CONDUCTUS OR MOTET?
A NEW SOURCE AND A QUESTION OF GENRE

GREGORIO BEVILACQUA

Around the year 1300, the French theorist Johannes de Grocheo made an exceptional attempt to describe and classify all the musical forms in use in the city of Paris. The task was a challenging one, and Johannes was well aware of this, since he opened his categorization as follows:

> Nobis vero non est facile musicam dividere recte, eo quod in recta divisione membra dividentia debent totam naturam totius divisi evacuare.[1]
>
> [*It is not easy for us to classify music properly, for in a correct classification the divided elements must cover the full nature of the whole thing divided.*]

Some of the genres he mentioned were already a hundred years old at the time. Thus, although he himself, much closer to the Ars Antiqua, found it difficult to classify genres, his statement must still be an essential guide for the musicologist who tries to deal with a repertoire now seven centuries old. Such a consideration is particularly appropriate when it comes to the Ars Antiqua genres of the conductus and motet. It is not a case that, to borrow Mark Everist's words, 'definitions of the conductus that seek to explain the entire genre seem doomed to failure.'[2] The difference between the two types of compositions is essentially clear for a great part of the repertoire, consisting in the fact that a conductus is not based on pre-existing material, while a motet is founded on measured bits of plainchant. Yet, some pieces exist that fail to fall into either of these standard categories, displaying uncommon features or being transmitted in different sources with different layouts—although usually conducti were copied in score, while motets had their parts written separately.

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1. Johannes de Grocheo, *De musica*, in Rohloff, *Der Musiktraktat*, 48.
2. Mark Everist, "Reception and Recomposition," 135.

Both conducti[3] and motets are transmitted in the so-called Notre Dame sources, the thirteenth-century large manuscripts today in the libraries of Wolfenbüttel, Florence and Madrid.[4] A significant number of minor sources and fragments preserves part of the repertoire and contributes to its understanding. It is common to find a series of discrepancies between different transmissions of the same piece, and this may happen on several levels: pitch, rhythm, text, and so on. It also occurs that a manuscript transmits a conductus while another source presents the same composition as a motet. This generic swap may be considered as one of the levels of discrepancies of transmission, and it is also an important aspect that characterizes the "Gothic Revolution." The resulting question of genre definition is relevant for the study of the manuscript examined in this article: this source, almost unknown in the literature, provides valuable information about the interaction of motet and conductus in a single source.

The manuscript Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria (E-SAu), Ms. 226 is a thirteenth-century parchment codex that preserves five Ars Antiqua pieces on its closing bifolio (see Figure 1).[5] An incomplete copy of the biblical summary *Historia scholastica* occupies the preceding ninety-nine folios. This theological work, unattributed in the manuscript, was written by Petrus dictus Comestor, chancellor of Notre Dame of Paris in the 1160s.[6] The source must have been in Salamanca at least since 1457, as it is listed in Juan Alfonso de Segovia's donation of books to the university of that city.[7] When and where this Spanish theologian acquired the book remains open to question: in fact, Segovia spent the early ears of the fifteenth-century studying and teaching theology at the University of Salamanca, and then took part (as a representa-

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3. The plural for the Latin word *conductus* appears in medieval sources as belonging to both second (*conducti*) and fourth (*conductus*) declensions. The theorist known as Anonymous 4 used both forms indifferently; see for instance his *Musica* in Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I, 46 ("Fecit [Magister Perotinus] etiam triplices conductus ut *Salvatoris hodie* ...") and 82 ("Et plura alia volumina reperiuntur secundum diversitates ordinationum cantus et melodiae sicut simplices conducti ...").

4. The four thirteenth-century manuscripts are W_1, W_2, F, and Ma. Manuscript abbreviations and published facsimiles are cited in the General Bibliography, at the end of this volume.

5. For a short physical description of the manuscript see Óscar Lilao Franca and Carmen Castrillo Gonzales, *Catálogo de manuscritos*, 183–84. I wish to thank Mark Everist and Eva Maschke for having brought this source to my attention. I also owe my gratitude to Óscar Lilao Franca for having so kindly provided me with digital images of Ms. 226.

6. See Maria C. Sherwood-Smith, *Studies in the Reception*, 1–2.

7. This document is edited in Beningno Hernández Montes, ed., *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia*, 75–115: a reference to Ms. 226 as "Ystorie scholastice" is found at p. 86.

tive of John II of Castile) in the Council of Basel from 1433 to 1449, travelling through Switzerland, Germany and France.[8] He may have come into possession of Ms. 226 during this period, given that the manuscript does not seem to be of Spanish provenance. In fact, the *Historia scholastica*, distributed in two columns, is written in a heavily abbreviated cursive gothic hand known as *littera parisiensis*, a script that was mainly used for scholastic texts in Paris and northern Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[9] The kind of script used for the music, although by a different hand, displays the same characteristics.

The notation found in the manuscript definitely rules out Spain as a possible geographic provenance of the source: the scribe notated the music with diastematic Messine neumes. This is not the Aquitanian notation one would expect from a Spanish source, nor is it the square notation usually adopted in the Notre Dame manuscripts.[10] On this basis, it seems likely that Ms. 226 was compiled somewhere in the northeastern area of France.[11] The last bifolio, where music is copied, does not seem to be a later addition: the pieces occupy only its internal part (fols. 100*v*–101*r*), while the external leaves (fols. 100*r* and 101*v*) display a series of notes written in different hands and scripts that date variously in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although some are now illegible, the subject of these notes is exclusively theological.[12] Two other similar notes appear in the music section: an uniden-

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8. See Klaus Reinhardt, "Johannes von Segovia."

9. See Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 100. I wish to thank Cesarino Ruini (Unversità di Bologna) for his help with the palaeographic aspects of Ms. 226.

10. See Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval en España*, 124. Gómez Muntané defines the notation used in Ms. 226 as "lorena evolucionada."

11. For the geographical distribution of Messine (also known as Laon and Lorraine) notation, see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 349–51.

12. Among the above mentioned notes, I have identified the following at fol. 100*r*: "Solima, Luza, Bethel, Hierosolima, Jebus, Elia, Urbs sacra, Hierusalem dicitur atque Salem" (*Genesis* 28, 19); "[Nihil] nostrum est in eis, nisi quod peccamus amantes Ordine neglecto pro te, quod conditur abs te" (Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 15, 22); "Expedit infirmis, licet absque dolo, sine lite, prelatisque licet, non expedit anachorite: non licet ut per eum sint res in iure petite," (Petrus de Scala, *Lectura super Matthaeum*, 5, 9); "Qui sacra verum dant vel pro sacris pretium dant …" (lines from a poem on simony found in F-Pm, 3875, a fourteenth-century manuscript): see Morton Wilfred Bloomfield et al., *Incipits of Latin Works*, no. 4626. According to Lilao Franca and Castrillo Gonzales, fol. 101*v* (illegible in digital reproduction) presents some notes on the Ages of the World ("notas sobre las edades del mundo"): see their *Catálogo de manuscritos*, 184).

Figure 1a. E-SAu, Biblioteca General Universitaria, Ms. 226, fol. 100v. (With permission of the University of Salamanca, Spain.)

Figure 1b. E-SAu, Biblioteca General Universitaria, Ms. 226, fol. 101r. (With permission of the University of Salamanca, Spain.)

tified excerpt is copied in a fourteenth-century hand above a staff,[13] while a fifteenth century note seems to quote St. Augustine.[14] It thus seems that theologians or theology students handled Ms. 226, including its last bifolio, since relatively early in the lifetime of the manuscript. The last leaves seem to have always been part of the manuscript: they display the same dry ruling as the previous section, and it might well be the case that the music was copied quite soon after Comestor's copy was completed. Juan de Segovia probably acquired the volume with the last bifolio already in it.

Table 1 lists the contents and concordances of Ms. 226. The first four pieces transmitted are monophonic *conducti*, while the fifth and last is a two-part Latin motet. The choice, and order in which the scribe copied these pieces, does not seem casual: in fact, the first three are on texts by Philip the Chancellor, while *Qui servare puberem*, whose text is a somewhat cryptic criticism of harlots and corruption of the flesh, forms a kind of oxymoron with the following *Serena virginum*, a Marian text focused on the value of chastity. Gordon Anderson tentatively attributed this last poem to Philip,[15] and it has been recently included in Thomas Payne's edition of the Chancellor's motets and prosulas.[16] It seems plausible to me that even *Qui servare puberem* could be ascribed to the Parisian Chancellor: in fact, the vocabulary of this poem is reminiscent of other works certainly attributed to Philip.[17] This would suggest a consistency in the choice of compositions made by the scribe of Ms. 226 in his collection.

The small repertory of Ms. 226 consists mainly of syllabic monodies: the only melismatic piece copied in the bifolio is *Dic Christi veritas*, which is found in the so-called central sources as a polyphonic *conductus cum caudis*. The Salamanca version preserves the tenor part only, but its transmission does not follow the Notre Dame tradition of the piece (an attitude common—to different degrees—to the other compositions found in the manuscript, as I will show later). Example 1 shows the first fifteen ternary longs of the tenor part as found in *F*, compared with the monophonic transmission of Ms. 226.

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13. Ms. 226, fol. 101r: "Rex noster quem audivimus in monte non sum dignus."

14. Ibid. The writing is not completely clear but it seems possible to read something close to "…holocarpoma, id est, holocaustum quod ignis consumpserit…" (Augustine, *Quaestiones in Leviticum*, 9).

15. See Gordon Athol Anderson, *The Latin Compositions*, II, viii.

16. See Thomas Payne, *Philip the Chancellor*, 146–54.

17. See David A. Traill, "More Poems by Philip the Chancellor," 64–81.

Table 1. Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 226: contents and concordances.

Ms. 226	Concordances
fol. 100*v: Quid ultra tibi* [K17; 288],* text by Philip the Chancellor, 1pt	*F,* fol. 423*r,* 1pt A-Wn 883, fol. 76*r,* text only D-DS 2777, fols. 4*r,* 91*r,* text only D-W Guelf. 7 Helmst., fol. . 2*v,* text only E-Mp II.1022, fol. 100*v,* text only F-CV 190, fol. 159*v,* text only F-LYm 623, fol. 142*r,* text only F-Pa 413, fol. 176*v,* text only F-Pn fr. 146, fol. 6*v,* text of two stanzas used for quadruplum in a 4pt motet F-Pn lat. 14970, fol. 69*r,* text only F-Pn NAL 1544, fol. 104*v,* text only F-Pn NAL 1742, fol. 302*v,* text only F-Ps 184, fol. 92*v,* text only GB-LIc 103, fol. 1*v,* text only GB-Ob Add. 44, fol. 129*v,* text only I-Rvat Ottob. Lat. 3081, fol. 71*v,* text only
fol. 100*v: Dic Christi veritas* [C3; 94], text by Philip the Chancellor, 1pt	*F,* fols. 203*r*-204*r,* 3pt *Ma,* fols. 114*r*-115*r,* 2pt *W1,* fols. 73*r* (66*r*)-73*v* (66*v*), 3pt *W2,* fols. 33*r*-34*v,* 3pt CH-EN 1003, fol. 114*v,* 1pt neumes D-Bds lat. 312, fol. 5*v,* text only D-F Fragm.lat.VI.41, fols. A*r*-A*v,* 3pt D-Mbs Clm. 4660, 54*r,* 1pt neumes D-Sl HB I Asc. 95, fols. 31*v*-32*r,* 1pt neumes GB-Lbl Egerton 2615, fols. 88*v*-89*r,* 3pt I-Rc 1404, fol. 15*v,* text only
fol. 100*v: Bonum est confidere* [K37; 50], text by Philip the Chancellor, 1pt	*F,* fols. 430*r*-430*v,* 1pt D-Mbs Clm. 4660, fols. 3*r*-3*v,* text only D-DS 2777, fol. 3*v,* text only E-BUlh s.n., fols. 157*r*-157*v,* 1pt GB-Ob Add. 44, fol. 62*v,* text only
fol. 101*r: Qui servare puberem* [A6; 285], 1pt	*F,* fols. 381*v*-382*r,* 3pt motet *Ma,* fols. 128*r*-128*v,* 2pt *W1,* fols. 115*r* (106*r*)-115*v* (106*v*), 2pt D-BWolf s.s., fol. 6*v,* 1pt GB-Ob Add. 44, fols. 79*v*-80*r,* text only GB-Ob Rawl. C.510, fol. 18*v,* text only
fol. 101*r: Serena virginum* [A1; 323], 2pt motet	*F,* fols. 235*r*-237*v,* 4pt motet *Ma,* fols. 119*v*-122*r,* 2pt *W1,* fols. 13*r* (9*r*)-15*r* (11*r*), 3pt *W2,* fols. 165*v*-167*v,* 2pt (duplum with text *Manere vivere*) A-Gu 409, fol. 72*v,* 1pt neumes

* Here and elsewhere, I indicate in square brackets the standard catalog numbers of *conducti* as given respectively in Gordon Athol Anderson, "Notre-Dame and Related Conductus," and Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus.*

Example 1. Two versions of the first fifteen ternary longs of the tenor of
Dic Christi veritas.
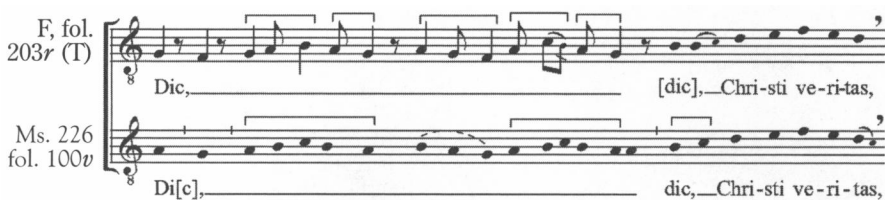
Three differences are quite evident: 1) although the melody in Ms. 226
is still recognizable as the one given in *F*, pitches do not always match (the
entire first cauda is a step higher in Ms. 226 than in *F* (and throughout the
piece such transpositions appear here and there); 2) the notation of melis-
matic passages in Ms. 226 does not permit of any specific rhythmic interpre-
tation, as ligatures are not organized according to the system of rhythmic
modes as they are in *F*; and 3) when the *cum littera* section in Ms. 226 begins,
the syllable that was sung on a melisma (*dic*) is copied once again under the
staff and is therefore meant to be repeated by the performer. This is an almost
unique witness to such practice, since not many other sources of *conducti cum
caudis* testify to it,[18] although some modern editors have conjectured this
custom by putting such syllables in brackets when transcribing this music.[19]
Even those sources that do not show the repetition of syllables seem to corrob-
orate such interpretation: in fact, when a cauda opens a piece or the beginning
of a verse on the first syllable of the text, the second syllable usually appears
only under the second note of the *cum littera* section, suggesting that the first
note after the cauda, should be sung repeating the first syllable of text already
copied at the beginning of the melisma.[20]

As far as the other pieces are concerned, all—with the exception of
Bonum est confidere—are notated at a pitch different from that found in other
sources: *Quid ultra tibi* and *Qui servare puberem* are a fourth lower than other
versions, while the duplum in *Serena virginum* is lowered by a fifth.[21]

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18. Another example of this practice may be mentioned: in the so-called Worcester
fragments (GB-WOc, Additional 68, fragm. XIX, fol. A2*v*), where the conductus *Salve rosa
florum* [Anderson 048], repeats the first syllable *Sal-* after the initial melisma.

19. See Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame ... Opera omnia*; and Ethel Thurston, ed., *The
Conductus Collections*. On the contrary, this solution is not adopted in Janet Knapp, *Thirty-five
Conductus*, or Hans Tischler, *The Earliest Polyphonic Art Music*.

20. See Thurston, *The Conductus*, vol. 1, 15.

21. This obviously affects the polyphony, since—on the contrary—the tenor is not
transposed. This issue will be discussed further in the article.

Such "looseness" is not limited to matters of pitch and rhythm, but (when one comes to the last two pieces in the source) embeds generic issues that are not exclusive to Ms. 226. *Qui servare puberem* and *Serena viginum/Manere* appear in Ms. 226 respectively as a monophonic conductus and a two-part motet. They do not seem problematic at all, if one considers the Salamanca transmission only, but when the entire tradition is taken into account a question arises: are these two compositions to be considered as conducti or motets? Looking at Table 1, it is clear that the question will not be easily answered, as the situation appears to be quite confusing.

In general, a conductus is a song in one to four parts, not based on pre-existing material, and setting Latin rhythmic poetry to music; for polyphonic conducti, Notre Dame sources usually have the text copied just once under the tenor, with all parts in score. A motet instead is always a polyphonic composition originating, in its early stage, from a chant-based discant clausula, thus adopting no regular poetic structures, and it may be polytextual and multilingual; generally, all parts are written separately with their texts (although the tenor usually bears only a syllable or a single word from the plainchant). These assumptions are based 1) on a handful of statements that can be found in the works of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century music theorists; and 2) on the layout of the main Ars Antiqua sources, which tend not only to assign specific formats to particular genres, but also to devote specific sections to certain types of compositions. Yet, not every composition can be placed into a standard category, and occupy a sort of "grey area." *Qui servare puberem* and *Serena virginum* fall into this area of hybridity and ambiguity: both originated from the texted dupla of two-part clausulae, therefore their texts are free poetic structures.

The clausula source for *Qui servare puberem* is found both in *W₁* and *F*:[22] its tenor is a chant melisma on the syllable "Ne" of *Domine* [M3],[23] an excerpt from the gradual for the feast of St. Stephen on the 26th of December. While *W₁* places this discant among other clausulae, *F* incorporates it in the whole two-part setting of the gradual, the organum duplum *Sederunt principes* [M3]. The clausula source for *Serena virginum* is also transmitted in *W₁* and *F*:[24] it consists of four successive clausulae on the word "Manere" of the gradual *Exiit*

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22. At fols. 50*v* (44*v*) and 101*v*, respectively.

23. For works derived from liturgical chant I here use the numbers given in Ludwig, *Repertorium.*

24. At fols. 50*v* (44*v*) and 151*r*, respectively.

sermo [M5], for the feast of St. John Evangelist on the 27th of December. Interestingly, in both sources these clausulae are preceded by another group of clausulae, all on the syllable "-ne" (in W_1, the last of this group is also the source for *Qui servare puberem*). The physical and liturgical proximity of these clausulae, reflected in the way the pieces are disposed in Ms. 226, suggests that the oxymoron harlot/virgin was not a peculiarity of the Salamanca source, but that it might have been the idea at the base of texting the music for both works. Be that as it may, the transmission of these two pieces is remarkable for its variety.

Qui servare puberem is presented in W_1 without liturgical tenor, as a two-part conductus, and therefore it is grouped with other two-part conducti. It is noteworthy that the fascicle where this piece is found transmits three other compositions based on pre-existing clausulae and with the omission of their liturgical tenors: *Deo confitemini* [A3; 87], *Laudes referat* [A4; 191] and *Gaudeat devotio* [A5; 140].[25] But while these three pieces are copied one after the other as a consistent group, on fols. 107r–108r (98r–99r), *Qui servare puberem* appears seven leaves ahead, preceded and followed by 'proper' conducti: it seems as if the compiler recognized the singular quality of the first three pieces, but not that of the other one. F gives another interesting version of this piece: the two upper parts are in score, as a common polyphonic conductus, but the liturgical tenor is copied separately in ligatures, as normally happens for motets; this hybrid genre, known as conductus-motet,[26] finds a specific place in F (fols. 381r–389v), and this is where *Qui servare puberem* is copied, together with twenty-five other compositions displaying exactly the same format. Even more striking is the fact that F has the same music (liturgical tenor plus duplum) as the closing *Benedicamus Domino* of a two-part conductus, *Columbe simplicitas* [J16; 66].[27] The Spanish source Ma gives a version identical to that in W_1. A monophonic version of *Qui servare puberem* seems to appear in the Berlin fragments once owned by Johannes Wolf, but this is difficult to establish: only the final part of the piece survives, and the source itself has been through several cuts.

Finally, Ms. 226 preserves only the duplum, which, besides being lowered by a fourth, has been slightly embellished with the addition of melismatic passages, as is evident in Example 2.

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25. Interestingly, the three appear in the same order in F (fols. 383r–384r) but with each liturgical tenor written at the end of a score of the upper parts.

26. The term is modern: it was first adopted by Friedrich Ludwig, and is now widely used in musicological literature.

27. See Manfred Bukofzer, "Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula," 77–79.

Example 2. Two versions of the first twenty ternary longs of the duplum of *Qui servare puberem*.

Moving to the second piece at issue, *Serena virginum*, the situation appears to be equally complex. In W_1 *Serena virginum* opens a small group of four three-part conducti (thus the clausulae on which it is based received two new parts); all voices are in score and the liturgical tenor is omitted. In *F*, the piece is also among three-part conducti, and the format is identical to that in W_1, except that the liturgical tenor is written in ligatures at the end of the last system; this is exactly what happens in the same source for *Qui servare puberem*, but strangely *Serena virginum* is not copied in the conductus-motet section of the manuscript. In *Ma* the piece lacks its quadruplum and tenor, and thus is copied in a group of two-part conducti. W_2 presents this composition unequivocally as a two-part motet, having all voices copied individually; the duplum here has a different text, *Manere vivere*, which clearly hints at the liturgical tenor. In the British Library manuscripts bound together under the signature Egerton 2615, *Serena virginum* has the liturgical tenor, duplum and triplum, all copied in score. It appears there twice in the same format: one version has no text; the other gives it once under the tenor (which is however in ligatures). A monophonic adiastematic version is given in a thirteenth-century manuscript in Graz (A-Gu 409, fol. 72*v*).

Example 3. The opening of *Qui servare puberem*, as preserved in *E-SAu* 226.

Se - re - na ...

Ma - ne - re

Example 4. The ending of *Qui servare puberem*, as preserved in *E-SAu* 226, with the upper part transposed.

... me -ru - it   aut ...   ... hu- mi - li - tas.

... e ...   ... e.
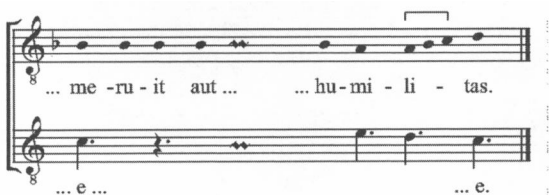
Ms. 226 gives another different rendering of the piece: here *Serena virginum* is a two-part motet, but the tenor is surprisingly written *before* the duplum (whereas the common trend for motets is to place the tenor as the last part), which, as stated above, is a fifth lower than in the other sources. The tenor remains untouched, and the way notes are disposed seems to agree with the arrangement in modal rhythm. Anyway, the remarkable feature is obviously that the piece is not performable as it is written. For instance, the very opening would start with a minor second, as in Example 3.

Such inconsistency might be simply explained as a possible oversight by the scribe, either in placing the clef or the notes on the staff of the duplum. But even when this part is re-transposed a fifth higher, still the polyphony remains inconsistent, as evident in Example 4.

In fact, the duplum in Ms. 226 displays a number of differences when compared with the other sources, suggesting that the inaccuracy of notation in *Serena virginum* could be due to a scribe who was not particularly acquainted with polyphony, and who in all probability intended to give a set of guidelines rather than a precise and prescriptive notation. The unusual disposition of the parts might depend on what the source used by the scribe looked like (assuming that he used a manuscript source): in fact, multiple successive motets having the same tenor are sometimes found on the same leaf of a manuscript, so that the tenor is copied there more than once. The copyist of

Ms. 226 might have been puzzled by such a situation, writing the tenor of one motet and the duplum of the following one from his exemplar.

In addition to these interesting aspects, Ms. 226 provides a new piece of an increasingly complex puzzle: what emerges from the tradition of both *Qui servare puberem* and *Serena virginum* is that they do not allow an easy generic classification. Although both compositions are based on pre-existing clausulae, they could be considered as motets, but nonetheless—even in those sources where the liturgical tenor is preserved—they display hybrid features. This problematic hybridity was not unknown either to the authors of Latin music theory of the period.

The earliest distinction between conductus and motet appears in the anonymous *Discantus positio vulgaris*, written in the early thirteenth century:

> Conductus autem est super unum metrum multiplex consonans cantus, qui etiam secundarias recipit consonantias. Mothetus vero est super determinatas notas firmi cantus mensuratas […] diversus in prosis […] cantus.[28]

> [*A conductus is a polyphonic setting of a poem, which admits imperfect consonances. A motet instead is a polyphonic setting of different texts in prose, based on pre-existing and measured notes of plainchant.*]

The distinctive elements are two: 1) the type of text (*metrum* for conductus, *prosa* for motet), and 2) the use or not of a chant-derived tenor. Anyway, this description of the conductus seems to take no consideration of monophonic compositions, while single-voice conducti take up a significant part of the repertoire. Anonymous 4, although providing no definition of genres, wrote more fully about different types of conducti:

> […] organistae utuntur in libris suis quinque regulis, sed in tenoribus discantuum quatuor tantum, quia semper tenor solebat sumi ex cantu ecclesiastico notato quatuor regulis et cetera. Sunt quidam alii secundum diversa volumina, qui faciunt semper quinque, sive procedunt per modum discantus sive non, ut patet inter conductos simplices, duplices, triplices et quadruplices, si fuerint.[29]

> [*… composers of organum use five ruled lines in their books, but only four in the tenors of discant, because the tenor is always customarily taken from an ecclesiastical composition notated with four ruled lines, etc. There are certain others in different volumes, <who> always make five [lines], whether they*]

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28. Anonymous, *Discantus positio vulgaris*, in Simon Cserba, *Hieronymus de Moravia*, II, 193.

29. Anonymous 4, *Musica*, I, 60.

*proceed according to the method of discant or not, as can be seen in single,
double, triple, and quadruple conducti, if there are any.]*[30]

Franco of Cologne, in his *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, basically followed the
Discantus positio vulgaris:

> Et nota quod in hiis omnibus est idem modus operandi, excepto in
> conductis, quia in omnibus aliis primo accipitur cantus aliquis prius factus
> qui tenor dicitur, eo quod discantum tenet et ab ipso ortum habet. In
> conductis vero non sic, sed fiunt ab eodem cantus et discantus. [...] qui
> vult facere conductum, primam cantum invenire debet pulcriorem quam
> potest; deinde uti debet illo, ut de tenore faciendo discantum, ut dictum
> est prius.[31]

> [*It is noteworthy that for all of these [organum, motet and conductus] the same
> way of composing has to be followed, except for conducti, because for all the
> others a song (cantus) called tenor, already composed by someone else, has to
> be taken first, as it would be the base and the origin itself of the discant. Instead,
> it is not like this for conducti, since the [base] song and discant are composed at
> the same time. [...] Who wants to make a conductus, first has to invent a song
> as beautiful as he can; then, he has to use it as a tenor to compose the discant,
> as said above.*]

At the very beginning of the fourteenth-century, Johannes de Grocheo,
in several scattered statements, seems to agree with older sources:

> Motetus vero est cantus ex pluribus compositus, habens plura dictamina
> [...] Motetus vero est cantus ille, qui supra tenorem immediate ordinatur
> [...] in conductibus tenor totaliter de novo fit et secundum voluntatem
> artificis modificatur et durat.[32]

> [*A motet is a song made up of many [melodies], having several texts [...] A
> motet is that kind of song that is organised directly upon a tenor [...] in conducti
> the tenor is newly created in its totality, and its arrangement and rhythm depend
> on the will of the artifice.*]

It seems that the Englishman Walter Odington, who wrote around the
same period as Grocheo, was a somewhat more scrupulous observer:

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30. Jeremy Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV*, 54.
31. Reaney and Gilles, *Franco of Colonia*, 69 and 73–74.
32. Grocheo, *De musica*, 56, 57–58.

Conducti sunt compositi ex pluribus canticis decoris cognitis vel inventis et in diversis modis ac punctis iteratis in eodem tono vel in diversis [...] Moteti fiunt cum littera in aliquo modorum. Unum sumatur aliquis cantus notus pro tenore aptus melo et in certo modo disponatur.[33]

[*Conducti are composed of many beautiful melodies, which are already known or invented, and are in various modes, with sections (puncti) repeated in the same tone or other tones [...] Motets are composed in syllabic style in any of the modes. A well-known melodious song is taken as a tenor and arranged in a certain way.*]

Odington seems to be the only theorist who considered the possibility of composing a conductus using pre-existing material, and the repertory presents some cases that prove him right: he might have had in mind pieces such as *Bulla fulminante* [L5; 53] and *Veste nuptiali* [K81; 37], two monophonic conducti that are based on the final melisma in the tenor part of *Dic Christi veritas*. But besides these conductus-prosulas, as Thomas Payne defined them,[34] he might have been referring to other pieces, as for instance the three conducti, *Procurans odium* [E9; 274], *Purgator criminum* [F2; 277] and *Suspirat spiritus* [L6; 344], all of which share the same tenor, which in turn appears in several manuscripts with French texts as a trouvère song.[35] Other examples of borrowed material in the conductus repertoire may be mentioned: Manfred Bukofzer listed some conducti borrowing from secular and liturgical material, others incorporating clausulae, still others indentified as "clausula suspects."[36]

What seems to emerge from this picture is that, according to most of the theorists, the main feature of a conductus is that it is newly composed. The repertoire proves them right *most* of the time, but not always, and *Qui servare puberem* and *Serena virginum* should be added to the above-mentioned cases.

This fact is reflected in what happens in the main sources for this repertoire: although specific genres coincide *mostly* with specific sections of manuscripts, some of the scribes who put those volumes together had surely perceived the difficulty in categorizing ambiguous pieces. The copyist in *F* was probably the most concerned about neat organization of the material: he dedicates a precise segment of his manuscript to the hybrid conductus-motet, and

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33. Hammond, *Walter Odington*, 142–43.

34. Thomas Payne, "Philip the Chancellor."

35. See for instance F-Pn, n.a.f. 1050, fol. 80*v*, where the music has the text *Amors dont me sui espris*/M'*efforce*, attributed to Blondel de Nesle. For a survey of this transmission, see Raynaud, *Bibliographie des chansonniers*, 164, nos. 1545 and 1546.

36. See Bukofzer, "Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula," 65–103.

that is where *Qui servare puberem* is copied. It might then seem surprising that
Serena virginum is copied among three-part conducti, in the sixth fascicule of
the manuscript (fols. 201r–262v).[37] But the reason lies in the number of parts:
the conductus-motets grouped together in *F* are all in two parts plus tenor,
while *Serena virginum* has three parts plus tenor. Since the scribe organized the
repertoire first according to number of voices, secondly according to genre, he
had to find a solution that might look inconsistent, and put *Serena virginum*
with three-part conducti. As Ernest Sanders suggested, the liturgical tenor
seems here to have been 'misleadingly' included,[38] meaning that possibly the
piece might be performed either as a conductus or a motet. This could also
explain the fact that the scribes of W_1 and *Ma* copied both pieces omitting the
tenor, choosing to represent one of the possible interpretations and avoiding
all ambiguities. On the other hand, a different arrangement is given in the
Egerton manuscript, where all parts, also the borrowed tenor, are in score. This
layout is also found in the Châlons-en-Champagne fragments (F-CECad,
3.J.250), possibly originating in the Île-de-France and dating towards the
middle of the thirteenth century: in this source, entirely characterized by
'generic ambiguity,'[39] three monotextual motets are grouped with conducti
and have all parts in score, with the text underneath the tenor. Moreover,
these leaves also transmit single motet voices presented as monodies, as
happens for *Qui servare puberem* in Ms. 226.

   Clearly, all these compositions do not belong to any specific category,
lying between conducti and motets, just as do *Qui servare puberem* and *Serena
virginum*. To ask whether they were originally conceived as conducti or motets
would sound like—to borrow Janet Knapp's words—addressing an old ques-
tion: which came first, the chicken or the egg?[40] Sanders seemed to have had
little doubt in considering *Serena virginum* as a contrafactum of the motet
Manere vivere—*Manere* found in W_2.[41] Even though he might have been
right, this would not explain the multiple versions, the omissions or additions
of parts, and the different layouts of these pieces.

   Anyway, it seems that the act of texting the dupla of two-part clausulae
gave way to a process of reworking and experimentation. The musicians and

   37. Another composition with the same features of *Serena virginum* is copied in this
fascicle at fols. 230v–231v: *Latex silice* [A2; 190] with tenor *Latus* [M14].
   38. See Ernest Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," 515–16.
   39. Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, 40.
   40. See Janet Knapp, "Which Came First," 16–25.
   41. See Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," 515.

scribes who undertook this process aimed at exploiting the potentialities of clausulae, resulting in several types of compositions. Therefore, the question whether pieces such as *Serena virginum* and *Qui servare puberem* are to be considered conducti or motets is perhaps misleading. Those who composed or modified these songs were in all probability concerned with what they could do with a given material, rather than with issues of genre and classification. In this respect, even the reduction of polyphonic songs to monodies should be considered as one of the possible range of experiments: if musicians created polyphony from plainchant, as happens for *organa*, it cannot be ruled out that they recognized the possibility of going in the opposite direction. The monophonic version of *Qui servare puberem* in Ms. 226 might therefore be a sort of musical synecdoche, a part to represent the whole. To borrow Mark Everist's words concerning the scribe who copied the Châlons-en-Champagne fragments, the small collection of pieces in Ms. 226 was put together by a scribe who 'drew no distinction between a conductus and a motet,'[42] and probably did not do it between monody and polyphony either.

Questions of genre, format and polyphonic or monophonic destination were matters for copyists and theorists, rather than for musicians. The scribe of *F* struggled with dividing the material in a systematic way, and to some extent he succeeded. But he must have been puzzled by pieces such as *Serena virginum*, which did not fit with the organization he wanted to impose on his manuscript. His method eventually created some strange and forced results. The witness of theorists, as we have seen, does not really help in untangling an intricate issue: most of them, with the exception of Odington, tend to simplify a situation that is more complex than how it seems on the surface, trying to describe things according to an order that does not always exist in practice.

This search for classification at all costs reflects the influence of a Parisian university culture emerging at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is not surprising that most of the theorists who wrote about Notre Dame genres were linked to the university of Paris, where the new scholasticism, in the light of re-discovered Aristotelian scientific philosophy, tended to base the ordering of all subjects of study on analysis and classification.[43] The impulse of 'putting into order'[44] was fundamental to the works of twelfth- and

42. Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, 40.

43. See Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History*, 1, 196; and Cecilia Panti, *Filosofia della musica*, 200–201.

44. Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, 192.

thirteenth-century scholars: the academic disciplines themselves were divided and classified in works such as Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalicon* (12th century) and Robert Kilwardby's *De ortu scientiarum* (1247–50). But the hybrid pieces discussed above show that not everything could be made to fit the constructions of a logical classification, and, to put it in Richard Taruskin's words, the authors who wrote on conductus and motet were trying to represent the world as they would like to see it, not necessarily as it truly was.[45] Some scribes acted in the same way, trying to give the repertoire an order that in some cases was simply illusory. The musical works considered in this paper, ranging from single pieces into multiple types of composition, give a fluid and elusive notion of genre in the Ars Antiqua repertoire.

　　To come back to the initial statement by Grocheo, it is likely that, in the early thirteenth century, musicians were in no way concerned about matters of classification, and, even though they might also find that it is not easy to classify music properly, they would in all probability have thought that it was not necessary. The question whether *Serena virginum* and *Qui servare puberem* are conducti or motets might therefore be answered this way: they are both and neither at the same time. Although these and similar pieces may be sensibly interpreted as a specific step on the route to the motet, they do not belong to either of the two genres, and are in all probabilities the result of free and creative musical experimentation. This might sound like cutting a very large Gordian knot with a very small knife, but it might be more appropriate than putting ambiguous pieces on a procrustean bed of generic classification. In this respect, the scribe of Ms. 226 seems clearly unconcerned about such questions, as his aim was probably to record some of the fashionable Parisian music—which he might have listened to in person—in order to make it performable at his home, probably a religious or scholastic institution in the North-East of France. He did this on the spare leaves of his copy of Comestor's *Historia,* using the notation with which he was familiar and probably according to the musical resources of his home institution, turning polyphonic pieces into monodies, adding short melismas but devoting little care to the counterpoint of the only polyphonic piece he included in his small collection, perhaps because no one at his home was actually able to perform polyphony. Copying music, for this scribe, turned out to be a creative act rather than mechanical, although he might not have been aware of this. Ms. 226 is there-

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45. See Taruskin, *The Oxford History*, I, 198.

fore one piece of a puzzle depicting a scenario where the boundaries between conductus and motet, polyphony and monody seem to fade, and where additions, omissions, transpositions and all kinds of re-working are part of the experimental and creative attitude of medieval musicians.

University of Southampton