Gregorian chant and *musica ficta*:
New observations from Spanish theory of the Early Renaissance*

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On March 31, 1410, Fernand Estevan, «maestro de canto plano & de contrapunto» at the Cathedral of Seville, completed a musical treatise which may be considered one of the most fascinating theoretical sources of *musica ficta*. In studying this work, the modern scholar


The extant manuscript copy of ESTEVAN's treatise dating from the fifteenth century is preserved at the Biblioteca Pública Provincial in Toledo where it bears the call number R (Ms) 329. Its partial publication of 1934 (see G. ARPINIEGA in Tesoro Sacro-Musical XVIII, pp. 53-55, 66-68, 73-75, and 81-83) was recently complemented by a facsimile edition with line-by-line transcription, commentary and study under the authorship of M. P. ESCUDERO GARCÍA (Madrid 1984). Concerning specific aspects of the Reglas de canto plano and their relevance within fifteenth-century music theory, the reader should consult R. STEVENSON, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague 1960, reprint edition, 1964), pp. 51-53, as well as F.J. LEÓN TELLO, *Estudios de Historia de la Teoría musical* (Madrid 1962), pp. 403-414. A nineteenth-century copy of Ms. Toledo R (Ms) 329 can be found at the Biblioteca Nacional under the call number M. 814.
finds himself confronted with abundant information regarding the historical background, terminology, aesthetics, and practical application of accidental tones in Gregorian Chant. As a theorist, Estevan clearly follows the directions of a new and predominantly practice-oriented type of Ars musica on the Iberian Peninsula, represented for the first time during the late fourteenth century in a little vernacular treatise with the (implicit) title Arte de canto llano / Art del cant pla. His intentions are quite obvious: by dedicating himself passionately to matters of musica ficta, he tries to prepare his reader for a musical practice which had been widely accepted within the liturgical services of his own day.

Besides Estevan’s work a second theoretical source from fifteenth-century Spain merits special attention. I am speaking here of Ms. El Escorial c. III.23, a treatise well-known among Renaissance scholars, since Manfred Bukofzer in 1936 drew attention to its opening chapter which recognizes several fifteenth-century composers for their advancement of new stylistic principles. Although the author of this treatise does not reveal his name, we are told by him that he finished his work on July 7, 1480, «while the sun twisted its reins and with Phoebus’ torch scanned the lands» (dum sol torquebat habenas et bebeia lustrabat lanpade terras). Unlike Estevan, Anonymous Seville does not only deal with the theory of Gregorian Chant, but offers additional

A critical edition of this manual is available in my study “Zur Frühgeschichte der vulgärsprachlichen spanischen und katalanischen Musiktheorie”, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 1/24 (Münster i.W. 1968), pp. 257-336. The reader may furthermore wish to look at a 1976 article by E. ZARAGOZA PASCUAL, which under the title “Un manual de canto llano del siglo XV hasta hoy inédito” (sic!) offers another edition of the Spanish text version in Ms. Silos 14. For the Catalan text version (Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya, M. 1327) see also F. PEDRELL’s edition of 1912 (Recull de textes catalans anticx XVII). Regarding its contents and structure, the Arte de melodía offers a concise and didactic introduction into the theory of Gregorian Chant, from which innumerable later sources, even up to the seventeenth century, drew their inspiration.

So far only excerpts from this work, edited by L. VILLALBA, have been published: cf. La ciudad de Dios LXX (1906), pp. 118-123, 531-549, and Biblioteca Sacro Musical V (1915), pp. 64-71, 74-77; VI (1916), pp. 128-130, 137-139; VII (1917), pp. 5-8, 15-17. As in the case of Estevan’s text, there exists a nineteenth-century copy made from Ms. El Escorial c. III.23, now belonging to the Biblioteca Nacional (call number M. 1282). A complete edition of the treatise will be published by the present author.


Fol. 50' (Explicit). Cf. VIRGIL, Aeneidos IV 6: "postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras".
information on contrapunto and canto de organo. His teaching of musica ficta is very similar to Estevan’s in its transmission of informational contents. At the same time, however, it provides us with more detailed observations about the internal structure of Gregorian melodies to justify the use of accidental tones. Whatever the individual merits of these two authors may be, their texts complement each other in a truly unique way, thus establishing the first concrete body of information on musica ficta as practiced in Spain. In this respect both documents clearly distinguish themselves from fourteenth-century works such as the first of three treatises attributed to the Parisian scholar Goscaldus (or Goscaldus)⁶, furthermore the anonymous Arte de canto llano and an anonymous Latin text under the title Quedam cartula de cantu plano⁷, in which the theory of accidental tones is more or less limited to supplying basic information on nomenclature, hexachordal origin, and similar subjects, with or without a few musical examples drawn from Mass and Liturgical Hours.

With their definition of conjunta as the actual change from a whole tone into a half tone and vice versa⁸, our Spanish sources return to an older concept which is based on a gamut that allows accidental tones


⁷Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 883, fol. 70v-71r. See below, pp. 24-27 (Appendix), where the complete text of this source is presented.

⁸It may suffice to mention here the following statements from ESTEVAN’s Reglas: “conjunta es fazer del tono semitono & del semitono tono, coniunet a saber, fazer del fa mi & del mi fazer fo” (fol. 10); “conjunta es fazer segund la boz del omne del tono semitono, & del semitono tono” (fol. 11’, ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 87 and 91). Concerning the second definition see also ANONYMOUS XI CS III who around 1450 presents a slightly extended version: “…coniuneta, secundum vocem hominis vel instrumenti, est facere de tono semitoniun, et e converso de semitoniun tonum (cf. R.J. WINGELL, “Anonymous XI (CS III): An Edition, Translation, and Commentary”. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1973, p. 28; CS III, p. 426b). The same text version was later also transmitted by MAGISTER SZYDLOVITA (cf. W. GIEBUROWSKI, Die Musica magistri Szydlovi, Posen 1915, p. 34).
by introducing ten additional or irregular hexachords (on F retropolis, 
A, B, D, E, a, b, d, e, and a). These accidental tones materialize
in the solmisation syllable mi (as the chromatic alteration of fa) or fa
(as the chromatic lowering of mi). Thus the possibility is given that the
tone mi of an irregular hexachordum durum or naturale (= C or F)
be exchanged with the tone mi of an irregular hexachord (= C or F). Just as in the hexachordia naturalia and mollia, the syllable mi (= E
or a) can be replaced by fa (= E or a), if such step should prove
necessary. There is moreover the accidental tone B-flat corresponding
to the syllable fa of the first irregular hexachord on F below Gamma-ut. I should point out that irregular hexachords were
considered an integral part of the solmizational system which allowed them to
participate in a wide range of mutations: «E sabe que todas son [llama-
das deducciones, tan bien las ayuntadas como las otras a que se
ayutan, porque tan bien traen consigo seys bozes naturales cada vna
dellas como las otras siete a que se ayuntan».

As far as is known, the expansion of the Medieval tonal system by
ten irregular hexachords was for the first time described in 1375 in the
previously mentioned Goscludus treatise. It is indeed possible that
the Spanish concept of the conjunta has its direct roots in this highly
influential source. How could it otherwise be explained that the late
fourteenth-century Arte de canto llano and Goscludus focus in principle on the same characteristics and, to an extent, employ in their
descriptions almost identical patterns and phrases? A similar conclusion is at hand when one considers the fact that Goscludus, the Cartu-
la from Barcelona M. 883, and Fernand Estevan transmit or discuss
the same basic set of musical examples.

Following our two fifteenth-century sources, the origin of musica ficta must be traced back to counterpoint (contrapunto), although

9According to GOSCLUDUS, the number of accidental tones varied, “nam alii [musicí] 7, alii vero 8, alii vero plures dixerunt esse conjunctas” (ed. ELLSWORTH, p. 52). Interestingly enough, ANONYMOUS SEVILLE speaks of some theorists (or musicians) who tried to justify as many as fourteen different conjuntas, “¡proviendo así que
pues conjunta es fazer de mi fa & de fa mi en el arte de canto llano, ay siete mies & siete
faes. Sy sobre cada vna destas se podría fazer conjunta, seguiase que eran catorze
conjuntas. Esto es falso. Verdad es que sobre cada mi de befabemi agudo & de befabem-
mi sobreguido por via que de catorze puntos sacando quatro quedan diez. Así digo que
son diez conjuntas y no mas ni menos” (fol. 30).

10ESTEVAN, Reglas, fol. 37” (ed. ESCUDERO GARCIA, p. 197).
conjuntas were widely used also in Gregorian Chant. After all, it was fourteenth-century *contrapunctus* and polyphonic music in which an ever-increasing experimentation with accidental tones took place. That Gregorian Chant became a vital part of this process, seems only natural. Non-diatonic steps, on the other hand, can already be found in a large number of liturgical melodies preceding the official acceptance of the *genus diatonicum*. Still in the early eleventh century an anonymous theorist mentions the actual use of chromatic tones. At the same time numerous melodies with non-diatonic steps were subjected to transposition, a largely notational procedure which did not entail any melodic or structural changes, but rather preserved their original features within the governing diatonic system. Interestingly enough, most discussions in our Spanish treatises concern themselves with the original, non-transposed form of Gregorian melodies. This would indicate to me that the Renaissance concept of chromatic tones or *conjuntas* in monophonic music marks the revival of a musical phenomenon which had been theoretically rejected over several centuries and which only in the later fourteenth-century found its academic justification.

But which are the reasons given by our sources for using *musica ficta*? Estevan mentions the idea of «buena assonancia & melodia» which made accidental tones a necessary part of musical performance. The same thought is presented to us when he argues that such tones were introduced, «porque vinyesse el canto llano a mejor concordancia, & con las bozes de las conjuntas vinyesse la melodia & consonancia mas perfecta».

We are instantly reminded here of Anonymous 2 CS I who in his late thirteenth-century *Tractatus de discantu* spoke in favor of *falsa mutatio* and *falsa musica* «propter bonam consonantiam inveniendam et malam vitandam», a statement later complemented by de remark that *musica ficta* was used, «ut omnis consonantia seu

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12ESTEVAN, Reglas, fol. 12' (ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 95): “E commo quier que fueren fechas en el arte del contrapunto, son bien allegadas & pertenesqientes a las bozes del canto llano para lo componer...”; ANONYMOUS SEVILLE, fol. 30v: “...fueron falladas porque el contrapunto vinyesse a mejor concordancia”.


14Reglas, fol. 12' (ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 95): “Pero buenamente non se podria saluar el canto llano, si non se pusiesen otras diez deduqiones, que son las diez conjuntas; ... asi que son xvi deduqiones, ca sin estas cantos ay llanos que non podrian fazer buena assonancia & melodia & que se non podrian saluar. & por esta rrazon las pusieron contrarias a las bozes del canto llano.”

15Fol. 10' (ed. ESCUDERO GARCIA, p. 87).
melodia in quolibet signo perficiatur»16. As these quotations show, Estevan obviously borrowed ideas rooted in the teaching of contrapunctus and applied these to Gregorian Chant. The same observation is true for Anonymous Seville, although his text still seems to dwell on the historical function and necessity of musica ficta:

E como quier que sea al contrapunto, son bien necesarias & pertenecientes [las conjuntas] porque muchas vezes acaesce en el contrapunto hazer fa en hemi, así por natura como por bemol. E sy por entonces el canto llano en hemi dixese mi, sonaría muy mal porque nunca puede ser hecha ninguna de las consonancias perfectas fa contra mi, ni mi contra fa, cantendo por la primera conjunta. E así avra la consonancia del contrapunto su perficion, ca en otra manera seria falso contrapunto, no solamente para en hemi, mas para en otros muchos lugares que ay en la mano, en tal manera que a las vezes fagamos de mi fa & a las vezes de fa mi 17.

Another reflection of traditional ideas may perhaps be found in Estevan’s observation that anybody who denies the existence of accidental tones should look at the organ where all of these tones are visible, even with their notational signs attached to them18. Indeed, the practice of providing each organ key (or key-like device) with nomenclature in form of letters can be found as early as the tenth century. If we follow the anonymous Mensura fistularum-treatise Cuprum purissimum or Theophilus presbyter, the purpose of this practice was to assist the organ player in identifying the individual tones of his instrument («ut citius modulator possit scire, quam linguam debet tangere»)19. How an old organ keyboard with added nomenclature looked

17Fol. 29v.
18Reglas, fol. 12r (ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 95): “E munchos dizen que las conjuntas non son verdaderas, mas ve a los organos, que asi las fallaras señaladas estas conjuntas con los signos deyoso escriptos.”
like, can be gathered from such sources as the *Syntagma musicum* of Michael Praetorius.\(^{20}\)

Returning to Estevan’s statement about the existence of chromatic tones on the organ of his time, it should also be pointed out that several theorists from the preceding two centuries, among them Jacques de Liège, mention the organ in connection with *musica ficta*. Thus we read in Book VI of Jacques’s *Speculum musicae* how the division of every whole tone into two *semitonia inaequalia* made possible the use of several more perfect consonances.\(^{21}\) And the *Introductio musicae secundum magistrum de Garlandia* speaks of *musica ficta* as a necessary requirement for musical instruments, in particular the organ.\(^{22}\)

A second definition of *conjunta* from the theoretical writings of Estevan and Anonymous Seville deserves brief mention. In trying to explore the original meaning of the term itself, it defines *conjunta* as a joining-together (lat. *coniunctio*) of two *voces* (*inaequales*) from hexachords of different nature.\(^{23}\) Related to this statement in Estevan’s observation that the *conjunta* has its name «porque ayunta dos propriedades de diversas naturas en uno, conuiene a saber, la suya & la del cantollano».\(^{24}\) Accordingly *disjunta* (*fa-fa, mi-mi*) is interpreted as «non ayuntamiento» or «desayuntamiento» (lat. *disiunctio*).

Among the many elaborations on accidental tones offered by Fernand Estevan there appears one statement which invites particular attention on part of the modern scholar. In it our maestro presents the idea that *conjuntas* were introduced «por fazer acrescentamiento en las bozes»\(^{25}\) (freely translated: to make an expansion, enhancement, or intensification of the voice). Although this statement remains without

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\(^{20}\)Vol. II (*Theatrum Instrumentorum*, Wolffenbüttel 1620), table XXIV, XXV, XXVII and XXVIII.

\(^{21}\)JACOBUS LEODIENSIS, *Speculum musicae*, lib. VI 66, ed. R. BRAGARD (CSM III 6, p. 187): "Videndum est de falsa musica que instrumentis musicalibus multum est necessaria, specialiter in organis." See also CSM I, p. 166b: "Videndum est de falsa musica que instrumentis musicalibus multum est necessaria, specialiter in organis." See also CSM III, p. 26a.

\(^{22}\)ESTEVAN, *Reglas*, fol. 15r (ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 109): "conjunta es ayuntamiento de dos bozes." ANONYMOUS SEVILLE, *Ars*, fol. 29v-30r: "...conjunt-a es coniunctio (Ms. conjuntarum) duarum uocum diuersarum proprietatum in vna voce ut in vno signo (Ms. vnunm signum)."

\(^{23}\)Reglas, fol. 10r (ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 87). The same statement is almost literally repeated by ANONYMOUS SEVILLE (fol. 30 r).

\(^{24}\)Fol. 37r (ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 197).
further explanation, it would seem logical to suggest that Estevan touches here on one of the expressive qualities of *musica ficta*. In fact, theorists both before and after Estevan discussed similar matters when speaking about accidental tones as being applied to Gregorian Chant and polyphony. Anonymous Seville, for example, considered «better sonority» (melior sonoritas) to be an essential characteristic of *musica ficta*.

Regarding the practical utilization of accidental tones, we learn from our sources that in contrast to the *canto de organo* and *contrapunto* only certain *conjuntas* were applied in Gregorian Chant. While Estevan specifically mentions the six *conjuntas* $B_v$, $E_v$, $F$, $a$, $e$, and $f$,

Anonymous Seville adds to this set the accidental tone $c$.

We also learn that *conjuntas* were only permissible if a chant could not be «salvaged» in any other way. And whenever applied, the singer was required to immediately leave them behind and return to the diatonic scale. After all, *musica ficta* was a matter of subtlety (cosa de sotileza) and had to be applied with good judgement, taste and discretion.

As has been mentioned at the beginning of this article, the writings of Fernand Estevan and Anonymous Seville represent a new type of

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26Cf. fol. 11.

27From ESTEVAN's *Reglas* the following two passages may serve as a reference: "E las dichas diez conjuntas nunca son menester para canto llano si non las seys dellas, conviene a saber, la primera & la iij$^a$ & la $v^a$ & la vij$^a$ & la viij$^a$ conjuntas..."; "Otrosi digote mas que todas $x$, las conjuntas susodichas son menester quanto al canto de organo & contrapunto para aquellos lugares ado fueren necessarias..., mas digote que quanto al contrapunto de las conjuntas la mas necesaria es la octaua conjunta" (fol. 12$\nu$ and 38$\nu$, ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, pp. 97 and 201). ANONYMOUS SEVILLE, on the other hand, remarks: "...digo que segun la opinion de algunos que dizen que son siete conjuntas, esto es verdad quanto al canto llano porque en el canto llano no se hallan mas de siete, conviene a saber, primera, tercera, quarta, quinta, sexta, setima, octaua" (fol. 30$\nu$). An additional, though somewhat vague, classification of the ten accidental tones is transmitted by ESTEVAN who in one of his chapters distinguishes between five *conjuntas especiales* ($B_v$, $E_v$, $a$,$v$, $a$,$v$) and five *generales* ($C_x$, $F_x$, $c$, $f$, $C_x$). Whereas the first group occurs in "cantos apartados", the second is used in "todos los cantos, tan bien eclesiasticos como seglares" (cf. *Reglas*, fol. 14$\nu$, ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 103).

28See ESTEVAN, *Reglas*, fol. 12$\nu$ (ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 95): "Otrosi la conjunta deuemos escusar lo mas que pudiéremos, salvo si non se puidiere salvar el canto en otra manera. E aunque cantemos por alguna conjunta, deuemos salir della lo mas ayna que pudiéremos."

treatise characterized by an emphasis on fifteenth-century Spanish Chant practices. It is therefore not surprising that both texts strive to provide the reader/performer with a thorough understanding of the conditions under which accidental tones become indispensable during the performance of monophonic music. In fact, Estevan’s and Anonymous Seville’s discourses on the use of musica ficta fill no less than eight chapters, each of them exposing this subject in a different manner and with new observations. When analyzing the technical information, one finds that there are two major reasons for employing accidental tones in Gregorian Chant: a) to avoid the direct or indirect interval of the augmented fourth (tritone) and diminished fifth, b) to create the subsemitone, and in one special case the supersemitone. In addition, accidental tones were used «por virtud de la melodia), that is, for strictly aesthetical purposes («causa pulchritudinis»). Estevan emphasizes the first reason by describing each of the six conjuntas, which he associates with Chant, as necessary to establish a perfect fourth or fifth. While $B_b$ and $f$ ( = conjunta 1 and 8) are sung «por razon de vna quinta», $F_#$, $a_b$ and $e_b$ ( = conjunta 4, 5 and 7) follow the need of creating a perfect fourth. Only the third conjunta ($E_b$) fulfills a dual function since it may serve to establish either a perfect fourth (= $E_b$ - $B_b$) or a perfect fifth (= $E_b$ - $b$).

The following examples serve to illustrate Estevan’s theory:

**Conjunta 1 ( = $B_b$)**

Source: Madrid BN, M. 1361 (Gradual, 14th cent., Castile), fol. 145'. Cf. *GR*, p. 428 (melody transposed to the upper fifth).
Estevan: «Pues fazese la primera conjunta por razon de vna quin-

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30Cf. *Reglas*, fol. 12'-14" (ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 97 f.), from which, with one exception, also the following quotations have been taken.
31According to ESTEVAN the use of $E_b$ “por razon de alguna quinta” is however limited to very few melodies, and it never occurs in chants of the third and fourth mode. The latter is equally true for the seventh conjunta ($e_b$) which is used “especialmente en algunos quintos tonos”, whereas $F_#$ and $f_#$ can never be found in chants of the fifth and sixth mode.
32All of the ensuing examples (= excerpts) are mentioned by ESTEVAN or ANONYMOUS SEVILLE to illustrate their respective points. They are transcribed here uniformly on a four-line staff.
ta, esto es, quando algund canto sube de \textit{bmi} a \textit{ffaut} sin tocar en \textit{elami}...»

Conjunta 8 (= \textit{f};)

Example: Resp. Grad. \textit{Adiutor in opportunitatibus} (3rd mode): \textit{‘non’}.

Source: Madrid BN, Vitr. 21-8 (Gradual, 14th cent., Central Italy), fol. 28 f.- Cf. \textit{GR}, p. 58 f.

Estevan: «La \textit{viii}\textsuperscript{a} conjunta se faze quando cantamos por bquadrado en \textit{bfami} & sube el canto fasta la dicha \textit{viii}\textsuperscript{a} conjunta o descien
de, non tocando en \textit{csolfaut}...»

\[33\text{Ms. cfaut.}\]
Conjunta 4 \((= F_*)\)

Example: *Agnus Dei* (4th mode).
Source: *Passionarium cum officio maioris hebdomadis* (Toledo 1576), fol. (rv) f.- Cf. Schildbach: Melody 136 (6th mode, transposed from F to G); *GR*, p. 16*: Agnus IV (6th mode).
Estevan: «La iiiª conjunta se faze por rrazón de alguna iiiª, esto es, si cantamos en *bfabmi* por bquadrado & el canto desciende a *ffaut*... O si sube de *ffaut* a *bfabmi*...»

\[\text{Agnus De-} \quad \text{i, qui tol-} \quad \text{lis} \quad \text{pecca-ta} \quad \text{mundi},\]

Conjunta 5 \((= a_9)\)

Example: *Kyrie 'Jesu redemptor omnium'* (6th mode): Acclamation 5 (Christe eleison)\(^34\).
Source: Luys de Villafranca, *Breue Instrucion de Canto llano* (Seville 1565), fol. bvr\(^35\).

\(^34\)ESTEVAN refers to this example on fol. 11\(^v\) of his *Reglas*: "La vª conjunta se signa en alamire agudo por bmo1, & dezimos 'ay fa', & toma su ut en elamí graue, segund se prueua ... en el xpiste de medio de los kyrios de *jhesu redemptor omnium*" (ed. ESCUDERO GARCÍA, p. 93).

\(^35\)Complete melody in Ms. I.II.17, fol. 326\(^f\), of the Monastic Library at El Escorial (Missale plenarium, 14th cent., France). VILLA FRANCA’s treatise is actually the only source in which I was able to identify the *Christe* acclamation as described by ESTEVAN (i.e., containing *a acutum*).
Note: In order to apply $a_b$, a melodic phrase must contain the third conjunta.

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\draw[thick,black] (0,0) -- (2,0) -- (2,-1) -- (0,-1) -- (0,0);
\draw[thick,black] (0.5,-0.5) -- (1.5,-0.5);
\draw[thick,black] (0.5,-0.5) -- (0.5,-1);
\draw[thick,black] (1.5,-0.5) -- (1.5,-1);
\draw[thick,black] (1,-0.5) -- (1,-1);
\draw[thick,black] (1,-0.5) -- (1,-1);
\node at (1,-1.5) {Christe ele- y- son.};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Conjunta 7 ($= e_b$)}


Source: Madrid BN, Vitr. 21-8: fol. cciiiiii.- Cf. MMMAe VII, p. 46 f.; Schlager: Melody 396 (G-mode); GR, p. 554 (melody transposed to the lower fourth).

Estevan: «La viia conjunta se faze quando en hfabmi cantamos por bmol & sube el canto continuamente fasta la dicha viia conjunta...»

Note: According to this rule, the 7th conjunta is possible only in chants with the key-signature of b-flat.

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\draw[thick,black] (0,0) -- (2,0) -- (2,-1) -- (0,-1) -- (0,0);
\draw[thick,black] (0.5,-0.5) -- (1.5,-0.5);
\draw[thick,black] (0.5,-0.5) -- (0.5,-1);
\draw[thick,black] (1.5,-0.5) -- (1.5,-1);
\draw[thick,black] (1,-0.5) -- (1,-1);
\draw[thick,black] (1,-0.5) -- (1,-1);
\node at (1,-1.5) {throni, do- mi-na- ti- o- nes et uir- tu- tes.};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

\textbf{Conjunta 3 ($= E_b$, «por razon de vna quarta»)}


Source: Toledo, Bibl. Capit., Ms. 52.14 (Antiphonary-Troper, 15th-16th cent.), fol. 28v-29v.- Cf. GR, p. 203 (melody transposed to the upper fifth).
Estevan: «La iiiia <conjunta> se faze por razon de vna quarta, así commo si auemos de fazer la primera conjunta, & ante que el canto descienda a la primera conjunta toca en elami...»

Note: In order to use the accidental tone $E_b$, a melodic phrase must employ the first conjunta.

Conjunta 3 ($= E_b$, «por razon de vna quinta»)

Example: Resp. Conclusit vias meas (6th mode): 'amaritudine'; 'mortis'; 'posuerunt'.

Source: Barcelona BC, M. 39 (Cantorale, 15th cent., Catalonia), fol. xxxir-xxxijr.

Estevan: «E algunas vezes esta tercer conjunta se faze por razon de alguna quinta, quando algund canto sube o desciende desde babmi fasta elami sin tocar en alamire...»
A careful study of available source material shows that the increasing use of accidental tones in Gregorian Chant as practiced at the Cathedral of Seville and other Spanish churches during the fifteenth century, found its most advanced theoretical discussion in Anonymous Seville’s treatise from 1480. Although there is a strong sense of tradition in this work which clearly identifies itself with the earlier teaching of Fernand Estevan, the modern reader will discover several additional, if not new, aspects encompassing a thorough exposure of the subject in question.

Perhaps Anonymous Seville’s detailed observations about the individual phrase design in melodies of different modal background should be mentioned first in the context of our study. These observations convey a precise knowledge of the melodic-intervallic patterns which create the need for accidental tones. The reader will learn that a chant, which leads from C to E before it descends to B, uses the third conjunta, and that the same conjunta must be employed whenever a melody with the key-signature of b-molle descends from G or F to E or D before it ascends to b. Similar rules are offered with regard to the accidental tones B (conjunta 1) and f (conjunta 7), as shown in the following illustration:

36It should be mentioned that the rules for the first, third and eighth conjunta basically derive from ESTEVAN’s Reglas, fol. 12⁷⁄₈ (ed. ESCUDERO GARCIA, p. 95 f.).
In contrast to these rules, which in traditional fashion center around the establishment of the perfect fourth and fifth, Anonymous Seville exposes the subsemitone as the principal reason for using *conjunta 4*, 6 and 8. Concerning the accidental tone $F_v$, its employment as a subsemitone is implied by either one of the following two conditions: a) that a given melody rises from $D sol re, Elami$ or $F f a u t$ to $G sol re ut$, where it forms two or three *puntos juntos a manera de fas* (= bi- or tri-punctum), b) that a melody descends from $G sol re ut$ (which forms a tri-punctum) to $Elami$ or $D sol re$\(^\text{37}\). The two melodic formulas printed here are given by Anonymous Seville as an illustration of his first rule (a):

Both formulas are clearly recognizable in the next two examples, while the third example conforms with the second rule from above:

**Conjunta 4** ($= $ subsemitone $F_v$)

Source: Barcelona BC, M. 785 (Gradual, 15th cent.), fol. lvii f.

\[^{37}\text{Cf. fol. 32}^\]: (a) “Todo canto que subiere de *desolre* o de *elami* a *gesolreut* & en aquel *gesolreut* tounge tres puntos juntos a manera de fas, tal canto se cantara por la quarta *conjunta*”; (b) “Todo canto que descindiere de *gesolreut* a *elami* o a *desolre* & en aquel *gesolreut* oviere tres puntos juntos a manera de fas, tal canto se cantara por la quarta *conjunta*.”
Source: Barcelona BC, M. 648 (Gradual, 14th cent.), fol. xv°.- Cf. *GR*, p. 57 (melody transposed to the upper fifth).


The use of c. and f. in order to create a subsemitone can be demonstrated in the following examples:

**Conjunta 6** (= subsemitone c.)

Anonymous Seville: «Todo canto que subiere de gesolreut por befa-bemi a delasolre y en aquel delasolre toviere dos o tres puntos juntos a manera de faes, sobiendo & descindiendo con aquella consonancia diapente, tal canto se cantara por la sexta conjunta»[^38].

[^38]: This and the following quotations have been taken from fol. 33° f. of ANONYMOUS SEVILLE’s text.
Conjunta 8 (= subsemitone f.)

Example 1: Ant. *In civitate domini* (7th mode): ‘clara’, etc.
Source: Toledo, Bibl. Capit., Ms. 33.5 (Breviary from the Toledo area, late 12th cent.; notated in Aquitanian neumes with dry-point line), fol. 41r. Cf. PM, p. 203.
Anonymous Seville: «Todo canto que subiere de delasolre o de elami agudo a gesolreut < & > en aquel gesolreut touiere tres puntos juntos a manera de faes [cf. Ex. 1] o punto doblado\(^5\) que es llamado alpha duplex intensum et remissum\(^6\) tonicum [cf. Ex. 2], tal canto se cantara por la octava conjunta.»

\(^5\)For an illustration of the *punto doblado* see fol. 24r, furthermore DURAN’s *Commento sobre Lux bella* (Salamanca 1498), fol. c’.

\(^6\)Concerning the terms *intensum* and *remissum*, the reader may be referred to such a late source as the *Ritual Carmelitano*, Part I (Madrid 1789), p. 59 f., where the following passage is found about the formation of cadential formulae (or *clausulas*): “...de los modos se hacen dichas Clausulas: el uno, subiendo un Punto, y baxando otro, como re, mi, re; y otro, baxando un Punto, y volviendole à subir, como re, ut, re, se llaman *Intensas*, y *Remisas*. *Intensas* son, quando baxan un Punto, y los vuelven á subir [Example: D-C\(_5\)-D; G-F\(_5\)-G], y tambièn quando suben un Punto, y lo vuelven á baxar, con tal que el Punto que sube sea fuerte no blando [D-E-D]. *Remisas* son, quando suben un Punto y le vuelven á baxar, y siempre el Punto que sube ha de ser blando, esto es, distancia de *Semitono* [a-b\(_b\)-a; E-F-E\(#\)].”

Source: Barcelona BC, M. 648, fol. clxvj.

Anonymous Seville refers to the punto doblado also in connection with *conjunta* 5. When analyzing the respective example, it becomes obvious that the accidental tone \( a_e \) is here employed as a supersemitone.\(^4\)

\(^4\)Evidently the subsemitone and supersemitone function of accidental tones is implied in the following statement of FERNAND ESTEVAN: “Item algunas vezes fazemos fa en algum mi, si el tal mi non tiene punto encima. E algumas vezes el fa fazemos mi, si el tal fa tiene punto encima, esto es subiendo” (*Regius*, fol. 13”; ed. ESCUDERO GARCIA, p. 101).
Conjunta 5 (= supersemitone $a'_s$)

Example: Resp. Conclusit vias meas (6th mode): 'contra me'.
Source: Barcelona BC, M. 39, fol. xxxii'-xxxij'. Cf. Paléographie Musicale XII, pl. 115 (melody transposed to the upper fifth).
Anonymous Seville: «Todo canto que subiere de gesolreut *alamire & en aquel *alamire toviere vn punto doblado que se llama alpha duplex intensum et remissum tonicum, tal cantó se cantara por la quinta conjunta...»

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{la-} & \text{pi-dem} & \text{con-tra} & \text{me.}
\end{align*}
\]

Our final example has been chosen to illustrate the applications of accidental tones for the purpose of beautifying a chant melody.

Conjunta 7 (= $e'_s$, «por virtud de la melodía»)

Example: Kyrie 'Christe Deus decus' (G-melody): Acclamation 7 and 9 (Kyrie eleison).
Source: El Escorial, Bibl. del Monasterio, Ms. I.II.17, fol. 376'. Cf. Landwehr-Melnicky: Melody 47.
Anonymous Seville: «... fallareys la conjunta en el setimo *kyrie & en el postrimero, avnque en estos no tienen con la regla, mas cantanse por conjunta por virtud de la melodía del canto.»

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Kirie} & \text{leyson.}
\end{align*}
\]
APPENDIX

Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya: M. 883, fol. 70'-71°

1[In]cipit quedam cartula de cantu plano.
2Et dixit: <Guido>: Qui nescit palmam, in uanum tendit ad musicam.
3Primo docendum est quod octo sunt littere graues, scilicet G, a, b, etc.; septem sunt acute, .v. superacute.
4Secundo sciatis quod xxtl sunt signa, id est .x. in linea et .x. in spatio.
5Gamaut est in linea, are in spatio, etc.
6Tertio sciatis quod septem sunt deductiones que deducunt sex uoces naturales ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, quarum tres prime sunt ascendendo, alie tres descendendo, ut docendum est in palma. 7Gamaut est prima, Cfaut secunda, Ffaut tertia, Csolfaut quarta, Csolfaut quinta, Ffaut sexta, G <solreut> septima, de quibus prima et quarta et septima gubernatur per quadrum, secunda et quinta per naturam, tertia et sexta per b molle.
8Item debetis scire quod octo sunt coniuncte, scilicet iijor inferioris et iijor superioris, quarum prima accipitur inter a et b graues, secunda inter d et e graues, tertia inter f et g graues, quarta inter g graue et a acutam, quinta inter c et d acutam, sexta inter d et e acuta, septima inter f et g acuta, octaua inter g acuta et a superacutum.
9Et debetis scire quod iste cognoscuntur per duas proprietates, id est tertia et quinta et septima signantur in prima littera ascendendo per quadratum, et habebit ibi mi. 10Omnes alie cognoscuntur, id est signantur in ultima littera ascendendo per b molle, et habebit <ibi> fa.
11Terminationes dico finales iuxta illud quod dixit metrificator:

1Qui] qui Ms. // uanum[ ] manum Ms.
4Secundo] secundo Ms.
6quarum] Quarum Ms. // in] in Ms.
8quarum] Quarum Ms. // quarta] Quarta Ms.
10Omnes] omnes Ms. // After sentence 10 the text of M. 883 continues as follows: ut apparat in pluribus locis in canto plano. scilicet in sancta et immaculata loco qui dicitur non poterant. (Since these words belong to the paragraph on coniunctae, they have been placed in their proper context in this edition. See sentence 12). Si uultis custodire duobus de causis id est inter .. (empty space) et consuetudinem sancte ecclesie. (Text deleted here because incomplete).
11Terminationes] terminationes Ms.

8Other sources using a set of eight coniunctae include the anonymous treatise from Codex Vat. lat. 5129 (ed. A. SEAY, CSM IX, p. 46 f.) and ANONYMOUS XI (ed. R.I. WINGELL, p. 28-37; CS III, p. 426a-429b).
Fines cunctorum cantor dignosce tonorum, Nam finem primi d continet atque secundi. Tertius e regitur et quarti finis habetur. Quintus in f finem, sextus quoque poscit eandem. Septimus, octauus finali g poscuntur.

Item prima coniuncta accipitur inter a et b graues, ut apparet in pluribus locis in canto plano, scilicet in Sancta et immaculata <in> loco qui dicitur 'non poterant'. Et appareat plus in E mendemus in melius in loco qui dicitur 'et miserere', ut in re <sponso> Si bona suscepi ms in loco qui dicitur 'ita factum est', et in omnibus similibus, et in antiphona A timore iminici in loco qui dicitur 'ereipe me'.

Item secunda accipitur inter d et e graui, ut apparet in responso Gaude Maria in loco qui dicitur 'interemisti'.

Item tertia accipitur inter f et g graues, ut apparet in communione Beatus servus in loco qui dicitur 'inuenerit uigilantem'.

Verse 1: Fines Ms. // cantor dignosce] cantor dico dignosce Ms. // Verse 4: sextus quoque poscit eandem Ms. // Verse 5: Septimus] septimus Ms. // The verses are followed by a short text fragment which reads: consue tidunem id est usum (cf. foott. 10).


Maria] maria Ms.

These verses are also quoted in the anonymous Art del cant pla (ed. K.W. GÜMPEL, p. 308) and the fifteenth-century Liber musicalium (CS III, p. 36a).

Resp. Sancta et immaculata (= CAO IV, No. 7569), 2nd mode: LR, p. 62 f. and 247 f.; AM, p. 1184 f.; PM, p. 38 f. See also the illustrations given by GO SCAL DUS (Treatise I, ed. O.B. ELLSWORTH, p. 54), ANON. XI, p. 30 (CS III, p. 427a), and MAGISTER SZYDLOVITA (ed. W. GIEBUROWSKI, p. 34).


Resp. Gaude Maria virgo (= CAO IV, No. 6759), 6th mode: AM, p. 1195-1197; PM, p. 146 f. (melody transposed to the upper fifth). The original version of Gaude Maria virgo can be found in Toledo, Bibl. Capit., Ms. 33.5, fol. 24°.- Cf. GOSCAL DUS, p. 58.

 Item quarta coniuncta accipitur inter $g$ graue et $a$ acutam, ut appareat in responso *Conclusit vias meas* in loco qui dicitur 'contra me', post 'uide domine' etc.

Item quinta coniuncta accipitur inter $c$ et $d$ acutam, ut appareat si uultis cantare comunionem *Beatus servus* per dyapente in loco qui dicitur 'inuenerit uigilantem'.

Item sexta coniuncta accipitur inter $d$ et $e$ acuta, ut appareat si uultis cantare *Conclusit vias meas* per dyapason in loco qui dicitur 'contra me'.

Item septima coniuncta accipitur inter $f$ et $g$ acuta, ut appareat in officio *Adorate deum* in loco qui dicitur 'deum', uel *Adorate deum* in loco qui dicitur 'in conspectu', uel in *Hodie Maria uirgo*.

Item octaua coniuncta accipitur inter $g$ acuta et $a$ superacuta, ut appareat si uultis cantare *Conclusit vias meas* per dyapason in loco qui dicitur 'contra me'.

Et debetis scire quod plura alia exempla similia sunt in cantu plano, sed predicta sufficient.

Et iterato debetis scire quod nemo potest cantare perfecte organum sine predictis coniunctis.

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18 Comm. *Beatus servus* ('per dyapente'): see fo. 16 of this edition; *Anon.* XI, p. 35 (CS III, p. 428b).


20 Grad. *Dirigatur oratio mea*, 7th mode: *GR*, p. 90 f Ant. *Hodie Maria celos ascendit* (= *CAO* III, No. 3015), 8th mode: *AR*, p. 693; *AM*, p. 1018. The coniuncta $f^4$ (on 'Maria' and 'celos') comes about when the melody is sung at the upper fifth: see *ANON.* XI, p. 36 (CS III, p. 429a), and SZYDLOVITA, p. 38. FERNAND ESTEYAN relates the transposed form of *Hodie Maria* to a Parisian practice (''segund costunbre de Paris''). *Reglas*, fol. 11°, ed. ESCUDERO GARCIA, p. 93.

21 Resp. *Conclusit vias meas* ('per dyapason'): see fo. 17.
Et debetis scire, ut dixit Guido, quod secundum istas salvatur omnis cantus qui irregularis appelatur. Vocatur irregularis, quando non terminatur in supradictis litteris. Et omnia ista potestis uidere in sequentibus exemplis, ut patet post.

[fol. 71] Incipiunt litterae graues, acute et superacute, regule, notule, claues id est graue et acutum, proprietates scilicet b molle et quadratum. Et per istas dimittitur maius spatium et minus spatium et ascensus proprius tocius palme, ut patet.

24 Et] et Ms.
25 Vocatur] vocatur Ms.
26 Et] et Ms.
27 notule] notale Ms.
28 Et] et Ms.

A similar statement, without ascription to GUIDO, can be found in the first treatise of GOSCALDUS: "Et propteram invente furent ipse coniuncte ut cantus antedictus irregularis per cas ad regularitatem quodammodo duci posset" (ed. ELLSWORTH, p. 50).