picture of the Word of God confounding each of the seven liberal arts in turn. 'Quis sit modus ligature' ('What is the mode of ligature?' asks the poem in its sixth stanza devoted to music which ends: 'Stupet sui fracto iure / Musica proportio' [Musical proportion stands amazed at the breaking of its own law]). The piece is transmitted in twenty sources, of which three are preserved with monophonic music.[94] Strangely, the version in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 only gives the first of seven stanzas, although the copying of the refrain suggests that the scribe understood that it was multistanzaic even if he was unable to find a source for the poetry of the remaining six. The music is as impressive as the poetry: the musico-poetic discourse encompasses a complex neumatic structure with each stanza prefaced by an impressive melisma.

Alan's single *conductus* is related to a larger repertory via the rhymed paraphrase of his *Anticlaudianus* by Adam de la Bassée, as well as by his interest, via his *De planctu naturae*, in the mixed form that will be so important in the discussions of the aesthetic of the polyphonic *conductus* in Chapter 5. Adam de la Bassée's *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* includes thirty-eight Latin compositions, all but one of which are monophonic.[95] About half have known sources for what are clearly *contrafacta* and are so identified in the unique manuscript for the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*, Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, 316 (hereafter *F-Lm* 316); it may be assumed that the rest are new compositions for which Adam was probably the author and quite possibly the composer as well. But these are very late contributions to the tradition given that the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* dates from between 1279 and Adam's death in 1286. In keeping with such a late date, the notation of the single manuscript is mensural, with *longae* and *breves* being clearly differentiated.

Almost a century earlier, Peter of Blois contributed a number of poems that figure in the *conductus* repertory. Problems of attribution abound here, but a reasonably conservative judgement attributes the poetry of six *conducti* to him.[96] Three of these are monophonic, and found in the tenth

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94 St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 1397, p. 21; St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 382, p. 87/86; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 444r.

95 Paul Bayart (ed.), *Adam de la Bassée (d.1286): Ludus super Anticlaudianum d'après le manuscrit original conservé à la Bibliothèque Municipale de Lille publié avec une introduction et des notes* (Tourcoing: Georges Frère Imprimeur, 1930).

96 Peter Dronke, 'Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II', *Medieval Studies* 28 (1976) 185–235; *R* in *The Medieval Poet and His World*, Storia e letteratura: raccolta di *Studi e Testi* 164 (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1984) 281–340. R. W. Southern, 'The Necessity for Two Peters of Blois', *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. Lesley Janette Smith (London: Continuum, 1992) 103–114 is a critical contribution to Peter of Blois's

Example 1.2(a and b) Comparison of opening melismas of *'A globo veteri' and *'Olim sudor Herculis'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 446v and fol. 417r

fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. 'Vitam duxi iocundam sub amore' is a simple strophic *conductus* that rarely exploits more than three notes in ligature to a single syllable.[97] Both *'A globo veteri' and *'Olim sudor Herculis' are more ambitious pieces.[98] *'Olim sudor Herculis' develops a structure out of four pairs of stanzas each of which shares the same music while *'A globo veteri', although somewhat similar, lacks the even-numbered stanzas in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. Both begin their first stanzas with embryonic melismas whose scope is worth noting (Example 1.2).

In both cases, a melisma consisting of a single note followed by a group of ligatures yields to a strictly syllabic presentation of the next words in the poem. The only difference is that *'Olim sudor Herculis' does not repeat the opening syllable after the melisma, which is conventional in the repertory, both monophonic and polyphonic and clearly visible in *'A globo veteri'.[99] Like 'Vitam duxi iocundam sub amore', these

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biography but does not affect the work list. For a rare account of the music to Peter's *conducti*, see Lyndsey Michelle Thornton, 'Musical Characteristics of the Songs Attributed to Peter of Blois (c. 1135–1211)' (MMus diss., State University of Florida, 2007). See also Thomas B. Payne, 'Peter of Blois', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, consulted 10 October 2016; www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40524.

[97] Unique in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 429v–430r.

[98] The music to *'A globo veteri' is found only in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1; the poetry also in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4550 (hereafter *D-Mbs* clm 4660), fols. 26r–26v and *GB-Lbl* Arundel 248, fols. 233v. *'Olim sudor Herculis' is more widely distributed. For its music, see *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 417r–417v; *GB-Ob* Auct. VI.Q.3.17, fols. 16 ext. b; 19 ext. a; 21 ext. a; Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 1.17 (hereafter *GB-Cu* Ff. 1.17), fol. 7r (300r); for its poetry: *D-Mbs* 4660, fols. 23v–24r; *GB-Ob* Add. A. 44, fol. 70r; Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 344 (hereafter *I-Rvat* Reg. Lat. 344, fols. 36r–36v.

[99] Such a convention has been taken as axiomatic for as long as the genre has been under scholarly scrutiny. A recently discovered source, Salamanca, Universidad, Archivo y Biblioteca, 226, however, provides incontrovertible evidence that such assumptions are indeed warranted. See Gregorio Bevilacqua, '*Conductus* or Motet? A New Source and a Question of Genre', *Proceedings of Conference: The Gothic Revolution in Music, 1100–1300, Musica disciplina* 58 (2013) 9–27.

two *conducti* exploit a very restricted rhythmic palette, rarely using ligatures at all, only very occasionally ligatures of more than two notes. 'Veneris prosperis', despite being in two parts, has none of the *caudae* of *'A globo veteri' and *'Olim sudor Herculis', although its rhythmic range is a little more ambitious. *'A globo veteri' is also found in *D-Mbs* clm 4660;[100] so too are two of the *conducti* with poetry attributed to Peter of Blois that have no real contact with the central Notre-Dame sources. These are 'Dum iuventus floruit' and 'Vacillantis trutine', and the latter is also found in the collection known as the 'Later Cambridge Songs' *GB-Cu* Ff. I. 17.[101]

More or less contemporary with Peter of Blois's efforts, Walter of Châtillon's eight poems made a much more direct contribution to the poetry of the *conductus*. He was a pedagogue and also *notarius* and *orator* in the retinue of William of Champagne, Archbishop of Reims; he may also have served in the chancery of Henry II.[102] The eight poems discussed here are those for which music survives; there is a wider repertory of *conductus* poetry without music that may have originally been provided.[103] Unlike Adam de la Bassée's achievements, which appear not to have been emulated beyond the manuscript *F-Lm* 316, Walter of Châtillon's poetry served as the basis for a wide range of compositions. Four of the eight are monodies: 'Dum medium silentium tenerent', 'Ecce torpet probitas', 'Frigescente caritatis' and 'Licet eger cum egrotis', survive either with monophonic music or – most often – simply as poetry, but

[100] Fols. 26r–26v.

[101] Fols. 1r–1v. The claim that *'Vite perdite me legi' is by Peter of Blois had already been rejected as an attribution before it was analysed as one of his compositions in Susan Rankin, 'Taking the Rough with the Smooth: Melodic Versions and Manuscript Status', *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot Fassler and Rebecca Baltzer (Oxford, etc.: Oxford University Press, 2000) 219–220; the shelfmark for one of the concordances is incorrect: *D-Mbs* clm 4880 should read *D-Mbs* clm 4660. For the rejection of *'Vite perdite me legi' from the Peter of Blois canon, see Dronke, 'Peter of Blois', 317.

[102] See Thomas B. Payne, 'Walter von Châtillon', *Die Musk in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd edn., ed. Ludwig Finscher, 26 vols. (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1994–2007) 17:428–430.

[103] Walter's poetic works are edited, and their attributions discussed, in Karl Strecker (ed.), *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer*, Die Gedichte Walters von Châtillon 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925); Strecker (ed.), *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon aus deutschen, englischen, französischen und italienischen Handschriften*, Die Gedichte Walters von Châtillon [2] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929); André Wilmart, 'Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville', *Revue bénédictine* 49 (1937) 121–169 and 322–365. Several of Wilmart's attributions (including those for all of the poetry that survive with music) have been challenged in Dronke, 'Peter of Blois', passim, who prefers an attribution to Philip the Chancellor.

poem consists of three pairs of stanzas: the first exchange of two eleven-line, the second of two six-line ones and the final exchange of two stanzas of five lines. *'Quo vadis quo progrederis', by contrast consists of two identically structured stanzas, one each for the Body and Soul.[56] Whether Anderson is correct in assuming that there must have been a third stanza that rationalised the two views is an open question; there was no attempt at such summary in *'Homo natus ad laborem tui status'.[57]

Equally distant from any of the larger groups of poetic types mapped out in Table 2.3 is such a work as *'Artium dignitas', which laments the decline in the regard of the liberal arts (which are emblematically displayed in the historiated initial 'A' that emboldens the beginning of this *conductus* in its reading in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1).[58] The lament centres on a diatribe against those scholars whose 'greatest desire is to be pointed out by the fingers of the crowd' ('Et vulgi digito / Monstari cupiunt'), whose errors of modern doctrine have rendered worthless the dignity of the *artes* ('Moderne vitio / Doctrine viluit'). This concern for the health of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, which could have been expressed at any time from antiquity to the present, contrasts strikingly with such a *conductus* as *'Qui servare puberem', which takes as its opening conceit the idea that anyone who seeks to save a young harlot from sinning is wasting his time, an idea that is sustained through all three stanzas of the poem.[59] Or again, distant from both *'Artium dignitas' and *'Qui servare puberem' is *'Olim sudor Herculis', whose text is an account of the author's resistance to love, based on an account of the labours of Hercules.

*'Olim sudor Herculis' is a refrain song with eight stanzas that serves as the basis for an elaborate, through-composed (four double stanzas) monophonic *conductus*. Example 2.4 is the opening stanza and the refrain.

The first thing to notice here is the careful way in which the refrain repeats the pair of words 'deflorere' and 'fama' from the first stanza and thus prolongs the sense of 'withered fame' as a consequence of love throughout the poem (there is no musical correspondence between stanza

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Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, 2777 (hereafter *D-DS* 2777), fol. 3r, give the text of stanzas 1, 3 and 5 – in other words, exclusively the stanzas that deal with the corporeal.

[56] *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 428v; *D-DS* 2777, fol. 4r, preserves the first stanza of the poem only.

[57] Anderson (ed.), *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, 6:xlviii, note 5.

[58] The historiated initial is on fol. 349r; there is a reproduction in Rebecca A. Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972) 7; other sources for the work are *D-W* 628, fols. 108r–108v and (the poetry alone) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 510 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510), fol. 237r.

[59] For a fuller discussion of *'Qui servare puberem', see Chapter 6 and the sources cited there.

Olim sudor Herculis,	Once Hercules' labours shone, crushing monsters far and
Monstra late conterens,	wide, removing the world's far flung plagues with
Pestes orbis auferens,	famous titles.
Claris longe titulis	
E nituit;	
Sed tandem defloruit	But at length that erstwhile glorious fame withered, and
Fama prius celebris,	Alcides was made captive, enclosed in the blind
Cecis clausa tenebris,	darkness of enticing Iole.
Ioles illecebris	
Alcide captivato.	
[Refrain]	[Refrain]
Amor fame meritum	Love withers the merits of fame;
Deflorat,	
Amans tempus perditum	A lover never laments lost time
Non plorat,	
Sed temere	But rashly labours with Venus to waste it.
Difflue re	
Sub Venere	
Laborat.	

Example 2.4 Text and translation of *'Olim sudor Herculis', stanza 1 and refrain

and refrain here). Hercules' labours are also picked up, although not verbatim, in the last line of the refrain, and form the basis of the content of stanzas two to five as follows (the labours are numbered in parentheses, and *parerga* (deeds that fall outside the canon of twelve labours) indicated by (P)) (Example 2.5).

Stanza 2:	Slays the Hydra (2)
	Holds up the world for Atlas (P)
Stanza 3:	Slays Cacus (P)
	Slays Nessus (P)
	Steals Geryon's cattle (10)
	Captures Cerberus (12)
Stanza 4:	Steals the apples of the Hesperides (11)
	Wrestles with Achelous (P)
	Slays the Nemean lion (1)
	Captures the Erymanthian boar (4)
	Steals the horses of Diomedes (8)
Stanza 5:	Fights Anteus (P)

Example 2.5 Analysis of *'Olim sudor Herculis' against labours of Hercules

As early as the very first stanza, Hercules' undoing by his love for Iole is clearly marked, and this is of course emphasised by the recurring refrain. But the subsequent stanzas also juxtapose the formal narration of his labours with his amorous fallibility; the only exception is the very densely packed fourth stanza where there is simply no room to project the opposition between Hercules' labours and his weakness in love. This ends with stanza 6, which summarises the opposition, and the two remaining stanzas switch to an authorial first person to make the claim that the author would not succumb to the temptation of love in the same way as Hercules.

The last stanza of *'Olim sudor Herculis' makes no reference to the mythology of Hercules but to Lycoris, the very real mistress of Gaius Cornelius Gallus, the Roman poet, friend of Virgil and Prefect of Egypt. She figures three times in the tenth of Virgil's *Eclogues* (2, 22 and 42), which is dedicated to Gallus, and she is also found – almost miraculously – among the tiny fragments of Gallus's poetry that survive today.[60] Whether the author of the *conductus* poem is referring to Gallus, Virgil or is making a more allusive reference to the character is not clear. Given the medieval knowledge of Virgil, the reference here is most likely to the tenth *Eclogue*. This analysis of *'Olim sudor Herculis' has demonstrated the difference between the subject of the poem – the resistance to love – and the sources that might be used to articulate that subject: here, the labours of Hercules and a passing reference to Virgil. It serves as a point of departure as this chapter turns from the subjects of *conductus* poetry to the sources on which they depend.

The largest fields of reference within the repertory of *conductus* poetry are the biblical, the patristic, the classical and the mythological. Current purchase on these intertextual references varies widely. For example, reference to the Bible and to mythology is reasonably well controlled and most references in these fields well documented.[61] References to patristic texts are almost certainly not as well understood; indications from such texts as the *Glossa ordinaria* and other similar works are found in the critical commentaries to existing editions, but this is a fraction of the

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[60] R. D. Anderson, P. J. Parsons and R. G. M. Nisbet, 'Elegiacs by Gallus from Qasr Ibrim', *Journal of Roman Studies* 69 (1979) 125–155; the lyric in question is ibid., 128.

[61] The principal source for this material consists of the commentaries to the editions of poetry contained in the various volumes of Anderson (ed.), *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*. It is not clear where the responsibility for this significant level of work lies. Anderson cites the assistance of one of his colleagues at the University of New England, Alan Treloar in general in vol. 1 and for specific help in vol. 2, but it is unclear where the work on identifying all the references in the poetry sprang.

total material.[62] Most of this work was carried out in the 1960s and 1970s or before, and the increased availability of digital copies of printed editions of patristic texts from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries has enlarged the range of patristic texts out of all recognition. Much the same could be said for the control over literary and technical texts from classical antiquity beyond a handful of household names.[63]

However incomplete modern access to the range of intertexts in the repertory of *conductus* poetry, it is possible to distinguish four types of deployment: *verbatim* quotation, lexical exchange, paraphrase and allusion. All four types are visible in the following example, the *conductus* *'Dic Christi veritas' (Example 2.6).[64]

The example gives the text of the poem, a translation and indications of the literary sources on which it depends.

*'Dic Christi veritas' is a melismatic, strophic *conductus* whose three structurally identical stanzas merge a search for charity (whose words occupy the entire second stanza) with an attack on the papal curia. The poet asks where charity is found and proposes a number of negative answers – on Pharaoh's throne, with Nero, and so on – and ends with the suggestion of Rome with its *bulla fulminante*. Charity replies with a series of confirmations – not in court in fine linen, or in a cell with a monastic cowl, and especially not in a papal bull; she locates her presence in the character of the victim in the Parable of the Good Samaritan. The final stanza, reverting again to the voice of the poet, invokes other acts of transgression or hypocrisy, ranging from Nathan's denunciation of David's murder of Uriah and adultery with his widow to two of Christ's denunciations of Pharisees.

All three stanzas follow a similar pattern in that they begin with a group of lines (4, 8 and 4, respectively) that make a vocative address to other protagonists in the poem, in which no intertextual reference is made. The second section of each stanza is then saturated with various type of reference to other sources, using exactly the four types of deployment

[62] The edition of the so-called *Glossa ordinaria* used by Anderson is Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Walafradi Strabi fuldensis monachi opera omnia*, 2 vols., Patrologiae cursus completus 113–114 (Paris: Garnier and Migne, 1879). The attribution to Walfredus Strabo is erroneous.

[63] As an adjunct to Everist and Bevilacqua, '*Cantum pulcriorem invenire*: Latin Poetry and Song, 1160–1330', 2012, consulted 26 February 2016; http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk, a subsequent project developed a tool that allowed all of the poetry edited in the original *Cantum pulcriorem invenire* database to be mapped onto all the big data preserved at large to identify further concordances between conductus poetry and other texts. See Everist and Bevilacqua, 'Medieval Music, Big Data, and the Research Blend'.

[64] Various aspects of *'Dic Christi veritas' are also discussed in Chapters 1, 4, 7 and 8.

Example 8.2 Comparision of openings of *'Olim sudor Herculis' and 'Excuset que vim intulit'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 417r and 419r

constitutes the melodic origin of the network, but exactly how the rest of the tradition interrelates is opaque: the *conductus* tenors could originate independently either from the Blondel or Gautier *chansons*, or one could be a copy of another entirely separately from the *trouvère* tradition. For the purposes of this discussion, however, the idea that this group of pieces represent some sort of intertextual exchange exclusively within the *conductus* repertory is weak at best. This constellation of *conducti* and *chansons* will be discussed in the context of the relationship between the *conductus* and vernacular traditions.

Three pairs of *conducti* share the same openings. The two monophonic *conducti* *'Olim sudor Herculis' and 'Excuset que vim intulit' begin in similar ways. The comparison is entirely plausible (Example 8.2).[12]

This correspondence might be thought to suggest some sort of *emulatio* on the part of one musician. Both texts are found in *GB-Ob* Add. A. 44,[13] and the works are copied only a few folios apart in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[14] *'Olim sudor Herculis' is more widely distributed, which might suggest that this is the more famous model to which 'Excuset que vim intulit' is a creative response.[15] In a context of three-voice writing, 'Legis in volumine' shares the opening of its music in all three parts with 'Veris ad imperia'; again, the correspondence is short but convincing, and again both works are copied

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[12] Manfred Bukofzer, 'Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula', *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953) 98, note 3.

[13] Fol. 70r (*'Olim sudor Herculis') and fol. 130v ('Excuset que vim intulit').

[14] Fols. 417r–417v (*'Olim sudor Herculis') and fols. 419r–419v ('Excuset que vim intulit').

[15] *'Olim sudor Herculis' is also found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. VI.Q.3.17, fols. 16 ext. b; 19 ext. a; 21 ext. a and in Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 1. 17, fol. 7r. Its text is also in Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 344, fols. 36Ar– 36Av and *D-Mbs* clm 4660, fols. 23v–24v.