; Bach, though he owed much to Pachelbel and Buxtehude, much to Vivaldi and Couperin, was under still greater obligation to that steady growth and progress which the spirit of German church music had maintained since the days of Luther. Even those changes which appear the most violent in character — the Florentine Revolution, the rise of the Viennese School, the new paths of the Romantic movement — may all be rightly considered as parts of one comprehensive scheme: sometimes re-adjusting a balance that had fallen askew, sometimes recalling a form of expression that had been temporarily forgotten or neglected, never wholly breaking the design or striving at the impossible task of pure innovation.

To trace the outlines of this scheme is the main object of the present work. The biographical method, admirable in its way and within its limits, has been sufficiently followed elsewhere: — in histories, in monographs, in dictionaries and encyclopaedias of music. But these still leave room for a complementary treatise which shall deal with the art rather than the artist, which shall follow its progress through the interchanges of success and

failure, of aspiration and attainment, which shall endeavour to illustrate from its peculiar conditions the truth of Emerson's profound saying that 'the greatest genius is the most indebted man'. In some cases the labour has proved difficult and obscure, partly from imperfection of the record, partly from extreme complexity of causal relations; at any rate the whole ground has been surveyed afresh, and the facts interpreted with as little as may be of prejudice or prepossession.

The work has been planned in six volumes. The first two, by Professor H. E. Wooldridge, deal with the music of the Mediaeval Church, one closing with the period of Discant, the other tracing the course of Modal Counterpoint up to the work of Palestrina and his successors : the third, by Sir C. H. H. Parry, follows the line of the early Monodic movement from its origin in Josquin and Arcadelt to its culmination in Purcell : the fourth, by Mr. J. A. Fuller Maitland, deals especially with the music of Bach and Handel, and with the harmonic counterpoint which is peculiarly characteristic of their time : the fifth, by the Editor, narrates the rise and progress of the Viennese School, and carries from Haydn to Schubert the development of the great instrumental forms : the sixth, by Mr. E. Dannreuther, describes that phase of the art which is distinctively known as Romantic, and discusses the formative conditions which inspired Weber in the theatre, Schumann and Chopin in the concert-room. With the Romantic period it has been thought advisable to stop. The more recent aspects of musical art, though at least as well worth investigation as those of any preceding age, are yet too near us for complete and dispassionate judgement. With Brahms and Wagner, with Tchaikovsky and Dvorak and Richard Strauss, we are still liable to the faults of a hasty or ill-considered criticism, and must leave to a future generation the task of assigning them their place and explaining the tendencies through which alone they can be interpreted.

It is impossible in so brief an outline even to indicate all the topics of which we propose to treat. Questions of ethnology, "questions of aesthetic, questions even of social convention and popular taste, meet the musical historian at every turn, and demand at any rate acknowledgement, and where possible an attempt at solution. Our object has been to account, so far as we are able, for the successive stages through which European music has passed since it became, to use an obvious analogy, a living language. The distribution of the work among different hands has been part of a settled policy, designed to secure for each period a treatment which shall be not only full but in a special degree sympathetic. There are but few men who have sufficient breadth of view to deal equally with every type and phase of artistic utterance;

of these few there are still fewer whose lives would suffice for the requisite investigation and research. Some of the facts have demanded journeys to remote parts of Europe, others have needed peculiar kinds of knowledge or experience, and though we may gladly admit that England contains writers who alone could have accomplished the whole, it has seemed advisable to aim at such efficiency as may be secured by a combination of labour.

There remain a few words to say on the particular scope and purport of the present volume. Starting from the recorded system of the Greek modes it finds the first germ of polyphony in the magadising practice described by Aristotle and Athenaeus, and traces the apparent modifications of the system to its adoption in the Latin Church. It thence proceeds to estimate the position and work of St. Ambrose, to compare the basis of the earliest Christian hymns and antiphons with that of their Greek originals, and to point out the inveterate error which still speaks of the Ecclesiastical modes as Gregorian. By this route it reaches its first resting-point in the distinction of authentic and plagal, and in the treatises, scientific rather than artistic, of Aurelian and of John Scotus Erigena. A new departure is taken with the introduction of Organum or Diaphony, first in the strict form of the *Musica Enchiriadis*, then with the greater freedom of Guido's *Micrologus*, and so through the alternations of theory and practice from the Winchester Troper to Cotto and Guy of Chalis. Next comes the introduction of measured music, and the establishment of a fixed and intelligible rhythm: tentatively in the *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, more firmly in Franco of Cologne, reaching a temporary climax with Walter Odington. From this the practice of Discant takes its origin, the early notation develops into a metrical scheme, and the art of music passes into a phase more consonant with modern principles and modern theories. A special part of the volume is devoted to rhythmic conventions, and particularly to the influence of rests or pauses in determining metrical rules, all of which bear an important part in rendering the material of music more flexible and more amenable to artistic treatment. The devices are still archaic and remote, the methods rudimentary, the results occasionally harsh and unfamiliar; but the germ of our metrical system is there, and needs but time and experience for its full development. The work of Jean de Garlande is rich in examples, and is supported by an anonymous treatise of the late thirteenth century, now in the British Museum.

With the period of Discant this volume comes to its close. Its later chapters are occupied with a description of the various types of composition current at the time: — the Cantilena and Rondel; the Motett; the Hoquet; the Conductus,

and the *Organum purum*. Of these forms some have been known by illustration, some by little more than the name alone, and it is a piece of conspicuous good fortune which has placed at Professor Wooldridge's disposal the MS. of a Notre Dame choir book, recently discovered in the Laurentian Library, which contains specimens of the church music in actual use at this period

It is probably to the imperfection of the record that we may attribute the curious break which separates the method of Discant from that of Counterpoint properly so called. At any rate with the consummation of the former there appears a natural interval which, in the course of the present work, is taken to separate the first volume from the second. In the former we are dealing with conditions so primitive as almost to justify the famous paradox that the true ancient history is mediaeval. In the latter we shall find artistic work which can still give the purest and noblest pleasure, and can win our admiration for consummate skill and complete achievement. Yet the age of Counterpoint would have been impossible without the age of Discant; and the tentative and uncertain steps, often misled, often baffled, were destined at last to find a way through which men should venture to the exploration and conquest of unknown regions. In the cause of art no true effort is wasted, and the greatest leader is not always he who enters the promised land.

W. H. HADOW.

CONTENTS

- INTRODUCTION The Nature of Polyphony
- CHAPTER I The Origin of Polyphony
- CHAPTER II The Materials of Polyphony Greek Music
- CHAPTER III The Materials of Polyphony (continued) Greek
Music in the Latin Church
- CHAPTER IV Organum or Diaphony

THE POLYPHONIC PERIOD OF MUSIC

INTRODUCTION

THE NATURE OF POLYPHONY

In considering the development of the resources of pure sound, regarded as a material for artistic treatment, the phenomena may be seen as arranging themselves in three main divisions or periods, each representing a totally distinct phase of artistic activity in relation to the material and a different view of its capabilities.

The first period represents that phase in which the beauty to be obtained from the material is perceived only as consisting in certain arrangements of consecutive simple sounds; the aim of the artist is single, and its outcome is the coherent individual utterance, or Melody. This was the music of the old Greeks and is still the music of all eastern people.

The second period is that in which the mind awakes to the possibility of a new beauty to be obtained by combining different individual utterances simultaneously ; and in this phase the aim of the artist is twofold, for he seeks to adjust the mutual relations of the separate melodies in such a manner as not only to elicit the full effect of their combination but to preserve at the same time a relative independence for each ; the outcome is a complete union, maintained upon the principle of an absolute equality; between the individual and the collective elements of the composition, and this is Polyphony.

The third, or strictly Harmonic period, the period in which we now are, represents the phase in which the principle of equality between the individual and the collective elements has been abandoned, and melody, even when apparently most free and self-developed, is entirely controlled by harmonic considerations

Of these three periods that with which we are chiefly concerned is the second, the period of Polyphony. The gradual development of the separate melodies and of the rules which govern their simultaneous employment, the growth of the artist's perception of the capabilities of his new material

of combined sounds, of the special beauty which belongs to its nature, and of the degree in which scientific treatment may be effectively applied in it, the progress, in short, of contrapuntal Music from its rise onward to its first perfection and complete constitution as a Fine Art, is the subject indicated in our title.

In the beginning of our work a close connexion will be seen as existing between the Polyphonic and Melodic periods, since it was from the older system that Polyphony received the whole of its original technical means, a rational scale and a theory of the consonance and dissonance of its various intervals respectively; towards the close, on the other hand, the imminence of the Harmonic period will be perceived, and it will be necessary to point out that many of the later phenomena of Polyphony which appear as inconsistent and insubordinate are signs of its approach.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF POLYPHONY

The origin of Polyphony lies no doubt in the reduplication of the individual utterance or melody by mixed voices in the choral song. The effect of this reduplication would naturally be perceived as more agreeable than that of the singing of equal voices, and recognition of the double sound as the source of pleasure, demonstration of the real character of the interval, and conscious use of it as a form of art, might well be the first steps in the process of evolution.

The first sign of a direct advance towards Polyphony is to be found among the Greeks. They had taken note of the particular effect created by the simultaneous, employment of the voices of men and children or of certain voices and instruments in the same melody, and already in Aristotle's time had given it the name of *Antiphony*, contrasting it with the less pleasing effect of equal voices or instruments of like pitch which they called *Homophony*; and they were moreover perfectly aware of its real nature as consisting in the consonance of the octave.

"Why is symphonous singing (antiphony) more agreeable than Homophony? Is it not because antiphony is the consonance of the octave? For antiphony is born of the voices of young boys and men whose tones are distant from each other as *nete* from *hypate*' (the highest and lowest notes of the octave scale)". *Aristotelian Problems*

Furthermore, there seems to be evidence of some sort of conception of its use as an artistic form, for while the effect itself was defined as antiphony the practice of it received a special name and was called *magadizing*. This name seems to imply something more than a fortuitous mixture of the voices of men and children, resulting in the consonance of the octave, and suggests a conscious process with an aesthetic purpose; the *magadis* was a harp-like instrument of many strings which would admit of the reduplication of a melody, and we may perhaps suppose that the effect of the natural unconscious mingling of voices in chorus being often imitated upon the *magadis* by the deliberate artifice of

striking each note of the melody in octaves, vocal antiphony became at length in turn a conscious process taking its name from the instrumental imitation. Be this, however, as it may, the essential fact of the employment by the Greeks of the octave progression under the name of magadizing is certain, and that it was consciously employed as a distinct means of aesthetic pleasure is probable.

Homophony, the consonance of the unison, could hardly have been supposed to offer the material for a separate form, since in unison the voices are indistinguishable. Yet the Greeks evidently conceived of consonance, suitable for simultaneous singing, as something so smooth as to render the distinction between the voices only very slightly perceptible, and it is no doubt for this reason that in Aristotle's time, as we learn from the *Problems*, the consonances of the fourth and fifth, in which the distinction is very obvious, were not sung simultaneously. Antiphony, in which the fact of difference is perceptible while the consonance is as smooth as unison, alone provided a suitable medium for the magadizing process.

"Why is the consonance of the octave the only one which is sung? for in fact this consonance is magadized, but not the others. Is it not because this consonance alone is antiphonous? For in the antiphones, when one of the two notes is sung the same effect is produced as in the case of the other, so that a single sound of this consonance being sung the entire consonance is sung, and when the two sounds are sung, or if one is taken by the voice and the other by the flute, the same effect is produced as if one were given alone. This is why this consonance is the only one which is sung, because the antiphones have the sound of a single note". *Aristoteles Problems*.

Thus it will be seen that the Greek practice with respect to the employment of mixed voices which is here described, though important from our present point of view, does not really depart from the essentially melodic principles of the period to which it belongs ; for it is clear that the especial suitability of the octave progression for its purpose consisted in the fact that in it the obviously different voices were in effect singing the same note, and it is evident also that the idea that voices could be permitted to sing obviously different notes simultaneously, even though those notes might be technically consonant, was not entertained. The Greeks, therefore, who employed and defined antiphony had not formed even the slightest conception of polyphonic music in its true sense; yet inasmuch as the essential principle of that music, the equal union of the

individual and collective elements, is actually present in antiphony, we may say that the rudimentary form of art which as we have seen was known as magadizing was in fact the first parent of Polyphony.

The conclusions at which we have just arrived are founded almost entirely upon the evidence of the Aristotelian *Problems*, and represent chiefly, therefore, the Greek practice as it existed in the fourth century b.c.; but it has sometimes been supposed that the actual development of the principle of Polyphony, though not to be traced in Greek music of the great period, might well have been begun in that of later times, and perhaps through the experimental use of the consonances of the fourth and fifth.

It will be evident from what has been said that no further progress in the direction of Polyphony could be made until the intervals of the fourth and fifth had been recognized as possible media for the magadizing process ; this would obviously be the next logical step towards the new form of art, and, by accustoming the ear to the difference between the voices in intervals which were technically consonant, would prepare it to endure other sounds, necessarily arising from the independent movement of polyphonic melodies, which were demonstrable in theory as dissonant.

Historians therefore have looked eagerly into the works of the later Greek theorists and the later literature generally, in the hope of finding some reference to the practice of magadizing fourths and fifths ; recently however this hope has been abandoned, and it is now acknowledged that there is no reason to suppose that the Greeks ever proceeded in the practice of magadizing beyond the consonance of the octave.

And indeed this result of the inquiry might have been expected. The governing principles of Greek art were so deeply established, and the details of its practice were so closely connected with those principles, that there was no room for the development of new essential forms within it; even when exhausted the system maintained its authority, and only upon its absolute decay and dissolution did such forms arise. Greek music, therefore, whose task was the evolution of a rational scale and of the melodies to which its various forms might give birth, must naturally, even in its decline, have neglected the development of a principle so foreign to its vital purpose as that which we now see to be actually contained in the magadizing process. To us this process appears as the beginning of all the riches that we possess ; in the older world it could lead to nothing, and though it might be reasoned about, and used with pleasure as a kind of art form, it could not be more at last than it was at first

– the exact reduplication of a melody at the distance of an octave.

In the decay and dissolution, therefore, of Greek music we must look for the development of the new principle. Nor must we look for it among the Greeks themselves ; the ebbing life of the old system was to be received and appropriated by new races, Italians and northern people, and the development and constitution of Polyphony, under which form Music was next to flourish, was to be the work of a new era.

CHAPTER II

THE MATERIALS OF POLYPHONY
GREEK MUSIC

Before passing on to consider the work of the new era in its most important aspect – that namely in which it is seen as discovering and developing the new principle of Polyphony – we must pause for a moment to consider the actual technical resources of Music at the time of its adoption by the Italians; and we must inquire not only what those resources were, but also what were their relative degrees of vitality at that moment. The Italians, as we shall see, did not adopt those resources in their entirety, and our inquiry may suggest a reason for this fact.

The basis of Music is of course the Scale, which selects from all possible sounds those which are most suitable to the purposes of melody, and arranges them in a rational order of progression. It will not be necessary for our present purpose to trace the growth of the scale from the original tetrachord, which at first appeared as the natural limit of possible melody, to the full double-octave system, including all the sounds within the natural compass of human voices, which was for the Greeks its final and standard form ; we may at once proceed to consider it in its complete shape, which is here shown upon the opposite page, with the old name of each note and its modern equivalent.

The original octave scale of the Greeks was composed of the two disjunct tetrachords Mesôn and Diezeugmenôn, and included the notes between *E* and *e*; and these notes were first named simply, Hypate, Parhypate, Lichanos, Mese, in the lower tetrachord, and Paramese, Trite, Paranete, Nete, in the upper one. (The Greek names of notes were the names of the strings of the lyre, and are descriptive not of their pitch but of their relative position in the instrument; the lowest string of the lyre therefore sounded the highest note of the scale). Upon the extension of the system by the addition of a tetrachord at each end of the scale the names given to the notes in the original tetrachords were again adopted in those which had been conjoined with them, but the distinctive name of each tetrachord of the full system was now added as a kind of surname to all the notes within that portion of the scale, as the table shows.

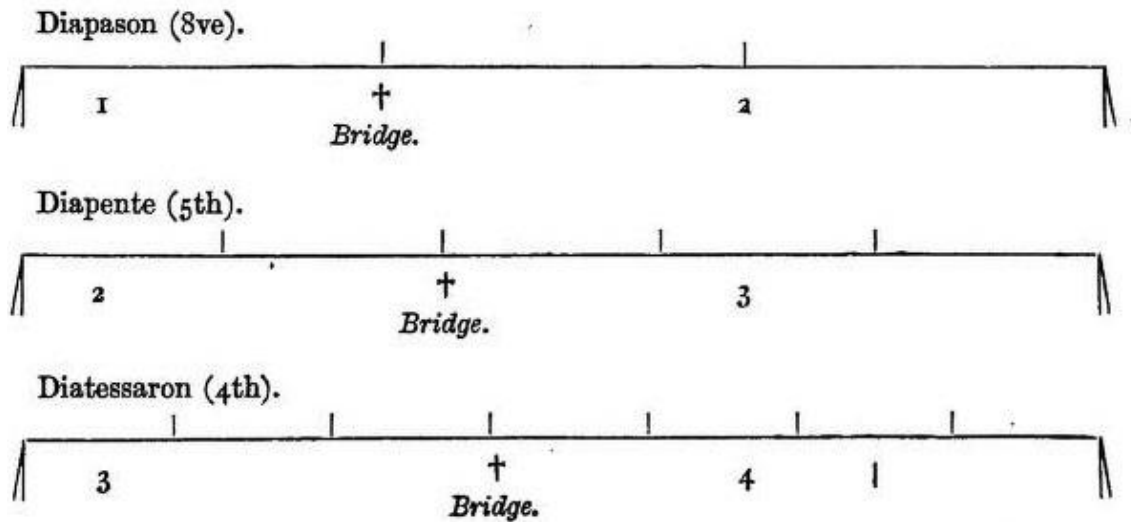
This was the Greater Perfect System of the Greeks; the Lesser Perfect System was based upon the ancient seven-stringed scale consisting of the two conjunct tetrachords Mesôn and Synemmenôn, the tetrachord Hypatôn being afterwards added as in the Greater System; and the union of these two systems, with the addition of the note Proslambanomenos, the low A, to complete the double octave, constituted the Perfect Immutable System shown in our illustration.

In this union of systems it will be seen that both modulation and exact transposition to the fourth above or fifth below are rendered possible; for it is evident that if any series of eight notes proceeding by way of the tetrachord Diezeugmenôn be repeated in the fourth above or fifth below proceeding by way of the tetrachord Synemmenôn, the intervals in both cases will occur in the same order.

Of the various intervals contained in this scale some appear to have been from the earliest times perceived as consonant and some as dissonant, the ear being the judge; but in the sixth century b. c. Pythagoras discovered, or as some think learned from the Egyptian priests, the law which governs them and brings them within the compass of theoretical knowledge. He proclaimed the remarkable fact, of which the proof existed in his famous experiments with stretched strings of different lengths, that the ratios of the intervals perceived as consonant could all be expressed by the numbers, 1, 2, 3, 4. His method of demonstration was afterwards improved and rendered more exact by the invention of the monochord, and his law may now be stated as follows.

If a string be divided into two parts by a bridge, in such a manner as to give two consonant sounds when struck, the length of those parts will be in the ratio of two of the

four smallest whole numbers. If the bridge be so placed that two-thirds of the string lie to the right and one-third to the left, so that the two lengths are in the ratio $a : 1$, they produce the interval of the *octave*, the greater length giving the deeper note. If the bridge be so placed that three-fifths of the string lie to the right and two-fifths to the left the ratio of the two lengths is $3:2$, and the interval produced is the *fifth*. If the bridge be again shifted to a position which gives four-sevenths on the right and three-sevenths on the left the ratio is $4 : 3$, and the interval is the fourth ; thus -



The remaining intervals contained in the Octave, which were perceived as dissonant, require higher numbers to express their ratios. Those intervals therefore whose ratios are the most simple were also for the Greeks the most consonant.

The division of the scale into tones and semitones shown in our full-page illustration is proper to the diatonic genus, the oldest kind of music, for in this genus the tetrachord - the interval of the perfect fourth - was composed of a semi-tone and two tones, the semitone being always in the lowest place. And here it may be explained in passing that in all the genera the number, order and names, both of the tetrachords and of the notes contained in them, was the same, and that the distinction between one genus and another consisted entirely in the manner in which the tetrachord was divided; while Hypate Hypatôn therefore, Hypate Mesôn, Mese, &c, the limiting notes of the various tetrachords, were fixed, the remaining notes, Parhypate and Lichanos in the lower tetrachords and Trite and Paranete in the upper ones, were movable, that is to say their intervals

were different according to the genus employed, and upon this difference depended the peculiar emotional quality or ethos of each genus.

With the detailed characteristics of the chromatic and enharmonic genera this work has of course nothing to do ; it will be sufficient to point out that although for the older Greeks they formed one of the most important of technical resources they played probably no part, or at all events no appreciable part, in music at the time of its inheritance by the Italians. Even during the period of their development and perfection as means of musical expression – a period which appears to have been identical with the great or classical period of Greek art of other kinds – they must have been found, considered as practical methods, exceedingly complex and difficult in performance, and their gradual disuse may have been in great part due to this cause; but whether this be so, or whether it be that the particular kind of expression obtained by the constant juxtaposition of minute and excessive intervals, which is characteristic of the scales of these genera, failed by degrees to please, it appears to be the fact that already in Ptolemy's time (the second century a. d.) they had fallen to a great extent out of employment, and from the brief and perfunctory manner in which they are treated of by the latest classical writers on Music, Martianus Capella (fifth century a. d.) and Boetius (sixth century a. d.), we may even perhaps conclude that this decline in favour had in their time reached the point of general neglect.

Another technical resource possessed by the Greeks which like the chromatic and enharmonic genera was passing at this time out of use, or was at all events no longer used to the full extent of its capacity, is to be found in the keys or schemes of transposition. These keys afforded a method, closely analogous to our own, by means of which all scales might be raised or lowered to any pitch at pleasure ; the scale of E for example might be taken on F, F# , G, &c, or on D#, D, C#, &c, the system proceeding upwards or downwards by semitones. This change was not effected empirically, but by means of a definite supposed transposition of the whole of the Greater Perfect System to the pitch required, to any semitone, that is to say, contained in the compass of the octave scale ; since therefore the octave divided into semitones contained thirteen possible notes it consisted also of thirteen keys or recognized modes of transposition. The keys were formerly only seven, but the system was completed by Aristoxenus during the classical period ; later two others were added at the upper end of the system, but these, though they may have been found of use practically, possessed no theoretic value, being only repetitions of two already existing.

TABLE OF THE GREEK KEYS

The seven oldest keys.

The modern equivalents are here shown, for the sake of convenience, in the notation of our chromatic scale A-a ; it must, however, be observed that in the Greek notation the system is in the Hypolydian key, which gives F minor for the Hypodorian scale, and so upwards by semitones.

NOTE IN GREEK SCALE.		GREEK KEY.	MODERN EQUIVALENT FOR GREEK KEY.
Mese	A	Hyperphrygian (= <i>Hypodorian</i>)	A minor
<i>Semitone</i>		Hyperionian	G# minor
Lichanos mesôn	G	*Mixolydian	G minor
<i>Semitone</i>		*Lydian	F# minor
Parhypate mesôn	F	Aeolian	F minor
Hypate mesôn	E	*Phrygian	E minor
<i>Semitone</i>		Ionian	D# minor (or E ^b minor)
Lichanos Hypatôn	D	*Dorian	D minor
<i>Semitone</i>		*Hypolydian	C# minor
Parhypate Hypatôn	C	Hypoaolian	C minor
Hypate Hypatôn	B	*Hypophrygian	B minor
<i>Semitone</i>		Hypoionian	A# minor (or B ^b minor)
Proslambanomenos	A	*Hypodorian	A minor

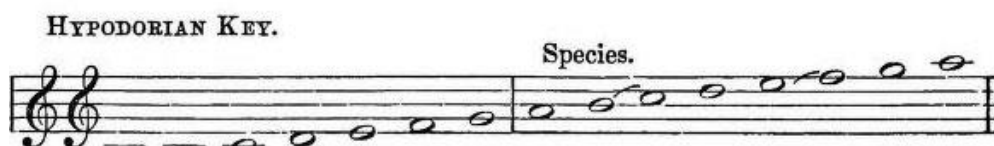
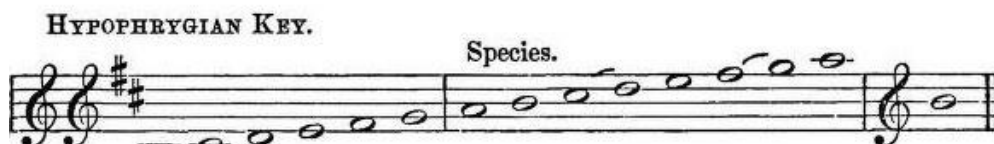
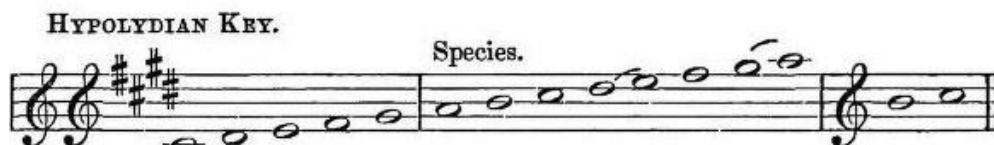
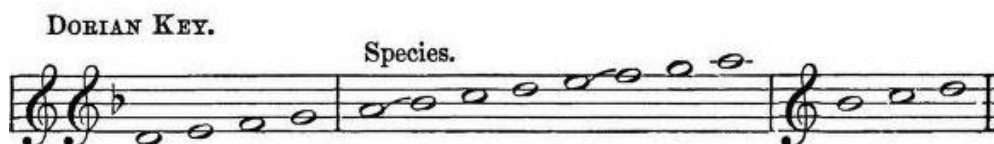
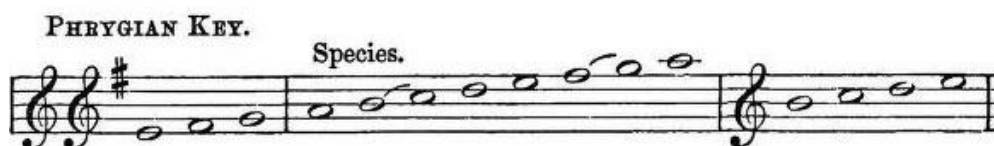
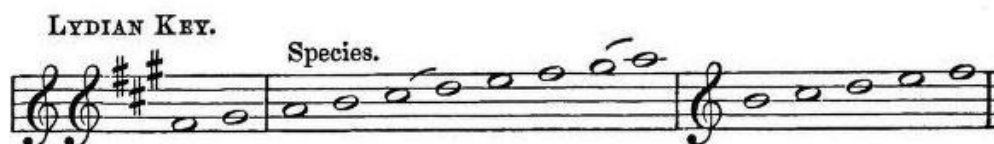
This system of keys, like the chromatic and enharmonic genera, had been regarded in the classical period as an important means of expression, for there can be little doubt that the older Greeks attached a special ethical value to

the particular pitch at which a melody was sung, a value which we are now not very well able to appreciate, but which apparently was by them clearly perceived and generally recognized; it is evident, however, from Ptolemy's treatment of the subject that in his time, about a. d. 100, the particular key in which a melody should be sung was no longer regarded as a matter of special solicitude, and that it was left to be decided entirely by the taste or convenience of the performer.

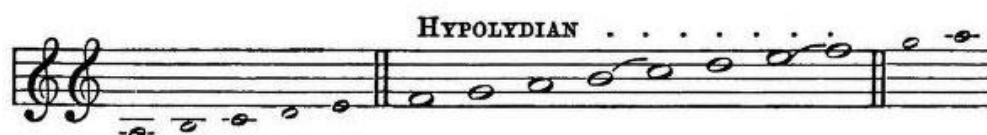
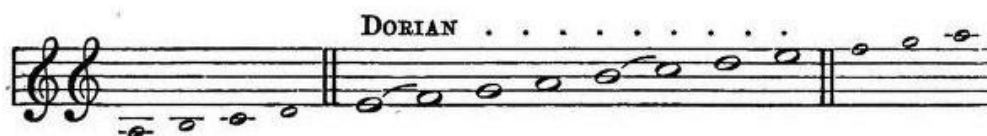
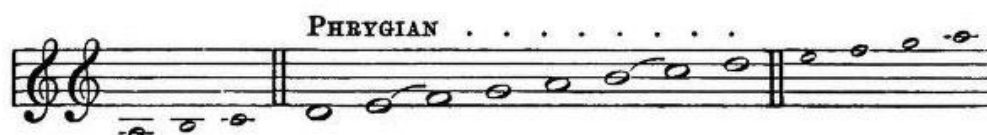
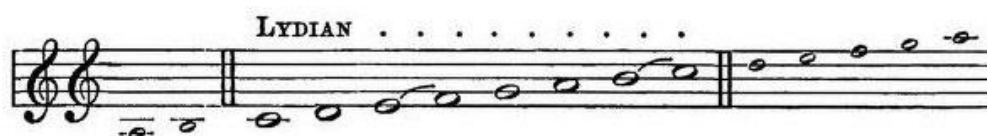
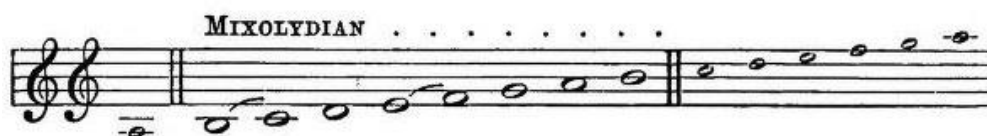
The chief proof of the failure of the Aristoxenean system of keys to maintain its authority is perhaps to be found in the fact that Ptolemy, after criticizing it, proposes as a substitute the well-known system of Modes or Species of the diatonic scale. This system may be regarded in two points of view ; either, that is to say, as affording an improved method of transposition — and this it would appear was the aspect chiefly insisted upon by Ptolemy — or, on the other hand, as the source of distinct rules of melody. The diatonic double-octave scale is of course susceptible of seven different octachordal sections, each of which will display the two semitonic intervals in a new position and will therefore, if the first note of each section be taken as its final or keynote, create a new and special scale and a special character of melody in each scale; thus each section of the double-octave system becomes in itself a rule of melody founded upon the particular order of its intervals in relation to the final note, and this was undoubtedly the aspect in which the system of Modes or Species of the octave presented itself to the composers of the Graeco-Roman period. Whether it was at this time in any sense a new aspect it is difficult to say. Certainly the conception of the octave as consisting of seven species did not originate even with Ptolemy; it had existed long before his time, and had been applied not only to the diatonic but also to the enharmonic scale by older writers, in whose works moreover the names adopted by Ptolemy for the seven species, which were those of the seven oldest keys, are also to be found. But the history of this conception, and the nature of the connexion which seems to have existed between the species and the keys in older times, is still involved in some obscurity, and the question whether the doctrine of the species was at first much more than a theoretical proposition, whether more than one species was actually in use, and if so how many were employed, is still the subject of discussion among writers upon Greek music — a discussion which, failing the discovery of many more specimens of that music than we at present possess, will hardly be satisfactorily concluded. If, however, those are right who maintain that in the earlier proposition of seven species the theoretical character predominates, the novel element in Ptolemy's treatment of this conception would consist in his demonstration of its

practical value; and his recognition of the Modes as a technical means superior to the keys, and his adoption of the names of the notes of the original complete scale for the notation of each special scale, should then be regarded as events of the highest importance in the history of music.

THE SEVEN MODES OF SPECIES SHOWN AS SECTIONS OF THE SEVEN OLDEST KEYS, FROM WHICH THEY ARE NAMED



THE SEVEN MODES OR SPECIES REDUCED TO THE FUNDAMENTAL
SCALE OF A AND SHOWN AS SECTIONS OF THAT SCALE



The question, which naturally arises, whether all the Modes were of equal practical value for the later composers as rules of melody, may be partly answered by a reference to the scales generally recognized as proper to the Cithara, since this instrument supplied both the accompaniment to the

narrative and lyric songs and the instrumental solo, which were at this time the prevailing musical forms. The citharodic Modes are generally said to be five – the Dorian, the Hypophrygian or Iastian, the Hypodorian or Aeolian, the Phrygian, and the Lydian; the Modes omitted are the Hypolydian, in which the fourth is a tritone, and the Mixolydian, in which the fifth is imperfect ; the Hypolydian, however, seems to have been allowed in practice.

The melodies written in these scales ranged between the final and its octave (with liberty to take the note next below the final), and ended upon the final; but two varieties were recognized, the intense Iastian, in which the melody ended upon the third of the scale, and the *relaxed* Iastian, in which the range was extended to the fourth below the final; and it would appear that these two varieties were also recognized for the Hypolydian scale. A hybrid scale, combining the Iastian and the Aeolian, and called Iastaeolian, was also in use.

Of the seven existing specimens of Greek music which are of sufficient length to give a clear indication of their scales, two are written in the Aeolian, one in the Iastian, one in the relaxed Iastian, and three in the Dorian. All, with one exception, belong to the Graeco-Roman period.

The following table shows the Citharodic Modes with their practical variations in relation to the existing compositions: –

Mixolydian

No example.

Lydian

No example.

Phrygian

No example.

Dorian

Three examples ; the Hymns to Apollo and to the Muse, and (?) the Hymn to Apollo found at Delphi.

Hypolydian

No example.

Intense Hypolydian

One of the little instrumental pieces given by Bellerman's Anonymus would seem to be in this scale.

Relaxed Hypolydian

No example.

Hypopheygian or Iastian

One example; the little inscription discovered by Mr. Ramsay

Intense Iastian

No example.

Relaxed Iastian

One example ; the Hymn to Nemesis.

Iastaeolian

No example.

Hypodoeian or Aeolian

Two examples; the instrumental pieces given by the Anonymus (three) j and the music to the first Pythic of Pindar.

As it will be necessary for the purpose of comparison to refer to some of the details of Graeco-Roman practice, one of the Hymns is here given in modern notation.

HYMN TO THE MUSE.

DORIAN.

'Α - ει - δε μου - σά μοι φί - λη, μολ πῆς δ' ἐ -
 μῆς κατ - άρ - χου· αύ - ρη δὲ σῶν άπ'
 άλ - σέ - ων ἐ - μὰς φρέ - νας δο - νεί - - - ται.
 Καλ - λι - ό - πει - α σο - φά, μου - σῶν προ - καθ -
 α - γέ - τι τερ - πνῶν, καὶ σο - φέ μὺ στο - δό - τα,
 Λα - τοῦς γό - νε, Δή - λι - ε, Παι - άν,
 εὐ - με - νείς πάρ ε - στέ μοι.

It will be observed that, together with the change of rhythm, at the words *Kalliopeia sofa* a change takes place in the melody also, which now extends its range to the fourth below the final. This seems to point to the fact that relaxed scales not officially recognized were sometimes employed.

It will be evident from this brief survey of the technical means of Greek music that already in the second century a.d. a great change had taken place in the practical methods of dealing with the materials of the art, and that two important resources, upon which the ethos of music was held in the classical period largely to depend, were passing

out of use, while their place was partly occupied by another of totally different scope and value. This view of the situation is borne out by a recent writer of authority. 'The main object of Ptolemy's reform of the scales', says Mr. Monro, 'was to provide a new set of scales, each characterized by a particular succession of intervals, while the pitch was left to take care of itself. And it is clear, especially from the specimens which Ptolemy gives of the scales in use at his time, that he was only endeavouring to systematize what already existed, and bring theory into harmony with the developments of practice. We must suppose, therefore, that the musical feeling which sought variety in differences of key came to have less influence on the practical art, and that musicians began to discover, or to appreciate more than they had done, the use of different "modes" or forms of the octave scale'.

Along with this change we have to note the comparative disuse of the Enharmonic and Chromatic divisions of the tetrachord. The Enharmonic, according to Ptolemy, had ceased to be employed. Of the three varieties of Chromatic given by Aristoxenus only one remains on Ptolemy's list, and that the one which in the scheme of Aristoxenus involved no interval less than a semitone. And although Ptolemy distinguished at least three varieties of Diatonic, it is worth notice that only one of these was admitted in the tuning of the lyre — the others being confined to the more elaborate cithara. In Ptolemy's time, therefore, music was rapidly approaching the stage in which all its forms are based upon a single scale — the natural diatonic scale of modern Europe. We can hardly be wrong in supposing that the tendency here described continued in increasing proportion.

Finally, we may devote a moment's consideration to the probable condition of music, regarded from the point of view of its aesthetic value, at the time of its adoption by the Italians. The materials for a judgement are extremely scanty, and if we have to deplore the absence of examples in our attempts to make clear to ourselves points of technique still somewhat obscure, even more must we do so in endeavouring to realize the gradual changes which undoubtedly took place in melody as a consequence of the natural progress of the art ; for while in considering the growth of technique we are assisted by a number of theoretical treatises of different dates which leave comparatively few points unexplained, in attempting to form an estimate of the aesthetic condition of the art at any particular time we derive far less help from these sources. Even from these, however, considered as guides to the contemporary practice, we may gather something to the purpose if we bear in mind the artistic principle that the aesthetic quality of production in any phase of art is always highest in that period in which the technical means proper

to the phase are most developed. Since, therefore, the treatise of Aristoxenus, the contemporary and pupil of Aristotle, most clearly reveals to us the existence of this period, we may conclude that in or about his time Greek music, having reached the highest point of technical development suitable to its nature, had also attained the summit of aesthetic significance; and upon the same principle we should conclude that later treatises, such as that of Ptolemy, in which the means in use are seen as restricted in number and scope, and the latest of all, such as that of Boetius, which are obviously merely scholastic compilations and are scarcely suggestive of any contemporary practice whatever, indicate the periods of decline and decay.

But a stronger conviction of the decadent character of music at the time of its adoption by the Italians may be gained from a consideration of the influence which chiefly operates in the rise and progress of a great creative epoch — the general aesthetic impulse, arising out of a new view of the capabilities of all artistic materials, which inspires the special structures of the various forms with life and supplies the force which is required for their development. In this aspect all the arts are seen as advancing together, and as nearly abreast as the special conditions of each structure will allow. Together they rise to a relative perfection, which is for each the complete utilization of the powers of its special material as perceived in the particular epoch, and together, when their work is accomplished, they rapidly decline.

This phenomenon was witnessed in the great creative period of European art; in the interval between the years 1530 and 1600 each of its various forms had reached its culminating point, and during the fifty years which followed all failed through the exhaustion of the impulse which had raised them. In all that we know of Greek art the operation of the same law is to be observed, and there is no reason to suppose that in that part of it which we do not know the law was broken, or that the history of Greek music, if we could complete it, would afford the solitary exception. Indeed it is as certain as anything can be of which we have not absolute proof, that if a sufficient historical series of examples could be discovered, the later specimens would be found to exhibit the same degradation, in sentiment, energy, and beauty, which is evident in the contemporary work in other fields which has come down to us.

CHAPTER III

THE MATERIALS OF POLYPHONY

(continued)

GREEK MUSIC IN THE LATIN CHURCH

The beginning of the new era may be said to be marked, in our present point of view, by the public recognition and triumph of Christianity and its ritual worship, which thenceforward might develop in security.

At this moment all the conditions with respect to music in Italy would appear to have been exactly those which are most favourable to the rise of a new phase of artistic activity. Not only was a new field of labour prepared in the ritual of the Church, and a fresh impulse supplied by the new religion, but it must also be remembered that the Italians had as yet expressed nothing of their own in music, which for them had always been an exotic art professed and performed by Greeks, or if they themselves had attempted anything the attempt had been a mere imitation of the Greeks ; considered, therefore, in relation to the expressive part of music they were a new race, though perfectly familiar with the great prevailing theory of composition. Thus on the one hand we see the occasion or impulse acting upon the untried race, and on the other, ready for adoption, technical resources still excellent and a method still sound which their actual possessors could no longer develop, contenting themselves with the employment of old forms to no new purpose and with decreasing energy. We should expect therefore to find that the natural effect of the conjunction of these two conditions was at once evident in the music of the public worship, and that this was soon enriched with native

compositions animated by a new and energetic spirit; for although it is clear that the chants and fragments of melody which had been used by the Church in its depressed condition were reverently preserved, it is difficult to suppose that liberty and honour could fail to produce great expansion and much inclination towards original work.

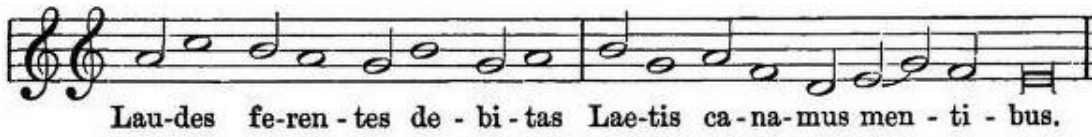
We should not, however, expect to find that any great change was on this account at once apparent in the art of music; on the contrary, the early Church must have been at first entirely dependent upon the examples afforded by existing forms in its attempts towards individual expression. We may admit of course that its view of these may have been governed by a distinct principle of selection; the secular and degraded ceremonial forms would naturally have been rejected as unworthy of imitation, and models would be looked for in the graver kinds of music, in the hymns to the gods and the long narrative cantatas of the Graeco-Roman citharodi, but it will still remain none the less evident that the music of the Christian ritual, from the nature of the conditions under which it came into being, must for a long time have strongly resembled in its general outlines the music which was going on around it; we should expect therefore to find deeply-marked traces, at least, of the Graeco-Roman practice in the first efforts of the Church.

And turning to the oldest Christian compositions, the Hymns and Antiphons of the Office, of which the earliest examples date from the end of the fourth century, we find these expectations fully justified, not only as regards the number of melodies, which is very considerable, but also as regards their technique, which differs in no important respect from that of the current pagan lyric song. In both the same scales are employed, and (if we may judge from the small number of Greek examples) the same scales were neglected; in both the melodic range, the points of repose in the scale, and often the actual formulae, are identical; in short we find in Christian music the old music continued, with just that degree of difference which might be expected in the work of a new race which has something new to express.

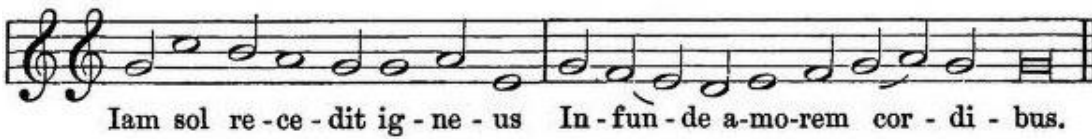
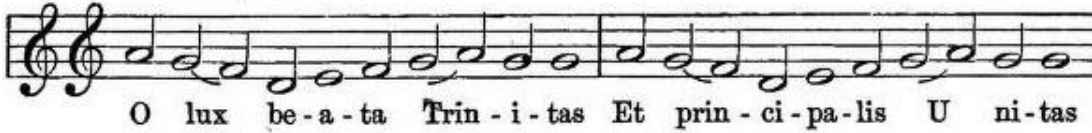
This view of the early Christian music, in which it presents to us so forcible an illustration of the law of complete continuity in artistic effort, has hitherto been obscured by the ecclesiastical tradition of a rule of four Greek Modes – Phrygian, Dorian, Hypolydian, and Hypophrygian – imposed upon the Church by St. Ambrose, and of a great revision and introduction of four new Modes by St. Gregory. But this tradition can no longer be maintained. That the hymns composed by St. Ambrose are the earliest specimens of Christian composition known to exist is undoubted, but that they can have constituted an imposed rule, or any part of

such a rule, is most improbable, for it is clear that the scales employed in these compositions are nothing more than the scales of the Graeco-Roman citharodi, and that the Hymns conform in all respects to the current classical practice ; moreover, the story of the Gregorian revision, and adoption of the plagal forms of the supposed original four modes, is now contradicted by the recently discovered fact that the Christian music as exhibited in the Antiphonary continued upon the old classical basis, without any change of importance, certainly until the end of the seventh century, or nearly a hundred years after the time of St. Gregory, and possibly until about the year 900.

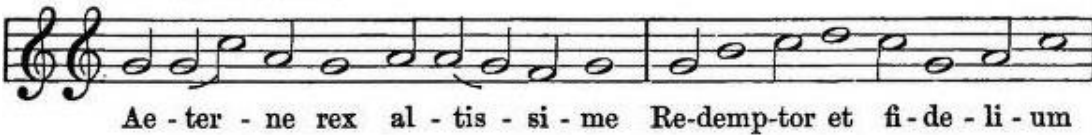
Examples of all the scales to be found in the earliest hymns are here given (from Gevaert) in modern notation. They are the Dorian or E species of the octave ; the Iastian or G species, the relaxed Iastian descending a fourth below the final ; the intense Iastian ending upon the third of the scale ; the Aeolian or A species ; and the Iastaeolian, or combined Iastian and Aeolian, in both of its forms. It will be observed (compare the list given above of the scales of the existing Greek compositions) that of the Mixolydian or B species, the Lydian or C species, the Phrygian or D species, and the Hypolydian or F species, the hymns contain no examples.



IASTIAN, relaxed.



IASTIAN, normal.



IASTIAN, intense.



AEOLIAN.

De - us cre - a - tor om - ni - um Po - li - que rec - tor ves - ti - ens
Di - em de - co - ro lu - mi - ne Noc - tem so - po - ris gra - ti - a.

The two following examples are Iastaeolian; the first begins in the Iastian and ends in the Aeolian, the second begins in the Aeolian and ends in the Iastian intense.

Ve - ni re - demp - tor gen - ti - um Os - ten - de par - tum Vir - gi - nis

Mi - re - tur om - ne sae - cu - lum Ta - lis par - tus de - cet De - um.

Ae - ter - ne re - rum con - di - tor Noc - tem di - em - que qui re - gis

Et tem - po - rum das tem - po - ra Ut al - le - ves fas - ti - di - um.

Of the Antiphons it will be sufficient for our present purpose to note that they exhibit the same scales as the hymns, with the addition of the Hypolydian; this scale appears in all its forms, and examples of each are here given.

HYPOLYDIAN.**RELAXED HYPOLYDIAN.****INTENSE HYPOLYDIAN.**

We have now seen that the similarity between the first Christian music and the Greek contemporary practice was complete as regards the technical basis : we may next, before passing on, point out a few of those differences in the character and design of the Christian melodies, which, as we have said, we should expect to find in the work of a new race with something new to utter.

In the first place, as regards the general character of their expression, we are struck by their greater simplicity as compared with Greek examples, a simplicity arising not from timidity in the composer, but from the nature of the new conditions and the new object now kept in view. The intention and value of a Greek composition, both words and music, was purely artistic, and the aim of the composer was directed towards the perfect rendering of the general poetic character of the words, and even to exact verbal expression ; the aim of the Christian composer was entirely different, for the intention and value of the words set by him is not artistic but religious. The venerated texts of the ritual do not invite a critical appreciation of their aesthetic merit; indeed, their effect in the assembled congregation is often quite independent of the actual sense of the words employed, and merely because they are sacred, and proper to the common worship, they both arouse religious feeling and serve to express it. It is not the exact character of the words therefore, but this general religious sentiment, this common fervour animating the whole congregation, that the Christian

composer seeks to render in the music to which the texts are to be sung. Hence the greater simplicity and breadth of his music, in which the dry, odd phrases and the artistic preoccupation of the Greek hymns give place to a smooth and flowing melody, the expression of a sustained enthusiasm, but controlled by the 'meek heart and due reverence' proper to the place and occasion of public worship. Hence also its general adaptability, and the freedom which enables the singer to set the same melody to many texts. Another difference, arising out of the nature of the new religious sentiment, consists in the greater sweetness and tenderness of the Christian melody. For instance, the old Roman hardness is seen in the examples of citharodic song, in the employment, as a matter of course, of melodic passages in which the interval of the tritone is paramount, thus: -

HYMN TO HELIOS.

DOBIAN.

Τί - - κτου - σιν ἐπ - ἥ - ρα - τον ἄ - μέ - ραν.

HYMN TO NEMESIS.

IASTIAN.

Ἰ - - λα - θι μά - και - ρα δι - κασ - πό - λε.

An examination of the new music, on the other hand, reveals a striking difference in this respect. It is true that passages in which the tritone though indirect is still sufficiently strident are not unknown in early Christian melodies, but they occur chiefly in compositions in the Dorian and Hypolydian modes, where the interval forms a part of the modal fifth, and where, therefore, if the essential character of the Mode is to be preserved, it is difficult to avoid them, for the earlier melodies seldom ranged beyond the fifth; in the melodies of the Iastian and Aeolian modes, however, the fifths of which do not contain this interval, such passages are comparatively rare, and it is probably owing to the ease with which the tritone may be avoided in these modes that the enormous majority of the early compositions are written in them. This change of feeling,

then, is especially characteristic of Christian music ; and it may be said that the tendency towards the disuse of the tritone, proceeding evidently from a dawning sense of its harsh and unsympathetic character, continued to increase among the Christian composers, and that the employment of the tetrachord synemmenôn, by means of which it might be avoided in certain modes likely to display it, became by degrees more frequent ; this tendency, however, was generally kept in check, even in the construction of polyphonic melodies, by respect for the received scales of the modes and for their individual character, and by fear of confusion.

In the cases of two modes only was this attitude of reverence for the exact scale of the mode systematically abandoned. When the full range of the Aeolian was employed, it seems to have been usual, in ornate melodies, to raise the sixth of the scale in certain figures, thus : -

Ec ce nõ-men Do - mi ni ve - - nit . .

de lon gin - - - quo, &c.

It is important to remember that the Iastian is the nearest approach to our modern major scale made by the ancients in serious music, and that the Aeolian is actually our modern minor scale descending.

Also when the full range of the Relaxed Hypolydian (C-c) was employed the highest note but one of the range (b) was always depressed, thus : -

Gau dent in coe - - - - lis, &c. . . Et qui -

a pro e ius a mo re

san - gui - nem su um fu - - - de - runt, &c.

Already, in the year 900, this last practice – the effect of which is to create our modern major scale – was extended to the normal Hypolydian, and was continued in both scales throughout the polyphonic period.

Another indication of the new tendency towards sweetness and smoothness is to be seen in the abandonment of the excessive interval of the major sixth. This interval occurs at least three times in the existing Greek compositions ; in the whole of the early Christian music there seems to be only one example of it, and that doubtful, and it was soon definitely excluded by rule.

Such, then, is the true c Ambrosian* music. It will be seen from the table here given that its modes are eight in number, and that they are all included within the modal fifth of the ancient Dorian, the oldest known musical scale.

- Final B, Intense Iastian.
- A, Aeolian.
- A, Intense Hypolydian.
- G, Iastian.
- G, Relaxed Iastian.
- F, Relaxed Hypolydian
- E, Dorian.

It would appear that not only the theory of composition in these modes, but the whole of the melodies also, were at first preserved entirely by oral tradition, referred probably to the sanction of the college of chanters founded by Leo the Great (440), for there is no trace at this time either of written music or of ecclesiastical treatises upon

theory ; but the system would seem to have continued, notwithstanding, intact and in full vigour until the great catastrophe of the year 547, which swept away the last vestiges of the ancient world, and in which the classical theory of music disappeared. From this date onwards for many years melodies of great beauty, written in the old scales, were added to the ritual; but it is certain that already, about the year 600, composers were writing in ignorance of theoretical principles, and that all memory of the names, nature, and origin of the modes in use was entirely lost.

Cassiodorus, who wrote his *Institutiones Muskae* about the year 500, had evidently a competent knowledge of the old theory, and moreover, in a letter to Boetius, he even explains carefully his own view of the ethos of the principal modes in use, which he calls by their Graeco-Roman names, Aeolian, lastian, &c. ; but St. Isidore, writing one hundred years later in the time of St. Gregory, clearly reveals the complete ignorance of his time. His dicta upon music (collected from his *Originum sive etymologiarum libri XX*, and printed by Gerbert in the great collection *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*) are chiefly crude and misleading paraphrases of passages from Cassiodorus and others, from which it is evident that the signification of the terms employed had completely escaped him. Modes are not mentioned by him, and keys and genera are confounded together.

GRAECO-ROMAN MODES.		ECCLESIASTICAL MODES.	
FINAL.	NAME.	FINAL.	NAME.
B	Intense Iastian		(<i>Transposed a 5th lower; see below.</i>)
A	Aeolian		(<i>Transposed a 5th lower; see below.</i>)
A	Intense Hypolydian		(<i>Transposed a 5th lower; see below.</i>)
G	Iastian	G	Authentus Tetrartus ⁴
G	Relaxed Iastian	G	Plagius Tetrarti
F	Hypolydian	F	Authentus Tritus
F	Relaxed Hypolydian	F	Plagius Triti
E	Dorian	E	Authentus Deuterus
		E	Plagius Deuteri (with B \flat) [formerly Intense Iastian; see above.]
		D	Authentus Proti (with B \flat) [formerly Aeolian; see above.]
		D	Plagius Proti (with B \flat) [formerly Intense Hypo- lydian; see above.]

Thus in the earliest treatises. The correct form, *Tetartus*, was apparently never known to the mediaeval theorists. Pseudo-Aristotle, writing early in the thirteenth century, gives *Tetrardus*; Hieronymus de Moravia, in the middle of the same century, advances as far as *Tetardus*; Walter Odington, whose treatise dates probably from 1300, or rather later, returns to *Tetrardus*.

No documents exist to enlighten us as to the course of music during a period of two hundred and fifty years after the date just mentioned, though we know that the ritual was enriched during this period with the fine additions already

referred to, which prove that composers were active, and that the art in spite of every apparent hindrance was advancing. But at length, about the middle of the ninth century, appeared the earliest known theoretical treatise written by a churchman – the *Musica Disciplina* of Aurelian of Reomé – in which we find a new theory of eight modes presented to us in a more or less systematic manner.

The modes indicated by Aurelian – which are in fact the true ecclesiastical or Gregorian modes in their first form – are in substance the same as before ; a great change, however, has now taken place in the method of their presentation ; the old names have disappeared and are replaced by numbers, some of the modes have been transposed, and the whole system has been rearranged. It may be well therefore, before proceeding further, to give the details of the new system, as they are displayed in the compositions of this period, together with the probable method of their evolution from the Graeco-Roman modes. These may be seen upon the opposite page.

Here it will be noticed that the four primary or standard scales of the old system, the Dorian, Hypolydian, Iastian, and Aeolian (transposed a fifth lower), occupy the leading positions in the new system under the generic title of Authentic or Governing modes. They also receive new particular names; the transposed Aeolian is called the first mode, *Protus*; the Dorian becomes the second, *Deuterus*; the Hypolydian the third, *Tritus*; and the Iastian the fourth or *Tetrartus*. The secondary or derived scales, the 'intense' and 'relaxed' forms of the Iastian and Hypolydian, are now called Plagal or Oblique modes, and each is coupled with an Authentic mode; the Intense Hypolydian becomes *Plagius Proti*, the Intense Iastian *Plagius Deuteri*, the Relaxed Hypolydian *Plagius Triti*, and the Relaxed Iastian *Plagius Tetrarti*.

The terminology of this system sufficiently proves that its source was Greek; moreover, Aurelian himself expressly declares the fact. 'Those' he says, 'who do not relish my doctrine, or think to find errors therein, must be told that all the distinctions here mentioned, and indeed the whole discipline of music, are of Greek origin/ The history of the system is obscure, but since the first trace of it is said to have been found in a collection of liturgical song, called *Octoechos*, compiled by St. John of Damascus about the year 700, we may suppose that it was elaborated by the Graeco-Syrian Church during the seventh century; moreover, there seems to be good reason for the belief that it was imposed upon the Western Church by one of the Graeco-Sicilian Popes, perhaps by Agatho himself (678-682), who is known to have effected the definitive regulation of the melodies of the office.

TABLE OF THE EIGHT ECCLESIASTICAL OR GREGORIAN
 MODES IN THEIR FIRST OR GRAECO-SYRIAN FORM

AUTHENTUS TETRARTUS; known later as
 Mode VII.

(*Old Iastian; G species.*)

PLAGIUS TETRARTI; known later as
 Mode VIII.

(*Old Relaxed Iastian; G species.*)



AUTHENTUS TRITUS; known later as
 Mode V.

(*Old Hypolydian; F species.*)

PLAGIUS TRITI; known later as Mode
 VI.

(*Old Relaxed Hypolydian; F species.*)



AUTHENTUS DEUTERUS; known later as
 Mode III.

(*Old Dorian; E species.*)

PLAGIUS DEUTERI; known later as
 Mode IV.

(*Old Intense Iastian; range G-g, final B;
 transposed a fifth lower, and beginning
 upon the final.*)

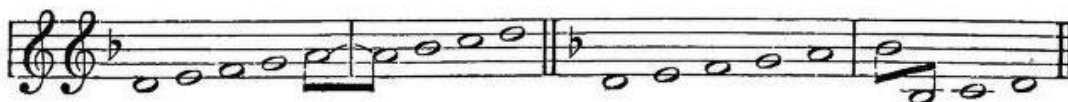


AUTHENTUS PROTUS; known later as
 Mode I.

(*Old Aeolian; A species, transposed a
 fifth lower.*)

PLAGIUS PROTI; known later as
 Mode II.

(*Old Intense Hypolydian; range F-f,
 final A; transposed a fifth lower, and
 beginning upon the final.*)



A system so illogical and unsatisfactory as this could not long be maintained, and musicians, guided probably by Boetius, found in the old classic species the basis of a

reform. This reform was by no means drastic or violent. The leading feature of the Graeco-Syrian scheme, the system of authentic and plagal modes, which was evidently firmly established, and which had no doubt revealed itself as the means of greatly enlarging the resources of melody, was retained ; three of its authentic modes also, the Deuterus, Tritus, and Tetrartus, being recognized as identical with the E, F, and G species of the Greeks, were left untouched ; the Authentic Protus, however, was altered by the elimination of the B#, and was made to conform entirely to the D species of the Greeks. The Plagal Tritus and Tetrartus of the Graeco-Syrian scheme (the old relaxed Iastian and relaxed Hypolydian) were also preserved, and the principle upon which they had been constructed, that is to say the division of the original scale at the fifth and the removal of the tetrachord an octave lower, was adopted as the model for the reform of the Plagal Deuterus and Protus. By means of these alterations musicians were put into possession of a consistent and uniform system, which preserved its authority and its usefulness until within comparatively recent times, and the influence of which is still to be perceived even in our own day.

**TABLE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL MODES IN
THEIR FINAL FORM**

AUTHENTIC.	PLAGAL.
<p>Mode I. Formerly AUTHENTUS PROTUS.</p> 	<p>Mode II. Formerly PLAGIUS PROTI.</p> 
<p>Mode III. Formerly AUTHENTUS DEUTERUS.</p> 	<p>Mode IV. Formerly PLAGIUS DEUTERI.</p> 
<p>Mode V. Formerly AUTHENTUS TRITUS.</p> 	<p>Mode VI. Formerly PLAGIUS TRITI.</p> 
<p>Mode VII. Formerly AUTHENTUS TETRARTUS.</p> 	<p>Mode VIII. Formerly PLAGIUS TETRARTI.</p> 

The preliminary part of our work is now concluded. We have marked the origin of the polyphonic principle in the Melodic period of music, we have noted its undeveloped and dormant existence during the whole of that period, and we have exhibited the growth meanwhile of the technical materials which were to be adopted by it upon its eventual waking and first activity; we are therefore prepared to consider its actual rise and progress, which may be said to date from the period at which we have now arrived. But here, before passing on, a final question of considerable interest

presents itself, with respect to the circumstances which had at length rendered possible the development of the polyphonic principle. This principle, which we saw to be entirely foreign to the nature of Greek music, was now to be adopted by the Christian composers, and to become the essential characteristic of their work. Yet we have seen that hitherto Christian music had been, as regards its outward manifestation, practically the same as the Greek. This fact was very apparent in our brief survey of the system which was to supply Polyphony with its material; we then perceived the complete continuity of the art through the point of junction between the Antique and Christian worlds; we saw that certain resources, once highly prized by the Greeks, were passing out of use during the period which gave rise to Christian music ; and we found that the Christian composers, neglecting these resources, adopted exactly those which were most employed by the practitioners of their; own time, and that their music conforms to the rules of those practitioners not only in this general respect, but also as, regards comparatively minute details. The connexion and technical resemblance being thus complete, the new music would seem at first sight to offer as little room for the development of the polyphonic principle as the old. Down to the ninth century, the work of the Latin Church being musically speaking nothing but the reanimation and rehabilitation of the dying art of the Greeks, Christian music, equally with the Greek, illustrates strictly the melodic principle, and seems equally with the Greek to exclude every other. Why then, it may be asked, did Christian music eventually develop new forms impossible to the Greek? Why, when it had reached the culminating point of its advance upon the old melodic basis, did it not at once fall, like the Greek, into a condition of stagnation and decay, the natural lot of every art which has exhausted the possibilities proper to its original technical resources? What special inward force enlarged its scope, developed Polyphony, and created the magnificent epoch which closed with Palestrina?

The mainspring of the whole development of music by the Italians and northern people lies of course in the fact that in music the new races found for the first time an art to cultivate ; and cultivation, in these circumstances, was sure sooner or later to reveal fresh technical possibilities in the apparently exhausted material. The question might therefore be answered in a general way by a reference to the freshness and abounding energy of the new race, and every succeeding advance during the five centuries which followed might also be considered as an effect of the original impulse. But a more particular answer should be given. The perception of these fresh possibilities was not absolutely spontaneous, nor due to the mere observation by an untried race of the inherent powers of the material, nor did

Polyphony now arise merely because it was at this time a possible new form of technique. An occasion or impulse was also necessary. The development of an art is not casual, but moves in obedience to certain laws based upon the natural correspondence existing between its two main constituents, the powers of its material on the one hand, and the properties of the object to be represented on the other ; it may occur either through the perception of some new property in the object, suggestive of a new treatment of the material and resulting in a new form of expression and an enlargement of the technical resources, or conversely through the discovery of some new technical means for which the object is then seen to provide suitable employment. In the art of music therefore, as in all others, not only a new technical means, but a new quality or principle in the object must be perceived in order to set forward a new development and to create a new epoch, and since the art of music finds its object in the world of feeling and sentiment, the principle which we seek, corresponding to the possible new form of technique, and finding its complete expression only in that form, must be emotional in character.

But in what direction are we to look for the rise of such a principle; what recent circumstance in the history of music can be seen as able or likely to originate it?

In our present point of view, the controlling circumstance in the history of music at this period was undoubtedly the employment of its resources in the public worship of the Church. But for this circumstance music would probably not have been, as it was, the first of the arts to rise again in Italy. Had music upon its adoption by the Italians remained a secular pastime, it is difficult to see when or by what means its fresh growth could have been begun ; it might have lain for an indefinite period in the same condition as the formative arts, which remained for many centuries after the recognition of Christianity ineffective and ignorant of their true direction. But music was never unsure of its aim. From the first it found in the public worship of the Church a field exactly suitable to its fresh development — a new range of representation, a new kind of emotion to express.

Here, then, in this circumstance of its new ecclesiastical use, we may look to find the source of the emotional principle which is to be seen as chiefly animating Christian music, the inward force which at the critical moment enlarged its scope and continued its life with fresh vigour,; and we may identify it with the essential principle of Christian public worship, a principle unknown to the Greeks and impossible of application in the formative arts even when they were devoted to religious uses — the congregational principle.

We have seen that music upon its first adoption by the Church at once surrendered itself to the expression of congregational feeling – to the utterance, that is to say, of the general sentiment of the assembled community; we saw that it thus abandoned the old Greek principle, which is that of the purely individual utterance preoccupied by the artistic problem, and created a new kind of song of greater breadth and of more general application, in which the individual utterance, now governed by the common fervour, is brought to represent the collective state of mind; and in this first manifestation of the congregational principle, as perceived in its main or general aspect, Christian music found the inspiration which enabled it to perform its first important task, the exhibition of a new perfection upon the old melodic basis.

But it is evident that the influence of the congregational principle upon music could not be exhausted in its first effects; the expression of its immense essential energy must inevitably be continued in some new phase of activity, and its further development was certain. Moreover, the actual direction of this development towards the more comprehensive expression of the common worship, a closer yet more ideal representation of the assembled community, is clearly indicated. The congregation was now to be manifested in its particularity, and though still perceived as collective and united in virtue of the common act of worship, was to be recognized also in its individual and manifold elements ; the individual utterances therefore were now to be seen as various yet united in one whole, as distinct yet blended in a general consonance.

The musical expression of this further development of the congregational principle, this recognition of two elements, variety and unity, belongs entirely to Polyphony. For it is clear that the old technical symbol of the union of the individual and collective elements which was suitable to the Greek and early Christian music – the reduplication of the melody at the distance of an octave, in which the different voices are in effect singing the same note, will not suffice for the expression of the new element of variety, which requires that the voices shall be singing obviously different notes; translated into terms of technique, therefore, the new element implies separate parts for different kinds of voices, and the juxtaposition of distinct melodies. On the other hand, the element of unity, the necessity for consonance, remains, and the distinct melodies therefore must be controlled by the laws of musical agreement; the movements of the individual voice, which formerly ranged at will among the sounds of the scale, must now become subject throughout to the consideration of regard for others, through which alone the general concord can be

maintained, and the musician, renouncing the freedom upon which the beauty of much of his former work depended, must write henceforward in obedience to strict. law. Thus Christian music entered upon the path of contrapuntal composition, which was to be its second and greater task, and the circumstances having at length become favourable to its development the dormant principle of Polyphony became active.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANUM OR DIAPHONY

We may of course suppose that the Greek practice of magadizing, in which as we have seen lay the fundamental principle of Polyphony, was continued in the Latin Church, and that the simultaneous utterance of the melody by the voices of boys and men was recognized by the Italians, as by the Greeks, as a distinct musical effect, arising from a series of repetitions of the consonance of the octave. But no advance apparently beyond the Greek position with regard to this practice was made during the earlier period of the history of the Church, and we look in vain, in the treatises upon music by Christian writers down to the seventh century, for any clear proof of the definite acceptance of magadizing as an artistic means, or for any acknowledgement of the change of principle, the transfer of the idea of consonance from melody to harmony, which is actually involved in its adoption. It was no doubt during the two centuries which followed, centuries sterile in respect of literary production but fruitful and significant with regard to music, that these necessary first steps forward in the direction of Polyphony were made ; for in the earliest treatises written after the reawakening of literary effort, towards the close of the ninth century, we find distinct reference to a form of art called organizing, which consisted in the singing of concords by concurrent voices, and also a definition of consonance revealing for the first time that view of its nature in which it is seen as existing not between intervals but between simultaneous sounds.

It would appear, therefore, that the practice of symphonious singing and playing, called organizing, which probably at this time prevailed both within and without the Church, was now no longer regarded by the theorists with indifference as an accident or pleasant trick of performance, but was beginning to engage their serious attention and to reveal some glimpses of the important principles contained in it. No formal recognition of its methods, however, seems to have been accorded until the end of the following century, when a writer, supposed to be Otger or Odo, abbot of St. Pons de Tomieres in Provence, in a treatise called *Musica*

Enchiriadis (until lately ascribed to Hucbald of St. Amand), frankly accepts the whole system in its existing state as a part of music, and presents it in the form of a completely regulated procedure. A commentary upon this work, of similar date, called *Scholia Enchiriadis*, exhibits much of the same material in the form of a dialogue between master and pupil, in simpler style and with more numerous examples.

From these sources we discover that the advance in the direction of Polyphony which at this time had already been effected by practical musicians was even greater than might have been supposed ; for not only is it evident that in addition to the old magadized octave the consonances of the fourth and fifth were now sung in parallel movement, both simply in two parts and in various combinations of three and four voices, but it appears that a new and more complex kind of symphonious performance, in which concord is mingled with discord, and in which the organizing voices may almost be said to display a certain measure of independence, was also in use.

Moreover the view of consonance in which it is seen as existing rather between simultaneous than consecutive sounds is now firmly established and developed ; the consonances are described under the name of symphonies ; and the origin both of the new view of them and of their new designation is traced to the practice of symphonious singing, which is called Organum or Diaphony.

Attempts have often been made, and indeed even quite recently, to establish a real distinction between the things signified by these two names ; and this attempt has generally been directed towards an expression of the difference existing between that kind of music which was composed entirely of similar concords and that which admitted the presence of dissimilar concords and the union of concord with discord, and sometimes one and sometimes the other has been called either Organum or Diaphony ; but it must be said that in the works of the old writers, from whom alone our knowledge of the subject is derived, no such distinction is to be observed; indeed, these authors are always most careful, as if in fear of misapprehension, to insist upon the fact that both names signify the same thing, and that they are in fact nothing more than alternative appellations of the music, of whatever kind, which consisted in the symphonious utterance of separate voices. And indeed, for the contemporary musician, the difference between the two kinds of music then prevailing was in no respect significant or suggestive of distinct names, the one kind arising naturally out of the other ; nor does it appear that at its first invention the freer sort was considered as in any way intrinsically better or more agreeable to the ear than its parent. For us, however, and from our present point of view,

a difference of the most vital kind is easily perceived ; for while the strict kind of Organum or Diaphony is evidently no more than a logical extension of the ancient practice of magadizing, in which the individual element of Polyphony was overpowered by the collective element and sacrificed to it, in the freer kind the individual element at length receives recognition, if not an opportunity for development.

The consonances or symphonies upon which the whole system depended were six in number; three simple, the Octave, Fifth, and Fourth, and three composite, the double Octave, the Octave with the Fifth, and the Octave with the Fourth. Corresponding to these two kinds of symphonies or consonances the strict Organum or Diaphony was also of two kinds; simple, or consisting of the simple consonance sung by two voices, and composite, in which one or both voices were doubled at various intervals, thus creating composite consonances and different combinations of voices.

These methods may best be illustrated by examples taken from the *Musica Enchiriadis* and the *Scholia Enchiriadis*.

It may perhaps be assumed that the parallel movement of the simple consonances and of the double octave needs no separate exhibition, and we may proceed at once to consider an example of the composite Diaphony of the Fifth. Here it is to be observed that the simple consonance first uttered by the *vox principalis*, singing the melody or subject, and the *vox organalis*, singing the accompaniment in the fifth below in parallel movement with the subject, is embellished in two ways; the *vox principalis* is doubled at the octave below, and the *vox organalis* at the octave above, thus at once giving rise to three new intervals, namely, the octave and the fourth, which are now heard advancing in parallel movement both above and below the original fifth, and the octave with the fourth, which is perceived as existing between the extreme voices. It is of course obvious that had an organum of three parts been desired one only of the original voices would have been doubled, and the octave would then have been the limiting interval of the composition; this will be evident from the arrangement of the brackets in our illustration.

THE FIFTH, COMPOSITE.

Vox organalis doubled at the 8ve above. (Mus. Enchiriadis.)

Sit glo - ri - a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

Vox principalis.

Sit glo ri a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

Vox organalis.

Sit glo - ri a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

Vox principalis doubled at the 8ve below.

Sit glo ri a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

THE FIFTH, SIMPLE.

lae - ta bi - tur Do - mi nus in o - pe - ri - bus su is.

lae - ta bi - tur Do - mi nus in o pe - ri - bus su is.

lae - ta bi - tur Do - mi nus in o - pe - ri - bus su is.

lae - ta - bi tur Do - mi nus in o - pe - ri - bus su is.

In the case of the composite Diaphony of the Fourth the doubling of the two original voices at the Octave gives the consonances of the Fifth and Octave above and below the simple Diaphony, the Octave with the Fifth being now perceived between the extreme parts.

THE FOURTH, COMPOSITE.

Vox organalis doubled at the 8ve above. (Mus. Enchiriadis.)

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi li - us.

Vox principalis.

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi li - us.

Vox organalis.

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi li - us.

Vox principalis doubled at the 8ve below.

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi li - us.

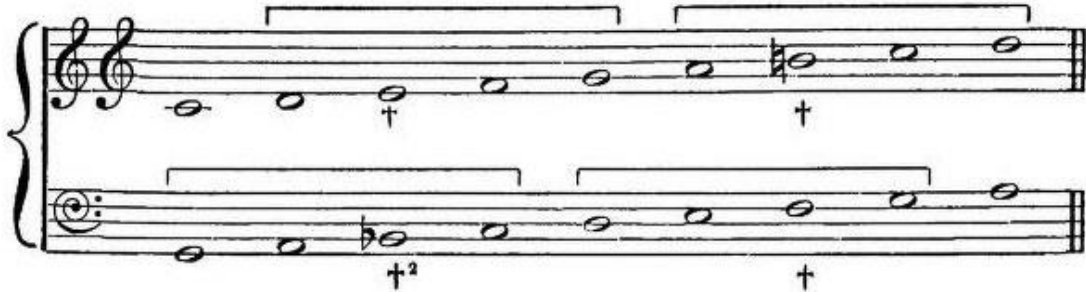
THE FOURTH,
SIMPLE.

A question of considerable importance is raised by this example. It will be observed that, as a result of the regular movement of the Diaphony of Diatessaron, the discordant interval of the Tritone Fourth is twice heard, sung between the two original voices, and it will also be obvious that the interval of the Imperfect Fifth, although it did not occur in our previous example, must be of equally possible occurrence in the Diaphony of Diapente, for in that method F in the upper voice must be accompanied by B# in the lower as certainly as B# in the upper voice must in the Diaphony of Diatessaron be accompanied by F in the lower. What then at this time, it may be asked, was the method of dealing in performance with these two intervals? Were they sung as they are written, or were they made perfect by the substitution of Bb for B#, or was the phrase containing them altered in some other manner?

With regard to the treatment of the discord of the Imperfect Fifth, it may be answered, we are without distinct information ; the treatises from which we derive our knowledge of Organum or Diaphony do not clearly refer to the use of this interval or to any difficulty which might be said to arise from its occurrence between two voices; indeed, we are told on the other hand not only that the Diaphony of Diapente was heard with pleasure, but that it was regarded, from the point of view of continuous consonance, as only

second in perfection to the symphony of the octave itself. With regard to the treatment of the Tritone Fourth, however, we are not left in doubt, except indeed with respect to the consistency of the author of the *Enchiriadis*; for although in chap. xiv. of his work he has said of our example of the Fourth composite that the voices will be perceived as sounding agreeably together, in chap. xvii. we are told that the symphony of Diatessaron, regarded from the point of view of continuous consonance, is, on account of the Tritone (which as we have seen occurs in our example), so defective as to be often quite unsuitable for Diaphony, without alteration. In this point of view the Tritone, which may occur in all scales, is realized as discordant and impossible, and its avoidance is regarded as a necessity. Accordingly we find that when in the Diaphony of Diatessaron the regular movement of the *vox organalis* would give rise to the interval of the Tritone, regular movement is abandoned, and an alternative method adopted.

This alternative method was based upon the facts which were understood as governing the existence of the Tritone. For the writers of this period the interval arose out of the conjunction of the minor third of one tetrachord with the major second of another thus: -



The *vox organalis*, therefore, can never go below the fourth sound of the lower tetrachord. In those cases in which the *vox principalis* begins in such a manner that the *vox organalis* cannot accompany at the Fourth without passing below this fourth sound, then the *vox organalis* must begin upon the same note as the *principalis* and hold it until it is possible to follow the *principalis* at the Fourth; and in the same way the *organalis* must also close in unison when the close of the *principalis* will not admit of an accompaniment at the Fourth.

The method is well shown in the following example: -

FREE ORGANUM; THE FOURTH, SIMPLE.

Vox principalis. (Mus. Enchiriadis.)

Rex coe li Do mi - ne ma ris un di so - ni

Vox organalis.

Rex coe - li Do - mi - ne ma ris un - di so ni

Ti ta nis ni ti di squa li di - que so li

Ti ta nis ni ti di squa li di - que so li

Te hu - mi - les fa - mu - li mo - du - lis ve - ne - ran - do pi - is

Te hu - mi - les fa - mu - li mo - du - lis ve - ne - ran - do pi - is

Se iu - be - as fla - gi - tant va - ri - is li - be - ra - re ma - lis.

Se iu - be - as fla - gi - tant va - ri - is li - be - ra - re ma - lis.

It may be observed that sometimes, as an alternative method, the lower voice takes the major third or the perfect fifth to the B#, as here, at the words *famuli*, *flagitant*, *modulis*, and *variis*.

In addition to the foregoing example the author gives, as a further illustration of the influence of the Tritone upon the Diaphony of Diatessaron, a number of transpositions of the chant-fragment *Tu Patris, &c*, as follows : -

TONUS PROTUS.

Tu pa tris sem pi ter nus es fi li us.

With respect to this example it is pointed out that, although a consonant opening is possible, a corresponding treatment of the close is out of the question, owing to the occurrence of E in the melody, to which the organal response is Bb.

TONUS DEUTERUS (*plagalis*).

Tu pa - tris sem pi ter nus es fi li - us.

Here is shown the proper treatment of the organal response, which cannot proceed regularly either at the opening or at the close.

TONUS TRITUS.

Tu pa - tris sem pi ter nus es fi li us.

In this mode, we are told, no organal response is possible, probably because of the occurrence of the Tritone between the reciting note .of the melody and an accompaniment in the fourth below.

TONUS TETRAEDUS.

Tu pa - tris sem - pi ter nus es fi li - us.

Here the response cannot conveniently descend at all into its proper region, the second note in the opening and the last note but one before the close involving the discordance of the Tritone if strictly accompanied. The proper treatment is shown.

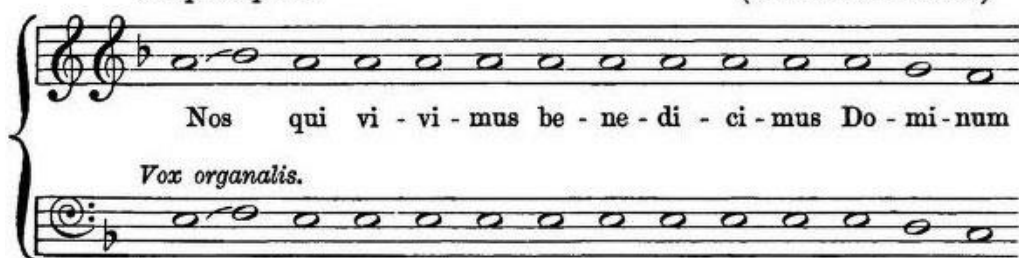
Such then are the views of the author of *Musica Enchiriadis* with respect to the symphony of Diatessaron and to the manner of dealing with the false interval of the Tritone which is peculiar to it. He recognizes the discordance of the Tritone as the cause of a distinct inferiority in the symphony of Diatessaron as compared with those of Diapente and Diapason, and he lays down the rules of a method which avoids the use of the offending interval.

It is worthy of remark that the author of the commentary called *Scholia Enchiriadis*, while also recognizing the inferiority of the symphony of Diatessaron from the point of view of parallel singing, and adopting the rules already given for the treatment of Diaphony in that interval, assigns a different reason for the freedom of the *vox organalis*. He makes no mention of the Tritone, but on the other hand draws our attention to the fact that whereas in the symphony of Diapason both voices are singing absolutely in the same mode and in the symphony of Diapente almost absolutely so, in that of Diatessaron the difference of mode is obvious and unmistakable ; and we learn that it is the impropriety of this combination of two different modes or species of the scale, throughout the whole of a composition, which in his view gives rise to the necessity for a free treatment.

It would appear from this treatise that when strictly parallel fourths are given in the contemporary works as examples of the composite Diaphony of Diatessaron they must be considered either as merely theoretical or as representing a method which was already passing out of use, for in the combinations exhibited in the author's own illustrations of the treatment of this interval the *vox organalis* is always, and its reduplication often, free; this will be evident from the following selected specimens : -

THE FOURTH, SIMPLE.

Vox principalis. (Scholia Enchiriadis.)



Nos qui vi - vi - mus be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - num

Vox organalis.

Nos qui vi - vi - mus be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - num

ex hoc nunc et us que in sae cu lum.

ex hoc nunc et us que in sae cu lum.

THE FOURTH, COMPOSITE.

Vox organalis doubled at the 8ve above. (Scholia Enchiriadis.)

Nos qui vi vi - mus be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - num

Vox principalis.

Nos qui vi vi - mus be ne - di ci - mus Do - mi - num

Vox organalis.

Nos qui vi - vi - mus be ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - num

ex hoc nunc et us que in sae cu lum.

ex hoc nunc et us - que in sae cu lum.

ex hoc nunc et us - que * * * * in sae cu lum.

The following example is especially interesting, since it contains, if the notes given are correct, an alteration not only in the *vox organalis*, but in the reduplication of the *principalis* also: -

THE FOURTH, COMPOSITE.

Vox principalis. (Scholia Enchiriadis.)

Nos qui vi vi - mus be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - num

Vox organalis.

Nos qui vi vi - mus be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - num

Vox principalis doubled at the 8ve below.

Nos qui vi - vi - mus be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - num

ex hoc nunc et us que in sae cu lum.

ex hoc nunc et us que in sae cu lum.

ex hoc nunc et us que in sae cu lum.

THE FOURTH, COMPOSITE.

Vox principalis doubled at the 8ve. (Scholia Enchiriadis.)

Nos qui vi - vi - mus be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - num

Vox organalis doubled at the 8ve.

Nos qui vi - vi - mus be - ne - di ci - mus Do - mi - num

Vox principalis.

Nos qui vi - vi - mus be - ne - di ci - mus Do - mi - num

Vox organalis.

Nos qui vi - vi - mus be - ne - di - ci - mus Do - mi - num

ex hoc nunc et us que in sae cu lum.

ex hoc nunc et us que in sae - cu - lum.

ex hoc nunc et us que in sae cu - lum.

ex hoc nunc et us - que in sae - cu - lum.

The date at which the free kind of Organum was first developed from the strict is of course unknown, but its method, arising as it does out of inconveniences due entirely to the nature of the scale, may very well be of almost equal age with that of the purely parallel movement. Indeed, if the difficult passage so often quoted from the *Divisio Naturae* of Scotus Erigena can be supposed to throw light upon the subject, it would seem that the free Organum of the Fourth may already have been in existence about the middle of the ninth century, that is to say, about one hundred and fifty years before the probable date of the *Enchiriadis*; for the writer's description of the alternate separation and coming together of the voices quite admits of application to this method. Apart from this doubtful passage, however, there seems to be no actual reference to the free Organum until the period at which we have now arrived, when it was described as a part of the general account of Organum in the treatises which have just been considered.

Two other works of this date ought to be mentioned — a MS. now in the Cathedral Library at Cologne, and another which in some MSS. of the *Enchiriadis* — that of Paris for instance — takes the place of the chapters xiii. to xviii. which were printed in the editions of Gerbert and de Coussemaker. In these works the free Organum of the Fourth is chiefly discussed, and by the author of the Paris MS. the organizing of the Fifth is not allowed; in most respects,

however, they conform so closely to the treatises which we have examined that it has not been thought necessary to describe them.

The next account which we possess of the methods of Organum or Diaphony is contained in the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo, written about one hundred years later than the *Scholia Enchiriadis*, during the first half, that is to say, of the eleventh century. In the system described in this work no very great progress beyond the former one is apparent. We may note, for instance, that the old strict forms of composite Diaphony were evidently still held in some esteem, for Guido mentions three as in use in his time, and these appear from his description and from a single example to be the well-known forms of the strict Diaphony of Diatessaron for three voices ; moreover, it would seem that musicians were not confined to these three forms, or at all events not in theory, for Guido adds that the reduplications of the simple Diaphony may in all cases be carried out to the full extent of the possibilities of the material.

But although the strict Diaphony was still at this time in use, it is clear that both by Guido and by others it was considered as antiquated, and that the free kind was altogether preferred. This preference marks the advance, real though small, which had been made during the century which had elapsed since the time of Otger; for while formerly musicians had perceived in the freedom of Diaphony only the advantages for the sake of which it had been invented, means, that is to say, of avoiding certain inconsonances and inconveniences, they were now inclined to see in it distinct intrinsic merits, and definitely preferred it for its own sake; so that its rules were now no longer merely sufficient for the avoidance of the Tritone or of the parallelism of two different modes, but were also, though very tentatively, directed towards the production of a series of combined sounds, not necessarily concords, of which the ear might approve and of which apparently it was to be the principal judge.

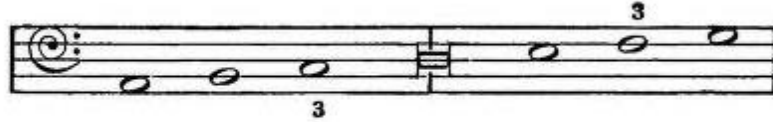
With respect to the number of voices employed at this time in the newer or free kind of Diaphony, it may be said that although the very concise directions given by Guido refer entirely to the conduct of the organal voice, and the examples are in two parts only, nothing prevents the supposition that the doubling of parts at the octave was practised in this as well as in the strict or parallel form; Guido nowhere forbids it, and indeed the manner, for instance, in which he passes from the discussion of the strict Diaphony to consider the freer kind seems almost to imply that the two were by no means totally distinct. 'Having now' he says in effect, 'sufficiently explained the duplication of the voices, we may treat more particularly of

our method of dealing with the lower (or organal) voice.' Moreover, we have already seen that the practice of doubling the parts in free Diaphony was apparently common in the time of Otger, and it is difficult to suppose that a method which had been firmly established one hundred years previously, a method based upon existing principles and at the same time in no way opposed to the natural progress and development of the art, should have been discontinued in the time of Guido.

Passing however from this point, which is perhaps not very important, we may go on to consider the method of treating the organal voice which is given in the *Micrologus*.

The symphony of the Fourth is still the foundation of the free Diaphony, and it now moreover constitutes the extreme limit of separation between the voices, for the perfect fifth which we have seen in the older music is no longer allowed. The remaining intervals, both those which were used and those which were neglected, are the same as before, but a change of considerable importance in the point of view from which they are to be considered has taken place; for whereas formerly they were unnamed and regarded as chance juxtapositions of the voices due to the conduct of the lower voice in obedience to a certain rule, they are now seen in their true character and receive their proper appellations; their points of difference moreover are studied, and they become to some extent the subject of choice.

Nevertheless the actual existence of these intervals is still due, as before, to the observance by the lower voice of that rule of practice which forbids its descent below a certain note of the tetrachord governing the melody or any particular section of it which may be in question. It will be remembered that the notes indicated by this rule in the time of Otger were G in the upper tetrachord and C in the lower, and that they were then the fourth sounds of their respective tetrachords. The system of tetrachords which explains this has already been shown, and an excellent example of the application of the rule under the old conditions was given in the two-part composition *Rex coeli Domine*, where for instance, in the concluding sections, *se iubeas flagitant* is seen as governed by the upper tetrachord and *variis liberare malis* by the lower, the *vox organalis* in neither case descending below the fourth sound. But the tetrachords implied in Guidons Diaphony are arranged in a different manner from those of his predecessors; they are conjunct, and their scale begins upon A, thus: -



The lower limit therefore of the organal voice in each tetrachord is now the third sound, and the notes are F and C.

From this it would seem that the risk of a Tritone Fourth has now nothing to do with the prohibition of a descent below F or C respectively, nor indeed does Guido mention either that explanation of the rule or the reason given by the author of the *Scholia Enchiriadis*, the creation, that is to say, of parallel modes of different character by the use of continuous fourths; he puts forward in fact, as we shall presently see, another explanation altogether, based upon the impossibility of closing in unison in a proper manner if the rule be not observed.

It is certainly a curious circumstance that the three writers who have given reasons for this rule of not passing below certain sounds differ entirely from each other in their explanations of its necessity, and we are tempted to inquire whether the rule may not perhaps have been much older than the explanations, existing as a tradition of performance, and presenting to the theorists a phenomenon for which they felt themselves bound to give a musical reason. And in this point of view we must not omit a notice of the fact, mentioned by M. Gevaert (*Mélopée Antique, &c, Appendix*) that in the tenth century C was the lowest note both of the organ and of the cithara. A possible key to the puzzle may perhaps be found in this circumstance, but it must be remarked that although it might account for the rule as regards C, it will not apparently help us to understand the frequent avoidance of a descent below G or F.

Returning, however, to the methods of Guido we find that his practical instructions, as a whole, relate partly to the means of avoiding this passage of the lower voice below the Tritus or third sound, and partly to the formation of closes. These may perhaps best be shown in his own examples of their application as follows: —

Vic - tor a - scen - dit coe - lis un - de de - scen - det.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in a single system. Both staves use a treble clef. The top staff contains a melody of quarter notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4. The bottom staff contains a lower voice part, also in quarter notes: G3, A3, B3, C4, B3, A3, G3, F3, E3, D3. The lyrics 'Vic - tor a - scen - dit coe - lis un - de de - scen - det.' are written between the two staves, aligned with the notes.

In this example, in Mode VIII, the melody, ranging almost entirely above the final, G, is governed by the tetrachord to which G belongs, and the organal voice is careful not to descend below the third sound of that tetrachord, F. We may also note that in the *occursus*, or coming together of the parts at the end, the unisons upon the two closing notes of the melody (which are also apparent in several sections of the former example *Rex coeli Domini*), are disguised by delaying the passage of the lower voice. In the following example, however, which is in Mode IV, the older method is adopted.

Ho - mo e - rat in Ie - ru - sa - lem. Ie ru sa - lem.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in a single system. Both staves use a soprano clef (C1). The top staff contains a melody of quarter notes: C1, D1, E1, F1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1. The bottom staff contains a lower voice part, also in quarter notes: C1, D1, E1, F1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1. The lyrics 'Ho - mo e - rat in Ie - ru - sa - lem. Ie ru sa - lem.' are written between the two staves, aligned with the notes. A bracket labeled 'or' spans the final two notes of the top staff.

The variant is given by Guido in order to show the pleasant effect of coming to the unison by way of a major third between the voices.

An important example is a Diaphony upon the antiphon for the office of St. Agnes, in Mode I : -

Ip - si so - li ser - vo fi - dem

Ip - si me to ta de - vo - ti - o - ne com - mit - to.

In Guido's comment upon the first section of this example he gives his reason for refusing to descend below the Tritus C. He says that when the melody falls to C, a close in which the lower voice should move upwards to that note is not possible, because the *occursus* cannot proceed by way either of a tone or major third with the upper voice, but only by the semitone or minor third, which are not allowed. His difficulty may be illustrated thus : -

†
Minor third
(not allowed).

†
Semitone
(not allowed).

Guido's reasons would seem to require further explanation. It is sufficiently clear, however, that for him it is the B which creates the necessity for the rule, and we must suppose, since no other objection to this note from Guido's point of view is obvious, that the real cause of its unsuitability lay in its 'leading' quality. This, however, Guido does not say, nor does he apply his objection to the corresponding note E in the tetrachord next above, which renders the *occursus* from below upon F equally impossible.

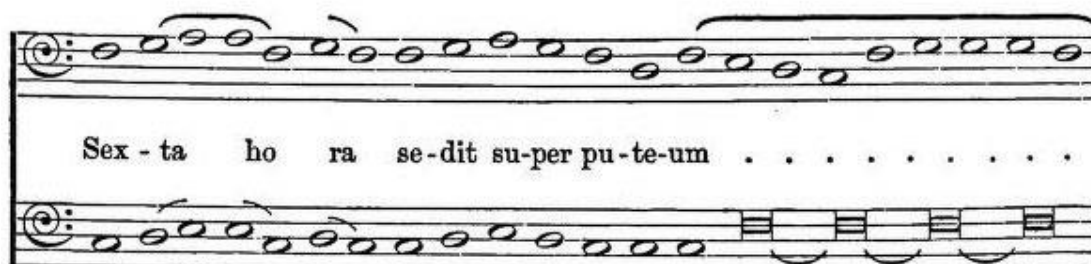
This kind of omission, perhaps not always unintentional, is rather characteristic of Guido's comments upon his illustrations. With respect, for instance, to the second and

third sections of the example which we are now examining, we may perhaps suppose that the manner in which the final notes are accompanied is due to the fact that the closes are of a light and passing character ; but we receive no information on this point from Guido ; he merely indicates the fact that the lower voice moves chiefly in fourths, and that the parts do not come together. 'The Diaphony of Diatessaron' he says, 'is here more pleasing than the *occursus*'. With respect to the last section no difficulty arises, and we are content to be told to notice the close upon the final of the mode, and the satisfactory manner in which the *occursus* is conducted by the interval of a tone between the voices.

The examples which remain to be noticed refer more especially to exceptions or licenses. In the first, in Mode I, we may observe an instance of the forbidden descent of the organal voice below the Tritus C. No reason is given or excuse offered, but Guido points out that the voice after this escapade to A returns at once to C in order to secure a proper position in the approaching *occursus*.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff contains a melodic line with notes corresponding to the lyrics: 'Ve - ni ad do - cen - dum nos vi - am pru - den - ti - ae'. The bottom staff contains an organal line. A cross symbol is placed below the final note of the organal line, indicating a tritone.

The timely arrival of the organal voice upon the note which is to form the lower member of the *occursus* is also seen in the following example, in Mode VI ; but a more striking feature of this close is the maintenance of the organal voice upon the Tritus F, while the melody in its long concluding flourish touches the corresponding note in the lower tetrachord, Tritus C.



Sex - ta ho ra se-dit su-per pu-te-um

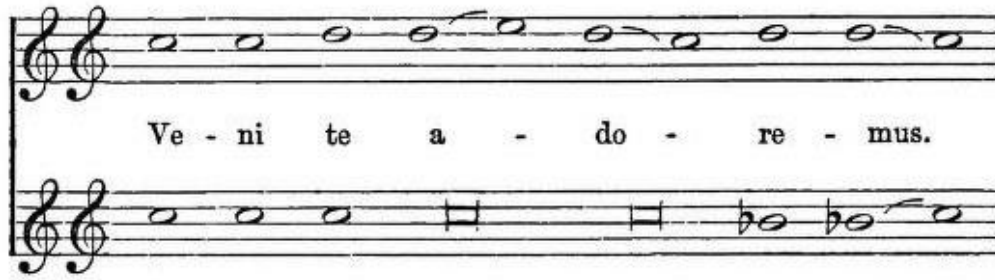
A more remarkable instance of this last device, in which the Organum is held throughout upon the Tritus F, while the plagal melody pursues its course both above and below and finally ends in the lower tetrachord upon the Tritus C, is next given. From Guido's comment upon it, joined to some previous remarks, we gather that the melody in such cases was to be sung very quickly, and that no pause suggestive of a melodic close was to be made until the final *occursus*.



Sex - ta ho - ra se - - dit su - per pu - te - um

These last two examples are extremely interesting, and may possibly present to us the actual contemporary method of organizing the more florid figures of ecclesiastical melody.

Guido's final example, which he describes as being in Mode VI, illustrates a method of closing suitably from below upon the upper C, by the use of the tetrachord synemmenon, giving B \flat in the lower voice; his illustration, therefore, is written in the upper octave, to which in the Greek scale the alternative B \flat belongs, instead of in the lower, as is usual with him.



Guido's examples, and his comments upon them, have here been exhibited at some length, in order to establish, as clearly as may be, the truth of the statement made above, namely, that the free Diaphony was in the beginning of the eleventh century already preferred for its own sake, and that the ear was now in fact often the real judge of its success. And this we may gather not only from the character of the examples themselves, but also from the nature of such rules as are given ; for these are chiefly practical, and, unlike the rules of the strict Diaphony which depended upon the old established concords, are based upon no apparent theoretical principle. The explanations of them which are attempted are generally vague and obscure, and even when definite seldom convince us of the necessity of the course prescribed. They are in fact, so far as we can see, the rules of a practitioner, who can only successfully support them by an appeal to custom, and to the general feeling among men of experience that in given circumstances certain combinations will sound better than certain others.

Regarded in this point of view, Guido's examples and comments would seem to reveal a period of considerable musical activity of the most promising character, and it might well be supposed that some further manifestation of the free system displayed in the *Micrologus* – a system apparently so much in sympathy with the beautiful florid ecclesiastical melody – would soon have become evident; it might also even be conceived as possible that by means of successive improvements in this system the contrapuntal music of later times might suitably have been developed. But, as a matter of fact, it would appear that the actual course of events was by no means such as we might have expected ; for already in the works of the writers upon Organum who come immediately after Guido no trace of either of the systems exhibited by him is to be found ; they disappear in fact entirely, and the system which takes their place is now based upon a principle unrecognized by Guido, and presents a totally new appearance.

This circumstance, which comes upon us with the force of a surprise, is at first sight somewhat difficult of explanation. Yet in the point of view from which we regard the art of Music we should assume, as a probable reason for this abandonment of Guido's systems, that the path of actual progress did not lie in the direction which they indicate; and this assumption, which is in accordance with all that we know of the history of art of all kinds, will in fact be found to be sufficiently justified if we shortly examine the nature of the change which took place and of the principles which were involved in it.

Hitherto we have regarded the two systems of Organum or Diaphony, the strict and the free, chiefly from the point of view of the intervals employed ; and we have seen that, while the strict sort was based entirely upon the traditional concords, the freer kind admitted sounds which formerly had been held to be impossible, because discordant. We have seen, moreover, that in the strict Organum the voices were confined in each composition to one kind of concord, which was sung under the melody and moved with it continuously throughout, and that in the free sort the introduction of the discordant sounds among the concords created new and various intervals between the voices. But we have now to take notice of the fact, with respect to the free Diaphony, that in addition to the novelty of the mutual situations caused by the hitherto untried intervals, a new relation of another kind was established between the parts; for whereas in the older method their only possible progression was parallel, the newer method gave rise to an oblique movement, and even in one case, where the *occursus* was made by a major third, to a contrary movement. Of these two movements the oblique, arising as it does out of the characteristic rule of not passing below certain sounds, is in fact, though still mingled with the parallel, a characteristic feature of the free Diaphony, and may be said to be firmly established in that system; the contrary movement, on the other hand, is foreign to the systems which we have already examined, and is indeed rather discouraged than otherwise by Guido, who, even when he admits it, recommends another way of closing as preferable.

The sudden appearance therefore of the new system which immediately succeeded that of Guido, and in which, as we shall see, the influence of the parallel and oblique movements is reduced to a minimum and the contrary movement is apparent as the leading principle and characteristic feature, is indicative of a change of the highest importance in musical thought, and marks the beginning of an entirely new view of the possibilities of the material of part music ; a view, in fact, not suggested by either of the systems displayed by Guido, and revealing principles which his

methods of composition could not from the nature of the case supply. Moreover, since we have seen that the path of progress in Polyphony must be considered to lie along that line which tends towards the preservation of a balance between the individual element or element of variety, and the collective element or element of unity, we must regard the change of system as entirely beneficial to the art of symphonious singing, because completely destructive of the crushing domination of the collective element as seen in the strict method of organizing. For the oblique movement of the free Diaphony, though it established the recognition of the individual element in Polyphony and gave rise to a certain measure of progress, was still but an offshoot of the continuous parallelism of ancient times, and is therefore expressive only of a partial independence insufficient for the full development of music; in the principle of the contrary movement, on the other hand, and in the unfettered variety of the vocal progressions to which it gives rise, we recognize the declaration of individual freedom in the largest measure compatible with respect for the general law. Hence its immediate triumph and supersession of the former system, and its assumption of an authority which was thenceforward complete.

With the death of Guido, therefore, about 1050, and the advent of the new principle of the contrary movement, the first period of part music, the period of Organum or Diaphony, may be said in fact to be closed. Its chief task, the first liberation of the composition from the bonds of the strict continuous consonance of one kind inherited from the Greeks, had been accomplished, and the cultivation and development of the more fruitful elements which had been evolved in the course of the work were now to be undertaken, upon fresh methods, by the succeeding generations.