Discovering Medieval Song

Latin Poetry and Music in the *Conductus*

MARK EVERIST

University of Southampton

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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The *conductus* repertory is the body of monophonic and polyphonic non-liturgical Latin song that dominated European culture from the middle of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth. In this book, Mark Everist demonstrates how the poetry and music interact, explores how musical structures are created and discusses the geographical and temporal reach of the genre, including its significance for performance today. The volume studies what medieval society thought of the *conductus*, its function in medieval society – whether paraliturgical or in other contexts – and how it fitted into patristic and secular Latin cultures. The *conductus* emerges as a genre of great poetic and musical sophistication that brought the skills of poets and musicians into alignment. This book provides an all-encompassing view of an important but unexplored repertory of medieval music, engaging with both poetry and music even-handedly to present new and up-to-date perspectives on the genre.

MARK EVERIST is Professor of Music at the University of Southampton and is the author of books including *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994) and *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (2013). He is co-editor of *Analytical Strategies and Musical Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1996) and of *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2018) as well as editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2011). His recent collected essays on music in the French nineteenth-century theatre will be published in 2018. His current project is a monograph on Gluck reception in nineteenth-century Paris. He was President of the Royal Musical Association from 2011 to 2017.

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For Jeanice and Amelia

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Antiqua, and much of this was enhanced by the work of Rob Wegman who not only set up one of the most active social media groups I know (1789 members at time of writing) but also ran the first of two conferences that brought together most of the world authorities on the music of the long thirteenth century (Princeton in 2011 and Southampton in 2013). Late in the day, I spent a pleasant afternoon in Philadelphia with graduate students from the University of Pennsylvania who read the final draft of the book and provided much-needed precision to some occasionally careless formulations. These events brought so many together, all of whom fed into *Discovering Medieval Song* in one way or another, but Rebecca Baltzer, Mary Caldwell, Helen Deeming and Thomas Payne have all been engaged in conversations about the *conductus* during the time I have been working on the subject. All will undoubtedly see the fruits of their discussions somewhere in the book. Tessa Webber kindly shared much material on her forthcoming work on *lectio publica* and engaged in endless but productive conversations that shaped much of the thinking in Chapter 2. In addition, Solomon Guhl-Miller, Bruce Holsinger, Peter Lefferts and Ernest Sanders read drafts of chapters and immeasurably increased their quality. I thank them all.

In Cambridge, Victoria Cooper commissioned the book, and Kate Brett took over the reins in its final stages. Lisa Sinclair managed operations. One could not wish for a better editorial team.

That's a lot of people, and working on *Discovering Medieval Song* has been a gregarious experience, with many individuals coming into and going out of the project at various times. But the people who have always been with it have been those who have had to discuss the subject at breakfast (well, sometimes), lunch and dinner and have tolerated my absences from home in support of the project. Amelia and Jeanice deserve far more than the mere dedication of this volume – and I'm sure at some point they will let me know exactly what 'far more' entails. I look forward to repaying my debts.

Banister Park, Southampton,
St Vincent de Paul, Paris

Note to the Text

All manuscripts are cited by their full shelf-mark at first occurrence in each chapter, thereafter abbreviated according to the conventional system employed by the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM).[1] Few issues seem to divide medievalists as much as the nomenclature of manuscript sources, and there will be many who will complain that *Discovering Medieval Song* prefers *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 to *F* as the *siglum* for one of the sources most often discussed, now housed in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Such single-letter *sigla* worked perfectly when the subject was handling just a tiny number of large sources, but we now have to consider eight sources in Florence alone, and larger libraries – the Bibliothèque nationale de France – preserve simply dozens (not far short of a hundred, in fact), all of which require differentiation. Add to this that some single manuscripts have been given anything up to six *sigla* depending on which genre is being considered, then the use of a consistent set of *sigla* that are easy to decode on the spot without reference to the list in the Bibliography becomes essential. I just hope I have not lost too many friends in following this path.

Music examples are all edited afresh and follow the general guidelines and specific diacriticals outlined in the critical edition of the *Magnus liber organi*, produced under the general editorship of Edward Roesner during the 1990s and 2000s.[2] Although largely designed with *organum* in

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[1] Répertoire international des sources musicales: Online Catalogue of RISM Library Sigla, consulted 10 October 2016; www.rism.info/en/sigla.html

[2] Edward Roesner (ed.), *Les Quadrupla et tripla de Paris*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris 1 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993); Mark Everist (ed.), *Les Organa à deux voix pour l'office du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 2 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 2003); Everist (ed.), *Les Organa à deux voix pour la messe (De Noël à la fête des Saints Pierre et Paul) du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 3 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 2001); Everist (ed.), *Les Organa à deux voix pour la messe (De l'Assomption au commun des saints) du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 4 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 2002); Rebecca Baltzer (ed.), *Les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, fascicule V*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris 5 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1995); Thomas Payne (ed.), *Les*

mind, these principles handle the same notational shapes employed in the *conductus* and are adopted here.

In many cases, discussion of single works is aided by the use of modern transcriptions of the music, facsimiles of the original sources or both. Occasionally, however, it is necessary to attempt to give an overview of the structure and nature of a single *conductus* by means of an annotated text and commentary. Here the following conventions are used: *italics* indicate the presence of a *cauda*; **bold face** is used to show a *punctus organi*; ***italic bold face*** simply indicates the presence of both *cauda* and *punctus organi* in the setting of a single word or syllable. This leaves the convention of <u>underscoring</u> to indicate various sorts of parallels between different texts or parts of the same text. Chapter 4 depends on material published in 'Tails of the Unexpected: The *Punctus organi* and the *Conductus cum caudis*', *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Festschrift Klaus-Jürgen Sachs zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Kleinertz and Wolf Frobenius, Veröffentlichungen des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung (Berlin and Hildesheim: Olms, 2010), 161–195.

Organa à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Hertzog [sic] August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst, 2 vols., Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris 6A-6B (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1996); Roesner (ed.), *Les Organa et les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 7 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 2009).

Introduction: Repositioning the *Conductus*

The title of this book, *Discovering Medieval Song*, loosely translates a line from music theory of the 1280s that describes the composition of the *conductus*[1]; its subtitle alludes more broadly to poetry and music in the Middle Ages, and more particularly to what might be called the 'long' thirteenth century, starting in the 1160s and ending sometime in the 1320s. For the study of music, this period encompasses the rise and fall of *organum* with all its subsidiary parts (*clausula*, *copula*, plainsong), rhymed offices, sequences, the development of the motet, measured notation, the emergence of polyphonic vernacular song, the work of most of the *trouvères* and *troubadours* and, perhaps most strikingly, the development of written tools to preserve this highly varied music in ways that make it possible for even the early twenty-first century to understand. But most of all, the long thirteenth century witnessed the growth of the *conductus*, which balanced Latin poetry and music in a way that no other type of composition attempted during the period.

Linear stories for the music of the long thirteenth century abound: Parisian *organum* emerged in the last third of the twelfth century at the hands of Leoninus, was developed by Perotinus in the very early years of the thirteenth and then was 'superseded' by the motet that appeared out of the *clausulae* embedded in *organum*. Polyphonic song surfaced as the result of a collision between registrally sophisticated *trouvère* poetry (the *grand chant*) and the mensural polyphony of the motet. However wrong these tales may be shown to be, and whichever one is told, the *conductus* seems to have limped along as very much a poor relation. Insofar as there exists any story behind the *conductus*, it is one that places the genre in the corner of the room occupied by the motet and *organum*, rather

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[1] 'Anyone who wishes to compose a *conductus* ought first to invent as beautiful a melody as he can' ('Qui vult facere conductum, primam cantum invenire debet pulcriorem quam potest'; Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles (eds.), *Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis*, Corpus scriptorum de musica 18 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1974) 73–74; translation from Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History from Antiquity through the Romantic Era* [New York: Norton, 1950] 155). The literal translation of *invenire*, used here, does not account for such wider, creative meanings as 'find' or 'discover'.

like the unloved stepchild at family celebrations in a Victorian novel. The *conductus* is made to hobble along more or less at the same time as *organum* and then the motet, only to disappear later in the thirteenth century.

This is a very strange view, wrong in terms of content and emphasis and misleading in terms of the relationship between the *conductus* and other musical and literary genres. Not only does the *conductus* represent a largely coherent repertory of music that aligns both Latin poetry and melody in ways in which *organum* and motet were never intended, but the sheer volume of the *corpus* is staggering. The field covered by *Discovering Medieval Song* includes 957 poems, of which 867 survive with music. Perhaps more significantly, the *conductus* is preserved in no fewer than 570 sources, spanning the mid-twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth, with some even later. The geographical spread of the *conductus* is similarly vast with no part of medieval Europe apparently immune to the attractions of the genre. And unlike *organum* and the motet, which genuinely seem to have originated in Paris and then radiated out all over Europe, the *conductus* was cultivated across the continent, and all Paris did was to provide an environment in which the repertory could be collected and, to an extent, codified. Also unlike *organum* and motet, the *conductus* enjoyed contributions from some of the best-known poets of the age – Philip the Chancellor, Peter of Blois, Gautier de Châtillon, for example – and the composer Perotinus, more famous for his composition of the four-voice *organa*, 'Viderunt omnes' and 'Sederunt principes', as well as three-part works and *prosulae*, contributed to the repertory of two-voice and monophonic *conducti* as well as to the variable-voice *conductus*.

Much of the lack of focus on the *conductus* may be the result of little more than the caprices of modern scholarship. Although Friedrich Ludwig, the pioneer of research in this field, catalogued many of the sources for the *conductus* in his monumental *Repertorium*, completed in 1910 (parts of which were not published until much later), his interests – as the rest of his title suggests – lay in 'the most recent *organa*' and 'motets in the oldest style'.[2] The *conductus* – not forming part of the complex of plainsong,

[2] Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols. (1 (1) – Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1910; *R* [ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 7] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964); (1 (2) – [345–456 ed. Friedrich Gennrich including *R* of 'Die Quellen der Motetten altesten Stils', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923) 185–222 and 273–315, Summa musicae medii aevi 7] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1961; *R* [345–456], [457–783, ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 26] [Binningen]: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1978); (2 – [1–71 ed.

polyphony, retexting and recomposition that characterised *organum* and the motet – had to wait more than a quarter of a century for even a listing of the contents of some of the surviving manuscripts,[3] and no real study of the genre has been forthcoming until now.[4] But a more pressing reason for the relative neglect of the *conductus* is its different pattern of survival, perhaps indicating different patterns of medieval cultivation, which results in the repertory surviving in a large number of medieval sources, with a very few works in each manuscript. True, the so-called central sources of *organum* and – mostly – motet also include collections of *conducti*, and without these four sources (two in the Herzog-August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, one in Madrid and the fourth in Florence) our picture of the repertory would be very different indeed.[5] But the vast number of sources, many of which contain the poetry of the *conductus* alone, are not only scattered all over Europe and beyond but were largely unknown to those who catalogued or commented on the *conductus* in the past.

Monophony outweighs polyphony in a ratio of 2:1 in the *conductus* repertory, and it is easy to see why scholars of monophonic music are quick to point to the importance of the former as opposed to the latter. In the case of the *conductus*, the argument could be pushed further, and it could be argued that the function of the monophonic *conductus*, and the way in which it is understood, underpins those of its polyphonic counterparts. And while Chapters 4 and 5 of *Discovering Medieval Song* clearly focus exclusively on the polyphonic *conductus cum caudis*, the rest of the book shuttles back and forth between monophonic and polyphonic types. In short, *Discovering Medieval Song* reflects, although perhaps not

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Friedrich Gennrich, Summa musicae medii aevi 8, 65–71 in page proof only] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1962; *R* [1–64, 65–71 corrected], [72–155 ed. Luther A. Dittmer (Musicological Studies 17)] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972).

[3] Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame Conductus*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939).

[4] Robert Falck's indispensable study of the *conductus* focussed on manuscript distribution and transmission as well as providing an inventory of the repertory, but stopped short of most of the questions posed here. See 'The Structure of the Polyphonic and Monophonic Conductus Repertories: A Study of Source Concordances and Their Relation to the Chronology and Provenance of Musical Styles' (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1970), published as *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981). Another, almost exactly contemporary inventory of the repertory was Gordon Anderson, 'Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea musicologica* 6 (1972) 153–229; 7 (1975) 1–81.

[5] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Pluteus 29.1; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486.

in exactly the *proportio dupla* of the relationship between monophony and polyphony, the essential structure of the surviving repertory.

Similarly, poetry and music are of equal importance. Explaining the structure of *rithmus* is as important as accounting for *discantus*, and the circulation of works without music is just as significant as their distribution with fully fledged notation. It is taken as axiomatic that a *conductus* consists of words and notes and that a surviving *conductus* text with no notated concordances was probably conceived to be sung. Of course, there must have been occasions when this was not true, and it might perhaps be going too far to agree with those who hold that *rithmus* was a style of poetry inherently destined to be sung. And it also raises the question of what a *conductus* poem without music signifies: is it simply an *aide-mémoire* in which the music is committed to memory? Does the unperformed poem have value without the music? Or is the source merely deficient? There are examples of all three possibilities, and more, but as far as the working practices in *Discovering Medieval Song* are concerned, a *conductus* poem is a *conductus*. In addition to explaining how the poetry and music of the *conductus* work and how they interrelate, *Discovering Medieval Song* tries to disentangle questions of context, function and performance. With the starting point that no single explanation can account for the entire repertory, the strengths and weakness of competing pieces of evidence – some known, others new – are evaluated to give, if not a definitive view of the function of the genre, at least a set of broadly acceptable considerations for how each part of the repertory might be so viewed.

And talking about 'parts' of the repertory returns to the question of defining its scope. Ever since Eduard Gröninger's first attempt to pull together all the surviving sources for the genre in 1939, the *conductus* has been caught up with the four major surviving sources just mentioned and with the concept of the 'Notre-Dame School', a model for understanding the music of the long thirteenth century that emerges, however, not from work on the *conductus* but from a study of *organum*. So, for example, the single critical edition of the *conductus* repertory bears the title *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*.[6] But unlike the case of *organum* – where the idea of 'Notre-Dame' really means something about origin and style – for the *conductus* it means little more than 'preserved in one or more of the four surviving major sources'. This becomes problematic

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[6] Gordon Anderson (ed.), *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 11 vols. [Institute of Mediaeval Music], Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vols. 7 and 11 have appeared].

when other repertories are brought into play. For example, the four offices that preserve *conducti* – and that reveal much of their twelfth-century function – from Beauvais, Laon, Le Puy and Sens do not share a great deal in terms of material with the works found in the 'Notre-Dame' sources. The same could be said of the Norman-Sicilian repertory or fourteenth-century sources from east of the Rhine that employ the term *conductus* as a descriptor for the work. Although this serves to distance the *conductus* from the repertory of Aquitanian *versus*, it leaves a large number of ragged ends to the repertory, perhaps inevitable when dealing with 570 surviving sources. But it does raise some interesting questions *a propos* such a work as 'Novus annus dies magnus', for example, a monophonic *conductus* that is found in the Norman-Sicilian repertory, the Le Puy and Sens offices and one of the earliest manuscripts of the Aquitanian repertory, but not in any of the so-called Notre-Dame sources. It is a good example of how the different parts of the repertory may hold together and – just as importantly – how they may resist explanations that link to them.

The only surviving complete edition of the repertory was conceived no later than the mid-1970s, and although in some respects it has stood the test of time (especially in terms of its critical commentaries, notes on the poetic texts and so on), understandings of how *musica cum littera* (the parts of the *conductus* that carried the text [*littera*]) was projected in medieval performance have moved on a good deal to the extent that, were one planning an edition of the repertory today, the fundamental premises on which it would be based would be very different. Reasons for this claim are given in Chapter 3 but are taken as axiomatic throughout the book, especially in the attitude taken to the display of music examples in modern transcription. It would be wrong, though, not to recognise the immense erudition and meticulous scholarship that characterise the editorial work of Gordon Anderson, Hans Tischler and Janet Knapp, even if ultimately the conclusions in *Discovering Medieval Song* vary radically from theirs.[7]

Work on *Discovering Medieval Song* was greatly advanced, indeed made possible, by a series of three large grants from the United Kingdom's Arts and Humanities Research Council that enabled a number of related

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[7] Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*; Hans Tischler (ed.), *The Earliest Polyphonic Art Music: The 150 Two-Part Conductus in the Notre-Dame Manuscripts* [Institute of Mediaeval Music], Collected Works 24 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2005); Janet Knapp (ed.), *Thirty-Five Conductus for Two and Three Voices*, Collegium Musicum 6 ([New Haven, CT]: Yale University Department of Music Graduate School, 1965).

initiatives, of which this monograph is one.[8] Jointly titled 'CPI Cantum pulcriorem invenire' (of which the title of this monograph is a loose translation), the funding permitted the research towards, and construction of, the database that underpins so much of this book,[9] three fully funded PhD studentships (the work of which is referred to throughout this volume) and the time required to research and write this monograph. Most important of all, it funded the work of three professional tenors to conduct a Europe-wide programme of performance and three CDs with Hyperion Records.[10] This allowed the project to put into practice the results of the work in Chapter 3 and was based on sustained workshop practice that developed a method of declaiming the *cum littera* sections of *conducti* (all parts of the monophonic repertory and the texted sections of the *conductus cum caudis*) that started from the structure, meaning and aesthetic of the poetry. The 46 works recorded on the three CDs are available to purchase, download or stream and form the basis for the discussion of large parts of the book. Works that form part of the recording project are identified with an asterisk (eg *'Relegentur ab area') in the text to aid the process of gaining access to a sonic image of the work under discussion.

1 | Repertories, Chronology and Style

The *Conductus*: Poetry and Music

A *conductus* is a song.[1] It consists of a Latin poem of a non-liturgical nature, with monophonic or polyphonic music composed in either a through-composed or strophic fashion. Cultivated across Europe between the middle of the twelfth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, the genre contrasts with almost all other kinds of monophonic and polyphonic music. A genre that apparently depends on little or no shared musical material, the *conductus* stands apart from those that borrow from liturgical chant and its accretions and from vernacular song. As an identifiable form of Latin song, it seems to emerge at the same time – around 1160 – as the chant-based Parisian two-part *organum* on which the related genres of motet and *clausula* are based and appears to continue to be composed, perhaps only sporadically, until the middle of the thirteenth century; it was clearly cultivated – recopied, modified, rearranged – until the beginning of the fourteenth century at least. Together with the song of the *langue d'oïl* and the *langue d'oc*, the *conductus* represents the first coherent and sizeable repertory of music – one with works that share a range of characteristics in sufficient numbers to make them identifiable – composed independently of liturgical chant in the history of music. The end of the *conductus* tradition is as opaque as its beginning. Of course, settings of Latin *rithmi* continued to be made after 1300, especially in the domain of the rhymed office and sequence; what seems to have fallen into decline after 1300 was the complex, polyphonic work that has claimed scholarly attention as the *conductus*, and this marks a logical point of historiographical and scholarly repose.

To claim that the *conductus* is a 'song', however, risks invoking a number of anachronistic ways of thinking about the relationship between words and notes, poets and composers. And it is complicated by the fact that

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[1] The term is declined as second, fourth and both second and fourth by medieval authors. See Leonard Ellinwood, 'The Conductus', *The Musical Quarterly* 27 (1941) 169–170. It is taken as second declension here, following the majority of medieval usages.

medieval Latin song sits alongside vernacular traditions with their own canons and their own historiographical traditions. A view of medieval song that consists of poetry and melody, or words and notes, alone does not do justice to the wide range of engagements with musical and poetic materials that have survived to the present day. Even to talk about 'setting' a song is problematic.[2] For example, when a named poet – Philip the Chancellor, say – is credited with the words of a *conductus* – 'Beata viscera' perhaps – whose music is attributed to Perotinus, can it be certain that Perotinus is 'setting' a text by Philip? The latter very likely also wrote a large number of Latin *contrafacta* – new Latin poems to pre-existing melodies with French or Provençal words, so the idea of writing words *after* the composition of the melody cannot be ruled out. And although the number of *contrafacta* that affect the *conductus* repertory is small in comparison with other genres (the motet in particular), the overall penetration of intertexts within the *conductus* is larger than its physiognomy – as a repertory of songs with little or no borrowing of pre-existent material – is great.

The nature of *conductus* poetry – *rithmus* – that is discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 very much gives the impression that it is designed to be sung, whether or not it survives with music. The focus on number – of stanzas, syllables, rhyme and end-accent – aligns the poetry with musical delivery in ways that will become clear. And this helps with understanding the creative process in the *conductus* as something other than a 'setting' of a pre-existing lyric.[3] The idea of a medieval 'song' – whether a Latin song like the *conductus* or a *trouvère grand chant* – needs to be conceived as something much more flexible: where the roles of poet and composer are considered as significantly more permeable than in the cases of Schubert setting Mayrhofer or of Berio setting e. e. cummings.

Not only is the question of the relationship between word and note in the *conductus* one that requires interrogation but the genre is enmeshed in the history of other polyphonic genres in the long thirteenth century. The tale of chant-based polyphony is thought to be well known and easily

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[2] But the terminology is the common coin of the study of medieval song (although not of the motet or other genres). See, for example, Susan Rankin, 'Close Readings: Some Medieval Songs', *Early Music* 31 (2003) 327–344: 'the musical setting of Latin lyrics' (ibid., 327); 'monophonic settings of lyric songs' (ibid.); 'setting an exceptionally virtuosic lyric text' (ibid., 342); 'setting learned and elegant lyrics' (ibid.).

[3] While explaining – and attempting to resolve – the question in terms of 'interdiscipinary dialogue', as suggested in Emma Dillon, 'Unwriting Medieval Song', *New Literary History* 46 (2015) 595–622, finds great sympathy in *Discovering Medieval Song*, it is perhaps so evident – and a way of working that is by now so venerable – that it hardly needs restating.

told. Individual notes of the plainsong served as the contrapuntal basis for polyphonic music that by the late twelfth century was beginning to divide into two main compositional resources: sustained-tone *organum* in which single notes of the liturgical chant serve as the basis – the tenor – for a rhapsodic, freely composed upper voice in two-voice writing or for metrically organised upper voices in three- and four-part composition; and *discantus* in which all voices were metrically conceived, including the chant-derived tenor. Sustained-tone *organa* were usually used for the solo – syllabic or neumatic – sections of the liturgical chant, whereas *discantus* was employed for solo melismatic passages.[4] *Discantus* then served as the basis for the motet via the exchange of *clausulae* between different works in a complex history that is still in the process of being written but that involves the addition and subtraction of texts and voices, with experimentation with voice combinations and manuscript formats.[5]

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[4] The entire repertory of two-part Parisian *organa* is edited in vols. 2–4 and 6–7 of the series *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre Dame de Paris*. See Thomas B. Payne (ed.),*Les Organa à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Hertzog [sic] August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.*, 2 vols, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris 6A-6B (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1996); Mark Everist (ed.),*Les Organa à deux voix pour la messe (Noël jusqu'à la fête des Saints Pierre et Paul) du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 3 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 2001); Mark Everist (ed.), *Les Organa à deux voix pour la messe (Assomption jusqu'au commun des saints) du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 4 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 2002); Mark Everist (ed.),*Les Organa à deux voix pour l'office du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 2 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 2003); Edward H. Roesner (ed.), *Les Organa et les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 7 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 2009). Introductions to the repertory may be found in Fritz Reckow, 'Das Organum', *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1973) 434–96, and in the introduction to volume 2 of *Le Magus Liber Organi de Notre Dame de Paris*. The sketch of discursive modes in two-voice *organum* given here takes no account of the *copula*, for which see Fritz Reckow, 'Die Copula: Über einige Zusammenhänge zwischen Setzweise, Formbildung, Rhythmus und Vortragstill in der Mehrstimmigkeit von Notre-Dame', *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1972* 13:609–70.

[5] For the motet, see Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth-Century: Music, Poetry and Genre*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; *R* 2005); for recent investigations of the relationship between motet and *clausula*, see Catherine Bradley, 'Re-Workings and Chronological Dynamics in a Thirteenth-Century Latin Motet Family', *Journal of Musicology* 32 (2015) 153–97; Bradley, 'Comparing Compositional Process in Two Thirteenth-Century Motets: Pre-Existent Materials in *Deus omnium/REGNAT* and *Ne m'oubliez mie/DOMINO*', *Music Analysis* 33 (2014) 263–90; Bradley, 'New Texts for Old: Three Early Thirteenth-Century Motets', *Music and Letters* 93 (2012) 149–69; Bradley, 'The Earliest Motets: Musical Borrowing and Re-Use' (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2010).

Although the biographies of named poets of the *langue d'oc* – the so-called *troubadours* – suggest that the earliest exponents of the art were active significantly earlier than their northern colleagues – the *trouvères*[6] – the zenith of composition in both languages is largely coterminous with that of the *conductus*: from the middle of the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries.

There are examples of overlaps between the *conductus* repertories and those of *organum*, *clausula*, motet and vernacular song. Some *conducti* share their music with both French and Provençal song in a process of what is known as *contrafactum*, although the direction of travel – from Latin to the vernacular or from the vernacular to Latin – is often difficult to determine (Chapter 8). The overlap – in the very earliest phases of the motet in the first third of the thirteenth century – between the motet and the *conductus* is slight but revealing (discussed in Chapter 7) in a late thirteenth-century world where experimental combinations of word, note and format were appearing and disappearing with some regularity.

But the key connection between the *conductus* and other genres lies in the domain of *discantus*. The *clausulae* that played such an important role in the history of *organum* and motet consisted of polyphony in two or more parts, based on a liturgical tenor fragment, that was governed by a combination of the rhythmic modes.[7] One of the principal discursive modes in play in the polyphonic *conductus* – the *cauda* – has much in common with the *clausula* in that it consists of polyphony in two or more parts governed by a combination of the rhythmic modes; the difference is that the tenor in a *conductus cauda* was freely composed and not based on chant, and this has implications for the different types of repetition and

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[6]   The songs of the *troubadours* have been edited in Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars* (Rochester, NY: Author, 1984), and discussed in Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). The music of the *trouvères* is edited in Hendrik van der Werf (ed.), *Trouvères – Melodien 1*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 11 (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1977); van der Werf (ed.), *Trouvères – Melodien 2*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 12 (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1979). Van der Werf's pathbreaking study on vernacular monody notwithstanding (*The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* [Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972]), a study of the music of the *trouvères* to match Aubrey's is still awaited.

[7]   The classification of the *clausula* repertory underpins the typology of the genre in Rebecca A. Baltzer, 'Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two Voice Notre Dame Clausula', 2 vols. (PhD diss., Boston University, 1974). The entire repertory is edited in Baltzer (ed.), *Les clausules à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1, fascicule V*, Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris 5 (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1995) and in Roesner (ed.), *Les Organa et les clausules à deux voix*, 219–296.

differences in counterpoint found in the tenors of *caudae* and *clausulae*.[8] *Discantus* was originally defined in opposition to sustained-tone *organum* and also involved the use of a tenor borrowed from plainchant; theoretical descriptions of the *conductus* never went beyond definitions limited by the terms *conductus* and *cauda*.

The very few examples of overlap between the *conductus* and other repertories – with numbers of examples rarely exceeding single figures – need to be set in the context of the dimensions of the repertory as a whole, which in turn depend on how it the repertory is identified and what is included. Eduard Gröninger's 1939 initial census of the genre[9] – largely followed by Robert Falck in 1970[10] – took a fairly narrowly defined view, largely based on the contents of what were then considered 'central' or 'Notre-Dame' manuscript sources. Gordon Anderson's catalogue, dating from after Falck's but probably compiled largely at the same time, widened the scope of the enquiry,[11] and the works that he included in his subsequent edition of the repertory enlarged its scope still further.[12] The most recent assessment of the *conductus*, the online database 'Cantum pulcriorem invenire', documents this scope and determines the field of enquiry for the present study.[13]

The repertory of the *conductus*, as defined here, consists of 957 poems of which 867 are furnished with music. Of these, 439 are monophonic, 236 for two voices, 136 for three voices and 11 for four voices. The remainder

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[8] The terms 'counterpoint' and 'contrapuntal' are used throughout this study in the full knowledge that the contemporary terms *discantus* and *contrapunctus* are also available. The wider range of meanings inherent in the modern terms is helpful in this discussion, and the ambiguity in the multiple meanings of the term *discantus* is important to avoid.

[9] Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame Conductus*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939).

[10] Robert Falck, 'The Structure of the Polyphonic and Monophonic Conductus Repertories: A Study of Source Concordances and Their Relation to the Chronology and Provenance of Musical Styles' (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1970); the catalogue and parts of the text were reprinted as Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981).

[11] Gordon A. Anderson, 'Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea musicologica* 6 (1972) 153–229; 7 (1975) 1–81.

[12] Gordon A. Anderson (ed.), *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 11 vols. [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vols. 7 and 11 have appeared]. Some of the supplementary material in the edition is also recorded in Anderson's own annotated copy of his 'Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', now preserved in Prof. Gordon Athol Anderson, private library, housed in the Library of the University of New England, without shelfmark.

[13] Mark Everist and Gregorio Bevilacqua, '*Cantum pulcriorem invenire*: Latin Poetry and Song, 1160–1330', 2012, consulted 28 January 2016; http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk.

includes monodies that form the basis of canons, some works that mix monophonic and two-voice writing, the five 'variable-voice' *conducti*, that consists of sections for three and four voices,[14] and a large number of pieces where stave lines were prepared for notation that was never entered (these exist for works for one, two and three voices).[15]

One fundamental distinction needs to be drawn between monophonic and polyphonic *conductus* repertories, between what medieval theory called *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera*, and what is today termed syllabic/neumatic and melismatic music.[16] For both polyphonic and monophonic *conducti*, the syllabic sections – *musica cum littera* – are always notated in unmeasured notation, and any performer, editor or scholar needs to establish a coherent position on how to handle the rhythm of these sections (this is discussed in Chapter 3). For *musica sine littera*, the position is different in polyphonic and monophonic *conducti*: as has already been outlined, *musica sine littera* – the *cauda* – in a polyphonic *conductus* has much in common with the rhythm of *clausula* or motet: notated in modal rhythm, its transcription and performance are not open to significant dispute. For the monophonic *conductus*, however, the position is different insofar as the melismas (no medieval theorist describes melismas as *caudae* in monophonic works) are copied in the same unmeasured notation as the *cum littera* sections and are therefore subject to the same interpretational latitude as exists in the syllabic sections of those pieces.

Monophonic and polyphonic *conducti* exhibit two forms: a first type in which the entire piece is made up of *musica cum littera* and a second that consists of a combination – often an alternation – of *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera*. These are referred to by the perhaps misleading shorthand 'syllabic' and 'melismatic' *conducti*, respectively: the term 'syllabic'

14 See Everist, 'Le conduit à nombre de voix variable (1150–1250)', *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, ed. Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadieu, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, Rencontres-Civilisation médiévale (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018) 329–344.

15 Among the many examples that could be cited are those in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1086; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 1099), Cambridge, Jesus College, QB 1; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 12786.

16 John of Garland was the first to adumbrate the terms *sine littera* and *cum littera* (Erich Reimer [ed.], *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica: kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10–11 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972) 44, 51 and 63). See Ernest Sanders, '*Sine littera* and *Cum littera* in Medieval Polyphony', *Music and Civilisation: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. Edmond Strainchamps, Maria Rika Maniates and Christopher Hatch (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1984) 215–231.

Table 1.1 Relationship between stanzaic structure and number of voice parts in the *conductus* repertory

Voice parts	Monostanzaic	Stanzaic	Stanzaic with refrain	Through composed	Through composed with refrain	Undetermined	Total
1	35	212	40	97	3	8	395 (439)
2	14	66	3	126	1	2	212 (236)
3	15	42	1	41	0	5	104 (136)

to describe a *conductus* that consists entirely of *musica cum littera* is clear; what needs to be remembered is that a 'melismatic' *conductus* will also consist of sections *cum littera* and sections *sine littera* (*caudae*). The balance of syllabic and melismatic varies according to number of voices. For example, in three-voice compositions, syllabic and melismatic are almost equal in number (54 of the former, 72 of the latter); for the two-voice *conductus*, however, there are nearly double the number of melismatic works as syllabic ones (152 as opposed to 84). In the case of the monophonic *conductus*, the balance is tilted even more in favour of syllabic works with 311 examples as opposed to 90 melismatic works.

The *conductus* repertory is divided according to the way in which strophic/stanzaic poetry relates to the music. Broadly speaking, the stanzaic structure of *conductus* poetry falls into three groups: simple strophic poetry (in which the structure of each stanza is identical); through-composed poetry (in which the stanzas are different) and structures based on paired lines based on the sequence on Latin *lai*.[17] A fundamental compositional question is posed at the very beginning of the process of composition: is the music to repeat for each stanza, or is there to be new music for all stanzas in the *conductus*? Table 1.1 sets out the proportions of the repertory for *conducti* in one, two and three voices and prompts a number of observations.

First of all, the totals in the right-hand column do not quite match the overall numbers of monophonic, two-voice and three-voice works. As noted earlier, this is because these figures take account of works exclusively with these numbers of voice parts and exclude canons, mixed monophonic and two-voice writing, the 'variable-voice' *conductus* and so on; the larger figure that takes account of these other works is given in

[17] Thomas B. Payne, 'Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique', *Current Musicology* 64 (2001) 107–112.

parentheses. The striking point of variance here, however, relates to the balance between stanzaic and through-composed works. In the case of the three-voice *conductus*, there are more or less equal numbers of each. In the monophonic *conductus*, stanzaic works outnumber through-composed ones by more than two to one, but the reverse is the case for two-voice *conducti*, for which twice as many pieces are through composed as are stanzaic.[18]

A final qualification of the opposition between the terms 'syllabic' and 'melismatic' is important. Thee terms are used in a generic sense to distinguish between different kinds of *conductus*, as the preceding paragraph make clear, but they also identify different relationships between word and note. Conventionally, 'syllabic' means one note to a syllable, whereas 'melismatic' means more than one note to a syllable. The inadequacy of this opposition is clear when we examine a single piece. Consider the first stanza of the anonymous monophonic *conductus* 'Omnis in lacrimas', given here in facsimile and modern edition (Figure 1.1; Example 1.1).

This piece is found in two of the best-known sources for the *conductus* repertory: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1) and Oxford Bodleian Library, Add. A. 44 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Add. A. 44 [its poetry alone]).[19] In the former it is copied among other monophonic *conducti*, and in latter among other poetry without music. The piece is classed in catalogues of the repertory as syllabic (without melismas) and through composed (new music for each stanza).[20] In fact, 'Omnis in lacrimas' is one of a group of pieces in which each pair of stanzas is given the same music, so the facsimile gives the words and notes to the stanza beginning 'Omnis in lacrimas' and ending 'solem Campanie' but also the poetry alone to the second stanza (beginning 'O dies funebris' and ending 'exsolvit debitum'). The third (fully notated), fourth (poetry alone) and the beginning of the fully notated fifth stanza are also visible on the facsimile. All the music in 'Omnis in lacrimas', then, is what medieval theorists would call *musica cum littera*, and its notation is unmeasured, as may be seen from the facsimile. The modern edition here provisionally assumes that the unmeasured notation carries no rhythmic significance

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[18] The large proportion of monophonic stanzaic *conducti* with refrain is largely a result of the inclusion of the Latin *rondelli* in the eleventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. What is also significant is the large proportion of monostanzaic three-part *conducti* (about 14 per cent of the repertory, as opposed to 8 per cent of the monophonic repertory and 6 per cent of the *conducti* for two voices).

[19] *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 415v–416; *GB-Ob* Add. A 44, fol. 130r.

[20] Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 228.

Figure 1.1 'Omnis in lacrimas': facsimile, *I-Fl Plut.* 29.1, fol. 415v

Example 1.1 'Omnis in lacrimas' stanza 1 edition and facsimile; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 415v. Translation: 'In tears / Overflowing / Let every eye be loosed / And may both clergy and people / Equally pour out in abundance / Gasps of dismay; / Let sorrow be equal to the cause; Death openly daring too much / With a cloud of sorrow, / Has cleft the lands / When from us it snatched / The sun of Campania'

and is accordingly presented in unstemmed noteheads.[21] Comparison of the edition with the facsimile shows how conventional diacritical marks are used. Ligatures are indicated by a square bracket (the first syllable of 'est'), and *conjuncturae* – descending rhomb shapes usually preceded by a square are indicated by dotted slurs (the middle syllable of 'paria', for example). *Plicae* are indicated by small notes with a slur to the notated

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[21] For an explanation of the noncommittal approach to the transcription of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus*, both monophonic and polyphonic, see Chapter 3.

pitch. Any bar through the stave, the *suspiratio*, is rendered as a comma above the stave.

However, the simple differentiation of syllabic and melismatic relationships between word and note given earlier – that 'syllabic' means one note to a syllable whereas 'melismatic' means more than one note to a syllable – raises questions. Although it is clear that in the line 'Mors licenter nimis ausa' each note except the last carries a single syllable, nothing that precedes it is anything like as simple. Now, when a passage is identified as 'syllabic', it encompasses not only passages where single notes equal single syllables (as in 'Mors licenter nimis ausa'), but it also includes places where ligatures, *conjuncturae* and *plicae* take the place of a single note. A more useful term is 'neumatic' to describe these sorts of passages, reserving 'syllabic' for cases in which a single note equals a single syllable;[22] this permits a more sophisticated analysis of *musica cum littera* than a simple binary opposition between 'syllabic' and 'melismatic' allows. But even this ternary division among 'syllabic', 'neumatic' and 'melismatic still leaves some passages that require explanation. One thing that ligatures cannot do, for example, is to present two consecutive notes of the same pitch; so on the second syllable of 'uberrimas', there appears to be a single pitch *b* followed by a two-note ligature *b-a*; this ligature constellation carries the same significance as a three-note ligature (of which the first two elements are here separated merely because they are of the same pitch) and are as much 'neumatic' as the two-note ligature on the third syllable of the word that immediately follows: 'uberrimas'. Other examples of neumatic writing in which ligatures are split to accommodate repetition of pitch are clear from a comparison between the example and the facsimile. The moment at which there are too many pitches and ligatures in a neumatic constellation to accommodate a single syllable is the point at which melismatic writing begins; there are none in this example.

Witnesses

The *conductus* repertory is preserved in 570 sources.[23] With the exception of a handful of late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century service books and

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[22] The term is used in this sense in, *inter alia*, Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (London: Burns and Oates, [1958]) 201.

[23] Control over this large number of sources is patchy in the extreme. While one might expect to find inventories of all these sources in the relevant volumes in the series Répertoire international des source musicales (Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th– Early 14th Century)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales BIV1 [Munich and

other collections, these are manuscripts ranging from more or less complete *codices*[24] to smaller sources that may include anything from single compositions copied on the flyleaves of books whose subject matter has little to do with music or lyric poetry, or to miscellanies which might contain many poems but no music. Trying to give further precision to the numbers of compositions in individual sources is hampered by the fact that so many of the surviving sources are fragmentary, frequently broken up in the Middle Ages and used for binding material in later manuscripts and printed books; this is especially problematic for sources coming from the British Isles. Occasionally, there are tantalising clues. For example, the set of fragments, Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne, 3 J. 250 (hereafter *F-CECad* 3 J 250) consists of but nine bifolios preserving less than a dozen works. But in the middle of last folio is the quire signature xxix that – if the manuscript were made up of 12-leaf quires – would mean that these fragments survive from a book that originally had at least 360 leaves, and quite probably more. It is not at all impossible that it was of a comparable size to the largest surviving witness, *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, for example.[25]

Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966] and *eadem*, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320–1400)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales BIV2 [Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1969]), the editorial decisions made over half a century ago excluded manuscripts of monophonic music and manuscripts that included poetry without music. Even in sources that preserved both polyphony and monophony, only those parts of the manuscripts with polyphony were inventoried. In many respects, the inventories given in Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols. (1 [1] – Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1910; *R* [ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 7] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964); (1 [2] – [345–456 ed. Friedrich Gennrich including *R* of 'Die Quellen der Motetten altesten Stils', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923) 185–222 and 273–315, Summa musicae medii aevi 7] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1961; *R* [345–456], [457–783, ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 26] [Binningen]: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1978); (2 – [1–71 ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Summa musicae medii aevi 8 – 65–71 in page proof only] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1962; *R* [1–64, 65–71 corrected], [72–155 ed. Luther A. Dittmer (Musicological Studies 17)] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972) are still some of the most valuable, although strictly speaking the *conductus* does not form part of the scope of the *Repertorium* and the descriptions are therefore more compressed. Falck (*Notre Dame Conductus*, 140–152) lists around 2 per cent of the surviving sources while Anderson (*Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*) gives no list of his sources.

[24] The so-called Notre-Dame manuscripts (*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 628), *D-W* 1099, and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486 (hereafter *E-Mn* 20486)) contain 344, 116, 38 and 67 *conducti* respectively.

[25] See Jacques Chailley, 'Fragments d'un nouveau manuscrit d'Ars Antiqua à Châlons sur Marne', *In memoriam Jacques Handschin*, ed. Higinio Anglès et al. (Strasbourg: P. H. Heitz, 1962) 140–150. This manuscript and its contents are discussed at greater length in Chapter 7.

One way of distinguishing between different types of witness to the *conductus* is between manuscripts that preserve texts alone, and those that preserve both poetry and music. No less than 304 of the total of 570 manuscript sources for the *conductus* are copied without music. Most of these consist of a single poem copied among a host of other poems and literary and non-literary texts, but there are also ten other collections that preserve more than ten poems, some as many as 60 (the practice of preserving *conducti* as poetry without music is examined in Chapter 8). A further segmentation of the repertory is possible according to monophonic and polyphonic music. 192 manuscripts include monophonic pieces, 83 contain *conducti* for two voices, and three-part works are witnessed by 49 manuscripts. Yet another way of coming to terms with the different types of sources for the *conductus* is to consider the four largest manuscripts as in some way 'central', and of greater importance – not just in terms of size – than other manuscripts. This was popular in the 1960s and 1970s and characterises not only the catalogues of the repertory produced by Falck and Anderson but also the organisation of Anderson's edition.[26]

None of these modern techniques for discriminating between the surviving witnesses to the *conductus* repertory seems as valuable or precise as the nature of the manuscript books themselves seems to demand; indeed, modern methods verge on the arbitrary. However, in many cases, the fragmentary nature of the surviving manuscripts makes such judgements sometimes hazardous: to return to the case of *F-CECad* 3. J. 250, it may well be that the original manuscript was as large as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, but that it survives in a fragmentary form makes it difficult to determine whether it was the same sort of book as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 or any of its fellows, for example. This is because we can best identify the type of manuscript book by the way in which its contents are displayed and controlled, its *ordinatio*, and by the way its contents are selected and organised, its *compilatio*.[27] Once the obstacles created by relying on central-peripheral, monophonic-polyphonic, music-poetry oppositions have been overcome, four overall classes of witness to the *conductus* repertory emerge: the formal music book, the miscellany, the compilation and the supplement, each of which has its own characteristics, background

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[26] Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*. Accordingly, vol. 3 of Anderson's edition contains '2pt Conductus – Transmitted in Four and Three Central Sources' (1:i).

[27] The significance of these terms as the basis for a codicological examination of the medieval book is examined in Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. Jonathan J.G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 115–141.

and relationship to the *conductus* repertory. Each type encompasses manuscripts of both monophony and polyphony, and *conducti* preserved both with and without music; and each group includes complete volumes more or less in the form in which their copyists or compilers left them, as well as fragments scattered all over the world.

Formal music books are perhaps the best-known witnesses not only to the *conductus* repertory but also to that of *organum, clausula* and the early motet. The four that are best known and listed already are mostly complete – so statements may be made about their structure and contents – and of such quality that their decoration and history permit precise estimates of their date and provenance and provide a conspectus of musical practice. Of the four, two may be clearly localised and dated. *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 was copied, notated and all its decoration executed in Paris between 1245 and 1255,[28] and *D-W* 628 was copied and notated in St Andrews some time in the early 1230s.[29] Although prepared earlier, *D-W* 628 was probably copied from the same group of exemplars as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 rather than from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 itself. Although copied between ten and twenty years later than *D-W* 628, *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 has the advantage of having been compiled very close to where much of the music is thought to have originated and of being part of a system of book production that was professionalised and that has been subjected to considerable modern attention.[30]

[28] See Robert Branner, 'The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter', *Art Bulletin* 54 (1972) 24–30; Rebecca A. Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972) 1–18; Mark Everist, 'Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution', 2 vols. (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1985), *R as Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989) 1:71–86.

[29] An early fourteenth-century date for *D-W* 628 was challenged in the 1980s on the basis of its decoration in Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson and David Hiley, 'Further Observations on W1', *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society* 4 (1981) 53–80. This was confirmed in Mark Everist, 'From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990) 1–42, and further developed in Rebecca A. Baltzer, 'The Manuscript Makers of W$_1$: Further Evidence for an Early Date', *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Cannata, Rena Mueller and Gabriela Currie, Miscellanea 7 (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008) 103–120.

[30] For the liturgical proximity of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 to the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame in Paris, see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 243–272. There is a consideration of Parisian books of polyphonic music in the context of organised book production that preceded the establishment of the *pecia* system in Everist, 'Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France', 162–168. See also Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500* ([London]: H. Miller, 2000).

If both books were copied from the same group of exemplars – *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 probably directly and *D-W* 628 from some sort of intermediary that must have travelled from Paris to St Andrews – it raises the question as to what sort of exemplar it might have been: a codex in a similar format to the two surviving books? Unbound quires? *Rotuli*, even? A recent discovery, if its analysis is correct, suggests that the exemplars of the previous generation might in fact have looked very much like *D-W* 628 or *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 in terms of format. A set of fragments, Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 1471 (hereafter *F-T* 1471) contains parts of seven two-voice *conductus* laid out very much like the two larger books, but notation for the works was not copied. The distribution of the text beneath the staves makes it quite clear that the balance between *cum littera* and *sine littera* was by and large the same as in versions copied in the two larger books. The critical issue here is that *F-T* 1471 was copied 'above top line'; in other words the topmost text line sits on top of the upper line of the frame ruling as opposed to resting on the second line down, which is the norm for later manuscripts (below top line). Richard Hunt dated this change in scribal practice to around 1230,[31] and while one might wish to treat the precision accorded this date with a degree of latitude, it is certainly the case that *D-W* 628 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 are copied 'below top line', which argues for an earlier date (especially given its Parisian provenance) for *F-T* 1471.[32]

The degree to which these formal music books betray a concern with generic categorisation will be discussed subsequently, but some of their characteristics distinguish them from other types of book. Perhaps the most striking of these is the relationship to the service book in the form it had reached by around 1200. Both Mass and Office books frequently devote 'production units'[33] – frequently referred to as 'fascicles' in the musicological literature – to the *temporale*, *sanctorale*, common of Saints, Virgins and Martyrs, psalter, troper, and so on. There is a residue of this organisation in the way in which, for example, three of the four main complete formal music books assign separate fascicles to two-voice

[31] Neil Ker, 'From 'Above Top Line' to 'Below Top Line': A Change in Scribal Practice', *Richard Irvine Best Memorial Volume*, ed. Myles Dillon, Celtica 5 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1960) 13–16.

[32] For an exhaustive study of *F-T* 1471, see Gregorio Bevilacqua, 'A New Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony?: A New Conductus Fragment from the Early Thirteenth Century', *Music & Letters* 97 (2016) 1–41.

[33] Erik Kwakkel, 'Towards a Terminology for the Analysis of Composite Manuscripts', *Gazette du livre médiéval* 41 (2002) 12–19.

organa for the Office, two-voice *organa* for the Mass, three-voice *conducti* and two-voice *conducti*, and in the way in which works are ordered within the fascicles: this extends additionally not only to the collections of three- and four-voice *organa* but also to the first of the motet collections in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. The presence of non-liturgical monophony and polyphony in formal music books bears a certain similarity to the paraliturgical material found in 'production units' at the end of conventional service books.

Miscellanies and compilations need to be distinguished on account of the intention behind the mixing of material in a single manuscript book. Such miscellanies as the two collections of poetry Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 510 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510) and *GB-Ob* Add. A. 44 show all the signs of having been assembled over time with a single purpose by an individual either for private or communal use. When *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510 is reunited with the two other manuscripts with which it once formed part, the result is a miscellany that places the collection of *conductus* poetry into some sort of context. The contents range from Innocent III's *De mundi miseria et contemptu*, through the *Meditations* of St Bernard, ten verses on the signs of impending death, notes on the nine daughters of the devil attributed to Robert Grosseteste, and a text on the twelve articles of faith which that a Christian must observe to obtain salvation. There are three groups of poems, separated by texts as diverse as a chronology of the Virgin Mary and a set of notes on weights and measures. The collection of lyrics is then followed by the Continuation of Apollonius of Tyre and pencilled notes towards a will that permits a dating of before 1270 for the completion of this layer of the manuscript.[34] Such a configuration as a miscellany may also be witnessed in Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 2777 (hereafter *D-DS* 2777),[35] London, British Library, Harley 978,[36] London, British Library, Arundel 248 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Arundel 248) and Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C. 58.

Compilations may be distinguished from miscellanies in that they consist of 'production units' – usually individual quires or fascicles – put together occasionally with real purpose, sometimes for reasons that defy

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[34] For *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510, see Richard Hunt, 'The Collections of a Monk of Bardney: A Dismembered Rawlinson Manuscript', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1961) 28–42.

[35] See Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, 'Text, Music and Image in a Manuscript from St-Jacob of Liege (Da 2777): a Tool for Monastic Meditation at the End of the Gothic Era', paper read at conference 'Ars Antiqua 2013', Southampton, September 2013.

[36] Helen Deeming, 'Music in English Miscellanies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2004) 62–73.

logic. While these are quite common in the motet repertory – Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 11266; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.f. 13521 seem to behave this way, and Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, H 196 is the most extreme example – they seem much rarer when it comes to the *conductus*. Needless to say, it is not impossible that some of the surviving fragmentary sources were part of compilations but their nature makes judgement more or less impossible.

Much the largest group of sources for the *conductus* consists of supplements. Often consisting of a single work – and frequently just its text – supplementary *conducti* are found added to service books, sermon collections, and sets of *distinctiones* and *exempla*. In the case of *conductus* poetry added to flyleaves, the nature of the host volume is largely immaterial, and in cases of supplementary addition of *conducti* – music or poetry – it is usually difficult to generalise about the relationship between the supplement and the content of the original volume to which it is appended; each requires assessment on a case-by-case basis.

What is clear from this account of the surviving witnesses is that the bulk of the surviving material dates from after the composition of most works in the repertory. It is possible, then, to begin to think of the early history of the *conductus* repertory in terms of a number of phases: phase 1 which encompasses the period in which most works were in fact composed (*c*.1160–*c*1220); phase 2, when the works were copied into most of the surviving manuscripts (*c*.1220–*c*1270); phase 3, when *conducti* were subject to various forms of reworking (*c*.1270 to middle of the fourteenth century); and phase 4, which includes the much later transmissions of *conductus* poetry.

Identity I: Terminology

In any search for the identifying characteristics of a genre, contemporary theory might be thought to be an obvious point of departure. Despite exhaustive examination of theoretical accounts of the *conductus*, two features have been ignored.[37] First, that the theoretical understanding of the term might change according to time and place – so linking comments

[37] Fundamental to any study of the terminology of the *conductus* is Fritz Reckow, 'Conductus', *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Fritz Reckow (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973) 1–10.

from such authors as Johannes de Garlandia[38] to Jacobus de Liège[39] or from those of the anonymous author of the *Discantus positio vulgaris* to those of that author whose treatise used to be attributed to Walter Oding-ton[40] is demonstrably risky; and second, that most of the surviving theory that speaks about the *conductus* does so at a point in the history of the genre when it is beginning to lose its rhythmic distinction between unmeasured notation for *musica cum littera* and measured notation for *musica sine littera* so that the *conductus* could be grouped with the motet and other genres as a species of *discantus*. The earliest theoretical descriptions of the *conductus* date from the 1270s or 1280s, well over a century after the genre emerged, and at a point when notational distinctions between *musica cum* and *sine littera* not only were becoming blurred but were disappearing altogether (this is discussed in Chapter 9). A further barrier to under-standing how thirteenth-century theory spoke of the *conductus* is that – with very few exceptions – authors concerned themselves with the poly-phonic *conductus* and the challenges that created, not with the much larger repertory of the monophonic *conductus*. As will be seen, Anonymous IV is a notable exception to this general principle.[41]

In his first mention of *conductus* in his treatise, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, Franco of Cologne appears to lay out the ground very clearly:

Discantus is with and without words in *conducti* and in any ecclesiastical *discantus* which is incorrectly called *organum*.

Cum littera et sine fit discantus in conductis, et discantu aliquo ecclesiastico qui improprie organum appellatur.[42]

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[38] Garlandia's treatise is edited in Erich Reimer (ed.), *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*.

[39] Roger Bragard (ed.), *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum Musicae*, 7 vols., Corpus scriptorum de musica 3 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1955–1973). For a recent challenge to the authorship of this treatise, see Margaret Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania, Author of the 'Speculum musicae'*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 28 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

[40] Elina Hamilton, 'Walter of Evesham and *De speculatione musicae*: Authority of Music Theory in Medieval England', *Proceedings of Conference: The Gothic Revolution in Music, 1100–1300*, *Musica disciplina* 58 (2013) 153–166. The treatise is edited in Frederick F. Hammond (ed.), *Walteri Odington Summa de speculatione musicae*, Corpus scriptorum de musica 14 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1970).

[41] Anonymous IV is so named because he was the fourth in the series of anonymous authors edited in the first volume of Charles-Edmond-Henri de Coussemaker (ed.), *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera*, 4 vols. (Milan: Bolletino bibliografico musicale; Paris: A. Durand, 1864–1876; *R* Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963). The treatise is edited in Fritz Reckow (ed.), *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4–5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967).

[42] Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles (eds.), *Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis*, Corpus scriptorum de musica 18 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1974) 69. The translation is

Although the *conductus* consists of *musica sine* and *cum littera*, according to Franco it is still a species of *discantus*, in other words polyphonic music whose rhythms are governed by some form of measure. Franco was writing at the end of the thirteenth century at a time when, although the *conductus* was no longer being composed, it was being subject to a number of modifications to bring it up to date with the polyphonic styles of the motet towards 1300 (what has just been outlined as phase 3 of its history). Not realising this, and assuming that Franco was talking about either the *conductus* as it is found in the 1240s in such manuscripts as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 or as it might have been composed in the late twelfth century, gave modern commentators erroneous grounds for arguing that – in its original form from the late twelfth century – the unmeasured notation of the *cum littera* sections of *conducti* encoded modal rhythm; this mistaken view is examined in Chapter 3. More important for the present discussion is that Franco gives the *conductus* a clear terminological focus, in that it consists of *musica sine* and *cum littera*. Franco goes on in this quotation to make clear that the *conductus* does not make use of a *cantus prius factus* and that 'Anyone who wishes to compose a *conductus* ought first to invent as beautiful a melody as he can, then, as previously explained, using it as a tenor is used in writing discant'.[43]

The so-called *Discantus positio vulgaris* has frequently been adduced as one of the earliest treatises to mention the *conductus*, but as long ago as 1967 Fritz Reckow pointed out that the only source for the treatise was the compilation Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 16663, which dated from after the treatise of Franco of Cologne but before 1304,[44] much later than the 1230s–1240s that the treatise's translator had claimed a few years earlier.[45] Hardly surprisingly, then, the author of the *discantus positio vulgaris* also claims *conductus* as a species of *discantus*

One species of discant is pure *discantus*. Another is *organum*, which is of two kinds, namely: *organum duplex* and what is called *organum purum*. Still another species is the *conductus*, another the motet, and another the *hoquetus*.

an altered version of the one found in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History from Antiquity through the Romantic Era* (New York: Norton, 1950) 153.

[43] 'quia qui vult facere conductum, primam cantum invenire debet pulcriorem quam potest; deinde uti debet illo, ut de tenore faciendo discantum, ut dictum est prius' (Reaney and Gilles [eds.], *Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis*, 73–74; Strunk, *Source Readings*, 155).

[44] Fritz Reckow, 'Proprietas und Perfectio: zur Geschichte des Rhythmus, seiner Aufzeichnung und Terminologie im 13. Jahrhundert', *Acta musicologica* 39 (1967) 137, note 81.

[45] Janet Knapp, 'Two XIII Century Treatises on Modal Rhythm and the Discant: *Discantus positio vulgaris* and *De musica libellus* (Anonymous VII)', *Journal of Music Theory* 6 (1962) 202.

Discantus vero alius pure discantus, alius organum. Quod est duplex, scilicet organum duplex et quod pure organum dicitur. Item alius conductus, alius mothetus et alius est ochetus.[46]

Here, then, the *Discantus positio vulgaris* takes distinctions between motet and *conductus* and builds them into a four-part typology of *discantus* consisting of *organum*, *conductus*, motet and *hoquetus*. As with the *conductus*, by the time of writing the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, the unmeasured sections of sustained-tone *organum* had been revised to accord with modern understandings of measured music.

Thirteenth-century theory, compromised as it is by documenting the *conductus* so long after the period in which it flourished, helps little with questions of terminology. While it largely distinguishes between such top-level genres as motet, *organum*, *conductus* and so on, it rarely gives unequivocal examples of *conducti* with titles so that descriptions may be illustrated by surviving works. Anonymous IV is a rare exception and is discussed subsequently, but further precision to questions of terminology may be gained from rubricated identifications of *conducti*. The repertories in which these identifications are found differ in time and perhaps place from those at the centre of this study.

The first of the two repertories in which the *conductus* is identified is the Norman-Sicilian represented by three manuscripts now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 288, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 289 (hereafter *E-Mn* 289) and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 19421.[47] Copied around 1130, *E-Mn* 289 is of great importance for the early history of the *conductus*: in addition to a number of 'Benedicamus domino' tropes, a discussion of which follows in Chapters 2 and 6, it contains 16 monophonic *conducti* of which no fewer than nine are identified by the scribe as *conducti* in the manuscript. These

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[46] Sandra Pinegar, 'Anonymous: *Discantus positio vulgaris*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16663, ff. 65v–66v', *Thesaurus musicarum latinarum*, consulted 1 February 2016; http://boethius.music.indiana.edu/tml/13th/DISPOSI_MPBN1666. The translation is based on Knapp, 'Two XIII Century Treatises', 205.

[47] This repertory has been studied in David Hiley, 'The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centred on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20–4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid' (PhD diss., University of London, 1981); Hiley, 'Quanto c'e di normanno nei tropari sicilo-normanni?' *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 18 (1983) 2–38; Hiley, 'The Chant of Norman Sicily: Interaction between the Norman and Italian traditions', *Studia musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30 (1988) 379–391. While the sequence repertory has been edited in Hiley (ed.), *Das Repertoire der normanno-sizilischen Tropare. I: Die Sequenzen*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 13 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), the *conducti* have been left largely untouched.

are simple, monophonic works where the relationship between word and note rarely involves ligatures of two or three notes against a single pitch; there are no examples of any sort of *caudae*.

Probably slightly later than *E-Mn* 289 – and therefore overlapping with the *conductus* repertory as preserved in the so-called Notre-Dame sources – are three versions of the Circumcision Office – otherwise known as the 'Feast of Fools' – from Sens, Beauvais and Le Puy-en-Velay.[48] These date from no earlier than the thirteenth century, and the manuscript preserving the Beauvais office may be securely dated between 1227 and 1234.[49] These rubrics will be of value in discussions concerning the function of the *conductus*; as far as terminology is concerned, they demonstrate not only that the term is used consistently across all three offices but that in some cases the same works are identified as *conducti* in more than one of them. Furthermore, there is a substantial concordance-base shared between all three offices and the Norman-Sicilian repertory of *E-Mn* 289. If these two repertories – Circumcision Offices and the Norman-Sicilian tradition – identify works as *conductus* specifically via a rubric, later sources for the *conductus* identify the genre only vicariously by including the same types of compositions in the same 'production units' – the fascicles that make up large manuscripts or exist alone in a fragmentary form.

Identity II: Genre

There are two ways in which the *conductus* may be understood as a genre. The organisation of the surviving manuscripts betrays a great deal of how the genre was understood, as do the ways in which thirteenth-century theorists, although often writing during the decline of the *conductus*, spoke about it.

Much may be learned from the ways in which the *conductus* was viewed by those who compiled the four large manuscript compendia discussed earlier. Three of the four manuscripts follow a similar overall plan but

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[48] For Beauvais, see Wulf Arlt (ed.), *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1970); for Sens, Henri Villetard (ed.), *Office de Pierre de Corbeil (Office de la Circoncision) improprement appelé 'Office des Fous': texte et chant publiés d'après le manuscrit de Sens (xiiie siècle) avec introduction et notes*, Bibliothèque musicologue 4 (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard, 1907); for Le Puy-en-Velay, Wulf Arlt, 'The Office for the Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy', *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot Fassler and Rebecca Baltzer (Oxford, etc.: Oxford University Press, 2000) 324–343. These sources are discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.

[49] Arlt, *Festoffizium*, 1:29.

one that differs in detail from manuscript to manuscript. For example, *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 begins with a fascicle of four-voice *organa* and *conducti* followed by a second fascicle of three-voice *organa* and *clausulae*. These are then followed by two fascicles for two-voice *organa* (one setting Office chants, the other Mass chants) and one for two-voice *clausulae*. Fascicles for three-voice and two-voice *conducti* then follow (VI and VII). Fascicles VIII and IX are dedicated to three-voice and two-voice motets. The manuscript ends with a fascicle of monophonic *conducti* and one devoted to monophonic Latin *rondelli*. The *conductus*, then, is carefully distinguished from *organum* and motet throughout the manuscript with the exception of the first fascicle where three of the surviving four-voice *conducti* are copied alongside the well-known settings in four voices of the graduals 'Viderunt omnes' and 'Sederunt principes', the *clausula* 'Mors' and three-voice *clausulae*. Fascicles VI, VII and X–XI neatly separate out three-voice, two-voice and monophonic *conductus*; both motet fascicles fall between the two-voice and monophonic *conductus* fascicles, perhaps implying a greater perceived status for the *conductus* over the motet on the part of the compiler. Differentiating monophonic *conducti* from *rondelli* is an interesting move by the compiler as well;[50] it represents an attempt to subdivide genre in ways that go beyond number of voices or – as will be seen later in the century – language of texts. There is an analogy in the way that the compiler of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 handles three-voice motets in fascicles VIII and IX: the former includes the so-called *conductus*-motet – in which both upper voices sing the same text – whereas the latter focuses on double motets – in which the upper voices sing different texts (all the poetry in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 is in Latin).[51]

Leaving aside a very few slightly ragged inclusions in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (for example where works that sit between motet and *conductus* are copied in various places, sometimes inconsistently so), the majority of *organa*, *clausulae*, motets and *conducti* are separated out coherently into discrete fascicles. This is also largely the case in *D-W* 1099, copied probably a generation later,[52] and its plan is similar to that of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. The fascicle of three-voice *conductus* is promoted to a position ahead of the two fascicles or two-voice *organum*, and the two-voice *conducti* are placed after three-voice motets in Latin but before three-voice motets in French,

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[50] Monophonic *conducti* are in fascicle X and monophonic *rondelli* in fascicle XI. See, for summary listings, Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/1:123–125.

[51] See ibid., 1/1:102–112 and 1/1:112–123.

[52] For the date of *D-W* 1099, see Everist, 'Polyphonic Music', 1:98–109.

and ahead of all two-voice motets.[53] The greater complexity of *D-W* 628 arises from the fact that it was copied at some geographical remove from Paris – in St Andrews – but clearly in imitation of such manuscripts as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. The main outlines of the manuscript's organisation are there: the first fascicle is dedicated to the same four-voice *organa* found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29, fascicles III and IV preserve the two-voice *organa* for Office and Mass, fascicle V two-voice *clausulae*, fascicle VII three-voice *organa*, and fascicles IX and X two-voice and monophonic *conductus* respectively. Fascicle XI preserves compositions of local origin, and while all the music is in two parts the kaleidoscopic range of liturgical genres represented there bears no comparison with the much narrower selection in such continental compendia as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 or *D-W* 1099.[54] It is fascicles II and VIII that set *D-W* 628 apart from its fellows; here are three-voice compositions in both fascicles, and while fascicle II includes both three-voice *organa* and *conductus* (not unlike *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1) fascicle VIII contains two- and three-voice *conducti*, three-voice *organa*, three-voice *clausula*, Sanctus and Agnus tropes.[55] The fourth of the principal Notre-Dame manuscripts, *E-Mn* 20486, is a rather different proposition. It contains very little *organum*, and motets and *conducti* are not differentiated. Fascicle III contains *conducti* exclusively, but then fascicle IV mixes two-voice *conductus* and motets with little discrimination, as does the last, fascicle VI.[56]

The erratic behaviour of *E-Mn* 20486 simply serves as the exception to the rule that most major sources for the *conductus* carefully differentiate the genre from others. Even the large numbers of fragmentary sources for the *conductus* that have been discovered in recent years seem to betray exactly the same organisational characteristics of the surviving compendia: motets and *conducti* are differentiated, and works for different numbers of voices are separated. There is a single exception and that is the manuscript that partially survives split between Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. VI.Q.3.17 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Auct. VI.Q.3.17) and Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S 231 that appears to mix monophony and two-part polyphony indiscriminately.[57] A further way in which discoveries of

[53] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/1:157–222.

[54] For the contents of the eleventh fascicle of *D-W* 628, see ibid., 1/1:8–15 and Edward H. Roesner, 'The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadtiensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle', 2 vols. (PhD diss., New York University, 1974).

[55] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/1: 33–40.   [56] Ibid., 125–139.

[57] Mark Everist, 'A Reconstructed Source for the Thirteenth-Century Conductus', *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of

fragmentary sources seem to reflect the surviving compendia is that many more fragmentary sources for the *conductus* survive than for the motet.

But if the surviving manuscript sources distinguish between the *conductus* and other genres, and between *conductus* for different numbers of voice parts, they do not reflect for example the differences between the *conductus cum caudis* and the *conductus sine caudis*, nor between strophic and through-composed *conducti*. There are however occasional subdivisions within these larger collections. For example, in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, the seventh fascicle appears to be broken down into four smaller collections of 30, 46, 11 and 43 compositions; each subgroup is headed by the same type of historiated initial found at the beginning of each of the main fascicles. Broadly speaking, the first group consists exclusively of *conducti cum caudis* while the second consists of the same with a two-part middle section consisting of *conducti sine caudis* separated into strophic and through-composed works. The third section is exclusively *conducti cum caudis*, whereas the fourth mixes four distinct types but in groups, so that twenty-two strophic *conducti cum caudis* are followed by nine *conducti cum caudis*, three *conducti sine caudis* and nine *conducti cum caudis*.[58] The shortcomings of this type of analysis are clear: the presence of a subgroup of merely three compositions raises the obvious question of whether this design is accidental or planned. It is further brought into question when claims about the concordance base for each of these groups are then used to identify 'central' or 'peripheral' repertories. But in its broader terms, especially when supported by the sorts of physical evidence as the presence of historiated initials at the beginning of the groups, such an analysis does point to a more detailed level of planning in these manuscripts, and therefore to a sense that medieval musicians – composers, manuscript compilers and commissioners – were at least as sensitive to the subgeneric categorisation as modern scholars.

The contribution made by theorists to understanding the terminology of the *conductus* has already been acknowledged. But of all the theorists who discuss the *conductus*, Anonymous IV – as in many such cases – lifts the veil very slightly more on the genre and provides just a glimpse of something more than definitions; he gives a sense of how he – and perhaps

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Mediaeval Music, 1984) 1:97–118. For a differing view that sees the fragments as part of a conventional pattern of manuscript construction, see Eva Maschke, 'Notre-Dame Manuscripts and Their History: Case Studies on Reception and Reuse' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2015), 47–60.

[58] See Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 74–85; Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures'.

other theorists – thought about the *conductus* as a genre. He speaks of the *conductus* on several occasions: for example, when writing about the number of lines to be used in a stave – which according to Anonymous IV partially depends on questions of genre (four-line staves in the tenors of *organum*, for instance) – the theorist discusses the *conductus* specifically:

There are certain others [*organistae*] in different volumes, [who] always make five [lines], whether they proceed according to the method of discant or not, as can be seen in single, double, triple and quadruple *conducti*.

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.[59]

He glosses the term *conductus simplex* for his readers, making it clear not only that for him it means a monophonic *conductus* but also that he considers the *conductus* as a genre to encompass works from one to four parts:

Sometimes *simplex organum* is said as in monophonic *conducti*. It is used in another way, as by the common clerics, as in double, triple, quadruple, etc., *conducti* and similar things, although improperly . . . And this universal method of all types (except monophonic *conducti*) is of any measure and of any melody, etc.

Quandoque simplex organum dicitur ut in simplicibus conductis. Alio modo, prout clerici communes accipiunt, prout in duplicibus conductis triplicibus, quadruplicibus et cetera similia, quamvis improprie. Et iste universalis modus omnium (exceptis simplicibus conductis) [est] cuiuslibet mensurae [et] cuiuslibet cantus et cetera.[60]

In his discussion of the contents of books of music that were known to him, Anonymous IV identifies works generically, as follows:

The third volume is of triple *conducti* that have *caudae* like 'Salvatoris hodie' and *'Relegentur ab area' and similar ones, in which are contained *puncta finalia organi* at the end of *versus* and in others not . . . [61]

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[59] Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 60; the translation is from Jeremy Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, Musicological Studies and Documents 41 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1985) 54.

[60] Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 70; Yudkin, *Music Treatise*, 62.

[61] The *punctus organi* is discussed, both as a generic marker and as a contributor to the creation of musico-poetic structures in Chapter 4.

Tertium volumen est de conductis triplicibus caudas habentibus sicut Salvatoris hodie et Relegentur ab area et similia, in quibus continentur puncta finalia organi in fine versuum et in quibusdam non . . . [62]

Anonymous IV's two examples of three-voice *conducti* with *caudae* are in fact two of the five works that consist of two *partes*, the first for three voices and the second for two.[63] Both works are copied in close proximity to each other in *D-W* 628 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. He then goes on immediately to mention the titles of *duplices conducti* – works for two voices – that also have *caudae*:

such as the ancient 'Ave Maria' for two voices and 'Pater noster commiserans' or 'Hac in die reg[e] nato' in which are contained the names of several *conducti*, and similar things.

ut Ave Maria antiquum in duplo et Pater noster commiserans vel Hac in die reg[e] nato, in quo continentur nomina plurium conductorum, et similia.[64]

All three of the works mentioned here are not only two-voice *conducti cum caudis*, but they are also through composed – in other words new music is composed for each of the various stanzas as opposed to it being simply repeated. 'Hac in die rege nato' is well known for just the reason given here by Anonymous IV, but the description of 'Ave Maria' as 'ancient' is curious. There are four surviving versions of 'Ave Maria gratia plena',[65] two of which are for two voices and *cum caudis*.[66] Anonymous IV is clearly anxious to stress that he is talking about a two-voice version, and it seems inescapable that he is talking about 'Ave Maria gratia plena (II)'. However, it also seems reasonable to assume – given that he is already speaking about two-voice compositions – that he is seeking to distinguish this version from one in three parts – that he might want to call 'modern' (as opposed to ancient). And this fits very well with what is known about 'Ave Maria gratia plena (IV)' unique in the much more recent 'St Victor manuscript' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 15139) which is also composed

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[62] Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 82; Yudkin, *Music Treatise*, 73.

[63] See Everist, 'Le conduit à nombre de voix variable'.   [64] Ibid.

[65] Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus* lists only three versions. The numbering used here corresponds to Everist and Bevilacqua, '*Cantum pulcriorem invenire*: Latin Poetry and Song, 1160–1330'.

[66] Of the three other *conducti* with the same *incipit*, 'Ave Maria laus tibi quia' survives only in the Harleian index (*GB-Lbl* Harley 978, fol. 160v), 'Ave Maria salus hominum' is both for three voices and survives unique in an English source (Oxford, Worcester College, 3.16(A)*, fols. 2r–2v) and 'Ave Maria virgo virginum' is a monody, unique in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 469v.

for three voices.[67] So this clarificatory aside emerges as a comment of some real value: for Anonymous IV, 'Ave Maria gratia plena (II)', preserved in all four of the main Notre-Dame sources and therefore composed before the 1230s (the date of the copying of the earliest of them, *D-W* 628), is 'ancient', whereas 'Ave Maris gratia plena (IV)', copied in a manuscript that must date from after 1244 if the datings of 'Scysma mendacis Grecie' may be trusted, might by the same token be assumed to have been considered 'modern'.[68] For an author writing perhaps in the 1280s, a work written forty years earlier (during his lifetime) might well appear modern alongside one not only probably written before he was born but whose origins probably remained obscure. On the other hand, Anonymous IV's invocation of the ancient might also be because the *conductus* is a setting of a Marian antiphon, and he might simply have been referring to the origin of its text, but this argument is somewhat vitiated by the fact the 'Ave Maria gratia plena', perhaps a 'modern' setting, is of the same text. In that it is a two-voice *conductus cum caudis*, 'Pater noster commiserans' fits Anonymous IV's description perfectly and is found in three of the main Notre-Dame sources. Anonymous IV continues his account of the presentation of *conducti* in manuscript sources with a reference to *conducti* for two, three and four voices but that do not have *caudae*, which he notes used to be much used by minor singers ('quod solebat esse multum in usu inter minores cantores'), and concludes with a Delphic reference to *conducti lagi*, whose meaning is obscured by several layers of transmission and textual disturbance.[69]

Anonymous IV's distinction between *conducti* with and without *caudae* attempts to correct misunderstandings on the part of Johannes de Garlandia when the latter wrote:

And it is to be known that these figures are placed sometimes without text, sometimes with text; *sine littera*, as in *caudae* or in *conducti*, *cum littera* as in motets.

Et scandium, quod huiusmodi figurae aliquando ponuntur sine littera, aliquando cum littera; sine littera ut in caudis vel conductis, cum litera ut in motellis.[70]

[67] Fol. 4r. See the facsimile in Ethel Thurston (ed.), *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris lat. 15139: Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Studies and Texts 5 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1959).

[68] For the date of 'Scysma mendacis Grecie', see Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1:141; Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 242; Payne, 'Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus', 143.

[69] Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 82; Yudkin, *Music Treatise*, 73.

[70] Reimer (ed.), *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica*, 1:44.

Garlandia is here equating *cauda* and *conductus* as two distinct genres – an error that has already been identified by scholars – and of which his successors tried to make sense.[71] Lambertus tried to clarify this passage by offering '*Cum littera*, as in motets and the like; *sine littera* as in the *caudae* of *conducti* and the like'.[72] And the St Emmeram Anonymous tried out the following: '*Sine littera* as in *caudae* or *neumae* of various *cantus*, *cum littera*, as in motets and similar'.[73]

Identity III: Authorship

What is known about the two named composers associated with *organum* and *clausulae*, Leoninus and Perotinus, comes – especially for Perotinus – from Anonymous IV, who obligingly gives examples of the composer's *conductus* output. He gives a single example of a three-voice, two-voice and monophonic piece:

He [Perotinus] also composed three-voice *conducti* such as 'Salvatoris hodie' and two-voice *conducti* such as 'Dum sigillum summi patris' and even monophonic *conducti* with several others such as 'Beata viscera', etc.

Fecit etiam triplices conductus ut Salvatoris hodie et duplices conductus sicut Dum sigillum summi patris ac etiam simplices conductus cum pluribus aliis sicut Beata viscera et cetera.[74]

Anonymous IV again makes reference to the variable-voice *conductus*, 'Salvatoris hodie', here giving the closest thing ever to a medieval attribution. 'Dum sigillum summi patris' is a work of great ambition, making use not only of elaborate *caudae* at the end of each stanza but also deploying

[71] Stanley H. Birnbaum (*Johannes de Garlandia: Concerning Measured Music (De mensurabili musica)*, Colorado College Music Press Translations 9 [Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1978] 5) simply corrects the reading of '*conductus vel caudis*' to '*caudis conductorum*', which merely eliminates Garlandia's misunderstanding rather than accounting for it.

[72] Christian Meyer (ed.), Karen Desmond and Barbara Haggh-Huglo (trans.), *The 'Ars musica' Attributed to Magister Lambertus/Aristoteles*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 27 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) 62–63. The translation here is loosely adapted from ibid., 63. Coussemaker (ed.), *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series*, 1:269. Note Lambertus's use of the term *neuma* as a synonym for *cauda*; its sense is, however, unequivocal.

[73] 'sine littera, ut in caudis seu neumis cantuum variorum, cum littera, ut in motellis et consimilibus' (Jeremy Yudkin [ed.], *De Musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St Emmeram, Complete Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990] 80).

[74] Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 46; Yudkin, *Music Treatise*, 39.

caudae throughout the work in ways that create a structure of great complexity. In this regard, 'Dum sigillum summi patris' bears comparison with 'Pater noster commiserans', Anonymous IV's other exemplary *conductus cum caudis*. Anonymous IV clearly regarded these extremely ambitious compositions, one attributed to Perotinus, very highly, even though he would presumably have considered both of them 'ancient'. Perotinus was also involved in the creation of four monophonic works: 'Vide prophetie', 'De Stephani roseo sanguine', 'Adesse festina' and 'Associa tecum in patria'. These are all tropes of part of the four-voice *organa* attributed to Perotinus, again, by Anonymous IV, and their poetry is thought to be by Philip the Chancellor.[75]

The only other reference to a named composer of a *conductus* is found in the *Cronica* of Salimbene de Adam, probably completed just before his death in 1288, but the section in question relates to 1247.[76] Among a number of references to music and musicians in this text, the name Henry of Pisa stands out as the composer of five *conducti* and as the author of the poetry of two of the five. In addition to either composing or resetting the motet voice 'Homo quam sit pura' and certainly resetting Richard of St Victor's sequence 'Jesse virgam humidavit', Henry was involved in five works:

Christe Deus Christe meus
Miser homo cogita
Quisquis cordi et oculi
Crux de te volo conqueri
Centrum capit circulus

Salimbene described him as both author and composer of 'Christe Deus Christe meus' and 'Miser homo cogita' and implied that the first was a *contrafactum* of a secular song that Henry had heard sung by a maidservant in the Cathedral at Pisa, while the second was composed for three voices. It is impossible to verify these claims because all that survives is the incipit in Salimbene's *Cronica*.

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[75] See Thomas B. Payne (ed.), *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 41 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2011) 3–34. For the modern discovery of the last of these four pieces, see Payne, '*Associa tecum in patria*: A Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986) 233–254.

[76] For the most up-to-date account of Salimbene de Adam and Henricus Pisanus, see Jacopo Mazzeo, 'The Two-Part *Conductus*: Morphology, Dating and Authorship' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2015) 51–86, of which the following three paragraphs are a summary.

The other three compositions for which the composition is ascribed to Henry are all known from other sources. Both the poetry and music of 'Quisquis cordi et oculi' and 'Crux de te volo conqueri' are both widely known, and Salimbene identifies the poetry of both as work by Philip the Chancellor; indeed Salimbene's attribution for the second of these works is the only way in which it is known to be by Philip. The ten-stanza 'Crux de te volo conqueri' is found in no less than twenty manuscript sources; its monophonic music is found in the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut 29.1 and in Rome, Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani (S. Sabina), Archivio dei Dominicani di Santa Sabina, XIV L3 (hereafter *I-Rss* XIV L3).[77] 'Quisquis cordi et oculi' is a complex case. Philip's poetry is known from 28 manuscript sources, and the music is found in the same two manuscripts as 'Crux de te volo conqueri' as well as in London, British Library, Egerton 274 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274, where the poetry is further attributed to Philip).[78] But Henry of Pisa's music is shared with five vernacular songs: the anonymous 'Amis qui est li mieus vaillant', 'Plaine d'ire et desconfort' and 'Seyner mil gracias ti rent' and two lyrics attributed to Bernard de Ventadorn: 'Li cuers si vait de l'oil plaignant' and 'Quan vei la lauzeta mover'. Such a state of affairs clearly creates problems between the attribution of the poem and the chronology of Philip's and Bernard's lives. No such difficulty exists with 'Centrum capit circulus'. Both the manuscripts in which the poetry is found attribute the work to Philip the Chancellor, and the two-voice *conductus* is found in the appropriate fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 in addition to the incipit in Salimbene's *Cronica*. This is a *conductus* of some complexity, as befits a poem of equal intricacy; it consists of four stanzas in both sources for the poetry with music for stanzas one and three in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, suggesting an overall AA_1BB_1 structure. Each stanza begins and ends with a *cauda* and the first contains four additional *caudae* and the second two.

Salimbene travelled to France and especially to Paris in the late 1240s and so could have been familiar at firsthand with the music about which he was writing. There is no evidence, however, that Henry of Pisa ever left Italy, although as a Franciscan his opportunities for travel were greater than for the members of other orders. So the exact relationship between Salimbene, Henry, Philip the Chancellor and the notated sources of these three *conducti* remains inexact.

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[77] Fols. 439r–439v and 142r–143r.

[78] *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 437v; *I-Rss* XIV L3, fols. 140v and 146v; *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274, fol. 24v.

While the previous comments have exhausted almost everything that is known about the role of named composers, questions of poetic authorship loom as large in the *conductus* as they do in any other repertory of medieval literature. Four individuals figure prominently as authors of *conductus* poetry: Peter of Blois, Walter of Châtillon, Alan of Lille and Philip the Chancellor. But there are also some remarkable names that appear to have contributed in the same way.

At the head of the list must come Bernard of Clairvaux, founder of the Cistercian order and the first Cistercian saint. In a 1295 inventory of the books in St Paul's Cathedral is a reference to a book of polyphony whose explicit is 'O mira Christi pietas', a poem that is clearly attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, and that seems to have involved music, either polyphonic or monophonic.[79] The complex textual tradition behind this reference is discussed in Chapter 8, because it engages with other works of Bernard as well.

Even more elusive is a reference in the grammarian John of Garland's *Dictionarius*. This is a text that survives in a large number of differing versions. In one of them, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 8447,[80] the author alludes unequivocally to a *conductus* with the incipit 'Alto gradu glorie', whose structure clearly points to the first two lines of a Goliardic lyric.[81] The casual way in which this reference is introduced is intriguing: 'Unde in conductu meo de Tholosa dicitur: Alto gradu glorie tollitur Tholosa etc', and John's reference 'in conductu meo' makes one wonder how many other *conducti* he might have written. The date of this section of the text is unclear, but Paetow suggests that while the main text dates from the 1220s, the gloss (from which this reference is taken) dates from after John's arrival in Toulouse in 1229.[82] Such detail makes it all the more regrettable that neither the poetry nor the music of 'Alto gradu glorie' has survived.

Walter Map, the late twelfth-century 'raconteur and satirist', as the author of his entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* puts it, appears

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[79] See Rebecca Baltzer, 'Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found', *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987) 382.

[80] Fol. 53v.

[81] Barthelémy Hauréau, *Notice sur les œuvres authentiques ou supposées de Jean de Garlande* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878) 46.

[82] Louis John Paetow, *The 'Morale scolarium' of John of Garland, a Professor in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse in the XIIIth Century*, Memoirs of the University of California 4/2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927) 129–131. The subsequent suggestion that the reference is to a guidebook to Toulouse is not supported by the evidence (ibid., 139).

to have written at least one *conductus* poem.[83] 'Omnis caro peccaverat'
survives in four manuscripts with music in three. In the fourth surviving
source – which preserves only the poetry – is the rubric: 'Guido Mapes
concerning the punishment of sins, or the ways in which God destroyed
the world through Noah's Flood'.[84] Although Map died in either 1209
or 1210, one of the manuscripts in which the *conductus* is preserved also
contains a bestiary with an *explicit* that dates probably the copy rather
than the composition of the work to 1267.[85] The music is of the simplest
construction: monophonic and largely syllabic with few ligatures and no
melismas; each stanza of 12 lines involves two repetitions of the same
music.[86]

One poet, however, was very close not only to the composition of
poetry and music of the *conductus* but also to its performance in the
various configurations of the Feast of the Circumcision, which is discussed
later in this chapter. Gui de Basoches was cantor in the Cathedral of
Châlons-sur-Marne (now Châlons-en-Champagne) and was therefore
responsible for the celebrations of the Feast of the Circumcision.[87] As far
as can be established, an early effort was so catastrophic that it entailed
Gui's exile, during which time he wrote letters to his Châlons-sur-Marne
colleagues enclosing poetry that – in several cases – was clearly designed
to be sung. Three of these poems, 'Adest dies optata', 'Anni novi reditus'
and 'Christo nostra devotio', are appended to letters whose content make
their performative contexts clear.[88] Frustratingly, not only is there no
music to accompany any of Gui's poetry, but to date no concordances
have emerged either. And while most of the poems are clearly *conducti*,
it is intriguing to imagine how such a poem as 'Martyr insignias' – which
is a Sapphic hymn – might have been projected musically.

[83] C. N. L. Brooke, 'Map, Walter (*d.* 1209/10)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford
University Press, 2004, consulted 10 October 2016; www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18015.

[84] 'Gui[do] Mapes de punitione peccati; quomodo Deus destruxit mundum per diluvium Noe';
London, British Library, Cotton Titus A XX, fols. 70v (67v). See Marius Sepet, 'Cantique latin
du déluge publié d'après le manuscrit français 25408 à la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Bibliothèque
de l'École des Chartes* 36 (1875) 139–146 for an edition of the text.

[85] Ibid., 141.

[86] The music of 'Omnis caro peccaverat' is preserved in three sources; Paris, Bibliothèque
nationale de France, fonds français 25408, fols. 116r–117r; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius
College, 240/126, fols. 12–13; Cambridge, University Library, Add. 710, fols. 126r–127r.

[87] For the biography of Gui de Basoches, see Herbert Adolfsson (ed.), *Liber epistularum Guidonis
de Basochis*, Acta universitatis stockholmiensis: Studia latina Stockholmiensis 18 (Stockholm:
Almqvist & Wiksell, 1969).

[88] Ibid., 88, 19 and 155.

All the examples so far discussed of named poets engaged in the *conductus* repertory have involved the simpler end of the monophonic repertory, or the poetry has not survived with music. Before approaching authors that have bequeathed significant numbers of works, one example of a named author engaging in a more elaborate *conductus* is John of Hoveden's *'O qui fontem gratie'. Attributed to the author in London, British Library, Cotton Nero C IX,[89] it also survives in three central sources, *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, *D-W* 628 and *E-Mn* 20486 in a version for two voices.[90] An ambitious and complex work, 'O qui fontem gratie' consists of three through-composed stanzas and a refrain. *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 gives the piece in the form Stanza 1, Refrain, Stanza 2, Cue for Refrain, Stanza 3, and ends with a further cue for the refrain; this format is replicated in *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510. But the two other music sources, *D-W* 628 and *E-Mn* 20486, omit the cues for the second and third statements of the refrain, thus giving a form Stanza 1, Refrain, Stanza 2, Stanza 3 – with the refrain left as an irregular stanza in the middle of piece. But given the highly irregular structure of the three main stanzas, this is entirely explicable.[91] Like many of the pieces discussed so far in this section, the music of 'O qui fontem gratie' is largely syllabic, with relatively few ligatures; but it is for two voices, and each stanza and the refrain is prefaced by a short *cauda*. The refrain is, however, marked out by an ambitious terminal *cauda* (which in turn might have confused the scribes of *D-W* 628 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 into thinking of it as an independent stanza) that is not found in any of the other stanzas.[92]

Alan of Lille is well known for his authorship of the poetry of 'Exceptivam actionem', an 'intellectually dazzling' work, according to Peter Dronke.[93] And it is certainly an impressive undertaking, as it paints a

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[89] Fol. 226r.

[90] Fols. 289v–291r; 158r–159v; 60v–63r. The poem was edited as long ago as 1939, and the attribution recognised, in F. J. E. Raby (ed.), *Poems of John of Hoveden*, The Publications of the Surtees Society 154 (Durham: Andrews; London: Quaritch, 1939) 203–205. See also Raby's introduction to the poem, ibid., xxxvii–xlii.

[91] Refrain: eight lines all heptasyllables except the ending hexasyllable and two medial lines of four syllables; all proparoxytones except the last line (a paroxytone). Stanza 1: 12 lines of 7 proparoxytones and a single finale paroxytonic hexasyllable; Stanza 2: 17 lines mixing four-, five- and six-syllable lines (all proparoxytones except the last); Stanza 3: 15 lines mixing four-, six- and seven-syllable lines, and proparoxytones and paroxytones.

[92] To complicate the matter further, the cue for the second statement of the refrain makes it clear that the short *cauda* that stands at its beginning is to be omitted in the version in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (fol. 290r).

[93] Peter Dronke, 'The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor', *Studi medievali*, Third Series 28 (1987) 564.

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

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[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.

at least once source with music survives for each. The first and last of this group is discussed in Chapter 8 because they form part of longer works – as sorts of internal quotations – and both works were widely transmitted. The survival of 'Dum medium silentium tenerent' is typical of the monophonic works: it is found with music in the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 551.[104] While the former is perhaps the most comprehensive collection of monophonic *conducti*, the latter consists of a thirteenth-century addition to a tenth-century set of *vitae* of Merovingian and Frankish saints and probably originates in St Gall itself. The other eight sources for the work preserve only the poetry but include the two collections between known for their preservation of *conductus* poetry, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510 and Add. A. 44, several manuscripts from the British Isles and one from Liège (*D-DS* 2777).[105]

The remaining four *conductus* based on Walter of Châtillon's poetry are polyphonic. 'Excitatur caritas in Iericho' is preserved as a three-voice piece in *I-Fl* Put. 29.1,[106] and its text in a range of other sources, most obviously in Saint Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 351,[107] where the attribution to Walter is found; as is so frequently the case, the three-voice version gives only the first stanza of the five. The other three works are all for two voices. 'Omni pene curie' is an intriguing case: not only is the music found copied for two voices in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, but it is also found in two other central sources where the page is prepared for a two-voice version but the notation was never copied: *D-W* 628 and New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke 712.59.[108] All the other sources preserve the poetry alone in the context of a larger work. The two other two-voice pieces, 'Sol sub nube latuit' and 'Ver pacis aperit' are both found in that form in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 as well as in poetry manuscripts.[109] All four polyphonic *conducti* involving poetry by Walter of Châtillon are characterised by their simple form. Only one has a *cauda*, and the one at the end of 'Sol sub nube latuit' consists of only two homorhythmic phrases. More striking, perhaps, is the handling

[104] Fol. 422v and page 49.   [105] Fols. 248v–249r; fol. 65r; 4v.

[106] Fol. 252r–252v.   [107] Fol. 16r.

[108] Fol. 353r; 144v; unnumbered folio. 'Omni pene curie' is also found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 146), fol. 7v, which is discussed in Chapter 10.

[109] They are also copied successively in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 354v–355r and 355r, respectively. 'Omni pene curie' is only copied a folio or two away (fol. 353r), which raises the intriguing question of the authorship – or at least what the scribe of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 thought of the question of authorship – of the intervening three works: 'Nove geniture', 'Involitus in erroris' and 'Luxuriant animi'.

of the *cum littera* sections, which rarely involve more than one note to a syllable; ligatures of two and three notes are uncommon in all four pieces and ligatures or ligature-constellations of four or more pitches are rare in the extreme. In other words, the compositional imagination in these pieces, all based on the poetry of the same author, ranges within very similar boundaries; could Walter have been working with a musician who was setting his poetry as he wrote it? Could Walter have been writing both poetry and music? There is no evidence beyond the circumstantial, but these are fundamental questions when we speak about a *conductus* as a 'setting' of a poem by a named author.

This question is worth raising simply because, in the case of another poet, Philip the Chancellor, we know that some of his verse was set by a composer very much within the same intellectual and musical orbit. Philip's poetic output is the largest to have a reflection not only in the *conductus* repertory but in most genres in circulation in the early years of the thirteenth century; he was furthermore closely associated with the work of Perotinus. If the ascriptions in three main medieval manuscripts, in a handful of other medieval ascriptions, and in a couple of references in prose works are accepted, the number of poems that may be securely attributed to Philip the Chancellor is no fewer than seventy. This *corpus* is defined by the contents of the manuscripts *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274, *D-DS* 2777 and Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu: Knihovna metropolitní kapituly, N VIII (hereafter *CA-Pak* N VIII),[110] seven ascriptions made by Salimbene (see the preceding text), and single attributions made by Henri d'Andeli and in the manuscripts Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 312 and Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 26860.[111]

When the *corpus* of Philip's songs is classified by genre, there appear to be forty-eight monophonic *conducti*; eight polyphonic *conducti*; five *organum prosulae*; three *conductus prosulae* and six motets. This output self-evidently dwarfs that of any of the authors discussed so far; indeed, Philip's *œuvre* outclasses all other authors combined, and it is easy to agree with Payne when he argues that 'This third member of the Notre Dame

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[110] This includes the ascriptions to the *organum prosulae* and other works in *CA-Pak* N VIII that are doubted in Dronke, 'Lyrical Compositions,' 591.

[111] Ibid., 588–592. More recently, David A. Traill has argued in a number of publications that the canon of works attributed to Philip the Chancellor should be greatly extended – to the point, it seems, that he is the sole author of the poetry in, for example, the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. See his 'More Poems by Philip the Chancellor', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006) 164–181; Traill, 'Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon', *Filologia mediolatina* 10 (2003) 219–248; Traill, 'A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in Carmina Burana 21–36', *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 47 (2006) 267–286.

Rex et sacerdos prefuit	As king and priest Christ
Christus utroque gladi *o*,	Ruled with double sword:
Regnum in ipso floruit	In him flourished a temporal rule
*Con*iunctum sacerdotio.	Conjoined to the priesthood.
Utile dulci miscuit,	He mixed the useful with the sweet,
Sed sub figura latuit	And concealed beneath a figure lay
*Hui*us vincture ratio.	The reason for this joining.
*O*tho, quid ad te pertinet,	Otto, of what concern is this to you?
Que te rapit presumptio?	What presumption seizes you?
*Ces*sa! iam casus imminet,	Cease! already your fall is imminent;
Iam vicina subversio,	And now a subversion is near,
Que reprobum exterminet,	Which drives out a wicked man;
Ut Saulem eliminet	So that David will drive out Saul,
David, fiet inunctio.	There will be an anointing.
*Ex*clamat Innocentius:	Innocent exclaims:
'*Le*dor, quem feci, baculo,	'I am wounded by the staff I made
Conversus in me gladius,	The sword is turned against me,
Cuius cingebar capulo;	With whose sheath was I once girded;
Vas est collisum figulo,	The vessel is smashed against the potter;
Fortior ille vasculo,	But he is stronger than the vessel,
*Fran*get ergo fragi*li*us'.	And therefore will the more fragile be broken'.

Example 1.3 Text and translation of 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit'

"triumvirate" [Philip the Chancellor] certainly merits a place alongside Leoninus and Perotinus as a newly acknowledged advocate for one of the most innovative eras of music history'.[112]

Leaving aside Latin *rondelli* and some other pieces whose structure is predetermined, Philip's monophonic *conductus* seem to be set as follows: seven are strophic and through composed, while seven are also melismatic and strophic; fourteen behave like most of the attributed *conducti* discussed so far and are both strophic and syllabic; but no less than ten are both melismatic and through composed. 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit' is a good example of this latter group.[113] Philip's poem consists of three stanzas with different music to each (Example 1.3).

The content of the poem is explicit and well known. Philip is engaging with a moment in European politics when the newly elected Holy Roman Emperor Otto IV and Pope Innocent III were in dispute over a number

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[112] Payne, 'Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony', 28

[113] The music of 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit' is preserved in three sources: *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 435v–436; *GB-Ob* Auct. VI.Q.3.17, fols. 16 ext. a; 19 ext. b; 21 ext. b; *F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 7v; its text is found in *D-DS* 2777 fol. 4r.

of territorial issues, but especially the independence of Sicily from the Holy Roman Empire. Matters came to a head after Otto's coronation on 21 October 1209, and he was excommunicated by Innocent III little more than a year later on 18 November 1210.[114] Whether 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit' may be placed exactly between these dates is unclear, but it must predate Otto IV's abdication in 1215.[115] The first of the three stanzas draws out the dual nature of Christ's reign: as priest and as king, setting up the opposition between Otto IV and Innocent III in the remaining two stanzas, the second of which is dedicated to Otto and the third to Innocent. Philip addresses Otto directly in the second stanza, and his minatory lines point to Otto's immediate fall and to a *vicinia subversio*; this may well refer to the dissatisfaction with the Imperial nobility who felt that Otto should not have been occupying himself with affairs in southern Italy, but with the incursions of Valdemar II into the northern territories of the empire, who elected Frederick of Sicily King of the Romans at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1211, a direct challenge to Otto's imperial authority. Philip reports Innocent's view of Otto's treachery, but also a prediction – correct as it turned out – that Innocent would prevail. Philip's position in favour of the pope is clear and is carefully plotted by his address directly to Otto in the second stanza and contrasted this with Innocent's reported speech in the third.

Philip's poem is set to music in a way that mixes *musica cum littera* with *musica sine littera* in what might seem at first sight to be unpredictable ways (*caudae* are indicated in italics in Example 1.3). Each of the three stanzas begins with a melisma on the first syllable, picking out the words 'Rex', Otho' and 'Exclamat'; the melismas on the first and third stanzas pick out the same rhyme ('Rex' and 'Exclamavit'), thus throwing into relief the name of the miscreant emperor in the centre. The three melismas are of comparable length, but again the first and third move in largely conjunct motion, and the smoothness here is contrasted with the jagged leaps of the melisma corresponding to the imperial name 'Otto'/'Otho' (Example 1.4).

What is every bit as interesting is the deployment of melisma elsewhere in the composition; there are four in each stanza, but they appear in very different places. The first and third stanzas begin their final lines with a melisma on words that seem to have little lexical significance, but the second stanza ends syllabically. It is difficult to explain the position of the

[114] Payne, 'Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus', 142.
[115] For the background to the political significance of 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit', see Paul Oldfield, 'Otto IV and Southern Italy', *Archivio Normanno-Svevo* 1 (2009) 9–30.

Example 1.4(a–c) Comparison of opening of three stanzas of 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols 435v–436

melisma on 'Ut' beginning the penultimate line of the second stanza, and similarly the one on 'fragilius' at the end of the piece seems opaque until the entire line is taken into account, especially the generous ligatures on the *musica cum littera*, when it then appears as a kind of closing melisma to the entire *conductus* (Example 1.5).

The melisma on 'gladio' at the end of the first stanza's second line neatly closes off the opening key declaration concerning Christ's double reign and, two lines later, 'Coniunctum' adds emphasis to the same point. 'Ledor' at the beginning of the second line of the third stanza simply introduces Innocent's direct speech, but the two in the centre of the second stanza strike at the heart of the poem's purpose. 'Cessa!' summarises in the a word Innocent's command to Otto, and 'Iam' points up the imminent threat of Otto's enemies.

Example 1.5 Last line of third stanza of 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 436r

Example 1.6 Second stanza of 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 436r. Translation: 'Otto, of what concern is this to you? / What presumption seizes you? / Cease! Already your fall is imminent / And now a subversion is near / Which drives out a wicked man; / So that David will drive out Saul / There will be an annointing'

Unlike much of the music with poetry by named authors discussed so far, this *conductus* exploits a wide range of notational figures and hence rhythmic profiles. Example 1.6 gives just the second stanza.

The jagged outline of the opening melisma has already been noted, as has the placement of the melismas on 'Cessa!' and 'Iam', but these are contrasted with almost exactly syllabic presentations (single note against

single syllable) in the rest of the line 'Otho, quid ad te pertinet', which in turn is contrasted with two sequential five-note *conjuncturae* on 'qui te' and 'rapit', respectively. This rapid change from the simple (single notes per syllable) to the complex (five-note constellations per syllable) characterises the neumatic quality of this piece beyond the inclusion of formal melismas already discussed. A similar opposition between the simple and complex may be seen in 'iam casus imminet' (simple) and 'vicina subversio' (complex); in the latter the jagged contour of the opening melisma on 'Otho' is reprised by the striking descending fifth, and further descending five-note *conjuncturae* are found in the line 'Que reprobum exterminet'. In short, the finely textured language of Philip's poetry is reflected in the wide rhythmic and declamatory range of the music.

Such subtleties are not confined to either melismatic or through-composed *conducti* using poetry by Philip the Chancellor. *'Excutere de pulvere' is neither but shows the composer planning declamation just as carefully as in the melismatic, through-composed 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit' (Example 1.7).[116]

The edition of the first stanza shows clearly how the first two and second two lines of the poem correspond to the same music with *ouvert* and *clos* cadences. In these two sections, the composer mostly makes use of single notes and two-note ligatures with a single four-note constellation on the last syllable of 'pulvere' and 'temere'. With these two sections, A and A$_1$ safely delivered, the composer switches focus, and – triggered by the exhortatory 'Surge' – deploys more elaborate neumatic clusters of four, five and, on the word 'Surge' itself, a group of no less than nine notes. This more elaborate style characterises the entire second half of the piece.

While these two examples cannot alone define the musical style of the monophonic settings of Philip's nearly fifty works in the genre, coming to terms with his eight poems set polyphonically is more of a challenge (Table 1.2).

Philip's poetry served for two similar two-voice *conducti*: 'Centrum capit circulus' and 'Regis decus et regine'. Both are melismatic and through composed, and both follow the same pattern of using the same music for pairs of stanzas, so that stanzas 1 and 2 share the same music, as do stanzas 3 and 4. Both works are therefore transmitted in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 with the music notated for the first and third stanzas; no text *residuum* is provided

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[116] *'Excutere de pulvere' is found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 426v and the first stanza of its text in *D-DS* 2777, fol. 4r.

Example 1.7 Edition of first stanza of *'Excutere de pulvere'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 426r. Translation: 'Rise up from the dust / For a remedy is essential, / You who are basely and rashly / Lying in the dung-heap; / Arise, run for the prize, / While you may still grasp it; / Seeking the way among false paths, / Take heed of evils! / Return to your father's house, / With the penitent son'

for the second and fourth stanzas whose poetry has to be supplied from other sources.[117]

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[117] The surviving witnesses for 'Centrum capit circulus' supply all four stanzas of the poetry in two text manuscripts: *CH-Pak* N VIII, fol. 38v and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 526,

Table 1.2 Philip the Chancellor's poetry with polyphonic music

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'Ave virgo virginum' (I) (three voices)
*'Dic Christi veritas' (three voices)
'Gedeonis area' (three voices)
'Luto carens et latere' (three voices)
'Mundus a munditia' (three voices)
'O Maria virginei' (three voices)
'Centrum capit circulus' (two voices)
'Regis decus et regine' (two voices)

The poetry of the two pieces is different: 'Centrum capit circulus' consists of relentless heptasyllabic proparoxytones, while 'Regis decus et regine' alternates paroxytonic and proparoxytonic octosyllables. 'Centrum capit circulus' develops a complex geometrical image in support of a poem about the Incarnation, Holy Trinity and the belief of the Jews, while 'Regis decus et regine' is an allegory of the Materials of the Tabernacle. But, as can be seen from Example 1.8, both poems make extensive use of strategically placed *caudae* (Example 1.8).

But if the density of *caudae* in these two works (indicated in *italics*) is of a similar level, rather different sorts of techniques are in play. For example, apart from routinely placing *caudae* at the beginning of stanzas, 'Centrum capit circulus' emphases identical end-rhymes (lines 2, 4 and 8 of stanza 1 and 4 and 8 of stanza 2) as well as stressing the prepositions and conjunctions that articulate the various propositions in the first stanza. By contrast, 'Regis decus et regine' – while also beginning stanzas with a *cauda* – seems more concerned with the parallelism of 'confitentes' and 'patientes' in the first stanza and using the *cauda* on 'cum' in the second to articulate the change from explication of allegory to interpretation. None of this argues either for Philip's authorship of the music or even for common authorship at the hands of a third party but points to a stylistic identity for the two works that matches that of its poetry.

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fol. 183v; there is also an *incipit* in Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 7620, fol. 286r and all the music in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 357r–358r, the position for 'Regis decus et regine' is more precarious, and the only surviving source for the fourth stanza is the highly fragmentary *F-CECad* 3. J. 250, fol. 5r. It is found in two parts also in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 364v–355r and the text in *CH-Pak* N VIII, fol. 38v.

I
*Cen*trum capit circulus,   A circle embraces its central point,
Quod est maius circu*lo*,   Which is itself greater than the circle;
In centro triangulus   In the centre is a triangle
Omni rectus angu*lo*,   Correct in respect of each angle,
Sed fit minor angulus   But lesser becomes one angle
Unus de triangulo,   Of the triangle
Dum se mundi figulus   When the maker of the world
Inclusit in vascu*lo*.   Enclosed himself within the womb.
III
*Con*cordem discordiam   A concordant discord
Rerum parit novitas,   This unheard of event brought forth;
Vestem texit variam   A changing garment
Fecunda virgini*tas*,   Fecund virginity covered;
Matrem vocat filiam   God made flesh calls
Facta caro deitas,   A mother daughter,
*Os*culatur sociam   And truth touches lips
Vanitatem veri*tas*.   With allied void.

I
*Re*gis decus et regine,   Adornment of both king and queen:
Saga, pelles et cortine,   Coverings, skins and curtains,
Viole, rose, lili*a*;   Violets, roses, and lilies;
Saga signant confi*ten*tes,   Mantles signify the faithful,
*Pel*les rubre pati*en*tes,   Red skins, those long-suffering,
Cortine continen*ti*a.   Curtains, restraint.
III
*Man*datorum denarius   The Ten Commandments
Cortinarum pluralitas,   Are the manifold curtains;
Virtutum quarternarius   The four Virtues
Est colorum diversitas,   Are the diversity of colours:
Cum iacincto prudentie,   With hyacinth comes prudence,
Bissi retorte castitas,   Fine twined linen, chastity,
Cum purpura iustitie   With purple comes justice,
Cocci bistincti ca*ri*tas.   And double-dyed scarlet, love.

Example 1.8 Comparison of texts of stanzas 1 and 3 of 'Centrum capit circulus' and 'Regis decus et regine'

All but one of the three-voice *conducti* that set Philip's poetry are of the simplest type: both syllabic and strophic. In this, they conform to a general characteristic of three-voice writing in the *conductus*,[118] but it is certainly

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[118] For an overview of the stylistic characteristics of the three-voice *conductus*, see Vincent J. Corrigan III, 'The Style of the Notre-Dame Conductus', 2 vols. (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1980).

striking that six of the eight polyphonic *conducti* setting Philip's poetry are thus, given that two-voice works outnumber three-voice ones by nearly two to one in the repertory as a whole. Although syllabic, a single three-voice work does make use of *caudae*, but there are some doubts about its attribution. *'Dic Christi veritas' is one of the most widely distributed three-voice *conducti*; it is found in all four central sources, in London, British Library, Egerton 2615(2), in several sources as a monody and in a couple with its text alone. Two works which are *prosulae* based on the concluding melisma of *'Dic Christi veritas', *'Bulla fulminate' and *'Veste nuptiali', are securely attributed to Philip, while *'Dic Christi veritas' is attributed to him in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 312. It stands alone in this group of three-voice *conducti* setting poetry by Philip the Chancellor.

Defining the *conductus* presents challenges to the scope of the repertory, to definitions of genre, and to questions of who, when and where. Issues of ontology are sufficiently opaque to vitiate any chance of defining the limits of the genre by merely pointing to works that have been considered *conducti* in the past. Such a definition as used here has been more heuristic than definitive: more a proposal for identifying boundaries rather than setting clear limits. And such a view is consistent with the overlaps with other contemporary genres, the neat generic categories offered by theorists fifty years after the last *conductus* was composed are little more than a point of departure for our understanding of what a *conductus* might be and what it might not. Questions of authorship and attribution are no more easily answered. The elusive comments concerning Henry of Pisa and Perotinus as composers, coupled to reasonably secure attributions to known poets (but largely of marginal works), position the *conductus* awkwardly between the thoroughgoing anonymity of nearly all the motet repertory and the dominance of Leoninus and Perotinus within the domain of *organum* and *clausula*.

Such a position leaves the examination of the music and poetry as central to any inquiry into the *conductus*; its musical and poetic material, its deployment and use, are the focus of the second chapter of *Discovering Medieval Song*. But this still leaves open one of the central questions of the *conductus* repertory: what was its function, and under what circumstances was it performed, cultivated and admired? This is where the next chapter begins.

2 | Poetic and Lyric Types: Words and Music

Performance and Function I: The Liturgy

From the last quarter of the twelfth century, *organum* and its component parts – *clausula* and perhaps the early Latin motet – were embedded in the liturgy, and indeed took their raison d'être from it. When the question of function for the *conductus* is posed, however, a number of different ways of approaching the answer appear.[1] And such questions are immediately confused with those of generic terminology discussed in Chapter 1, and the content of the poetry itself, to be discussed here. Various pieces of evidence for the function of the *conductus* survive, and although some of them are complementary, the ways in which they interrelate is frequently far from clear. The search for a single, all-encompassing, function for the *conductus* consequently begins to look like an exercise in futility.[2] For a genre that was in a state of flux from its earliest traces in the 1130s and 1140s to its apparent decline and transformation around 1300, it is hardly surprising that its function might change over time. Furthermore, it is unclear that one part of Europe would treat the genre – or even a single composition – in the same way as any other part.

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[1] While the question of the liturgical context of *organum* is self-evident, that of the early motet is not so clear. For the most far-reaching observations on the question, see Rebecca A. Baltzer, 'Performance Practice, the Notre-Dame Calendar, and the Earliest Latin Liturgical Motets', paper presented at conference, 'Das musikgeschichtliche Ereignis "Notre-Dame"', Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, April 1985; online in Archivum de Musica Medii Aevi (Musicologie Médiévale – Centre de médiévistique Jean Schneider, CNRS / Université de Lorraine) (2013), consulted 10 October 2016; www.musmed.fr/AdMMAe/Baltzer, %20Performance%20Practice.pdf; Baltzer, 'Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin', *Festschrift for Ernest Sanders*, ed. Brian Seirup and Peter M. Lefferts (New York: Trustees of Columbia University, 1991) 7–42; R *in Ars antiqua: Organum, Conductus, Motet, Music in Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) 375–412.

[2] See the following studies, all distinguished accounts of the material they handle, but all claiming to explain the entire genre: Leonard Ellinwood, 'The Conductus', *Musical Quarterly* 27 (1941) 165–204; Brian Gillingham, 'A New Etymology and Etiology for the Conductus', *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, Musicological Studies 53 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990) 100–117; Nancy van Deusen, '*Ductus*, *Tractus*, *Conductus*: The Intellectual Context of a Musical Genre', *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*, Brill Studies in Intellectual History 57 (Leiden etc.: Brill, 1995) 37–53.

The variety of poetry encompassed by the *conductus* is vast. *Conductus* poems range from (a very few) liturgical texts, to sacred texts for which a paraliturgical context might be hypothesised, through homiletic and hagiographical poetry to polemics that occupy themselves with current events.[3] It is difficult therefore to imagine a context that the liturgical text of the 'Pater noster' could share, for example, with either a dialogue of the Body and Soul ('Homo natus ad laborem tui status') or a lament on the death in 1183 of Henry, heir to the English crown ('In occasu syderis').[4] So the type of poetry in a single *conductus*, and the evidence for performance, cultivation or function that it might reveal, is unlikely to reveal a performative context or function for the genre as a whole. In other words, even medieval accounts of the purpose or function of the *conductus* vary from source to source, from composition to composition.

One of the best-documented functions for the *conductus* is as a substitute for the 'Benedicamus domino', the versicle and response that ended all the canonical hours except Matins and that in certain seasons of the year ended Mass as well. Around twenty *conducti* engage with the 'Benedicamus domino' versicle, but in differing ways; some simply borrow the text of the versicle and occasionally its response, while some suitable polyphonic settings of the chant (these are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6) are employed.[5] But whatever the nature of their engagement with the text or music of the versicle, the presence of the words is sufficient to prompt the question as to whether these *conducti* could have served as substitutes for the versicle at the end of Mass or the Office. Whether one would want to go as far as Frank Harrison and to claim – on the basis that 'the sacred

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[3] This wide frame of reference for *conductus* poetry was recognised as early as the first discovery of sources. See Léopold Delisle, 'Discours', *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* 22 (1885) 82–139. Fundamental to any study since 2000 is Joseph Szövérffy, *Lateinische Conductus-Texte des Mittelalters / Medieval Latin Conductus Texts*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen/Musicological studies 74 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2000).

[4] 'In occasu syderis' was written to commemorate the death of Henry the Younger, son of Henry II of England, and to praise the future Richard I. See Payne, 'Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique', *Current Musicology* 64 (2001) 141.

[5] Anne Walters Robertson, '*Benedicamus domino*: The Unwritten Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988) 1; Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958; 4th edn., Buren: Frits Knuf, 1980) 106–111; Harrison, 'Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol', *Acta Musicologica* 37 (1965) 35–48; John Stevens (ed.), *The Later Cambridge Songs: An English Song Collection of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 27–29. The distinction made in ibid. between 'Benedicamus Domino' *substitutes* and 'Benedicamus Domino' *songs* is not helpful, as Stevens himself (ibid., 27, note 34) acknowledges.

*Co*lumbe simplicitas	The dove's simplicity
Fel horret maliti*e*,	Abhors the gall of malice,
Turturis et castitas	And the turtle dove's chastity
Fetorem luxuri*e*,	From the stench of luxury.
Etiam veritas inmeritum	Indeed, truth hates
Mendacem odit spiri*tum*;	An unworthy, false spirit.
Sic decertat cum vitiis	Thus strives virtue
Virtus sibi contrariis,	Against vices to itself full opposite,
Sed crimina	Yet sins
Maiora ducunt agmi*na*.	Far greater still prevail.
Benedicamus *Domi*no.	Let us bless the Lord!

Example 2.1 Text and translation of 'Columbe simplicitas'

conductus was a descendent of the troped Benedicamus' – that 'its *main* function was that of Benedicamus substitute in the Office' is doubtful, but the function does appear relevant for the twenty pieces that are widely transmitted in the repertory.[6]

A further question is the degree to which other *conducti* – those that do not make use of text or music of the 'Benedicamus domino' versicle – might also have been Benedicamus substitutes. Were it the case that all the *conducti* of this type used texts that were generically sacred – related to the subject matter of the temporale or Marian – then it would be logical to restrict the substitution of non-Benedicamus *conducti* to those that were of that sort. But the situation is complicated by such works as the two-voice *conductus* 'Columbe simplicitas', whose poetry ends with the 'Benedicamus domino' line).[7] Its poetry is as shown in Example 2.1.

The poem is clearly a statement of the opposition between vice and virtue, so clearly not related either to the *sanctorale*, *temporale* or to any Marian concerns. Furthermore, the poem explicitly borrows images from the *De bestiis et aliis rebus* once attributed to Hugh of St Victor, and whose authorship is now more often distributed between Hugues de

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[6] Harrison, 'Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol', 5.

[7] 'Columbe simplicitas' is a single-stanza poem set to two voices with plentiful *caudae* (marked in *italics* in the edition of the poetry). It is preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1), fols. 328v–329r and, without the 'Benedicamus domino' in Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas, 9 (hereafter *E-BUlh* 9), fols. 137r–138r. The penultimate *cauda* shares material with 'Veris ad imperia', (see Janet Knapp, 'Which Came First, the Chicken or the Egg? Some Reflections on the Relationship between Conductus and Trope', *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner (n.p.: American Musicological Society, 1990) 16–25), while the 'Benedicamus domino' *cauda* shares material with the motet [(59) 'Qui servare puberem'] – (59) 'Qui servare puberem' – '[Domi]ne' (M 3), for which see Chapter 6.

Foulois, Henri de Gand et Guillaume Perrault.[8] The opening phrase in the *conductus* poem depends on two images from *De bestiis.* The idea of the dove as the image of the absence of 'the gall of malice' comes directly from the following:

The wings of a dove covered with silver represent absence *from the gall of malice*, which if you like is a living representation of prelates, sleeping among the clergy [emphasis added].[9]

Columba deargentata est absque felle malitie quaelibet adhuc vivens praelatorum persona, quae inter medios cleros dormit.[10]

Likewise, the turtledove's chastity shrinking from 'the stench of luxury' comes from the same text:

For the turtledove delights in the secret of the desert . . . so that under the example of the turtledove you may grasp the cleanliness of chastity . . . so that you live chastely.[11]

Turur eremit secretum diligat . . . ut sub exemplo turturis teneas munditiam castitatis . . . ut et vivas caste.[12]

While 'Columbe simplicitas' is a poem that takes the vices and virtues as its subject, and depends on a twelfth-century text that in turn depends on an eighth-century Latin translation of a third-century Greek original, it also, by allusion, comes close to some contentious ground when its source speaks of 'representations of prelates, who sleep among the clergy' ('vivens praelatorum persona, quae inter medios cleros dormit').[13] This is hardly a generically sacred text, and while it might vitiate the importance of the 'Benedicamus domino' context, the versicle text is still present; it must be therefore be assumed that a liturgical context might still be appropriate even for a *conductus* with a text of this nature. What 'Columbe simplicitas' shows, then, is that whether a *conductus* without the 'Benedicamus' versicle but with a text of this kind could be considered for a liturgical performance is a vexed question. It leaves open the issue of

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[8] Books I and II to the first two authors, and books III and IV to the third. See Francis J. Carmondy, '*De bestiis et aliis rebus* and the Latin *Physiologus*', *Speculum*, 13 (1938) 13–159.

[9] Gordon A. Anderson (ed.), *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 11 vols. [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vols. 7 and 11 have appeared] 5:xi, note 4.

[10] Jean-Paul Migne (ed.), *Hugonis de S. Victore canonici regularis S. Victoris Parisiensis tum pietate, tum doctrina insignis opera omnia*, 3 vols., Patrologiae cursus completus 175–177 (Paris: Garnier and Migne, 1879–1880) 3:17.

[11] Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, 5:xi, note 6.

[12] Migne (ed.), *Hugonis de S. Victore . . . opera omnia*, 3:23.   [13] Ibid.

Table 2.1 *Conducti* that make use of the 'Dic: "Iube Dom[i]ne"' formula

Incipit	Sources	Subject matter
'Congaudentes iubilemus hodie'	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 289	Nativity
'Ecce iam celebria'	Münich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim 100	Nativity; Holy Innocents
'Exultemus et letemur'	Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I. 17	St Nicholas
'Gaudens in Domino'	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 756; Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 314; Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5539	St Nicholas
'Hoc in sollempnio'	Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I. 17	?Nativity
'In hac die gloriosa'	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Cod. Bobbiense F. I. 4	Nativity
'Iubilemus cordis voce'	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 263	Non-specific
'Orientis partibus'	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 1351; Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, 46; London, British Library, Egerton 2615; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 289	Circumcision
'Revirescit et florescit' (A)	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, H.B.I.Asc.95; Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, 4413; Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, 46	Biblical narrative

just how many *conducti* without formal statements of the 'Benedicamus' line at the end might have functioned as substitutes for the versicle.

The performance of *conducti* is occasionally associated with the introduction of a reading within the liturgy. This is achieved most typically by the integration of the introductory formula 'Dic: "Iube Dom[i]ne"' into the end of the poem; the implication is that – unlike the 'Benedicamus domino' where the *conductus* that makes use of the versicle might replace it – the *conductus* that quotes this lectionary formula merely introduces the reading and accompanies the preliminary movement, or simply precedes it. Table 2.1 gives a list of those works that employ the formula and their sources.

It is revealing as much for what it does not reveal as for what it does. None of the pieces here are found in any of the central Notre-Dame sources, and no evidence of the lectionary formula is found in that corpus of manuscripts. Many of the sources are from parts of Europe distinct from the central tradition: Norman Sicily,[14]

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[14] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 289 (hereafter *E-Mn* 289). See David Hiley, 'The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily; A Study Centred on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20–4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid' (PhD diss., University of London, 1981) 46.

?Leicestershire,[15] German-speaking lands,[16] and so on; others circulate within the tradition of the New Year's Office.[17] Furthermore, many of the sources – and given their narrow concordance base the works themselves – date from early in the tradition: the *conducti* in *E-Mn* 289, which must date from before 1140,[18] are a case in point, as are the works in *GB-Cu* Ff. I. 17.[19]

The lectionary formula is not entirely stable, nor does it always seem to imply a cue. In 'In hac die gloriosa', for example, the references are embedded in the poem.[20] It occupies an entire three-line stanza (the fourth of twelve): 'Bless me, O Lord shall say the reader / with joyful voice, as what / the prophet foretold is fulfilled' ('Iube domne, dicat leta / Voce lector, iam impleta / Sunt, que dixerat propheta'). Other *conducti* place the lectionary formula at the beginning of the final stanza, not an immediate cue but close enough for the function to be explicit; examples are 'Ecce iam celebria'[21] and 'Revirescit et florescit' (A).[22] And at least two pieces, 'Revirescit et florescit' (A) and 'Orientis partibus', were subject to textual change during their lifetimes. 'Orientis partibus' plays an important role in the Circumcision Feasts at Beauvais and Sens;[23] here, the rubrics in the

[15] Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I. 17 (hereafter *GB-Cu* Ff. 1.17 [Stevens (ed.), *Later Cambridge Songs*, 3]).

[16] Münich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim 100 (hereafter *D-Mu* Cim 100); Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 756 (hereafter *A-Gu* 756); Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 314; Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5539 (hereafter *D-Mbs* clm 5539).

[17] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1351 (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 1351); Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, 46 (hereafter *F-SEm* 46); London, British Library, Egerton 2615(1) (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(1)); Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, 4413 (hereafter *F-G* 4413).

[18] Hiley, 'Liturgical Music', 46. Susan Rankin suggests that 'Anni novi circulus' is 'a song accompanying a liturgical procession or introducing a reading' and quotes its final four lines ('Close Readings: Some Medieval Songs', *Early Music* (2003) 3 and 18); 'Anni novi circulus' might logically be thought to be an omission from Table 2.1. However, the 'final four lines' that she quotes ('Lector lege, / Hoc de rege / Qui regit omne / Dic iube Domne') in fact are the last four lines of a different *conductus* – 'Congaudentes iubilemus hodie' – which figures as the first item on Table 2.1.

[19] Stevens (*Later Cambridge Songs*, 3) offers a date of 1180–c1230 but cites no evidence. Otto Schumann ('Die Jüngere Cambridger Liedersammlung', *Studi medievali* 16 [1943–1950] 48) merely suggests a thirteenth-century date, citing Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/1:326.

[20] Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Cod. Bobbiense F. I. 4, fol. 336r.

[21] Unique in *D-Mu* Cim 100, fols. 243v–244r. The rubric 'In die sanctorum Innocentum' reveals its assignment to 28 December.

[22] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, H.B.I.Asc.95 (hereafter *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95), fol. 79v; *F-G* 4413, fol. 24r–25r; *F-SEm* 46, fol. 14r. There is a further poem with the same *incipit* (*D-Mbs* clm 4660, fols. 69r–69v), but without music it is impossible to judge whether it was originally musically similar. The poem does not include the 'Iube Dom[i]ne' formula, however.

[23] *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(1), fols. 43r–44v; *F-SEm* 46, fol. 1r.

Saltu vincit hynnulos,	He leaped higher than a stag,
Dammas et capreolos,	An antelope or chamois,
super dromedarios	Faster than the dromedaries
Velox Madyaneos.	From distant Midian.
Hez, va, hez, sire asne, hez!	Hey, ho, hey, Sir Ass, hey!
Eia, frater asine,	Eia, brother Ass,
Unum quod vis elige:	Choose one as you wish:
Carduos vel comede,	Eat wild thistles,
Vel dic: 'Iube Domine'.	Or say: 'Bless me, o Lord!'

Example 2.2 Text and translation of last two stanzas (3 and 4) of 'Orientis partibus'; *E-Mn* 289, fol. 147r

manuscripts make clear the processional context for the *conductus*; when those rubrics are absent, as in the case of the version of 'Orientis partibus' in *E-Mn* 289, the formulation 'Dic: "Iube Dom[i]ne"', seen in other works, is present.[24] Chronology would suggest that the *E-Mn* 289 version was the earliest, and that later versions in the Circumcision feasts simply left off the lectionary formula to replace it with a rubric that stipulated 'conductus ad tabulam' or 'conductus subdiaconi ad epistulam'. Here are the last two stanzas of the *conductus* in the version from *E-Mn* 289, showing the careful integration of the lectionary formula (Example 2.2).

Something similar happens in 'Revirescit et florescit' (A) where all seven stanzas are preserved in *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95, and the seventh ends 'Let our reader / resound: 'Bless me, o Lord'' ('Lector noster / Iube Domine resonet'). The version in the Le Puy Circumcision Office only deploys the first four stanzas and adds a new fifth one; but it too invokes exactly the same lectionary formula: 'Hey, rector / Let the reader say: Bless me' ('Eia, rector, / Dicat lector: Iube benedicare').[25]

Evidence, then, for the performance of *conducti* before liturgical readings comes from the poetry of the works themselves, which apparently cue the following part of the liturgical ceremony. But one of the *conducti* included in Gui de Basoches's letter collections was written and described by him in the same way. 'Martyr insignis', a Sapphic hymn, is explained in some detail by its author. In a letter sent by Gui during the Third Crusade (which dates it to the period 1189–1192 with some security), he appears to conclude with a *metrum* that summarises the content of his letter ('Tene, diu spectatadies, cum leta venires'), but then adds his Sapphic hymn as an afterthought:

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[24] Fol. 147r. The work is also found in *F-Pn* lat. 1351, fol. 1v.   [25] *F-G* 4413, fol. 24r–25r.

When, as I had not yet sealed my letter, it came into my mind that I ought to comfort you over my absence with a *rithmus*, and that you do not have, as is your custom on duplex feasts, a praise of St Lupentius preceding him who proceeds to read the gospel, I decided to write and send you a hymn concerning the same in Sapphic metre.

Scedula nondum clausa cum subisset animum, quod super absentia mea deberem vos aliquot rhithmica carmine consolari uosque iuxta uestram conseutudinem inter Duplicis festis non habere de sancto Lupentio laudem precedentem ad legendum euangelium procedentem, scribere placuit et uobis mittere de eodem ymnum Saphico.[26]

Although 'Martyr insignis' is clearly no closer than 'Ecce iam celebria' or 'Revirescit et florescit' (A) to the central repertory of *conductus* – and Gui de Basoches was also clearly involved in the Circumcision Office at Châlons-en-Champagne – this reference suggests that newly composed *conducti* – if that is what 'Martyr insignis' in fact is – were being conceived as lectionary introductions into the 1190s, as they had been from before 1140.[27]

Lectionary formulae, then, associate the early *conductus* with two of the main celebrations of the liturgical day – Matins and Mass – and others as well perhaps. They seem to fill a sonic space that might accompany movement of various types before the *lectio* itself. This does *not*, however, necessarily involve the movement of the singers, who could just as easily have been static during the movement, which was not a formal procession in the sense commonly understood. Although the compositions that use the 'Iube Dom[i]ne' formula are relatively straightforward in comparison with the most complex Parisian *conductus*, such a choreography – movement on the part of celebrants and officiants, stasis on the part of the singers – would not rule out such a performance environment for any *conductus* with a text that was similar to those that themselves use the formula. As can be seen from Table 2.1, although the specific feasts are all restricted to the month of December, there are some non-specific precedents ('Iubilemus cordis voce' and 'Revirescit et florescit' (A) [in its

[26] Letter 35. See Herbert Adolfsson (ed.), *Liber epistularum Guidonis de Basochis*, Acta universitatis stockholmiensis: Studia latina Stockholmiensis 18 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1969) 154. In his commentary on this poem, Max Harris ignores Gui's statements about the purpose of the work, and Harris's claims that Gui's poems 'were intended for silent reading' are contradicted by the evidence (*Sacred Folly: A New History of the Fest of Fools* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011] 73).

[27] See Lena Wahlgren-Smith, 'The Medieval *Conductus*: Performance and Space', paper read at the Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Culture, University of Southampton, January 2014.

reading from *F-G* 4413]) that would suggest that a wider range of poems and hence *conducti* might have been used as pre-lectionary works.

The celebration of New Year feasts was widespread across the cathedrals of northern France; Châlons-en-Champagne has already been evoked here, and Eudes de Sully's response to criticism of the ceremonies in Paris yielded perhaps the only dates that may be surely associated with the liturgical *organum* of Notre-Dame de Paris.[28] But the three New Year liturgies that survive with music – Le Puy, Sens and Beauvais – not only play an important role in the transmission of parts of the *conductus* repertory but also preserve important clues as the to the way in which the genre was used in these ceremonies.[29] A caveat: it is dangerous to assume that the functional indications found in the manuscripts that transmit the offices speak to any wider repertory than to the ceremonies themselves. And it is clear that, in the history of modern scholarship on the *conductus*, this is a warning that has gone largely unheeded.[30] It may be easy to see why the New Year feasts were so attractive to those seeking to explain the function of the *conductus*: the largely processional contexts that the surviving sources for the ceremonies revealed fitted well with what was understood of the etymology of the word *conductus*; *in nuce*, a tricky problem could be settled quite easily.

The problem may be outlined by examining just one of the surviving feasts: the ceremony from Sens. There are a total of twelve *conducti* in the manuscript, all monophonic. Of these seven are assigned to particular choreographed moments in the ceremony. Table 2.2 gives the titles of these *conducti* and the rubrics that identify them.[31]

The rubric for 'Quanto decet honore' – 'ad Evangelium' – clearly evokes the same environment for performance as do the *conducti* with lectionary formulae,[32] and this is found in the Beauvais feast as well for the *conductus*

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[28] The text is printed in Benjamin Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'Eglise Notre-Dame de Paris*, 4 vols., Collection des cartulaires de France 4–7 (Paris: L'Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1850) 1:72; partially reprinted in Henri Villetard (ed.), *Office de Pierre de Corbeil (Office de la Circoncision) improprement appelé 'Office des Fous': texte et chant publiés d'après le manuscrit de Sens (xiiie siècle) avec introduction et notes*, Bibliothèque musicologue 4 (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard, 1907) 62, and discussed in Ludwig *Repertorium* 1/1:237–238. For further discussion, see Jacques Handschin, 'Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame', *Acta musicologica* 4 (1932) 5–8; Mark Everist, 'Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution', 2 vols. (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1985), printed as *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989) 1:1–6.

[29] Editions of the three feasts are listed in Chapter 1.

[30] See, inter alia, the texts listed in note 2 of this chapter.

[31] See Villetard (ed.), *Office de Pierre de Corbeil*, 73–77 (textual rubrics) and 77–82 (musical rubrics).

[32] Ibid., 113.

Table 2.2 *Conductus* rubrics in the Sens New Year Feast

'Orientis partibus'	Ad tabulam	Beauvais
'Natus est hodie Dominus'	Ad ludos	Beauvais
'Dies ista colitur'	Ad presbyterum	
'Lux optata claruit'	Ad subdiaconum	Beauvais
'Quanto decet honore'	Ad evangelium	Beauvais
'Novus annus hodie'	Ad bacularium	
'Kalendas ianuarias'	Ad poculum	Beauvais

'Natus est hodie Dominus' (which in turn is found in Sens as *conductus ad ludos*).[33] The nature of the *conductus ad tabulam* – introducing the reading of the *tabula* or responsibilities for the feast – is now clear after many decades of misunderstanding, and the *conductus ad bacularium* 'Novus annus hodie' (I) – one of the few works in this part of the repertory to be preserved in a Notre-Dame source – is a reminder of the origins of the Sens feast as the Feast of the Rod.[34]

Performance and Function II: *Lectio Publica*

Works that unequivocally fulfil either liturgical or paraliturgical functions, and that may have been associated with movement, only account for a small part of the repertory, and while a number of *conducti* might also be considered suitable for the introduction of readings at Matins and Mass, that still leaves a vast number of works whose function is less than clear. One way of approaching this enormous lacuna is to recognise the performance of *conducti* as a heightened form of public reading – *lectio publica*, an activity that has recently been subjected to a significant level of scrutiny as a counterweight to the idea that literacy – which might lead to a growth of private and/or silent reading – also marked a decline in public reading: it did not.[35] It seems reasonable to ask whether the same sorts of

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[33] Wulf Arlt (ed.), *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1970) 2:60–61; Villetard (ed.), *Office de Pierre de Corbeil*, 101–102.

[34] Ibid., 86–87 and 122.

[35] For the first recent account of the subject, focussed on German vernacular literature, see Dennis Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature, 800–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The subject was extended to France and England in Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Such work stands in contrast to such views of Latinate reading that progressively approached the silent as Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*,

environment where the texts that frequently served as the sources for the poetry of the *conductus* might also have served as performance contexts for the *conductus* itself.

Readings at Matins and Mass were based on the fundamental principle of reading the entire Bible during the liturgical year beginning with *Genesis* on the second Sunday before Lent and making a detour through *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations* during Passiontide and Easter. But an examination of medieval booklists shows that these texts could be supplemented by such Patristic texts as Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and so on, used as homilies or commentaries. On feast days, even hagiographical texts – *vitae* and *acta sanctorum* – could find their way into liturgical *lectiones*.[36]

If Matins and Mass are the two main liturgical celebrations of which *lectio publica* formed part, they are also the ceremonies for which there is internal evidence from the texts of the *conducti* themselves, as has already been seen from the study of rubrics and the use of 'Benedicamus domino' and 'Dic: "Iube Dom[i]ne"' formulae. If this evidence exists, it seems reasonable to look at the non-liturgical environments for *lectio publica* as possible locations for the performance of the *conductus*: readings in the chapter house and monastic refectory.[37] The expansion of liturgical readings beyond the Bible meant that, by the eleventh century, there was a risk of not fulfilling the requirement to encompass the entire Bible during the liturgical year, to which refectory reading was the solution.[38] Again from the examination of medieval booklists, it is clear that refectory *lectiones* went beyond the reading of the Bible to include patristics and hagiography. The *Rule of St Benedict* makes explicit the centrality of reading in the refectory, and offers near-ideal conditions for *lectio* or perhaps the performance of *conductus*.[39] *Lectiones* at the chapter office – usually

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Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997; *R* 2000). As Teresa Webber notes, 'rapid reading for reference . . . supplemented but did not supplant the slow and more contemplative reading of texts, while the visual aids to legibility identified and analysed by Saenger might just as well be interpreted as intended to assist a reader in correct oral delivery as much as serving the needs of a silent reader' ('Talking Books: Reading Aloud in the Middle Ages', University of Southampton, Tim Reuter Memorial Lecture 2014).

[36] Ibid.

[37] See Webber, 'Monastic Space and the Use of Books in the Anglo-Norman Period', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2013, Anglo Norman Studies* 36 (2013) 231–234 (for the Chapter House) and 236–239 (for the Monastic Refectory).

[38] Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England, *c.*1000-*c.*1300', John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture 2010.

[39] 'Reading will always accompany the meals of the brothers . . . Let there be complete silence. No whispering, no speaking – only the reader's voice should be heard there' ('Mensis fratrum lectio deesse non debet . . . Et summum fiat silentium, ut nullius mussitatio vel vox nisi solius

after Prime or Terce – were restricted to readings from the Martyrology, Necrology and the Rule of St Benedict.[40] Just at the time that the *conductus* was coming into prominence as a vehicle for the delivery of lyric poetry – the twelfth and thirteenth centuries – monastic refectories were starting to acquire pulpits for the formal reading of texts during meals.[41]

As will be seen from the discussion later in this chapter of the sources for *conductus* poetry, the Bible, patristic and hagiographical texts – exactly those that form the *lectio* not only in the refectory and chapter house but also, apparently, at Mass and Matins – were central sources for the poetry of the *conductus*. It seems entirely reasonable to assume that shared sources might indicate shared function and performative environment. However, there are two gaps in current knowledge about *lectio publica* that impinge on the question of the function of the *conductus*. The first is that all the evidence for public reading comes from monastic communities; the secular foundations – such as Notre-Dame itself – seem to reveal much less evidence of *lectio publica*, and of course do not support the monastic *prandium* with the same degree of formality as communities bound by rule. The second is that none of the texts associated with *lectiones* at Mass or Matins, or in the refectory or chapter house, appear to involve poetry, although poetry – hymns and sequences – were by the twelfth century a key part of the liturgy.

As an example of the sort of relationship that exists between a *conductus* and the type of context discussed here, *'Naturas Deus regulis' may serve as an example. This work is one of the group of five variable-voice *conducti*.[42] The poetry of its first stanza is as follows (Example 2.3).

Hec sunt Christi opera, omni laude digna, cui nichil est difficile. Qui licet <u>naturas</u> singulas <u>certis astringi regulis statuerit</u>, et sic providerit ut <u>a prescriptis formulis natura</u> eodem <u>nullo possint conatu ultra naturam progredi, vel per se citra regredi,</u> tamem earum Auctor quando vult, et ubi vult, et sicut vult, per quamlibet naturam, tam rationalem quam irrationalem, animatam et inanimatam, mirabilia sua mirifice

legentis ibi audiatur'). Timothy Fry (ed.), *The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981; *R* New York: Vintage, 1988) 236–237.

[40] For most commentators, the chapter house was the place where 'the devil [is] farther away, in no place is God closer', as Hélinand of Froidmont put it. See David M. Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology 1130–1540* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2006) 180.

[41] Webber, 'Monastic Space', 237.

[42] Everist, 'Le conduit à nombre de voix variable (1150–1250)', *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, ed. Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadieu, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, *Rencontres – Civilisation médiévale* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018) 329–344.

<u>Naturas</u> Deus <u>regulis</u>	8pp	a	God decreed that natures
<u>Certis astringi statuit.</u>	8pp	b	Be bound by certain rules,
Et <u>a prescriptis formulis</u>	8pp	a	And that he would not
<u>Nullo conatu potuit</u>	8pp	b	Be able to move beyond their nature
<u>Ultra natura[m] progredi</u>	8pp	c	By such regulations
<u>Vel per se citra regredi;</u>	8pp	c	Or of themselves move back from it;
Sed his ligari vinculis	8pp	a	But by these chains the author
Ipsorum <u>auctor</u> noluit,	8pp	b	Of these rules was unwilling to be bound,
Qui retrahit et tribuit	8pp	b	He who in turn takes away and gives
Naturis, quod vult, singulis.	8pp	a	To individual natures what he wills.
Sic ergo nostris seculis	8pp	a	Thus to our age, therefore,
Mortalis nasci voluit.	8pp	b	He wanted to be born mortal,
Quod eternus apparuit.	8pp	b	Because he appeared eternal.

Example 2.3 Text and translation of first stanza of *'Naturas Deus regulis' and corresponding passage from *The Abingdon Chronicle*

dilucidat, ut cognoscatur ab omnibus quod quotiens factus superbit in factorem, aut plasmatus in figulum, vel creatura contra Creatorem suum erigit calcaneum, justo Dei judicio sciat se labi in profundum dum minus circumspecte tendit in altum.

These are the works, worthy of all praise, of Christ, for whom nothing is difficult. Although He has decreed that each nature be bound by certain rules, and thus provides that by such regulations these natures cannot through any effort move beyond their nature or of themselves move back from it, however their Author, when He wishes and where he wishes and as He wishes, may wondrously elucidate his marvels through any nature, both rational and irrational, animate and inanimate, so that everyone may learn that as often as the made disdains the maker or the fashioned disdains the designer, or the creature raises its heel against its creator, it is to know that by the just judgement of God it will slip into the depths as long as it stretches for the heights with insufficient caution.

In comparison with the remaining two stanzas of the poem, which develop themes from *John* I, 14; *Ezekiel* XLIV; and 2 *Exodus* I, 11, this first stanza seems to reflect very little of the biblical or patristic. It undertakes very different work indeed. Example 2.3 also gives an extract from the Chronicle of the Benedictine Abbey of Abingdon.[43] The chronicle was written in the late twelfth century and covers events there from its foundation in 675 to 1189, the presumed *terminus post quem* for

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[43]   John Hudson (ed.), *Historia ecclesie Abbendonensis/The History of the Church of Abingdon*,
     2 vols., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002–2007) 1:48.

the authorship of the chronicle. The example given here describes the miraculous expulsion by a sacred image of the Danes from the refectory of the abbey some time during the Viking attacks between 866 and 871.

Shared ideas and specific vocabulary are the most striking features of these two texts; they are underscored in Example 2.3. While the narrative thrust and the literary means (*rithmus* and prose) of both texts is different, the use of the same words is striking in the extreme, and a rare example of such a practice. A critical first step is to ask whether both texts depend on a common ancestor, the answer to which is that there appears to be no survivor that could have provided the material for both texts. And even if there had been, it would still have been necessary to consider the two texts – the *conductus* poetry and the Abingdon chronicle – very closely together. The absence of any common witness requires them to be read against each other, while at the same time recognising the possibility of lost sources. And a date after 1189 for the chronicle coincides almost exactly to one that might be assigned to *'Naturas Deus regulis': both texts could be assigned to a period perhaps a decade either side of 1200. The *conductus* is furthermore found in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 628), and although the text-critical relationships that usually pertain in cases where a work is also found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 suggest a common continental ancestor for both, this is evidence that the chronicle and the *conductus* poem were at least known on the same side of the English Channel and may have originated there.[44]

To what extent, then, does the similarity of the two texts provide evidence of the contribution of the *conductus* to the sound-world of the monastery? There is no surviving evidence of chronicles being used *in extenso* within the context of *lectio publica* except – as here – when the text is praising the works of Christ. The difference in subject between the *conductus* and the chronicle (between God and Christ) is for these purposes immaterial. It is not at all implausible to imagine such excerpts as the one from the Abingdon chronicle being used in the refectory, and the intriguing possibility that the *conductus* might share the same function and performance space is an attractive one. The absence of poetry from *lectio publica* is still a very real concern, however, and it is not at all impossible that, for example, the lines in the chronicle were specifically taken from the *conductus* poem because it was not possible for the poem or its music to be performed in that context. And, to touch briefly on the

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[44] See Everist, 'Le conduit à nombre de voix variable' for the sources for 'Naturas deus regulis'.

question of the priority of the two works, invoking the principle of *lectio difficilior* would suggest that the author of the chronicle borrowed his lines from the *conductus* poem rather than the other way around.

This is intriguing evidence that brings the *conductus* and its poetry into similar sorts of performative contexts to the chronicle and hence those outlined earlier for *lectio publica* more broadly. The unique piece of evidence given here must await the discovery of further correspondences between the *conductus* and other repertories that will be able to explain its context more fully.

If the monastic refectory and the secular chapter house are possible performance environments for *conducti* whose poetry is largely paraliturgical, texts that are homiletic or polemic in nature are unlikely to form part of that milieu. One alternative musico-poetic ecosystem that would allow *conducti* with poems that criticised the papacy or other shortcomings of the Church, or that discussed the failings of those who succumbed to more worldly desires, is the claustral 'zone of clerical influence that extended into and adjoined the buildings of the city'.[45] This was a place where canons of a large cathedral would have their own houses, often with their own chapels, a world governed by canon law, free from civic control. Unlike using the evidence that survives for the development of monastic *lectio publica*, suggesting that the claustral precincts were a *locus* for the development and cultivation of homiletic and polemic *conducti* depends more on speculation well informed by circumstantial evidence.[46]

Poetry: Subjects and Sources

The poetry of the *conductus* encompasses a wide variety of subjects in its slightly more than nine hundred works. These range from liturgical texts, at one extreme, to the criticism of the Holy Roman Emperor discussed in the previous chapter, at the other. Attempting to categorise the subject matter of the *conductus* is something of a challenge. If we take groups of *conducti* with the same subject that have more than twenty works in them, the list is remarkably small (Table 2.3) and accounts for about two-thirds of all poems that serve as the basis or *conducti* in the repertory.

Contrary to modern accounts, the largest category here consists of poems in praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 170 of the roughly 600 texts in

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[45] Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 27.

[46] Ibid., 33.

Table 2.3 Typology of poetic subject in the *conductus*

Subject	Number of works
Christ	18
Circumcision/Feast of Fools/New Year	34
Corruption	41
Easter	41
Encomium	38
Exhortation	43
Hagiographical	56
Blessed Virgin Mary	170
Nativity	70
Other feasts	37
Political/datable	31
Prayer	20
Total	599

Table 2.3 that can be grouped in this way.[47] These are widely distributed across the entire range of sources, and therefore across Europe and across the chronological span from the mid-twelfth century to the early fourteenth. To give some idea of the distribution of these Marian poems, 38 of the 170 are found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, which indicates a Parisian cultivation of the type that extends no further than between a fifth and a quarter of the surviving repertory. Within this group in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 there are fourteen each of monophonic and two-part works, and nine in three parts. The complexity of the single four-part Marian piece, 'Serena virginum' is discussed in Chapter 6. But what emerge is that Marian poems are scattered widely and evenly across the repertory with only a small group cultivated in Paris.[48]

The Nativity forms the subject of the second largest group of *conductus* subjects, but taken together with the various celebrations around the beginning of the year, and also with the ten works associated with

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[47] This contradicts the claim that 'Songs dedicated to feasts of the Lord, particularly the Nativity, have preference' (Janet Knapp, 'Conductus', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, consulted 10 October 2016; www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06268

[48] The material in these paragraphs and in Table 2.3 is based on the data presented in Mark Everist and Gregorio Bevilacqua, '*Cantum pulcriorem invenire*: Latin Poetry and Song, 1160–1330', 2012, http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk. For an analysis of all the genres in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 according to the subject matter of the poetry, see Massimo Masani Ricci, *Codice Pluteo 29.1 della Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze: storia e catalogo comparato*, Studi musicali toscani 8 (Pisa: ETS, 2002) 513–560.

Epiphany, creates a two-week period for which more than one hundred works were apparently written. This leaves some of the poems that are traditionally viewed as central to the *conductus* – the exhortatory, the censorious, the homiletic – very much in the minority, with many of the types of text that are frequently cited as emblematic of the *conductus* – those against various forms of corruption, for example – of much less significance than hitherto thought.

Each of these groups could be interrogated in much greater detail. The category of 'Other Feasts' in Table 2.3 represents an attempt to include all *conducti* that make reference to the liturgical year, but even here, ten of the thirty-seven works come from a single feast – Epiphany – leaving only around two dozen pieces from other feasts in the year. Other groups might be assembled: works based on the Seven Deadly Sins, for example. But here again, the structure of the group is distorted by the presence of *conducti* based on anger, avarice and gluttony in the manuscript Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, 316 (hereafter *F-Lm* 316), that preserves the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée, a work in which such subjects were more or less de rigueur.[49] Even the so-called topical or political compositions play a relatively small role here, with only thirty-one works out of a total of more than nine hundred. Furthermore, it is not obvious just how clearly this group is defined, consisting as it does of works that mark coronations and canonisations, as well as fourteen laments on the death of figures in late twelfth- and thirteenth-century history.

One group worthy of investigation consists of *conducti* based on various forms of hagiography. Twenty saints are represented by fifty-six works (Table 2.4).

Most saints are only represented once. When the *unica* from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 15131 (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 15131) are discounted as a purely local phenomenon, St Denis is celebrated in a single *conductus* only, and St Catherine in three, but two of these are in the late manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 15139, and the third is English. The three best-represented saints are Nicholas, Stephen and Thomas Becket, and if it is assumed that these works have a currency on the feast days of these saints, then they all fall into the period of Advent and Nativity in much the same way as do many of the *conducti* discussed earlier.

In some respects, grouping of the repertory by literary theme or topic is misleading because the six texts on St Stephen, say, encompass a wide range of styles and genres:

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[49] See Chapter 1, this volume.

Table 2.4 *Conductus* poems based on hagiographical subjects

Feast day/Saint	Number of compositions	Notes
St Agnes (21 January)	1	
St Anthony of Padua (13 June)	1	
St Bernard of Clairvaux (20 August)	1	
St Catherine (25 November)	6	3 unique in *F-Pn* lat. 15131
St Denis (9 October)	4	3 unique in *F-Pn* lat. 15131
St Francis of Assisi (4 October)	1	
St Germain l'Auxerrois (31 July)	1	
St Germain of Paris (28 May)	1	
St James the Greater (25 July)	1	
St John the Apostle (27 December)	2	
St John the Baptist (24 June)	2	
St Léger (2 October)	1	
St Margaret (20 July)	2	
St Michael (29 September)	1	
St Nicholas (6 December)	18	
St Richard of Chichester (3 April)	1	
Sts Peter and Paul (29 June)	1	
St Stephen (26 December)	6	
St Thomas Becket (29 December)	4	
St William of Bourges (10 January)	1	
Total 20	56	

Ave pugli qui in agonia
De Stephani roseo sanguine
Dulces laudes tympano
Ortus summi peracto gaudio
Regis cuius potentia
Stephani sollempnia

As in the case of many of the *conducti* based on the Seven Deadly Sins, 'Ave pugli qui in agonia' is found as a monody in the single source of Adam de la Bassée's *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*.[50] 'Dulces laudes tympano' and 'Regis cuius potentia' are both *unica* in *D-Mu* Cim 100 and *GB-Cu* Ff 1.17, respectively;[51] whereas the first is a monody (as are all thirty-four works in the manuscript), the second is one of the eight two-part pieces in the source. Although 'Dulces laudes tympano' appears to date from the 1360s in any case, 'Regis cuius potentia' is a syllabic two-voice *conductus* with space for an elaborate 'Benedicamus domino' melisma, most of which

[50] *F-Lm* 316, fol. 18r.   [51] Fols. 242v–243r; fol. 6v.

was not copied and which seems to date from *c*1200.[52] 'De Stephani roseo sanguine' is one of the remarkable groups of works that text parts of the Perotinian *organa quadrupla*. Most sources transmit the work as a monody or text, but Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486 (hereafter *E-Mn* 20486) underlays the text to the lowest voice of the *organum quadruplum* (the source is fragmentary in several ways).[53]

The only pair of works for St Stephen that share any real similarity are 'Ortus summi peracto gaudio' and *'Stephani sollempnia'. Both are for three voices and found unique in the sixth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[54] They are, however, works of radically different ambition. The single stanza of *'Stephani sollempnia' is not only syllabic but also hardly ever deploys any neumatic simultaneities – most of the work's rhythmic discourse consists of single notes against single notes, with two- and three-note ligatures occurring in less than 10 per cent of the work. This creates a very short piece indeed, and one wonders if the poem might originally have had more stanzas. 'Ortus summi peracto gaudio' is a very different proposition. It includes a marginal identification 'de S*anct*o Steph*ano*', rare in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, and consists of a refrain and four stanzas. Both refrain and stanza are characterised by carefully planned *caudae*, and the opening phrases of the stanza feature a complex relationship between word and note that challenges the conventions that govern the correlation of single note, ligature and syllable.

The *conducti* listed in Table 2.3 account for only two-thirds of the repertory; the remaining third exploit a range of different subjects that the broad groupings outlined there do not encompass. Two monophonic *conducti* in the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 open up the idea of a dialogue between the body and the soul, for instance. The poetry of *'Homo natus ad laborem tui status' consists of six through-composed stanzas in three pairs of which each is an exchange between the two protagonists.[55] So the

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52 See Stevens, *Later Cambridge Songs*, 3 and the commentary in note 19 of the present chapter for the date of *GB-Cu* Ff. 1. 17, and Charles E. Brewer, 'The Songs of Johannes Decanus', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 20 (2011) 31–49 for that of *D-Mu* cim 100.

53 Fols. 5r–5v. 'De Stephani roseo sanguine' is preserved as a monody in *A-Gu* 756, 185r–185v; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 1099), 168v–170r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 2208, 1r. Its text alone is in Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu: Knihovna metropolitní kapituly, N VIII, 37v.

54 'Ortus summi peracto gaudio'; fols. 218r–218v; *'Stephani sollempnia': fols. 249r–249v.

55 Only *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 415r–415v gives the music and all six stanzas; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A. 44 gives the poetry to all six stanzas, but no music, and Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas, 9, fols. 158v–159r gives the music of the first stanza only. The other two witnesses to the poem, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C. 58, fol. 147v and Darmstadt, Universitäts- und

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

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[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.

I

Dic, Christi veritas,	Speak, o Truth of Christ.	
Dic, cara raritas,	Speak, o dear Rarity.	
Dic, rara caritas,	Speak, o rare Charity,	
Ubi nunc habitas?	Where do you dwell now?	
Aut in <u>valle visionis</u>,	In the Valley of Vision? [*Glossa ordinaria*, 1: 1263; Ailred's Sermon on the 11 Burdens of Isaiah; Hugh of St Cher *Expositio in libris prophetarum*]	*Isaiah* XXII:1 'Onus <u>vallis Visionis</u> quidnam tibi quoque est quia ascendisti et tu omnis in tecta?' (The burden of the Valley of Vision: What aileth thee now, that thou art wholly gone up to the housetops?)
Aut in throno <u>pharaonis</u>,	On Pharoah's throne?	250 biblical references to <u>Pharaoh</u>
Aut in alto cum Nerone,	On high with Nero?	No biblical reference
Aut in antro cum Theone?	Or in the cave with Theon?	Large number of Theons: mathematicians, philosophers from Antiquity. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, by Various Writers*. ed. William Smith, 3 vols. (London: Taylor, 1844–1849) 3:1079–1082
Vel in <u>fiscella scirpea</u>	Or do you dwell in bulrush-ark	*Exodus* II: 3–6 cumque iam celare non posset sumpsit <u>fiscellam scirpeam</u> et linivit eam bitumine ac pice posuitque intus infantulum et exposuit eum in carecto ripae fluminis [4] stante procul sorore eius et considerante eventum rei [5] ecce autem descendebat filia Pharaonis ut lavaretur in flumine et puellae eius gradiebantur per crepidinem alvei quae cum vidisset <u>fiscellam</u> in papyrione misit unam e famulis suis et adlatam [6] aperiens cernensque in ea parvulum vagientem miserta eius ait de infantibus Hebraeorum est' (And when she could no longer hide him, she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein; and she laid it in the reeds by the river's brink. [4] And his sister stood afar off to learn what would be done to him. [5] And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to wash herself at the river, and her maidens walked along by the riverside; and when she saw the ark among the reeds, she sent her maid to fetch it. [6] And when she had opened it, she saw the child; and behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him and said, 'This is one of the Hebrews' children.')

Example 2.6 *'Dic Christi veritas': text, translation and literary sources

Cum Moyse plorante?	With weeping Moses?	
Vel in domo Romulea	Or in Rome	
Cum bulla fulminante?	With the thundering bull?	
II		
Respondit caritas:	Charity replied:	
'Homo, quid dubitas,	'Man, why do you doubt?	
Quid me sollicitas?	Why do you vex me so?	
Non sum, quo mussitas,	I am not one where you grumble;	
Nec in Euro, nec in Austro,	Not in the East, nor in the South,	
Nec in foro, nec in claustro,	Not in court, nor cloistered cell,	
Nec in bysso vel cuculla,	Not in fine linen, nor in monk's cowl,	
Nec in bello, nec in bulla,	Not in war, nor in papal bull;	
De Iericho sum veniens	But I am coming from Jericho,	*Luke* X:30 'suscipiens autem Iesus dixit homo quidam descendebat ab Hierusalem in Hiericho et incidit in latrones qui etiam despoliaverunt eum et plagis inpositis abierunt semivivo relicto' (And Jesus answering said, "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves, who stripped him of his raiment and wounded him and departed, leaving him half dead.). Paraphrase of Parable of the Good Samaritan follows
Ploro cum sauciato,	I weep with the wounded man,	
Quem duples Levi transiens	Whom the hypocritical Levite, passing by,	
Non astitit grabato.'	Refused to assist with a litter.'	
III		
O vox prophetica,	O prophetic voice,	
O Nathan, predica;	O Nathan, preach;	
Culpa Davidica	David's great guilt,	
Patet non modica.	Lies open;	
Dicit Nathan: 'Non clamabo	Nathan said: 'I shall not clamour,	*Samuel* II:13 'et dixit David ad Nathan peccavi Domino dixitque Nathan ad David Dominus quoque transtulit peccatum tuum non morieris' (And David said unto Nathan, "I have sinned against the Lord." And Nathan said unto David, "The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die.")

Example 2.6 (*cont.*)

Neque David planctum dabo,	Nor shall I raise a lament to David,	
Cum sit Christi rupta vestis,	Since Christ's robe is rent;	*Psalm* XXI:19; *Matthew* XXVII:35; *Mark* XV:24 (paraphrase only)
Contra Christum Christus testis,	Against Christ, Christ is his own witness.	
Ve, ve vobis, hypocrite,	Woe, woe unto you, hypocrites,	*Matthew* XXIII: 23–24. Ve vobis scribae et Pharisaei hypocritae . . . [24] duces caeci excolantes culicem camelum autem gluttientes. ("Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites . . . ! Ye blind guides, who strain out a gnat and swallow a camel!)
Qui culicem colatis,	Who strain out a gnat. [cf 'Artium dginitas' and 'Ut non ponam' (the latter at length)]	
Que Cesaris sunt, reddite,	Render the things that are Caesar's	*Mark* XII:17 'Respondens autem Iesus dixit illis reddite igitur quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae sunt Dei Deo et mirabantur super eo' (And Jesus answering, said unto them, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." And they marveled at Him.) and *Luke* XX:25 and *Matthew* XXII:17.
Ut Christo serviatis.'	That you might serve Christ.'	

Example 2.6 (*cont.*)

outlined earlier. The two verbatim quotations come at the end of the third stanza where Christ's response to the Pharisees 'reddite igitur quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae sunt Dei Deo' ('Render unto Caesar those things that are Caesar's and unto God those things that are God's') is given in the *conductus* poem as 'Que Cesaris sunt, reddite' ('Give to Caesar those things that are Caesar's). Just preceding this example is a similar usage from a similar source – another of Christ's rebukes to the Pharisees, the detail of which is given in Example 2.6.

*'Dic Christi veritas' commonly makes use of lexical exchange, where the same words are taken from a source and re-engineered syntactically in the *conductus* poem. In lines 9–10 of the first stanza, the words 'fiscellam scirpeam' are taken from *Exodus* and their accusative singular reworked into an ablative singular to match the sustained ablatives that run from lines 5 to 9 in the stanza. The treatment of 'Onus vallis visionis' from Isaiah in line 5 is similar.

The end of the second stanza, where Charity identifies her presence in the parable of the Good Samaritan, paraphrases the entire parable in slightly more than two lines. True, paraphrase of such a well-known biblical passage is simpler than in the case of a much less well-known one, but paraphrase is in general a common means of deploying intertextual reference in the *conductus*.

The poem is full of allusions, many of them as short as a single word. Pharaoh (there are more than 250 biblical references to Pharaoh) and Nero in the first stanza are good examples. Theon is given with his attribute the *antrum* in a way that has resulted in it still not being clear which of the mathematicians or philosophers of antiquity is being referenced here.[65] 'Dixitque Nathan' in the third stanza behaves in a similar way, although here there are elements of very rapid paraphrase in play as well.

Materials: *Rithmus, Musica* and *Littera*

Composers of the *conductus* were able to locate two types of activity in their compositions: purely musical modes of discourse and the poetic composition of *rithmus*. From the time of St Augustine until the eleventh century, rhythmic verse was associated with the 'vulgar' poets, secular verse and hymn texts.[66] During the eleventh century, and particularly during the twelfth, *rithmi* took on a status previously enjoyed only by quantative verse and became usable for a range of liturgical and paraliturgical forms: tropes, sequences and *conducti*. It also developed its own theoretical literature: the earliest text to support the efflorescence of eleventh-century *rithmus* is the *De rithmis* by Alberic of Monte Cassino;[67] it was followed in the twelfth century by two anonymous treatises, *De rithmico dictamine* and *Regulae de rithmis* from the twelfth century, and in the thirteenth by John of Garland's *Parisiana poetria*.[68]

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[65] William Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, by Various Writers*, 3 vols. (London: Taylor, 1844–1849) 3:1079–1082.

[66] Margot Fassler, 'Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises *De rhythmis*', *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987) 170.

[67] The *De rithmis* is edited in Hugh H. Davis, 'The *De rithmis* of Alberic of Monte Cassino: A Critical Edition', *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966) 198–227. See also Owen J. Blum, 'Alberic of Monte Cassino and the Hymns and Rhythms Ascribed to Saint Peter Damian', *Traditio* 12 (1956) 87–148.

[68] All texts are edited in Giovanni Mari, *I trattati medievali di ritmica latina*, Memorie del reale istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere: classe di lettere 20 (Milan: Hoepli, 1899) *R* Bibliotheca musica bononiensis 5/1 (Bologna: Forni, 1971). Garland's *Parisiana poetria* has been re-edited and translated by Traugott Lawler, *The Parisiana poetria of John of Garland*, Yale Studies in English 182 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974).

Ut non ponam os in celum	8p	a	So as not to make heaven my goal
In incertum mitto telum	8p	a	I loose my shaft into the unknown
Qui pretendunt dei zelum	8p	a	Those who aspire to God less zealously
Post honoris apicem	7pp	b	Than to the height of fame
Legis servant corticem	7pp	b	Serve merely the shell of the law
Et colantes culicem	7pp	b	And, straining at a gnat,
Clutiunt came*lum*	6p	a	Swallow a camel

Example 2.7 Text and translation of *'Ut non ponam', stanza 1

Rhythmic poetry in the late twelfth century was controlled by four main factors: line length, rhyme, end-accent and stanzaic structure. The organization of *rithmus* is therefore far removed from the Virgilian dactylic hexameter, the most popular quantative metre for medieval poets, in which a line could consist of from anything between thirteen and seventeen syllables.[69] For the anonymous author of the *De rithmico dictamine*, 'rithmus est consonans paritas sillabarum sub certo numero comprehensarum' (*rithmus* is a consonant [rhyming] equality of syllables grouped by a precise number). Number is invoked at almost every stage of the description and analysis of *rithmus*, and this is entirely congruent with its intimate bond with song.[70]

*'Ut non ponam' is the text of a *conductus* found in the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and may serve as an example of *rithmus*. Its first stanza (of four) reads as follows (Example 2.7; the single *cauda* is indicated in *italics*):[71]

The poem exhibits the two principal end accents found in *rithmus*, paroxytonic (penultimate [p]) and proparoxytonic (antepenultimate [pp]), and is built out of two rhymes; the author of the *De rithmico dictamine* would have called this poem a *diptongus* as a consequence.[72] The stanza features an atypical line at the end, called confusingly in *De rithmico dictamine* a *cauda*, which introduces a new line length; the

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[69] Fassler, 'Accent, Meter, and Rhythm', 177, note 55.

[70] Mari, *I trattati medievali*, 11, cited in Fassler, 'Accent, Meter, and Rhythm', 175.

[71] *'Ut non ponam' is preserved in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 350r–350v; *D-W* 628, fol. 109r; *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510, fol. 7v. See Hans Spanke, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik und Musik*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse 3:18 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1936) 70. The claim that there is a melodic similarity between the sections *cum* and *sine littera* in the work (Heinrich Husmann, 'Das System der modalen Rhythmik', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 11 [1954 22) is not supported by the evidence.

[72] Fassler, 'Accent, Meter, and Rhythm', 176.

example here is *dissonans* because it does not rhyme with the *cauda* of the following strophe, and it is not *continens*, in that it does not pre-empt the rhyme of the following stanza.[73]

In terms of music, the *conductus cum caudis* may exploit up to three discursive modes in a single composition: *musica cum littera* (both syllabic and neumatic, employing unmeasured notation), *musica sine littera* (characterised by a strict metrical organisation and notated modally) and the *punctus organi*.[74] The simplest, most schematic, form consists of a discourse that is either syllabic or neumatic, or more usually both: *musica cum littera*; the stanza ends with passage of *musica sine littera* known as the *cauda*, and this is the way in which the poem is projected in *'Ut non ponam', the end of which illustrates this most simple type (Example 2.8).

This example gives the music to the last two poetic lines of the stanza and the *cauda* that concludes it. The *cauda*, a rare example in mode II, balances brevity, structural elegance and cadential function.[75] Its tenor is disposed into four phrases in the pattern ABAB': the first and the third are identical, and the fourth a repeat of the second with a slight cadential elongation. The *duplum* mirrors the structure of the first two phrases but matches the last two with a single continuous phrase. The first two phrases in both voice parts are of four *longae trium temporum* (hereafter LTT), the third phrase in the tenor is the same, and the fourth elongated to a duration of six LTT. The long *duplum* phrase matches the tenor elongation and is therefore of ten LTT. The contrapuntal interest in this *cauda* lies in the rewriting of the counterpoint above the third and fourth tenor phrases in ways that point up the differences with that above the first two – in other words two different harmonisations of the same tenor line. The *cauda*'s cadential significance is enhanced by the structure of the poem which replicates the '-lum' rhyme from the first three lines at the end of the last which is therefore the syllable to which the *cauda*

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[73] Mari, *I trattati medievali*, 12–16. It may be of some significance that the *cauda* embodied musically comes at the end of the poetic *cauda*, and *'Ut non ponam' reflects a not dissimilar practice of embellishing the end of the stanza with a musically discursive shift (see pp. 78–81). There may therefore be some relation between the use of the term '*cauda*' in such treatises as the *De rithmico dictamine* and in such music theorists as Anonymous IV. Furthermore, the term used by the author of the *De rithmico dictamine* for the strophe is none other than *clausula*, whose usage in music theory is attested in several sources. The term for a line of poetry in *rithmus* is, furthermore, *distinctio*, a term with plentiful specific musical connotations.

[74] *Music cum littera* and *sine littera* are discussed in Chapter 1. For the *punctus organi*, see Chapter 4.

[75] The version of the piece in *D-W* 628 presents the *cauda* in mixed modes V and I. The rhythmic changes do not affect the analysis given here.

Example 2.8 *'Ut non ponam', music to last two lines of poetry and *cauda* (*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 350r–350v)

corresponds. Furthermore, the phoneme [y] (or possibly [ʊ], depending on pronunciation) at the heart of this syllable is given an immediate local context (visible in Example 2.8) by the words 'culicem' and 'clutiunt' in the final and penultimate lines of the poem.

The two lines of *musica cum littera* illustrate the way in which neumatic and syllabic writing coexist. As described in general in the previous chapter, here a syllable may match a single note, a ligature of two notes, a *coniunctura* of three notes, a *simplex plicata* or the *coniunctura tangendo disiunctim*. Three different configurations result: syllabic in both voice parts (the three syllables of 'culicem'), a single note against a ligature or other composite shape (third syllable of 'colantes') and neumatic constellations in both voices (first two syllables of 'camelum'). *Music cum littera*, as is the case in *'Ut non ponam', frequently mixes neumatic and syllabic techniques within the same phrase, and certainly within the same composition, but the two modes may be used with great effect to separate out different parts of the same work as the analysis of another two-voice *conductus*, 'Si Deus est animus', will show.

'Si Deus est animus' shows how contrasting discourses and styles may be combined in a single work to support and explicate its poetic structure.[76] While the most common alternation of style as the basis for structure is that of *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera*, in 'Si Deus est animus' there is an opposition between neumatic and syllabic discourses that is developed in a way that underpins the poetry; in this composition *musica sine littera* plays a much less extensive role than it frequently does in the *conductus cum caudis*, but, as will be shown, its durationally minimal role is none the less central to the structure of the composition. The first stanza consists of thirteen lines that divide into three sections according to poetic structure and syntax: the first discrete section consists of five heptasyllables, the second of five lines each of five syllables and the third section returns to the heptasyllables of the first; all lines are proparoxytonic (Example 2.9).

Shared rhymes ('-ibus') between lines 5 and 6 blur the boundaries of sections 1 and 2, although the alternating rhymes of sections 1 and 3, which contrast with the consistent rhymes of section 2, reinforce this division. The presence of lines that begin with 'si' ('Si', 'sic' and 'sit') in all three sections of the poem offer a continuity across the work. The poetry of the first two sections is based on an amplification of the condition that God might be a spirit. Such a condition, based on *John* IV, 24, was a frequent pretext for poetic reflection in the Middle Ages,[77] and the

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[76] 'Si Deus est animus' is found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 352r; *D-W* 628, fols. 105v–106, *D-W* 1099, fols. 143–143v and *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510, fol. 9v. It is edited in Janet Knapp (ed.), *Thirty-Five Conductus for Two and Three Voices*, Collegium Musicum 6 ([New Haven]: Yale University Department of Music Graduate School, 1965) 120–121 [after *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1]; Ethel Thurston (ed.), *The Conductus Collections of MS Wolfenbüttel 1099*, 3 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 11–13 (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1980) 3:91–93 [after *D-W* 1099] and Anderson (ed.), *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*, 3:184–5 (music) 3:xxxv (text) [after *D-W* 628]. The transcription presented in Example 2.10 is based on *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and is for the purposes of orientation only. As is the case with the other two transcriptions, it represents no attempt at evolving an editorial method for the *conductus cum caudis*. Comparison of the three earlier transcriptions reveals remarkable differences. All three impose a metrical structure on the *musica cum littera* that constitutes the largest part of this composition. But the metrical structure changes from declamation on the LTT (mode V) for the first five lines of the poem to a declamation on *longae* and *breves* (mode I) for the remainder. Anderson, however, introduces declamation on the LTT for parts of the this section, and all three transcriptions are forced to juggle rests of LTT and of *breves* to remain within the metrical frameworks they have imposed on the music. The use of unstemmed noteheads in appendices 1–3 transcribes the pitch of the original and the rhythm where it is clear (in passages *sine littera*) but acknowledges the unknowability of the rhythm of *musica cum littera*.

[77] 'Spiritus est Deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare' (God is spirit, and his worshipers must worship in spirit and in truth).

1. Si Deus est animus	7pp (a)	If God is a spirit
2. Dii nostri sint animi	7pp (b)	Let our minds be of God
3. Menti quod imprimimus	7pp (a)	What we impress on our minds
4. Faciamus imprimi	7pp (b)	Let us be first to do
5. Divinis operibus.	7pp (a)	In divine works.
6. Sit in actibus	5pp (a)	Thus in deeds be done
7. Quod mens concipit	5pp (c)	What the mind conceives
8. Sic quod recipit	5pp (c)	So what it receives
9. Fides precipit.	5pp (c)	Faith instructs.
10. *Nam* **ut lucis munere**	7pp (d)	For as the empty lamp
11. **Caret lampas vacua**	7pp (e)	Lacks the gift of life
12. **Sic et sine opere**	7pp (d)	And so without works
13. **Fides iacet mortua**	7pp (e)	Faith lies dead.

Example 2.9 Text and translation of 'Si Deus est animus'
Discantus (*cauda*)
Mixed syllabic/neumatic
Predominantly neumatic
Neumatic

formulation 'Si Deus est animus' a common one. It opens, for example, the well-known and widely distributed *Catonis disticha* with the following pair of hexameters: 'Si deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt / Hic tibi precipue sit pura mente colendus' (If God is a spirit, as the songs tell us, He is to be worshipped above all with a pure mind).[78]

With the exception of a tiny fragment of *musica sine littera*, expressed in an impeccable modal notation on the word 'Nam' in line 10, the music of the entire poem of 'Si Deus est animus' is *cum littera* (Example 2.10).

But such a description fails to do justice to the subtle balance between syllabicism and neumaticism that articulates the work (in Example 2.9, text in *discantus* is given in *italics*, mixed neumatic and syllabic writing is single underlined, predominantly neumatic writing is double underlined, and more or less purely neumatic presentation is identified by wavy underlining). The first section of 'Si Deus est animus' is written in an uncompromising and complex neumatic style (71 per cent of the syllables are treated neumatically and only 29 per cent purely syllabically); the result is a dense texture with frequent simultaneous presentations of two and three note constellations (ligatures or *conjuncturae*), *nota plicatae* and

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[78] Marcus Boas (ed.), *Disticha Catonis*, rev. Heinrich Johann Botschuyver (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1952) 34, where *exempla* and sources from antiquity are also cited.

Example 2.10 Edition of 'Si Deus est animus' (*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 352r)

the *coniunctura tangendo disiunctim*; the section corresponds exactly to the articulation of the first part of the poem (lines 1–5 of the poem). By contrast, the second section of the poem (lines 6–9) juxtaposes strictly syllabic writing and cadential melismas (75 per cent of syllables are purely

Example 2.10 (*cont.*)

syllabic, and the neumatic sections are highly localised at the ends of poetic lines). With the exception of the tiny *cauda* on the word 'Nam', the last musical section corresponds exactly to the final section (lines 10–13) of the poetry. While it exhibits a similar density of syllabic writing (81 per cent

of syllables are syllabic) to the second section, what little neumatic writing remains – with the exception of the terminal cadence – is spread out within the syllabic environment, and the four- and five-note constellations found in section 2 are mirrored only by the occasional two-note ligature in the final section.

The third section of the piece is further set off by matching the first word of this section of the poem to a short *cauda*. The word is apparently without significance, and the inclusion of such a passage of *musica sine littera* seems devoid of any obvious purpose. There is, however, a clear reason for setting off the third section of the poem, and its music, from the rest of the piece: the last four lines constitute a simile, one with unimpeachable biblical credentials: 'For as the empty lamp / Lacks the gift of life / So without works / Faith lies dead'. The image of the empty lamp is taken from the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and is the symbol of the consequences of the lack of preparedness for the Second Coming (*Matthew*, XXV, 1–13). The *conductus* poem reworks this image and elides it with images from the second half of the first chapter of the general epistle of James. Here, the conceit of faith without works is dead is adumbrated twice: 'sic et fides si non habeat opera mortua est in semet ipsam' (Even so, faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone [*James*, II, 17]) and 'sicut enim corpus sine spiritu emortuum est ita et fides sine operibus mortua est' (For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also [*James*, II, 26]). The end of 'Si Deus est animus' therefore restates the images from James but packs the simile with imagery from a parable that is itself heavily symbolic. The effect of the use of the *cauda* in this instance is to contribute to the narrative swerve, and shift in musical discourse, introduced by the third section of the poetry. It not only enhances the poem's change of direction from homily to parable but also projects the word 'Nam' that provides the link between the carefully wrought simile and the rest of the poem, and thus emphasises the narrative force of the moment that contrasts so much with its apparent musical insignificance.

As a footnote to the discussion of the impact of *rithmus* on the *conductus* repertory and on musical culture in general, it should be noted that there are a tiny proportion of quantative poems that find their way into the repertory. There are nine:

Alma redemptoris mater
*Celorum porta

Fas legis prisce
Mundum salvificans mundum
O felix mortale genus
Partus integritas
*Porta salutis ave
Salve sancta parens patrie
Vera fides geniti

'Alma redemptoris mater' is an older poem and therefore falls into a different category to the five other hexameters. Two of these, 'Mundum salvificans mundum' and 'O felix mortale genus', are English and found in the same source and on the same leaf: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 803/807 (hereafter *GB-Cgc* 803/807);[79] as 'Agnus Dei' tropes, they behave rather differently to *conducti* in any case. Two other hexameters, 'Fas legis prisce' and 'Partus integritas', are preserved in Swiss sources or manuscripts from east of the Rhine.[80] The only such *conductus* that might stem from some sort of central point is 'Salve sancta parens patrie', but even that is found in *E-Mn* 20486 only.[81]

The three examples of single elegiac distichs (a hexameter followed by a pentameter) are similar in that the short texts invite the deployment of several long *caudae*, although the exact implementation differs from piece to piece. *'Porta salutis ave' is the most ambitious:

*Por*ta *sa*lutis, *av*e, *per te patet exitus a vhe*,
Venit *ab* Eve *vhe*, vhe quia tollis, *av*e!

Almost the entire first line of the poem consists of a series of *caudae* on each of the syllables.[82] The two-voice *conductus* *'Celorum porta' spaces four *caudae* fairly equally across the work, carefully pairing '*Ce*lorum' with '*E*ruat', '*por*ta' with '*por*tis' and '*or*ta' with '*mor*tis'. The placement of the *caudae* in the two four-syllable words 'feli*ci*ter' and 'clementi*a*', by contrast, do not match at all.

[79] Fols. 1r–1v.
[80] 'Fas legis prisce': Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 106, fol. 200v; Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 42, fol. 344v; *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95, fol. 34v. 'Partus integritas': Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 102, fol. 141r.
[81] Fols. 138r–139r.
[82] Indicated in the text in *italics*. For a full account of *'Porta salutis ave', see Eva Maschke, '*Porta salutis ave*: Manuscript Culture, Material Culture, and Music', *Proceedings of Conference: The Gothic Revolution in Music, 1100–1300, Musica disciplina* 58 (2013) 167–229.

*Ce*lorum *por*ta, mundo feli*ci*ter *or*ta,
*E*ruat a *por*tis tua nos clementi*a mor*tis.[83]

A third elegiac distich, 'Vera fides geniti', is found in an English manuscript that, because it preserves a good deal of continental material, does not therefore guarantee an English origin for the piece. Although 'Vera fides geniti' is preserved without music and in a fragmentary form, it is, however, possible both to reconstruct the text and to analyse the placement of *caudae* in the same way as for *'Porta salutis ave' and *'Celorum porta':

Ve[ra] fides geniti purgavit crimina [*mun*di],
Et tibi virginitas inviolata *ma*net.[84]

Here the *caudae* are much less extensive (three only across the entire piece) and the *conductus* is much shorter than the other two as a result. 'Partus integritas' consists of a sequence of three elegiac distichs but is preserved without notation in Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 102 (hereafter *CH-EN* 102).[85]

   *'Celorum porta' is only known as a two-voice work, whereas *'Porta salutis ave' was known in two-voice versions and a version in *D-W* 628 with space for a third voice, part of which was recently discovered in New York, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, N-66.[86] 'Vera fides geniti' is clearly copied with space for three voices, all of which are missing.

Where and When

The topography of the *conductus* is conditioned by two factors: what is known of the provenance of manuscripts in which the repertory is preserved and what may be established about the place of origin of the works themselves. In the case of the repertory of Parisian *organum*, it has been held that the origin of the manuscript and of the work are identical: that the liturgical context of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 coupled to its place of origin both point very clearly to the same place – Paris, in this case.[87] The presence of the same repertory in other locations – St Andrews for example –then becomes a function of exportation from a centre as a part

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[83] *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 331v–332r.
[84] Cambridge, Jesus College, QB 1, fols. 1Br–1Bv.
[85] Fol. 141r.   [86] Maschke, 'Porta salutis', 168–169.
[87] For the geographical origins of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and the conclusion that the liturgical context of the manuscript is also Parisian, see Chapter 1 and the sources cited there.

of the genre's reception.[88] Whatever the shortcomings of this model for the understanding of the development of *organa*, it is one that serves as a counterpoint to other genres, especially the *conductus*.

For the *conductus*, the topography is nothing like so clear. In such a manuscript as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 or *D-W* 628, where date and origin have been reasonably clearly established, internal characteristics of the *conducti* suggest that the concerns of the poetry, at the very least, point to events far distant from the milieu in which either of these manuscripts was copied. Appendix 2.1 gives a list of all securely datable and localisable works, on the basis of which it is possible to offer some preliminary remarks on topography.

The position is complicated by the attribution of many *conductus* texts to poets whose movements are well known: so a poem attributed to Philip the Chancellor might encourage the idea that it was composed in Paris, while an attribution to Walter of Châtillon might suggest a provenance in Reims or even Châtillon itself. On the other hand, such a *conductus* poem as 'Dum medium silentium tenerent', embedded in Walter's prosimetrum 'In domino confido', was clearly composed for, if not in, Rome and was certainly performed in Bologna,[89] and Philip the Chancellor's European travels might also affect the ways in which the knowledge of his authorship might be interpreted. A further complication is the recent proliferation in modern attributions of *conductus* texts to Philip the Chancellor, to the extent that there is not a great deal in the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 that is not thought to be by him.[90] In what follows, attributions to Philip that have medieval authority are distinguished from modern hypothetical ones.

Some poems are so generic in nature that it is difficult to assign any importance to their apparent provenance. The veneration of Thomas

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[88] Exactly to where *D-W* 628 was exported is a question that remains open. In 1990, it was proposed that 'it may be as well to assess the likelihood of the book having been either . . . a book for use in the chapel of the Bishop's Palace/Castle, or part of the episcopal *capella*' (Mark Everist, 'From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990) 31), and the first option largely dismissed. More recently, Katherine Kennedy Steiner has suggested that the scribe of *D-W* 628 might be a member of the elite group of Royal monks established in the second half of the twelfth century called the *Céli Dé*, and therefore the entire manuscript might have been written for that community ('The Scribe of W_1', paper read at conference 'Ars Antiqua 2013', Southampton, September 2013; Kennedy Steiner, 'Polyphony and Liturgy for the Céli Dé at Medieval St Andrews', paper read at Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, November 2013).

[89] For the detail of 'Dum medium silentium tenerent', see Chapters 6 and 8.

[90] As discussed in Chapter 1.

Becket was sufficiently widespread to suggest caution in assigning provenance to 'Novus miles sequitur' (1173), but such a work as 'In Rama sonat gemitus' (1164–1170), referring as it does to Becket's exile, does seem to suggest an interest in Sens and/or Pontigny.[91] 'Anni favor iubilei' (1208) is a call for what became known as the Albigensian Crusade, while 'Venit Ihesus in propria' (1187) is a call for the Third Crusade. Although the latter is firmly attributed to Philip the Chancellor, his movements before his appointment as Archdeacon of Noyon in 1202 are unclear; he may have still been pursuing studies in Paris when he wrote it, or he may have already moved to Noyon. Much the same could be said about the call to Henry II of Champagne to liberate the Holy Land in *'Sede Syon de pulvere', although the specific invocation of the Count of Champagne might suggest a provenance in Reims or elsewhere in the County. And although 'Pange melos lacrimosum' is clearly a lament for Frederick I Barbarossa, who died crossing the river Göksu at Silifke in Cicilian Armenia (now Turkey), the importance of the death of the Holy Roman Emperor, especially when his death took place so far from the centre of Western European poetic and musical cultures, makes it similarly impossible to locate the origin of the *conductus* precisely in topographical terms.

Several pieces that seem to relate to the contested election of William of Auvergne in 1227 and the commentaries made on the affair by Philip the Chancellor until his death in 1236 are clearly related to Paris, and if Philip is indeed the author of 'Deduc Syon uberrimas' and 'Mundus a munditia', this would strengthen the case for a Parisian provenance. 'Veritas equitas largitas' (1228–1234) also falls into this group.[92] Other pieces seem ineluctably tied to Paris: for example the two works that reflect on the finding of the Holy Nail of Saint-Denis, 'Clavis clavo retunditur' and 'Clavus pungens acumine'.[93] And others – 'Anglia planctus itera' and

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[91] For a general introduction to the music associated with Thomas Becket, see Denis Stevens, 'Music in honor of St. Thomas of Canterbury', *The Musical Quarterly* 56 (1970) 311–348. A more recent, and broader, approach is taken in Kay Brainerd Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). For a recent study of the office for St Thomas and its context, see Andrew Hughes, *The Versified Office: Sources, Poetry, and Chants*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies, 97 (Lions Bay, BC: Institute of Mediæval Music, 2011).

[92] Thomas B. Payne, 'Chancellor versus Bishop: the Conflict Between Philip the Chancellor and Guillaume d'Auvergne in Poetry and Music, *Philippe le Chancelier: penseur, poète, et théologien parisien du début du XIIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017) 265–306.

[93] See Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991) 332–334.

'Eclypsim patitur' – speak of the death of Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany and of Peter the Chanter, both of which took place in Paris. Although Philip II Augustus died at Mantes-la-Jolie in 1223, that is only thirty kilometres from Paris and even less from Saint Denis where he was buried, both 'O mors que mordes omnia' and 'Alabastrum frangitur' might also be swept up into a Parisian *conductus* culture. Disagreement between the papacy and the French Crown (*'Dic Christi veritas' and 'Dogmatum falsas species') open up a line of transmission between Rome and Paris. Other works – 'Pater sancte dictus Lotharius' (1198) and 'Rex et sacerdos prefuit' (1209–1212) – both deal with affairs relating exclusively with the papacy and southern Italy, but as in the case of the works related to Thomas Becket, a poem celebrating the installation of Innocent III would have had a pan-European significance and interest.[94]

Reference to any coronation immediately evokes Reims, as in the cases of 'Beata nobis gaudia reduxit' (1223) and possibly 'Ver pacis aperit'; the latter has been thought to relate to the coronation of Philip II Augustus (1179), but a more careful reading associates it with the translation of Bishop William of the White Hands from Sens to Reims in 1176.[95] And with a secure attribution to Walter of Châtillon, a provenance in Châtillon, where Walter was working in 1176, cannot be ruled out. Critically, however, all three locations are well to the east of Paris and seemingly rule out a Parisian provenance. Reims is also the location of the death of Albert of Louvain, Archbishop of Liège, who was assassinated in Reims in 1192 and commemorated in 'Turmas arment Christicolas'.[96]

Only two *conducti* may be associated with events that took place in the British Isles. 'Divina providentia' relates to events during the regency of William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely during Richard I of England's endeavours on the Third Crusade. It is difficult to imagine the poetry having any resonance outside of English-held lands. 'Redit etas aurea' relates either to the coronation of Richard I of England (1189) or to his second coronation after his release from captivity (1194); both events took place in England (Westminster and Winchester, respectively) but

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[94] Payne, 'Datable Notre-Dame *Conductus*', 113–115.

[95] For 'Beata nobis gaudia reduxit', see Leo Schrade, 'Political Compositions in French Music of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953) 28–30, and Léopold Delisle, 'Discours', *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* 22 (1885) 132. Schrade's account of 'Ver pacis aperit' ('Political Compositions', 19–22) has been shaded slightly (David A. Traill (ed.), *Walter of Châtillon: The Shorter Poems: Christmas Hymns, Love Lyrics, and Moral-Satirical Verse*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon, 2013) lxiii.

[96] Schrade, 'Political Compositions', 16.

would have had an importance for all lands held by the English Crown: Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, Aquitaine and Gascony. The only *conducti* that relate to events in lands held by the English are the two that relate the death of Henry the Younger, son of Henry II of England, who died in Martel, near Limoges in 1183: 'In occasu syderis' and 'Eclypsim patitur'.[97]

The topography of the *conductus* is complex, but – even with the various caveats presented in the preceding paragraphs – it is clear that in contrast to the essentially Parisian nature of *organum*, the subject matter of the *conductus* is far more geographically diffuse. Locating the genre precisely in the same way as one might for *organum* is impossible. But if what the *conductus* can tell us about its place of origin is elusive and sometime opaque, it does offer some clarity in terms of chronology.

In 2001, Thomas Payne subjected all known datable *conducti* to analysis of what they could reveal about changes to poetry and music over the period from the 1160s to the 1240s, that are given in Appendix 2.1.[98] Here, some recent datings are included – largely also discovered by Payne – as the basis for a series of observations on changes to style and technique. It should be said that although Appendix 2.1 has been brought up to date, there is little that has changed since Payne's analysis. Payne's methods were to identify trends among the around three dozen datable works and to make irrefutable pronouncements about their proportions as a basis for more cautious inferences about the rest of the repertory.

Findings from such an approach may be grouped into the analysis of line, stanza, the presence or absence of *caudae* and the balance between *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera*. In terms of line length, 8pp and 7pp rhymes are found across the repertory, although the former outnumber the latter. Lines of six-syllable proparoxytones only are found in works dated before 1200.[99] The so-called Goliardic metre of paired lines, 7pp + 6p, is found only before 1200.[100] The evidence for the distribution of 10pp lines is slender, but Payne argues convincingly for this pattern to be dated around 1200 (the two-voice 'Christi miles Christo commilitat', unique in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, is an exception).[101]

One of the most striking observations that may be made on the basis of an examination of the corpus of datable *conducti* is that fact that, of the thirteen strophic works (around half), no less than eleven date from before

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[97] Ibid., 15 and 18.   [98] Payne, 'Datable Notre-Dame *Conductus*, 141–143.

[99] Ibid., 112–113.   [100] Ibid., 117.   [101] Ibid., 116.

1200. There is of course an ever-present danger of taking a crude teleological view that sees a lack of complexity preceding complexity – strophic works are simpler and therefore earlier than through-composed ones – but in this case the evidence seems to point strongly in that direction. The position is strengthened by the fact that almost all through-composed works in the datable corpus date from after 1200. As Payne puts it, 'in the early decades of the thirteenth century a uniformly strophic musical setting of a *conductus* poem may have been viewed as a piece of restrained, if not conservative, compositional workmanship'.[102]

One of the most remarkable results of analysing the corpus of datable *conducti* is found in the presence of the AAB *cantio* structure in monophonic works, all of which ('In Rama sonat gemitus', 'Dum medium silentium tenerent', 'Omnis in lacrimas', 'Venit Ihesus in propria' and 'Pater sancte dictus Lotharius') fall in the period before 1200. And in the case of the polyphonic form, only a single datable work employs the technique after 1209.[103] Hand in hand with the move from strophic to through-composed composition over time, it appears that – for both monophonic and polyphonic *conducti*, the earliest datable compositions are syllabic, and *caudae* not only become the norm after 1189, but their increasing complexity also may be tracked during the thirteenth century. Mode II *caudae* are only found in polyphonic *conducti cum caudis* after 1209, perhaps not until the 1220s.[104]

The poetry of the *conductus* is one of the clearest guides to its function. Whether this is in terms of quasi-liturgical cues such as the 'Iube dom[i]ne' formula, or through the intertextual reference to patristic, classical and other forms of medieval and late-antique literature, the poems reveal much of the processional, paraliturgical and extraliturgical contexts of some parts of the genre. Whether the shift from paraliturgical choreography to *lectio publica* is a chronological one is difficult to say, although the range of topics found in the *conducti* preserved in mid-thirteenth-century Parisian sources is much wider than those found, for example, in the Norman-Sicilian sources from a century earlier.

Understanding the various functions of the *conductus* is a prerequisite for grasping the particular nature of *conductus* poetry and sustaining a distinction between its *rithmus* and the better-known *metra* of classical poetry, with which it has little in common. The poetry underpins the two principal discourses that characterise the *conductus*: *musica cum littera* and

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[102] Ibid., 108–109.   [103] Ibid., 121–122.   [104] Sanders, 'Style and Technique', 510–512.

musica sine littera as well as the related distinction between the *conductus sine* and *cum caudis.* The content of the *conductus* poem also tells us much of what we know about the chronology and topography of the genre, and allows not only a commentary on the growth of poetic types but also, by extension, of musical forms.

3 | Rhythm and Metre: Editing and Performance

Sound and Shape

The presentation of the text in the sources for the *conductus* varies as much as it does in the transmission of any Latin poetry. Depending on the formality of the book's production, the same text may be written in scripts that range from the most formal bookhand in a high-prestige luxury book to the most hurried cursive scribble on the flyleaf of a book whose content is completely different. But the two types of writing share certain conventional traits: many letters are made up of combinations of minims with or without descenders and ascenders, despite the fact that the physical presentation of these shapes vary to some degree, for example, and only some key letters, 's' and 'r', say, are self-evidently different.

The notation of non-liturgical Latin monody and polyphony, on the other hand, varies as much by geographical location as by the formality and ambition of the book. As in the case of the *littera textualis formata* and *littera cursiva*,[1] the more square the notation of the *conductus* the more prestigious the book, and the less square the less prestigious. To look at the presentation of the three-part *conductus* *'Dic Christi veritas' in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1) is to witness some of the most prestigious examples of notation found in the *conductus* repertory (Figure 3.1).[2]

But even here, the squareness of the shapes and the elegance of the descending *tractus* are no match for some of the most prestigious service books produced around the same time (1240s–1250s), also in Paris. On the other hand, other transmissions of this piece show just clearly how different notational grammars for the same piece can be. The version in Salamanca, Universidad, Archivo y Biblioteca, 226 (hereafter *E-SAu* 226) is preserved in a neumatic notation from Eastern France and is clearly a

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[1] Bernard Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendlandischen Mittlealters* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1979; 2nd edn., 1986), trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz as *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990: *R* 1995) 127–135.

[2] Fol. 203r.

Figure 3.1 Opening of *'Dic Christi veritas'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 203r, bottom half

much less formal type of book (Figure 3.2); only the tenor (lowest) part
of the piece is preserved here.[3]

And while there are at least some points of comparison between
the notation of *I-Fl* Plut.29.1 and *E-SAu* 226, a third source for
*'Dic Christi veritas', Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek,
H.B.I.Asc.95 (hereafter *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95) uses shapes that look very for-
eign indeed (Figure 3.3).

These differences are clearly the result of the geographical origin
of *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95 in Weingarten, 20 km from Lake Konstanz near
Friedrichshafen.[4] Again, the tenor only of the work is here preserved with
the new text *'Bulla fulminante' underlaid the final *cauda*.

But however different the presentation of the notation in these three
copies of essentially the same piece, *'Dic Christi veritas', there are con-
sistent features. The distinction between syllabic and melismatic music
is preserved; indeed, in *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95, melismas are underlined in

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[3] Fol. 100v. 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.

[4] Fol. 33v. Old, but still useful is Hans Spanke, 'Die Stuttgarter Handschrift H. B. I. Ascet. 95',
    Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur 68 (1931) 79–88.
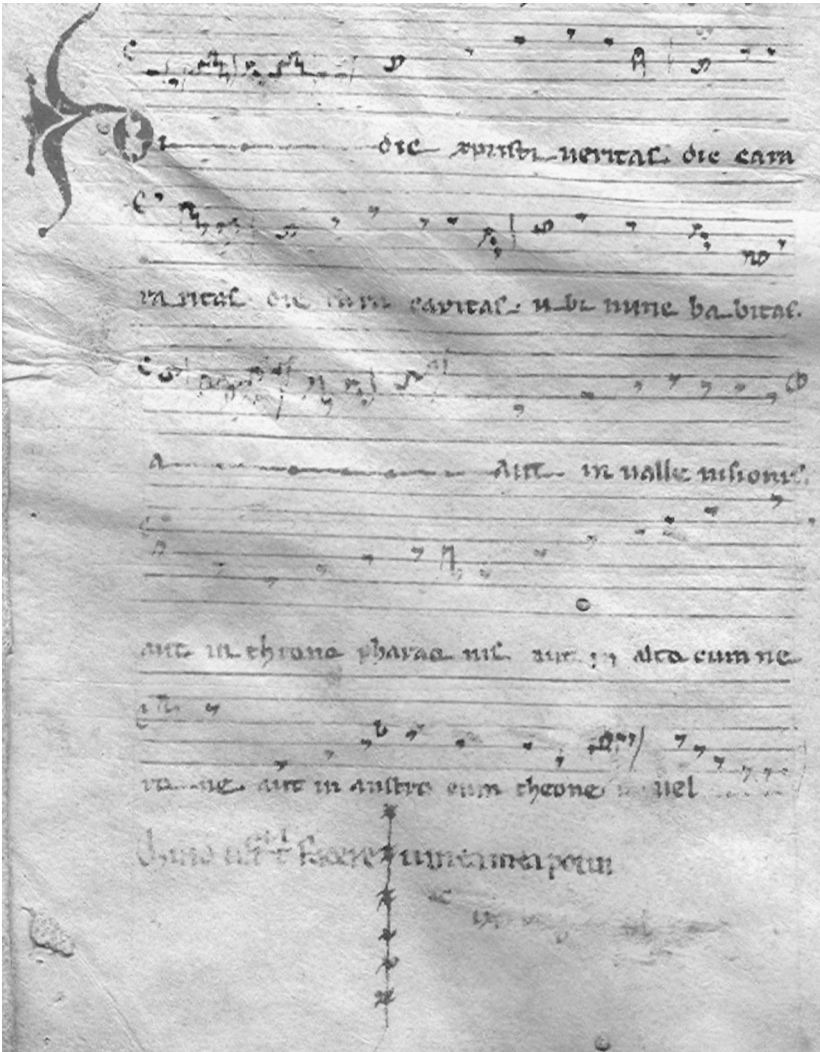
Figure 3.2 Opening of *'Dic Christi veritas'; *E-SAu* 226, fol. 100v, bottom left quadrant

red.[5] At a greater level of detail, the distinction between syllabic and neumatic notation is also preserved for the large part in all three of these transmissions. This is important because the distinction among single notes, neumatic groups and melismas is – together with questions of texting – key to understanding questions of rhythm.

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[5] In the black and white illustration, the lines are wavy and are visible where there is no underlaid text.
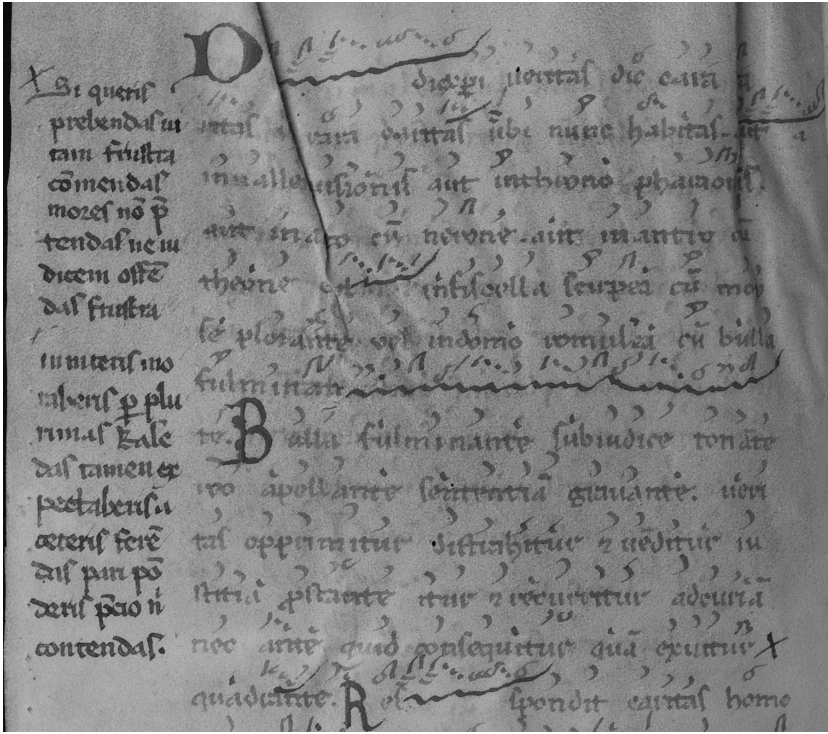
Figure 3.3 Opening of *'Dic Christi veritas'; *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95, fol. 33v, top half

Musica sine littera is a good place to start in the investigation of the *conductus* because it is largely uncontentious. The *caudae* of the *conductus* shares with *clausulae* the organisation of durations associated with modal rhythm. The system of identifying rhythmic patterns through combinations of ligatures may seem arcane both to users of modern notation and even to those more familiar with fourteenth- to sixteenth-century rhythmic notations. The system works well for a rhythmic style that is based on variations of two values, long and short (*longa* and *brevis*) that stand in a two-to-one relationship to each other and that underpin the ornamental decoration of the same values. Together, the durations of a *longa* and a *brevis* add up to what contemporary theorists called a *longa trium temporum* (here abbreviated to LTT) and sounds to modern ears very much like a unit of measurement.[6] In this regard, the modal rhythm of the *conductus cauda* is clearly metrical, in that the repeating LTT create a regular metre.

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[6] When Anonymous IV uses the term, he uses it as a synonym for *perfectio*. See Fritz Reckow (ed.), *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4–5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967) 1:27 and *passim*.
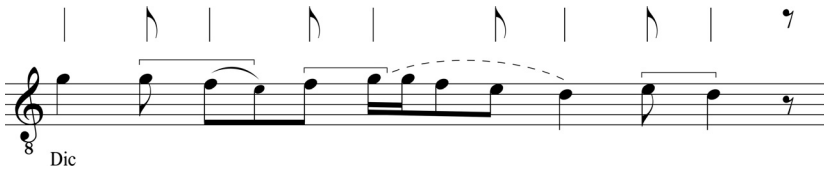
Example 3.1 *Triplum* of *'Dic Christi veritas', first five *longa trium temporum*

There is, however, little consistency in how thirteenth-century theory came to terms with questions of duration. Anonymous IV, for example, evolved a system of describing durations that worked by identifying the shortest rhythmic grouping in a modal pattern as the first ordo in that particular mode, so that a ligature of three notes followed by a *tractus*, which would be rendered *longa – brevis – longa –* rest in the first rhythmic mode (and transcribed crotchet – quaver – crotchet – quaver rest) would be called by Anonymous IV 'the first *ordo* of the first rhythmic mode'. This would occupy the same space as two LTT. A more complex example follows (Example 3.1). It is the opening of the *triplum* of *'Dic Christi veritas', taken from the reading in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and may therefore be compared with Figure 3.1.

The notation here represents the fourth *ordo* of the first rhythmic mode, but there are significant levels of ornamentation decorating the rhythmic superstructure of the mode, which is given above the stave with stems and tails. *Fractio* modi is achieved on two levels, first breaking the *longa* into *breves* via the *nota plicata* in the second LTT and breaking *breves* into shorter values via *conjuncturae* in the third. The example recalls the important characteristic of notation in ligature both in *musica sine littera* (as here) and in *musica cum littera* (to be discussed shortly): a ligature cannot include two successive notes of the same pitch. This is why the opening of the phrase in Example 3.1 consists of a single note and a ligature of two notes (plicated, which explains the slurred *e* in the second LTT). In other words, the opening single pitch and two-note ligature masks a three-note ligature (conventional for the opening of the first rhythmic mode): *longa – brevis – longa* (crotchet – quaver – crotchet).

An example in mode III illustrates Anonymous IV's system of identification in a different context (Example 3.2). This is taken from the *duplum* of the two-voice *conductus* 'Puer nobis est natus', again in its version in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[7]

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[7] Fol. 267v. The extract is from the short *cauda* on the word 'qui' in the first stanza ('est dedignatus *qui* genitus').

Example 3.2 *Duplum* of 'Puer nobis est natus', melisma from first stanza

Here Anonymous IV's fourth ordo of the third rhythmic mode yields eight LTT. Again, the basic pattern given above the stave is elaborated here first by *fractio modi* (the single group of quavers) and by *extensio modi* (the replacement of the penultimate quaver–crotchet pair with a dotted crotchet).[8]

Beyond the organisation of *longa* and *brevis* into *LTT*, there exist no higher levels of notational organisation in the *cauda* or indeed in any other genre that makes use of modal rhythm. It may therefore seem strange to find transcriptions of this music that provide barlines and put the music effectively into a 6/8 compound metre. Here is an example, which may be taken as axiomatic, from Gordon Anderson's 1981 edition of the three-part *conductus*, 'Pater noster qui es in celis' (Example 3.3).

What may be seen here are two mode I phrases. The *duplum* of the extract is what Anonymous IV would have called the sixth ordo of the first rhythmic mode. But to fit the phrases into a 6/8 metre, Anderson has had to treat some rests (correctly) as quaver rests but reads the rests at the end of the first phrase (incorrectly) as dotted crotchet rests, merely to make the phrases begin on the first beat of the 6/8 bar (Anderson's bar 51). In doing so, the edition has to restrict the music to phrases of even numbers of LTT. The obvious solution here is to replace the dotted crotchet and dotted crotchet rest at the end of the two phrases with a crotchet and a quaver rest. The consequence of this is to reduce the length of both phrases from eight to seven LTT. As will be seen in Chapter 5, the difference between

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[8] *Fractio modi* is a term coined by Anonymous IV (Reckow [ed.], *Musiktraktat* 1:23), but *extensio modi* is a neologism coined by Willi Apel (*Die Notationen der polyphonen Musik: 900–1600* [Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1981] 249–251). Edward Roesner notes that Johannes de Garlandia uses the concept *reductio* for both *fractio* and '*extensio*' *modi*, although Garlandia never uses the developed term *reductio modi* (Erich Reimer [ed.], *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica: kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10–11 [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972] 1:63 and passim). Edward H. Roesner, 'Rhythmic modes', Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, consulted 10 October 2016; www.oxfordmusiconline .com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23337

Example 3.3 'Pater noster qui es in celis'; extract from Gordon A. Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 11 vols, [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vol. 7 and 11 have appeared], 3:7, followed by an alternative transcription without barlines from *I-Fl* Plut 29.1, fol. 215r.

the way in which the Middle Ages viewed these two numbers is colossal: 2^3 (in Anderson's version) as opposed to the fourth prime number (as in what we might consider Anonymous IV's version), and that is to say nothing of the careful interplay of phrases of odd and even numbers of LTT within the two phrases in the two voice parts.

In contrast to Anderson's practice, displaying the music without barlines at all simply allows the phrases to work exactly in the way Anonymous IV and his contemporaries understood them and to emerge as consisting of *any* number of LTT beyond one, and not just equal numbers of LTT. Anderson made exceptions where the contrapuntal circumstances made it impossible to tamper with the rests, and in these cases he was obliged to

include 9/8 bars to accommodate the phrases consisting of uneven numbers of LTT. Although the alternative transcription of this passage frees up the metre of the music and allows a much more subtle structure to emerge, it fails to answer the question as to why one might have wanted to straightjacket this music into a 6/8 framework in the first place. One answer is as striking as it is unconvincing:

> As these [conductus] poems served, at least originally, the progress of processions, whether actually used in this manner or not, the normal meter of such early pieces must *obviously* be binary, whether iambic or trochaic [emphasis added].[9]

The analysis of processional contexts given in Chapter 2 has shown that the *conducti* that seem to survive in a processional context were almost certainly not performed while the singers were in motion. But, much more importantly, even those *conducti* that might have been sung while singers were in movement were those that did *not* make use of *caudae*: the processional context and modal rhythm were never brought into alignment, and the former cannot logically be brought forth to elucidate the latter. This has not stopped the author of the preceding quotation elsewhere describing the use of 6/8 or 9/8 metre as 'ubiquitous'.[10]

Musica cum littera poses many more challenges to modern understanding and interpretation of *conducti* of all types. In principle, the notational shapes are the same as those used in *musica sine littera* but, because they carry no encoded rhythmic information, tend to be more elaborate and are tied much more closely to the declamation of the text (melismatic *caudae* usually involve a single syllable only).

The monophonic *conductus* *'Que seminant in lacrimis' may serve as an example. Figure 3.4 gives the first stanza (with only the very beginning of the refrain, 'Per motus ergo singulos') of the piece in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, its unique source.

Much of the opening is uncontentious. The four-note constellation on the last syllable of 'sem<u>inant</u>' consists of a single-note and a three-note ligature, the first pitch of which is the same as the preceding single note. In the second phrase, however, on all four syllables of 'et azimis', the repeating pitches carry separate syllables, so in this case the four syllables of the phrase are supported respectively by a single note, a two-note ligature, a single note and a four-note *conjunctura*. The extract includes

⁹ Hans Tischler, *Conductus and Contrafacta*, Musicological Studies 75 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2001) 26.

¹⁰ Hans Tischler (ed.), *The Earliest Polyphonic Art Music: The 150 Two-Part Conductus in the Notre-Dame Manuscripts*, [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 24 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2005) 1:xiv.

Figure 3.4 *'Qui seminant in lacrimis'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 425r

two melismas, one on the second syllable of 'Hii gratie' and the other on the last syllable of 'glorie'. Critically, and in opposition to what is found in the *caudae* of polyphonic works, there is no rhythmic information embedded in the ligatures and other constellations that make up this melisma. Its rhythm is non-metrical, therefore, and is as free rhythmically as the rest of the music.

If the key principle underpinning the notation of *musica cum littera* is that one syllable corresponds to a single note, ligature or constellation of ligatures and/or *conjuncturae*, it stands to reason that the presence of more than one note, ligature or constellation to a syllable effectively defines a melisma; in polyphonic music this points to the presence of a *cauda*. Almost invariably, *caudae* display patterns of ligatures that

Figure 3.5 'Iam vetus littera', extract; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 273r

unambiguously encode modal rhythm. Consider the following example, taken from the first stanza of 'Iam vetus littera' in the reading from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (Figure 3.5).

There are the long melismas on the words 'gen*ti*um' (first to second systems), '*pa*tent' (second system), 'con*fert*' (system four) and 'te*di*um' (systems four to five). What are of interest, though, are the much shorter
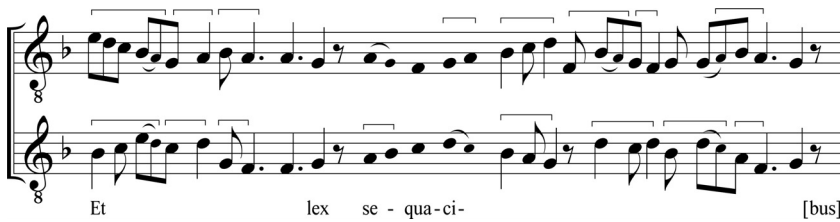
Example 3.4 Two short *caudae* from 'Iam vetus littera'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 273r

interpolations to the discourse *cum littera* on the words 'et' (system three) and the last syllable of 'sequaci*bus*' (also on the third system). Here there are four and five ligatures to the syllable respectively, and in both cases the notation encodes a straightforward mode I pattern with *extensio* and *fractio modi*, as illustrated in Example 3.4. The poetic-musical discourse effortlessly moves from *musica cum littera*, through short examples of *musica sine littera* and back out again.

The combination of these two types of *cauda* – the extensive structural and the shorter type embedded in longer passages of *musica cum littera* – and their deployment within the mixed form of the *conductus cum caudis* form the basis of the analysis of the genre outlined in Chapter 5.

The principle that a single note, ligature or constellation of ligatures matches a single syllable, given that each of these could range from one to seven or more pitches, leads to some fundamental questions of simultaneity. The second stanza of 'Veri vitis germine' offers examples (Figure 3.6).

This passage shows examples of counterpoint with two, three and four notes against one, but it also presents three notes in the *duplum* against four in the tenor (on the word 'nam'), four notes in the *duplum* against three in the tenor (on the second syllable of 'umbra'), and three in the *duplum* against two in the tenor on the middle syllable of 'remuit'. What this implies for the rhythm of the passage is be discussed later in this

Figure 3.6 'Veri vitis germine', extract; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 270r, system 3

Example 3.5 'Veri vitis germine', second stanza: extract showing alternation of *musica cum* and *sine littera*

chapter, but for the moment, the phrase that immediately follows – on the word 'detegere' – consists of *two* ligatures for the first syllable, and then a normal correspondence between syllables and ligatures with a four against three simultaneity on the third syllable of 'detegere'. Furthermore the modal – as they clearly are – ligatures on the second syllable of 'detegere' strongly imply the second ordo of the first rhythmic mode with matching ligatures of three then two notes. A possible transcription of this passage that allows the modal qualities of this phrase to coexist alongside non-metrical readings of the remainder looks like Example 3.5.

Exactly where the modal notation begins and ends can be difficult to determine with precision. The transcription in Example 3.5 effects a minimal engagement with modal rhythm in the knowledge that such a rhythm could be prolonged to the end of the word 'detegere', as indicated by the stems and tails above the stave. The return to non-metrical rhythms starts at 'detegere' or at 'virginis', depending on which decision is taken.

Such modal interventions in the discourse of *musica cum littera*, it cannot be stressed sufficiently, are rare, and do not fundamentally challenge the basic principle that the notation of *musica cum littera* is non-metrical in more than 98 per cent of the repertory. That is not, however, to circumvent perhaps the key question posed in this chapter: if the notation of *musica cum littera* in the *conductus* is non-modal, what then are the principles that govern the organisation of its rhythm? One of the purposes of this chapter is to answer that question.

Organising Rhythm: History and Tradition

With a few exceptions, then, the fully metrical rhythm of the *sine littera* sections of the *conductus* – the *caudae* – is clear and unambiguous. Give a handful of the musically literate a month and some instruction, and they will come up with by and large the same transcription of the same passage and be able to have a reasoned debate on places where they disagree.[11] The same cannot be said for the rhythm of the *cum littera* sections, whose notation has just been described in the opening paragraphs of this chapter. To summarise the current position, it might be said that the twentieth century saw a metrical orthodoxy that came under greater and greater pressure in the last quarter of the century. The orthodox view of the rhythm of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus* at the beginning of the twentieth century was that (1) the *conductus* shared the notation of vernacular song, and whatever solutions could be found for vernacular song would apply to the *conductus*; (2) that the non-metrical notation of vernacular song and the *conductus* should be subject to the same rhythmic modes that characterised *clausulae* and the *sine littera* passages of the *conductus*; and (3) that the implementation of modal rhythm within the *conductus* was a matter of scholarly controversy that could engender lengthy debates on the precise methods for interpreting a particular ligature patterns in a modal scheme. By the 1980s, this orthodoxy was coming under strain from exactly the types of disagreements engendered by the attempts to implement modal and other metrical rhythms. Importantly, such pressure saw the emergence of a number of challenges both to the orthodox interpretation of *musica cum littera* as modal, largely based on the re-readings of prosody theory from the eleventh and twelfth centuries that called into question the idea (a key argument for those who sought a metrical interpretation of *music cum littera*) that such modal or metrical rhythm was determined, or could be inferred, by the metre of the poetry. This triggered a series of very different proposals based on the relationships between syllables and notes that resulted in editions of the *conductus* that took the view that each syllable of the poetry was broadly identical in rhythmic significance and should therefore occupy the same amount of musical space (a view of the question known as 'isosyllabic'). This summary deserves, first of all, a careful analysis, and then a continuation that takes the revisionist stance of the 1980s just a little further to a point where the medieval aesthetic of the repertory may be recovered.

[11] The issues around a governing *maximodus imperfectus* in Anderson's edition discussed earlier are a classic case in point.

Two major works by the nineteenth-century French scholar Charles-Edmond-Henri de Coussemaker included transcriptions of score-notated Latin songs. The earlier of the two, the *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* (1852), contained a transcription of the polyphonic sequence from the manuscript Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 90.[12] Coussemaker proposed a remarkable version of the piece, largely in dotted semibreves within a 3/2 metre, effectively the same isosyllabicism that would become fashionable in the 1970s and 1980s, but with dotted crotchets in a 3/8 or 6/8 metre (or one without barlines at all). The only real metrical engagement was with shorter note values that were accommodated within the contrapuntal texture with no real reference to the system of modal rhythm. Coussemaker's second transcription of a *conductus* was of 'Deus in adiutorium' (II) from Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, H 196; here, the original source is fully mensural so that his mode II transcription – with a few minor considerations – faithfully rendered the composition.[13]

Neither of Coussemaker's two editions were of works central to the *conductus* repertory, however: one was of a liturgical versicle in what might be called *conductus* style and the other of a polyphonic *conductus* that, rarely, set a liturgical text. When Léopold Deslisle announced the discovery of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 in 1885 and edited some of its poetry, he included no editions of the music.[14] A decade later, however, the editions that accompanied Guido Maria Dreves editions of the poems in the Analecta hymnica volume entitled *Cantiones et muteti/Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters* comprised *conducti* in four, three and two parts, as well as many monodies mostly taken from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, London, British Library, Egerton 274 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 8433.[15] They were completed, apparently by Dreves himself, some time before November 1894 and again take a broadly isosyllabic view, with each syllable expressed as equivalent to a minim. Dreves edition of 'Christo psallat ecclesia' illustrates his method well (Figure 3.7).[16] The *conductus* is found unique in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[17]

Dreves edits without barlines, leaving the *suspiratio* as a simple line through the stave (as opposed to the comma used today) and reworking

[12] Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen age* (Paris: V. Didron libraire, 1852; *R* Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966) xxii–xxiv.

[13] Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, *L'art harmonique aux xiie et xiiie siècles* (Paris: A. Durand Libraire; V. Didron Libraire, 1865; *R* New York: Broude Brothers, 1964) 11.

[14] Delisle, 'Discours', *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* 22 (1885) 82–139.

[15] Guido Maria Dreves (ed.), *Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters*, 2 vols., Analecta hymnica medii aevi 20–21 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1895) 1:235–259 and 2:207–220.

[16] Ibid., 2:213.   [17] Fols. 464v–465r.

Figure 3.7 'Christo psallat ecclesia'; Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters*, 2 vols., Analecta hymnica medii aevi 20–21 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1895) 2:213

the first three identical phrases into a single one with repeats (written out in full in *I-Fl* Plut.29.1). Neumatic groups never exceed two notes and are expressed with symbols that consist of minims with beams or – the same thing – void quavers. Meaningless from a mensural point of view to his contemporaries in the 1890s, these symbols create a non-metrical solution to the display of a mixture of single notes and two-note ligatures. Dreves uses this notation for ligatures of up to four notes that are found in his examples, and this works well for the monodies he transcribes in indicating an isosyllabic approach to the transcription and performance of the music.

Dreves's most ambitious transcription is of the two-part *conductus cum caudis* 'Eclypsim patitur', found in a number of sources and transcribed by him from *I-Fl* Plut 29.1 (Figure 3.8).[18]

The *caudae* in 'Eclypsim patitur' are found at the beginning of the stanza and at the beginning and end of the refrain, and certainly – with

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[18] Dreves (ed.), *Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters*, 2:210–211.

Figure 3.8 'Eclypsim patitur'; Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters*, 2 vols., Analecta hymnica medii aevi 20–21 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1895) 2:210–211

no text to support him – Dreves found these the most difficult to render. But even the sections of *musica cum littera* are challenging in this piece, exploiting neumatic constellations of up to eight notes. Again, Dreves aims for a minim to syllable equivalence as he did in his monophonic

Figure 3.8 (*cont.*)

transcriptions such as 'Christo psallat ecclesia'. Bar lines are mostly used
to reflect *suspirationes* but there is a good deal of inconsistency here, and
there is a serious error in the transcription of pitch in the tenor part of the
part of the work from the second syllable of the word 'hodie', and a note
missing (resulting in a misalignment between the parts) on the last syllable
of 'radius'. This misalignment is symptomatic of a greater difficulty with
the management of larger ligature constellations found towards the end
of the piece; Dreves runs into further serious problems with the *caudae*,
on the words '*mors*' and '*parcere*'. In part, the problems can be resolved
by recourse to the interpolation of a couple of LTT of modal rhythm, but
this is by no means completely satisfactory because textual and notational
disturbance is as important here as considerations of rhythm. With no
understanding of the principles of modal rhythm, Dreves was incapable
of making sense of the rhythm of either the opening of concluding *caudae*.

The transcription of *musica cum littera* had taken on a new and urgent quality from the late 1870s onwards. Hugo Riemann – treating the repertory of French secular song like the occupied territories of Alsace and Lorraine (Riemann had served in the Franco-Prussian War) – proposed the application of his emerging theory of rhythm that took as axiomatic that quadruple metre (*viertheilige Takt*) was predominant. His transcriptions, published initially in his 1878 *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift* and elsewhere during the 1880s, curiously, and as a result of his insistence of *viertheilige Takt*, result in editions that are largely isosyllabic.[19] Riemann's views prompted Pierre Aubry to re-examine the question, which resulted in his 1898 dissertation at the École des chartes in Paris.[20] The same year, Wilhelm Meyer published his pathbreaking essay on the origins of the motet with, significantly, some observations on the *conductus* and what he saw as their melodic similarity to the motet; he did not, however, go as far as suggesting that the rhythms of the texted sections of the *conductus* should be subject to the strictures of modal rhythm.[21]

The honour – if that is exactly the word – of bringing the question of the rhythm of monophonic secular song – and by extension the *musica cum littera* of the *conductus* – into alignment with the rhythm of contemporary modal polyphony was much contested, and the 1909 decisions over whom had 'invented' the 'modal theory' were probably no more just than the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. The protagonists were – in the first instance – Aubry and an Alsatian PhD student studying under Friedrich Ludwig at the University of Strasbourg (contentious enough in itself), Jean Baptiste (Johann Baptist) Beck. Which of the three could be called the author of the theory (and all could be considered to be responsible for some part of it) is probably not relevant to the current inquiry, but what does emerge from the febrile atmosphere of the Franco-Prussian/Alsatian contests at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century are two things: (1) just how high were the stakes in this sort of intellectual system building:

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[19] Carl Wilhelm Julius Hugo Riemann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1878) 216–219, for transcriptions of the Chatelain de Coucy's 'Quant li rossignol jolis' and 'L'autrier par une matinee' and 'Je me quidoie partir', both by Thibaut de Navarre.

[20] Pierre Aubry, 'La philologie musicale des trouvères', *Positions de thèses soutenues à l'École nationale des chartes* (Paris: École des Chartes, 1898) 5–13.

[21] Wilhelm Meyer, 'Der Ursprung des Motett's: vorläufige Bemerkungen', *Nachrichten von der königliche Gesellschaften der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1898*, 4 vols. [paginated consecutively] (Göttingen: Luder Horstmann, 1898) 2:113–145; *R* in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905–36; *R* Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970) 2:303–341. Meyer's comments on the *conductus* are ibid., 2:322–323 (page numbers refer to 1905–1936 reprint).

Ludwig-Aubry-Beck's modal theory was as much a faith-based system as was Riemann's theory of rhythm based on *Agogik*, *Auftaktigkeit* and *Achttaktigkeit* or Heinrich Schenker's system of the organisation of pitch in tonal music; and (2) that the sections of unmeasured rhythm – *musica cum littera* – of the *conductus* were comfortably assimilated into the modal-rhythmic discourse of German-speaking musicology. With Aubry hounded to his death[22] and Beck exiled in the United States, the ground was clear for the unexamined dominance of the modal presentation of *cum littera* music for the next seventy years or more.[23]

To say that the premises of modal rhythm in the *conductus* remained unexamined is not to say that the theory itself was not the subject of scholarly inquiry. But the discourse around the theory was more about bolstering evidence for it rather than subjecting it to the sorts of critical review that would characterise the scholarship of the 1980s. There were five types of evidence adduced post hoc for the use of modal rhythm in the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus* that might be expressed in terms of axioms. Some of these had been hinted at in the debates around the first decade of the twentieth century. Others came later.

- The poetic structure of Latin or vernacular poetry could determine the rhythm of the music that went with it.
- Later thirteenth-century sources that replaced the unmeasured notation of the early part of the century with measured notation clearly and unequivocally indicated the rhythm of the earlier unmeasured notation.
- Occasionally the same music could be found twice in the same composition: once in a passage of *musica cum littera* in unmeasured notation; a second time in a *cauda* in measured notation. The measured notation of the latter informed the evaluation of the rhythm of the former.
- Ligatures that transmitted *musica cum littera* could be read in the same way as those that projected the modal-metrical rhythms of *musica sine littera*.
- Thirteenth-century theory explicitly grouped the *conductus* within categories of measured music; all parts of the *conductus* – *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera* – should therefore be treated as metrical.

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[22] For the best account of the events leading up Aubry's death, which still leaves much unsettled, see John Haines, 'The 'Modal Theory', Fencing, and the Death of Aubry', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6 (1997) 143–150.

[23] For a wide-ranging and exhaustive study of the ill-tempered exchanges between the protagonists, see Haines, 'The Footnote Quarrels of the Modal Theory: A Remarkable Episode in the Reception of Medieval Music', *Early Music History* 20 (2001) 87–120.

The idea that the scansion of the text –whether Latin or vernacular – could determine the rhythm of *musica cum littera* goes back at least as far as Riemann. Critical to this understanding was the idea that the rhythmic modes could be considered in terms of the trochaic, iambic and dactylic, and that therefore anything that could be identified as one of these feet should be transcribed and performed (presumably) in a corresponding way.[24] The central issue here was how the poetry could be analysed, a problem that was exacerbated by the fact that, for vernacular poetry and – as has already been seen – Latin poetry, concepts of 'feet', of quantative verse, simply had no place. Endless disagreements were therefore possible about the 'quantity' of non-quantative verse, and hence about the rhythmic transcription of *musica cum littera*.[25]

Some vernacular songs and *conducti* existed both in unmeasured notation and in much later copies that employed mensural notation. This was central to Beck's version of modal theory, as it applied to French and Provençal song and became a central plank of the support offered during the course of the twentieth century. The world had to wait until the early 1970s for a definitive analysis and documentation of the sources that could be brought to bear in support of this argument. Good examples of how the land lay with regard to the interpretation of the rhythm of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus* after Aubry's death, Beck's exile and Ludwig's triumph may be seen in the Ludwig's transcriptions of the *conductus* included in Guido Adler's monumental *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, published in 1924. Here Ludwig presents the monophonic *'Beata viscera' attributed to Perotinus in the first rhythmic mode with an upbeat together with fully measured melismas;[26] this is preceded by a transcription of 'Veritas equitas largitas', which mixes first, second and third rhythmic modes.[27]

The question of who was the first to identify the same music in both syllabic sections of *conducti* and in their *caudae* threatened to erupt into the same sort of *fracas* that had engulfed Beck, Aubry, Ludwig, Riemann and Johannes Wolf forty years earlier. In 1946, Manfred Bukofzer published a brief summary of a paper in which he outlined how the same music

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[24] Riemann, *Studien des Geschichte der Notenschrift*, 210–211.

[25] False claims of the correlation between quantitative verse and the rhythm of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus* were reviewed at length and comprehensively refuted in Christopher Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 8 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1997).

[26] Friedrich Ludwig, 'Die geistliche nichtliturgische und weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2 vols., ed. Guido Adler (Frankfurt am Main: Anstalt, 1924) 1:187.

[27] Ibid., 1:185–186.

might be shared between the *cum littera* and *sine littera* sections of the *conductus*.[28] The full version of the paper remained unknown until its rediscovery in 2013,[29] but the publication of its summary triggered a response from Bukofzer's tutor – Jacques Handschin – who was then working on the article on '*conductus*' for the encyclopedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* that was designed to draw the attention of the scholarly world to the fact that Handschin had been the first to make this identification, pointing his readers to articles published as long ago as the mid-1920s.[30] Handschin's case was even more pressing because Heinrich Husmann had already argued it was in fact Friedrich Gennrich – also in the 1920s – who had been the first to make this identification.[31] The position was resolved only by the death of both master and pupil – Handschin and, tragically early, Bukofzer – in 1955.

Once modal theory – or perhaps 'modal theories' – was/were established as orthodoxy, it was inevitable that the exact way in which the unmeasured notation of the texted sections of the *conductus* should be rendered would become a battleground for scholarly disagreement.[32] These discussions came to a head whenever formal scholarly editions of the repertory were proposed. Janet Knapp's pathbreaking *Thirty-Five Conductus* of 1965 escaped almost all criticism,[33] but Gordon Anderson's work towards, and

[28] Manfred Bukofzer, 'Rhythm and Meter in the Notre-Dame Conductus', *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society* 11–12 (1946–48) 63–65.

[29] Bukofzer, 'The Rhythm of the Conductus: Notre Dame (Berkeley, CA: Typescript with manuscript appendices, [June 1946]); Box 2: Conduchus [*sic*], Manfred F. Bukofzer papers, ARCHIVES BUKOFZER 1, The Music Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[30] Jacques Handschin, 'Eine wenig beachtete Stilrichtung innerhalb der mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit', *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1924) 56–75; Handschin, 'Zur Frage der melodischen Paraphrasierung im Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1928) 513–559. Handschin's reactions to Bukofzer's arguments are found in 'Conductus Spicilegien', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1952) 101–119; Handschin, 'Zur Frage der Conductus-Rhythmik', *Acta musicologica* 24 (1952) 113–130; Handschin, 'Conductus', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 16 vols. (Kassel etc.: Barenreiter-Verlag, 1949–79) 2:1615–1626.

[31] Heinrich Husmann, 'Zur Grundlegung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittelalterlichen Liedes', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1952) 3–26; Husmann, 'Das System der modalen Rhythmik', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1954) 1–38. Husmann's reference was to Friedrich Gennrich, 'Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1928–9) 259–296 and 321–348.

[32] For a summary of the literature, far more detailed than possible here, see Elizabeth Anne Brotherton, 'Poetry, Notation, Harmony and the Question of Rhythm in the Three-Voice Syllabic Conductus' (MMus diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1989).

[33] Janet Knapp (ed.), *Thirty-Five Conductus for Two and Three Voices*, Collegium Musicum 6 ([New Haven]: Yale University Department of Music Graduate School, 1965). The review by David Chadd (*Musical Times* 107 [1966] 521) engaged with the question of choice of mode in

the results of, his edition that began publication in 1979 were chastised severely. As early as the late 1960s, Anderson took E. Frederick Flindell to task over matters relating to the use of the fourth rhythmic mode, the *duplex longa* and the nature of Latin lyric poetry.[34] This resulted in a response from Flindell[35] that Andrew Hughes, in the bibliography of the subject, memorably described as a 'crucifixion'.[36] Anderson died only two years after the first volume of his complete edition of the *conductus* was published, and the work never seems to have been reviewed; the most considered response to the edition was bizarrely published in the volume of essays dedicated to Anderson's memory and included Tischler's adverse commentary on questions of poetic scansion, ornamentation, the interpretation of ligatures and questions of structure and form.[37] Tischler's edition of the two-part *conductus* repertory was published in 2005 but had probably been in preparation for decades before.[38]

At no point did any scholar involved in the sometimes hair-splitting arguments over how to interpret, for example, the rhythm of a three- or four-note ligature question whether the reasons for the disagreement might in fact lie with the initial premise of the investigation: were the ligatures of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus* indeed designed to encode rhythmic information (as in the case of the *clausula* or the *caudae* of the *conductus* itself)? It was a wave of new scholarship in the 1980s that (1) took seriously the question of *conductus* rhythm – as distinct from other repertories – and that (2) systematically examined each of the criteria for the modal – or at least metrical – delivery of the *cum littera* sections of the genre.

Two initiatives prepared the ground. The first of these was a sustained campaign by Hendrik van der Werf from the mid-1960s to the end of the century to rehabilitate the melodies of the *trouvères* and *troubadours*

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the *cauda* of 'Hac in anni ianua', but none of the reviews questioned the basis for her transcriptions (see also the reviews by Leonard Ellinwood, *Notes* 23 [1966] 327–8; Theodor Göllner, *Die Musikforschung* 23 (1970) 118–119; and D[enis] H[arbinson], *Music & Letters* 47 [1966] 176–178).

[34]　Gordon A. Anderson, 'Mode and Change of Mode in Notre Dame Conductus', *Acta musicologica* 40 (1968) 92–114.

[35]　Frederick E. Flindell, 'Puncta equivoca and Rhythmic Poetry: A Reply to G. Anderson', *Acta musicologica* 42 (1970) 238–248.

[36]　Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Music: The Sixth Liberal Art*, rev. edn. (London: Benn; Toronto: University of Toronto Press and Centre for Medieval Studies, 1980) 153.

[37]　Hans Tischler, 'Gordon Athol Anderson's Conductus Edition and the Rhythm of Conductus', *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981) In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984) 2:561–573.

[38]　Tischler (ed.), *The Earliest Polyphonic Art Music*.

as essentially non-metrical: to reject entirely not only the modal rhythm of Aubry, Beck and Ludwig but also any sort of metrical interpretation of the melodies.[39] Van der Werf's transcriptions, using the unstemmed noteheads used in this book as a noncommittal form of communication, clearly invoked a free, non-metrical declamatory rhythm.[40] Van der Werf's convictions were based on the endless comparisons of melodies in different sources which resulted in two volumes of editions in the series *Monumenta monodica medii aevi* and editions of the songs of the troubadours.[41]

The second initiative concerns the analogous question of the upper voices of Parisian *organum duplum*. Throughout the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, it had been assumed that the upper voice was controlled by modal rhythm, and William Waite had published a complete edition of all the two-part *organa* in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 628) in 1954 following these assumptions exactly.[42] His explanation of the way in which he thought that the ligatures of the *duplum* lines conveyed rhythm was an exercise in sustained but misdirected brilliance. One of the key reasons scholars after Ludwig felt comfortable with this idea was a passage in Anonymous IV that seemed to make the matter clear. The version of the text that older scholars had used was as follows:

Organum per se is said to be that which is performed according to a certain mode that is *rectus* or *non rectus*.[43]

Organum per se dicitur id esse, quidquid profertur secundum aliquem modum rectum aut non rectum.

[39] Hendrik van der Werf, 'The Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Musical Culture', *Current Musicology* 1 (1965) 61-8; van der Werf, 'Concerning the Measurability of Medieval Music', *Current Musicology* 10 (1970) 69–73.

[40] van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972).

[41] van der Werf (ed.), *Trouvères – Melodien 1*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 11 (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1977); van der Werf (ed.), *Trouvères – Melodien 2*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 12 (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1979); van der Werf (ed.), *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars* (Rochester, NY: Author, 1984).

[42] William G. Waite, 'Discantus, Copula, Organum', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 5 (1952) 77–87; Waite (ed.), *The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice*, Yale Studies in the History of Music 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press: London: Geoffrey Cumberledge and Oxford University Press, 1954).

[43] Jeremy Yudkin, 'The Rhythm of Organum Purum', *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983) 358. The original incorrect Latin is from Charles Edmond de Coussemaker (ed.), *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera*, 4 vols. (Milan: Bolletino bibliografico musicale; Paris: A. Durand, 1864–76; *R* Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963) 1:114.

Jeremy Yudkin – following in particular Fritz Reckow, who had edited the treatise a decade earlier – showed that the original manuscript sources for the treatises gave the following reading:

Organum per se is said to be that which is performed according to a certain mode that is not *rectus* but *non rectus*.

Organum per se dicitur id esse, quidquid profertur secundum aliquem modum non rectum sed non rectum.[44]

The identification of the catastrophic omission of the word 'non' in Coussemaker's edition of the treatise, and its use by so many scholars afterwards, was the basis for a wholesale demolition of the idea that modal rhythm was applicable to the upper voice in two-part *organum*.

With the rhythm of both vernacular song and of *organum duplum* now called into question, three studies were published in three consecutive years in the mid-1980s that changed the view of both the monophonic and polyphonic *conductus*. What they all had in common was that they presented unambiguous accounts of the type of poetry that formed the basis of *conductus* – *rithmus* – explained here in Chapter 2. Working with the prosody treatises that had been available since they were published by Giovanni Mari in 1899, Margot Fassler, Ernest Sanders and John Stevens independently reached the conclusion that *rithmus* was the type of poetry that underpinned the *conductus*, whose functioning by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had nothing whatsoever in common with the quantitative poetry of classical antiquity.[45] One of the central planks of the so-called modal theory or its metrical derivatives – that the trochees, iambs, dactyls and so on that scholars from Riemann onwards had used to identify long and short notes in the metre of secular song, *organum duplum* and of course the *conductus* – was destroyed in a matter of months.

Sanders went much further, reviewing all the theoretical accounts of the *conductus*, concluding that, contrary to received opinion, medieval theorists hardly ever considered the *conductus* as a species of metrical polyphony and that the only exceptions dated from as late as the last quarter of the thirteenth century (broadly speaking, the treatise *Ars*

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44 Yudkin, 'Rhythm of Organum Purum', 358.

45 Ernest E. Sanders, 'Conductus and Modal Rhythm', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985) 439–469; John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Margot E. Fassler, 'Accent, Meter, and Rhythm in Medieval Treatises *De rhythmis*', *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987) 164–190.

cantus mensurabilis and its derivatives). Sanders's historical sensitivity to the differences between how the rhythm of the *conductus* might have been viewed by theorists in 1240 and 1290, say, was paralleled by his view that the later sources for the *conductus* that were copied using mensural notation 'must be viewed with at least the same degree of caution regarding their reliability as, for instance, Czerny's version of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*'.[46] In other words, the *conductus* was subject to the same textual vicissitudes as any work over a hundred-year period: largely being vulnerable to techniques for updating. And although he did not say as much, the same is true for later mensural versions of *trouvère* song or *organum duplum*.

The combined weight of the articles by Sanders and Fassler and of Stevens's book clearly called for a root and branch reappraisal of how the rhythm of the *cum littera* – syllabic – sections of the *conductus* were originally conceived and performed. Broadly speaking, all agreed that the *rithmus* poetry was encoded in the music of the *conductus* with each syllable broadly equal. Three questions then followed: is there a difference between *musica cum littera* in polyphonic and monophonic works, how strict was the assumed equality of syllable and duration, and how might the answers to these questions be displayed on the page?

Most authors seem to agree that, given they are both *rithmi*, polyphonic and monophonic *conducti* behave the same way: *cum littera sections* are non-modal, non-metrical and their rhythm is determined by the number of syllables in the line.[47] None, however, set forth a methodology for any sort of transcription. One of Sanders's only transcriptions was an extract from 'Austro terris influente' – a sorely problematic piece that looks as if at a relatively late stage in the history of the *conductus* it was composed with the ambition of trying to work some sort of mensural activity into the *cum littera* sections of the polyphony as well as in the *cauda*.[48] But perhaps Sanders's greatest contribution (among many) in his '*Conductus* and Modal Rhythm' was the understanding that the relationships between notation, rhythm and metre in the *conductus* were subject to change from

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[46] Sanders, '*Conductus* and Modal Rhythm', 454.

[47] Stevens, *Words and Music*, concerns itself mostly with the monophonic *conductus* (which he seeks to separate into *conductus* and *cantio* [48–79 and 484–491], a distinction which seems to be based both on function and chronology [485]). Stevens's support for a modal view of the polyphonic *conductus* is based on two of its devotees – Falck and Knapp – and he was not able to take account of any of the other writing by Sanders and Fassler; Stevens's views, expressed in far more cautious languages than found elsewhere in *Words and Music*, are really those of the 1970s and before.

[48] Sanders, '*Conductus* and Modal Rhythm', 462–464.

*c*1160 to *c*1320. In other words, a *conductus* could have been conceived in unmeasured notation say in 1180 but not copied in exactly the same format sixty years later, and sixty years after that be reworked in a fully mensural notation whose rhythms had no necessary correlation with its original rhythm. This points to the period of the copying of the most extensive witnesses to the *conductus* tradition as being one of the most interesting: when the oldest *conducti* were still being copied, but also when copying very recent works was taking place. In other words – and as in the case of *organa* and *clausulae* – *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, *D-W* 628 and other sources preserve a number of layers of performance tradition that need to be teased out.

Sanders may not have given large numbers of examples to illustrate how he thought the original rhythm of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus* might be transcribed or even performed, but he seemed to approve of the way in which Janet Knapp had approached a group of what she considered problematic works six years earlier.[49] Here she had transcribed a number of polyphonic pieces in what she called 'mode V', in which each syllable is valued at a dotted crotchet. Sanders (rightly) objected to the terminology but not apparently to the rhythm of the transcriptions.[50] To be sure, there had been plenty of such 'isosyllabic' transcriptions in the past: the principle underpinned attempts from Stevens's approach to monophony right back at least to Dreves's transcriptions in the 1890s.

It is difficult to identify any sort of consistency in performance or transcription in the years that followed these various shifts in understanding the rhythm of the *conductus*. The ongoing project of Anderson's *Notre Dame and Related Conductus* edition – still being completed at the time of writing – means that performers who quite reasonably place their trust in expensive critical editions that they find in research libraries have used and will continue to use those editions as the basis for performance. The appearance of Tischler's edition of the two-part *conductus* simply made such a course of action more likely. On the other hand, contemporary ensembles that acknowledge the ways in which the understanding of *conductus* rhythm has changed in the past thirty years have moved from transcribing in dotted crotchets and performing what is largely an isosyllabic style to noncommittal transcriptions using unstemmed noteheads and a freer approach to declamatory rhythm.

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[49] Janet Knapp, 'Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre-Dame Conductus', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979) 383–407.

[50] Sanders, 'Rithmus', 436; Sanders, 'Conductus and Modal Rhythm', 467, note 101.

Example 5

Procurans odium, lines 3–4

Figure 3.9 'Procurans odium'; Janet Knapp, 'Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre-Dame Conductus', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979) 396

The procedures adopted by Knapp and Sanders result in a number of consequences. The first of these is the question of how smaller note values are integrated into such a scheme of performance. Sanders and Knapp – for different reasons – treat the organisation of the smaller values as if they were in mode I and have to shoehorn constellations of larger numbers of notes into that configuration.[51] By and large, they are silent on the reasons for working this way. On the basis of the arguments they advance, there appears to be no reason why these subdivisions should not equally well be made according to mode II, or even using a duple division, or – and this is the important part – whether there is any need to specify the durational or metrical relationships between the smaller values and those that carry the syllables.

A further consequence concerns what Knapp called extended forms: where the 'mode V' or 'isosyllabic' pattern seems to require some sort of extension. Figure 3.9 gives Knapp's example of a passage from the two-part *conductus* 'Procurans odium'.[52]

'Procurans odium' is a three-part work, but the example gives just the lower two parts in the reduced version from Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486 (hereafter *E-Mn* 20486) in an attempt to show that the elongated notes in that manuscript explain the 'extended form' of mode V in Knapp's transcription. There are severe problems with the reading in *E-Mn* 20486,[53] not least the absence of the first note in the *duplum* in the source for Knapp's example and the fact that the elongated note, to which

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[51] See, for example, Sanders, '*Conductus* and Modal Rhythm', 457; Knapp, 'Musical Declamation', 402.

[52] Ibid., 396.

[53] Fols. 124r–124v. The source for Knapp's example is at the top of fol. 124v.

Example 3.6 Transcription of extract of 'Procurans odium' from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 226r

she gives so much attention, does not fall under the ligature constellation in the manuscript that she says it does. This is an absorbing example, but not one that lends support to Knapp's particular metrical transcription.

It will not have escaped attention that the *duplum* ligatures that caused Knapp so much difficulty are pairs where the last note of the first ligature is of the same pitch of the first note of the second ligature: in others words a *locus classics* of a four-note ligature with an internal repeating pitch and therefore divided into two: in other words, as in so much of this repertory, there would be no need to distort the delivery of syllables for purely musical reasons, *except that the mode I delivery of shorter values makes this impossible.* A transcription of the same passage from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 shows how this works easily in the noncommittal transcription used in this book (Example 3.6).[54]

In the terms used earlier in this chapter, this passage makes use of constellations that play off 1:1, 2:1, 3:2 and 4:1. So what this in fact shows is that the scribe of *E-Mn* 20486 did not copy the first note of the extract (it may be on the *recto* of the leaf, but physical damage makes this difficult to determine) and simply tried to make sense of the fact that he had too many notes in one voice part.

It is possible to witness a progressive distancing of scholarship from the doctrinaire modal interpretations of the early twentieth century through a long tradition of scholarly disagreement as to how such metrical interpretations should be implemented. This distancing has been in the teeth of some very determined regard action from Bukofzer, Handschin and others discussed here. The definitive end of a modal interpretation really arrived with Sanders, Fassler and Stevens, but even here, the distancing only extends as far as a metrical isosyllabicism (which Knapp calls mode V, the term disliked by Sanders). The practical results are transcriptions

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[54] Fol. 226r.

where each syllable is given the value of a dotted crotchet and the internal values are still controlled by modal or pre-modal rhythms with all the difficulties just witnessed.

Performance: Words and Music

In this story, two elements seem have become submerged: performers and performances on the one hand, and – ironically, given its key role in moulding the modal interpretation of *musica cum littera* in the first instance – poetry. Transcription, in most of the discussions that have occupied scholarship in this field, has been taken as an unexamined talisman: simply a representative of the 'work' that could stand for any sort of inquiry to which it might be subjected. In other words, the users of transcriptions were hardly ever identified: implicitly editions were for other scholars, perhaps for their students; rarely, if ever, was any performer invoked. This is why Sanders's recognition of the existence of several, performatively varied, phases of cultivation of the *conductus* is so important: it envoices different generations of performers with different relationships to the music and poetry of the *conductus*.[55] Looking across the long thirteenth century, there is a good chance that the genre's earliest performers – say around 1160 – were also involved in the composition of music, poetry or both. Those developing performances of the *conductus* around the time that the surviving sources were copied were probably the most distant from the act of creation – more like performers of music after 1800 – while those involved in performances around 1300 to 1320 involved themselves again with the creation of the genre as they reworked non-metrical rhythms of the *musica cum littera* within the context of mensural notation and, in some cases, began to treat the *conductus* much more like a motet by adding voices; subtracting voices from a polyphonic *conductus* had been a commonplace of the genre since its earliest years.

When the erroneous readings of *conductus* poetry as if it were Virgil were supplanted by an understanding of *rithmus* as a type of poetry controlled by syllable-count, rhyme and end-accent, this clearly freed up much thinking about the nature of *musica cum littera*. But the logical corollaries to this new understanding of *rithmus* and the changing attitudes to metrical rhythm seemed to push the expressive nature of the

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[55] Sanders himself (ibid., 454, note 80) noted that Handschin had called for something similar more than thirty years earlier ('Conductus Spicilegien', 107–113).

poetry of *rithmus* more into the background than its importance for the performances of the genre might warrant. Christopher Page's sustained investigation of *conductus* poetry, published a decade after what may reasonably be called the paradigm shift of the mid-1980s, not only drove the final nail into the coffin of the argument that the prosody of *rithmus* could indicate metrical rhythm but adduced wide-ranging evidence to show that the spoken, declaimed or sung presentation of *rithmus* was so highly variable that it is effectively impossible to prescribe in modern notation and to fix in advance any sort of performance. Page ends his account with a commentary on the type of noncommittal transcription used so far in this book – what he calls 'rhythmically neutral':

The most acceptable method of transcription for many *conducti* is a rhythmically neutral one . . . Such transcriptions are not an abnegation of editorial responsibility; they signal that the range of possible rhythmic solutions is very wide, acknowledge that some of them are too fluid to be caught in any kind of notation, medieval or modern, and summon performers to a new engagement with this enticing repertoire.[56]

Page's closing words point to the fact that his book does not close a chapter on the rhythm of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus*, but rather opens up another one, a chapter that places questions of performance, rather than editing or transcription, centre stage.

So, to the three putative types of medieval singer (*c*1160, *c*1250 and *c*1320) we may now add a fourth: the modern artist with a commitment to the reinterpretation of the music of the past in the light of the present. Such a view of the relationship between performers and the music they perform puts a slightly different slant on the perception of the distance that exists between the modern performer and the medieval one. When the question 'which medieval performer' – and there are at least three in play here – is posed, the disadvantages faced by the modern performer are just slightly mitigated. So it is easily observed that the performers in the project that underpinned work on *Discovering Medieval Song* have also been involved in repertories that range from the premieres of contemporary compositions to work with Swingle 2 and that a wider range of musical experience must colour the way they sing the *conductus*. One could, however, make the point in response that while those singers 'premiering' the *conductus* in the twelfth century might have had experience also of plainsong and secular monophony, those performing the music at

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[56] Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm*, 67.

the time of the copying of the surviving manuscripts may by then have had the experience of *organum duplum*, *triplum* and *quadruplum*, the modally conceived *clausulae* that went with them, to say nothing of the experimental types that resulted in the emergence of the motet. To project the argument to encompass performers engaging with the *conductus* at the end of its career (between *c*1300 and *c*1320) is to witness not only a much wider range of music that would form part of the performers' repertoire (all forms of the motet and the repertory of polyphonic song) but also to observe performers creatively manipulating the musical materials that they found in ways that one might expect from an early music ensemble *c*1970.

With such considerations in mind, the ultimate challenge is to reimagine a performative environment from the second half of the twelfth century: what can modern performers reveal of how singers 850 years ago might have engaged with the repertory of the *conductus*? One of the specific questions engendered by this aim is the translation of the 'noncommittal transcription' of monophonic and polyphonic *conducti* into the delivery of the wide range of possible rhythms that the genre seems to demand. While the performance of a noncommittal transcription of a monody – where no co-ordination of voice parts is required – is well attested by modern performances of plainsong and secular monophony, how to perform a two- or three-part piece without the scaffolding of metre is not something for which a modern tradition of performance really exists.

Coupled to the question of 'which performers' is the issue of how those same performers might profit from an understanding of *rithmus* as they develop a performance of a monophonic or polyphonic *conductus*. Working from a non-metrical edition of the *cum littera* sections of the work means that the field is wide open for a highly varied delivery. It allows any number of interpretations of the syllables in the line before the cadence, depending on what view you take of this particular controversy.[57] The variety may now also arise from any number of factors: key words in the poetry may be selected for rhythmic emphasis, while others may be moved along more quickly. Elaborate constellations of ligatures do not have to be condensed into a predetermined metre but can be performed with a freedom to which the graphic forms of the original notation occasionally seem to point. Parallelisms in either music (sequence or repetition) or poetry (internal rhyme, alliteration, lexical repetition) are then free to receive a response in performance that is creative and impossible to predict.

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[57] Summarised in Sanders, 'Rithmus', 428–432.

Non-metrical editions allow for proper names to receive emphasis that they might not otherwise be given, as well as emphasis on such purely sonic grounds as a perfectly tuned Pythagorean 8–5 sonority or a particularly resonant dissonance.

An important consequence of taking such a view of the rhythm of *musica cum littera* lies within the strophic *conductus*. Many works have large numbers of stanzas, which – if the music is identical at each return – represents a significant challenge to any performer. 'Quo vadis quo progrederis' is a syllabic monophonic strophic *conductus* discussed in the previous chapter. The poetry of the two stanzas shares a good deal (Example 3.7)

The two stanzas share identical lines in the middle as each protagonist invites the other 'Tecum delibera / Considera', and then matches the qualities of the opponent with different qualifiers but all introduced by the word 'Quam'. These correspondences are as striking in performance as they are rare in the repertory. What is much more telling is the difference between the two stanzas. Both stanzas share the same structure of end accent, rhyme and syllable count. But within the line, the relationship between word, syllable and *suspiratio* changes from one stanza to the other.

The music of the opening four lines of the first stanza from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 follows (Example 3.8). A number of elegant parallelisms are found. For example, the second and fourth lines of the poem ('Usque quo progressura' and 'Quo usque desertura') are given the same music. The melodic vocabulary, furthermore, consists of single notes, a 2+2 ligature constellation at the end of the second and fourth lines of the poem (for the same sound: progressura' and 'desertura'), and a descending four-note *coniunctura*, always spanning the same descending fourth *g* to *d*, and again always for the same sound ('vadis', 'progrederis', the latter twice ['deseris']).[58] Worthy of note, however, is that, although lines 2 and 4 correspond to the same melody, the correspondence between word and note is inexact: the reversal of the words ('Usque quo' to 'Quo usque') changes

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[58] For this last point, see Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, *'Homo considera': la pastorale lyrique de Philippe le Chancelier – une étude des conduits monodiques*, Studia artistarum: études sur la Faculté des Arts dans les universités médiévales 34 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) 178. The attempt to demonstrate that the figure on the syllable 'progressura' is the same as the descending tetrachord on the syllables 'vadis' and 'progrederis', falls foul of (a) the repetition of internal pitch and (b) the notational differences (two two-note ligatures and a single pitch as opposed to a four-note descending *conjunctura*), visible in both Examples 3.8 and 3.9. More relevant would be a consideration of the way in which the third phrase is a subtle compression of the first.

Quo vadis, quo progrederis,	Where are you going, where will you go,
Usque quo progressura?	Where are you headlong striving?
Quo fugis, cui me deseris,	Where are you fleeing, for whom do you desert
Quo usque desertura?	How long will you desert me?
Mens levis, mens dura,	O light mind, harsh mind,
<u>Tecum delibera,</u>	<u>Deliberate with yourself,</u>
<u>Considera,</u>	<u>Consider,</u>
Quam facundum,	How eloquently,
Quam iocundum,	How pleasantly,
Quanto dispendio	But with what loss
De gaudio	Of joy
Subduxisti,	You have led (yourself off);
Quod cepisti	You are not about to follow
Non executura,	What you have undertaken;
Stultum Christi	You have derided
Delusisti	Christ's foolish one,
Iustum proditura.	For you will betray a just man.
Sed tu, quis es qui mussitas,	But you, is it you who murmurs,
Qui contra me gannire,	Who barks against me,
Qui contra (me) non hesitas	Who does not hesitate unjustly
Iniuste superbire?	To be haughty against me?
Vas fumi, vas ire,	O vessel of smoke, vessel of wrath,
<u>Tecum delibera,</u>	<u>Deliberate with yourself,</u>
<u>Considera,</u>	<u>Consider,</u>
<u>Quam</u> tumentem,	So swollen,
Quam fetentem,	So foul,
Raptum de lubrico	You snatched from the very
Non modico	Slippery (path),
Te coegi	You I have forced
Summo regi	To heed straightway
Prorsus obedire,	The highest king;
Stulte, feci	Foolish one, I have done
Quod adieci	What I have thought best
Stulto subvenire.	To help the foolish.

Example 3.7 *'Quo vadis quo progrederis': Text and translation

the identity of the phrase and therefore presents a different set of performative possibilities from which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to profit in a modal or mensural performance.

The second stanza further opens up the range of performative possibilities. Example 3.9 gives the first four lines of the *conductus* but with words from both stanzas

Example 3.8 *'Quo vadis quo progrederis'; transcription of opening of first stanza from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 428v

Much changes here. The careful identity of sound and *coniunctura* breaks down, although the 2+2 ligature constellation coupled to an identical cadence at the end of lines two and four remains intact. Most striking is the very beginning. Whereas the first stanza projects three syllables followed by a *suspiratio* – 'Quo vadis' – as an independent unit, this cannot work for the opening of the second stanza which presents two monosyllables: 'Sed tu'; additionally, the third syllable now only makes sense when linked to the next phrase, so that 'Quo vadis / quo progreditur' now becomes 'Sed tu / quis es qui mussitas'. The logical articulation of the three syllables in the first stanza – 'Quo vadis' must yield in the second stanza to the equally logical articulation of two syllables: 'Sed tu'. It also prompts the movement of the *suspiratio* from after the third syllable in the first stanza to before it in the second, with the obvious consequences

Example 3.9 *'Quo vadis quo progrederis'; comparative transcription of opening of first and second stanzas from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 428v

for a very different, and very audible, performance of the openings of the two stanzas. The implications for editorial practice are far-reaching and problematic, standing in stark contrast to the performative possibilities that non-metrical performances allow for multistanzaic works.

In the context of a rhythmic delivery that permits flexibility in performance of a strophic *conductus*, the presentation of the same music from stanza to stanza could vary significantly. However, in all cases, only the music of the first stanza is given in the original manuscript, and the poetry of the remaining stanzas is copied without line breaks, known as the *residuum*. None of the inflections, especially those imparted by the *suspiratio*, are needless to say recorded. It should therefore go without saying that the *suspirationes* that are found in the first stanza should not be held to have any significance for the declamation of the later ones. And even where *suspirationes* are notated in the first stanza, a glance across concordant sources shows that the performances recorded in different manuscripts certainly took different approaches because the *suspirationes* are placed differently. The position is complicated when, as is found in the larger *codices*, there is an imposition of a house style on such matters. The work has yet to be done, but it seems likely that in large parts of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, *suspirationes* were editorially evened out to match ends of poetic lines, for example.

The advantages of modern and medieval performances based on non-metrical musical materials may be brought back into the historical *continuum* that has underpinned much of what is written here. The *conductus* had a form and a mode of performance *c*1160 that is not available to the modern ear except via manuscripts that were copied nearly a century later. But to look at how thirteenth-century musicians treated the *conductus* fifty years after that – by fully mensuralising its notation and in some cases adding voices – is to invite the question: how and to what extent did musicians whose performances were recorded in, and the scribes who copied, the manuscripts of the mid-thirteenth century modify an original that was nearly a century old? This question is of importance not least because two of the manuscripts in question, *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and *D-W* 628, contain large proportions of the monophonic and polyphonic *conductus* repertory. Furthermore, there are cases – not many, but enough to attract attention – where the metrical qualities of both notation and rhythm of the *cauda* bleed over into *cum littera* sections of the *conductus*. Are these simply the results of the beginnings of a mid-century rapprochement between mensural notation and *musica cum littera*, or are they characteristics of the earliest phases of the *conductus*? While an answer to

the question may be beyond reach given the current state of knowledge, simply understanding the complexity of the argument is a valuable point of departure.

This chapter has tried to uncover the history and practice of the ways in which the *musica cum littera* of the *conductus* has been construed since the middle of the nineteenth century. Paradoxically, early attempts – especially those that did not involve the understanding of modal notation and modal rhythm – might be thought closer to what we today understand as a medieval rhythmic practice. The erection of a complex system of reading non-mensural notation in a metrical fashion dominated thinking in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century. But progressive relaxation of the stipulations of predominantly German thinking on the subject took the question to a position where syllables and notes were deemed to have an equivalent durational significance. The chapter proposes the slight but significant move to ask why such equality should be rigorously enforced in metrical terms. Freeing up that rigour, allowing the poetry of the *conductus* to play a role in its rhythmic interpretation, to let it take its place in the culture of the Middle Ages, goes a long way to recovering the medieval aesthetic of the genre.

4 | Cadential Functions: Gesture and Closure

The musico-poetic discourses described in the first three chapters of this book – *musica cum littera* and *music sine littera* (the *cauda*) – play into each other in the *conductus cum caudis* with a number of different results: the enhancement of divisions in the text or of specific passages or images in the poetry itself, the exploitation of specific numerical units or proportions or a combination of all these. The result is the deployment of *caudae* that can extend to close on a hundred *longae trium temporum* (hereafter LTT) and the presence of up to five or six *caudae* in a single stanza. The purely cadential function that terminal melismas had in earlier repertories is here massively enlarged.

However, *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera* do not account for either the entire range of compositional techniques available to the composer of the *conductus cum caudis* or for the genre's structural outcomes. Almost completely missing from any account of the compositional strategies adopted by twelfth- and thirteenth-century composers is the *punctus organi*: a discrete cadential figure central to the composition of the *conductus cum caudis* that exhibits a striking consistency in its counterpoint, notation, rhythmic organisation, co-ordination of voices and text declamation.[1] A position where the existence of a key musical resource

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[1] The figure is never absent from music examples illustrating the functioning of the *cauda*; see for example Dom Anselm Hughes, 'Music in Fixed Rhythm', *New Oxford History of Music Volume II: Early Medieval Music up to 1300*, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976) 335. For an exception to the general reluctance to consider the structure and function of the *punctus organi*, see Roswitha Stelzle, 'Der musikalische Satz der Notre Dame-Conductus' (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilans-Universität München, 1978), published under the same title as Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 36 (Tützing: Schneider, 1988) 130–33. Even in a study as apparently exhaustive as Vincent J. Corrigan III, 'The Style of the Notre-Dame Conductus,' 3 vols. (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1980), the *punctus organi* is only discussed in passing (ibid., 1:146–7). In thoroughgoing analytical studies of the *conductus*, the *punctus organi* is rarely given its due, largely because of the use of Anderson's editions, which efface the notational and rhythmic differences among *musica cum littera*, *caudae* and the *punctus organi*. See, for examples, Fritz Reckow, 'Processus und Structura: über Gattungstradition und Formverständnis im Mittelalter,' *Musiktheorie* 1 (1986) 5–29; Elisabeth Schmierer, '*Relegentur ab area*: zur Formbildung mehrstrophig durchkomponierter Conducti,' *Musiktheorie* 8 (1993) 195–209; Wulf Arlt, 'Denken in Tönen und Strukturen: Komponieren im Kontext Perotins,' *Perotinus Magnus*, Musik-Konzepte: die Reihe über Komponisten 107 (Munich: text + kritik, 2000) 53–100.

for a major genre is acknowledged in general studies but largely ignored in more technical ones is a prompt for reopening discussion of the way in which discursive modes in the *conductus* function.

The *punctus organi* constitutes a sub-set of what thirteenth-century theory described as the *punctus organicus*: a term with its origins in organal practice, but which was most often explained in opposition to the *discantus* of the *clausula* and *caudae* in the *conductus cum caudis*. The figure is termed *punctus organi* here by tentative analogy with Anonymous IV's description of a cognate figure in the three-part repertory, and the theoretical complexity of this terminology is laid out elsewhere in this chapter. The extent to which the *punctus organi* permeates the repertory and the degree of consistency it exhibits puts it in the same category as, for example, the characteristic *principium ante principium* that begins so much *organum duplum* of the Notre-Dame school, the so-called under-third cadence of fifteenth-century vocal polyphony, the cadential figure with trill and Alberti bass of the eighteenth-century keyboard sonata or the dominant-ninth vocal cadenza in music for the *primo ottocento* stage. The following description of the *punctus organi* focuses initially on the largest collection of two-part *conducti cum caudis*, the seventh fascicle of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1), and serves as the basis for a study of the ways in which the figure is deployed in the repertory around 1200.

Punctus Organi: Definition and Morphology

The archetypal form of the *punctus organi* as it occurs in the *conductus cum caudis*, together with its obligatory and optional characteristics is given in Example 4.1a (obligatory features are numbered 1 through 5 and optional characteristics lettered A through E). Reflecting the pitch-structure of the repertory as a whole, the *punctus organi* is found at two levels of transposition, cadencing on *d* and *g*. The example is taken from the end of 'Beatus servus sapiens' (Example 4.1a).

The fundamental characteristics – contrapuntal, notational and performative – consist of an octave (4) closing to a unison (5) via a major second (1), the presence of *currentes* in the *duplum* that span a seventh (2) over a single sustained tenor note (3).[2] The contrapuntal contour (1 [together

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[2] Elements 4 and 5 – the octave and unison respectively – are distinguished from element 1, which identifies the contrapuntal structure as identified in the voice-leading summary in Example 4.1b.

Example 4.1a Typical *punctus organi* illustrated from end of 'Beatus servus sapiens' with indications of obligatory and optional characteristics, *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 366r

with 4 and 5]) is invariable, and controls the major second between the two voices as the antepenultimate sonority (the last note of the *currentes* [2] together with the already-sounded tenor pitch [3]; Example 4.1b).

Optional or changeable features of the figure (to be described further in the chapter) consist of the *cambiata* as the penultimate note in the *duplum* (A), the *suspiratio* before the *currentes* (B), the *longa plicata* before the *currentes* (C), the final rest of the preceding *cauda*, where present (D), and the sustained tenor that overlaps the end of the *cauda* and the beginning of the *punctus organi* (E). Both voice parts frequently precede the final note with a *Silbenstrich* to accompany a change of syllable.

Such features as those documented in the previous paragraph dominate the bulk of the appearance of the *punctus organi* in the *conductus* repertory. In the following discussion of variation found in the optional characteristics of the figure, nothing should be taken to contradict the overriding normativity of the version of the figure outlined in Example 4.1a–b. In contrast to the obligatory notational and contrapuntal profile of the *punctus organi*, the *cambiata* that precedes the final sonority (A) is subject to variation. Two types are found: the single pitch as given in Example 4.1a and a two-note ascending ligature that results in a descending melodic third to the final pitch in the *duplum*. Although different sources (discussed subsequently) exhibit different editorial preferences for this treatment,

Example 4.1b Contrapuntal summary of *punctus organi* in Example 4.1a

Example 4.2 End of second stanza of 'O crux ave spes unica'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 347r

both types may be found in the same composition in a single source. 'O crux ave spes unica' is a case in point: of the three occurrences of the *punctus organi* – one at the end of each of the three stanzas – the final one is exactly the same as outlined in Example 4.1a; those at the ends of the first two stanzas end with the two note substitute for (A) as follows (the figure in 'O crux ave' is consistently transposed to *g* in all three stanzas; Example 4.2).

The contrapuntal contour remains unchanged, as do all other obligatory parameters.

Further variations on (A) are found, and one example may stand for several. At the end of 'Qui de Saba veniunt,' the single note is replaced by two two-note ligatures and the *currentes* span an octave to form a unison with the tenor (Example 4.3).

This example is complicated by the simultaneous presence of the variation of (C), discussed subsequently, but the foreground differences are clear; this variation constitutes no change to the background structure of the figure that remains the same as in Example 4.1b. Furthermore, the tenor pitch (at point 3) is here repeated underneath the varied *cambiata* (A), itself a significant rarity.

Text setting is a crucial feature of the *punctus organi*, and similarly exhibits obligatory and optional features. The distribution of syllables

Example 4.3 End of 'Qui de Saba veniunt'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 316r

Example 4.4 Extract from 'Age penitentiam'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 340v

usually follows the pattern illustrated in Example 4.1a, in which the final syllable of the word is deployed under the final simultaneity (5) with the preceding parts of the word corresponding to the preceding *cauda* (as in the case of Examples 4.1–4.3). In cases where the *punctus organi* follows a passage of music *cum littera*, however, the preceding syllables of the word naturally form part of the syllabic passage itself. Example 4.4 is an extract from 'Age penitentiam' showing how the *punctus organi* (exhibiting all its obligatory features in this example) dovetails into *musica cum littera*.[3]

The beginning of the *punctus organi* almost never carries a syllable when preceded by a *cauda*, as suggested by Examples 4.1–4.3 (at point 3). A rare exception that proves the rule, however, is found in 'Dum sigillum summi patris' where the first syllable of the word 'divinitus' is the *cauda* but the three remaining syllables complicate the conventional relationship between word and note in this figure (Example 4.5).

In this rare instance, then, not only does the final simultaneity carry a syllable, but so do the penultimate (at point 3) and the antepenultimate (at point E) elements of the *punctus organi*.[4]

The further from the end of the figure, the greater the amount of variation. Although the *suspiratio* before the *currentes* in the *duplum* is normally present (B), it is by no means obligatory in the sense that the identification of the figure is clear whether it is present or not. The preceding *longa plicata* (C), is subject to a range of variation as Example 4.1a (a *simplex plicata*), Example 4.5 (a variation on the same) and Example 4.3 (two two-note ligatures) demonstrate. In some variations, the following *suspiratio* (B) is missing, but the preceding *Silbenstrich* makes it clear that

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[3] All the obligatory features (elements 1–5 in Example 4.1) are present here. Of the optional or variable features, only element A – although in its *simplex* form – is present.

[4] Also to be noted in Example 4.5 is the treatment of some of the optional features of the *punctus organi*: the antepenultimate tenor pitch (E) is a fourth below the terminal one, and the *longa* before the *currentes* is elaborated via repetition of the principal note.

Example 4.5 Extract from 'Dum sigillum summi patris'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 344v

the notes that precede the *currentes* coincide with the tenor pitch to create the octave (4) that is so critical to the obligatory contrapuntal framework (1).

A number of points emerge from an examination of the two pitch levels at which the *punctus organi* is presented. First and most important, pitch levels are not mixed within single compositions; in other words, if the figure appears more than once in a single composition it is always at the same pitch level. Seventy-four per cent of works that use the figure cadence on *g* while 26 per cent cadence on *d*.[5] If total occurrences of the figure are counted this shifts only very slightly to 69 per cent on *g* with 31 per cent on *d*. Further research would site these figures within the context of all the works (both those *conducti cum caudis* that do not employ the *punctus organi* and those works without *caudae*) in the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 in an attempt to judge to what extent the tonal organisation revealed by the *punctus organi* is shared with other works in the collection. While such a study falls outside the range of the current chapter, it is clear that a focus on the *punctus organi* and cadential procedures in general give a precision to the more wide-ranging examination of tonal organisation in the genre.[6]

This account of the presentation of the *punctus organi* in the *conductus cum caudis* shows a consistent form whose morphology exhibits slight but coherent variation. It also throws into question the neat equivalence between *musica sine littera* and fully measured notation, for in the case of the *conducti* that make use of the *punctus organi, musica sine littera* – as it is in the *clausula* – is characterised both by fully measured (modal) notation in addition to the unmeasured notation of the *punctus organi* itself.

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[5] The statistics given here and elsewhere in this chapter are based on the data presented in Appendix 4.1.

[6] For a useful start to the study of tonal organization in the *conductus cum caudis*, however, see Stelzle, 'Der musikalische Satz,' 69–121.

Origins and Sources: Parisian *organum* and Aquitanian *Versus*

In its general features – a cadential flourish that frequently creates a caesura with note-against-note counterpoint – the *punctus organi* shares a background with the *currentes* that characterise late twelfth-century Parisian *organum* and with much of the melodic working of Aquitanian *versus*. However, the key feature of the *punctus organi* is its consistency across a range of contexts in the *conductus cum caudis*, a consistency that by no means characterises the abundance of melodic flourishes that are found in Parisian *organum* or Aquitanian *versus*. If the *punctus organi* can be shown to emerge from a significantly more amorphous repertory of melodic flourish in Aquitanian *versus* (and even that is uncertain), in the *conductus* it receives a clarity of formulation, a precision of presentation, that is far removed from Aquitaine or Notre Dame.

An examination of the fifty-nine Parisian *organa* for the Mass together with the thirty-four Office *organa* and the 11 Parisian 'Benedicamus Domino' settings, demonstrates the fluidity of downward flourishes, even those that elaborate the octave-unison progression that characterises the *punctus organi*, in Parisian *organum*.[7] The descending *currentes* decorating an octave-unison progression are found only rarely and are but a small subset of the much wider range of descending downward flourishes (as opposed to the *conductus cum caudis*, where the *punctus organi* accounts for the bulk of such figures); such figures also cadence onto other pitches than the *d* and *g* found in the *conductus*. Furthermore, *currentes* in Parisian polyphony are rarely if ever cadential and frequently employ voice-exchange, again a feature that sets them apart from the *punctus organi*.

Out of the entire repertory of Parisian *organum* surveyed for this study, there are two instances of descending *currentes* decorating an octave-unison progression that bear comparison with the *punctus organi*. The first is found in the first verse of 'Sedit Angelus' V. 'Crucifixum in carne' (O 9).[8] As Example 4.6 shows, the octave-unison progression is decorated by descending *currentes* spanning a seventh in exactly the same way as the *punctus organi*.

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[7] This examination was conducted across the repertory of two-part *organa* in *I-Fl* Plut 29.1 from the edition in Mark Everist (ed.), *Les Organa à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1*, 3 vols., Le Magnus liber organi de Notre Dame de Paris 2–4 (Monaco: Oiseau-Lyre, 2001–2003).

[8] Ibid., 1:60, reference points 239–245.
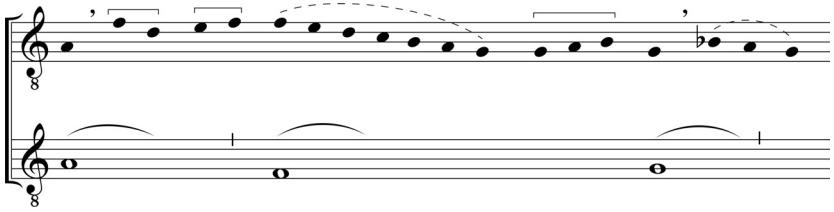
Example 4.6 Extract from 'Sedit angelus' V. 'Crucifixum in carne' (O 9); *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 71r

But while it displays all the obligatory features of the *punctus organi*, it has very few of the optional ones, perhaps the elaborated C prelude to the *currentes* being the most convincing. Furthermore, the passage in Example 4.6 is found in the middle of an extended section of sustained-tone *organum* on the word 'Adora*te*,' with no cadence possible; the verse is marked by the fact that it includes no *discantus* at all, so there is no possibility of the figure's adjacency to a *clausula*.

More interesting is a passage in the single verse of 'Cristus resurgens' V. 'Dicant nunc Iudei' (O 8) (Example 4.7).[9]

Here are exhibited many more features in common with the *punctus organi*: a cadential context both musically and in terms of its text presentation (the finale syllable of 'dicen*tes*' falls on the last simultaneity of the section). In addition, many of the optional features of the *punctus organi* are also present: elements B through E are all in place with an elaborated A element that is not outside the variational field generally found in the *conductus cum caudis*. Finally, the figure is given as high a structural priority as it receives in the *conductus cum caudis*: it is found at the end of the verse, the last notes in polyphony heard in the composition because the remainder of the antiphon is left in plainsong.

Needless to say, there is another reason for drawing attention to these two passages (constituting two systems out of a total of around four thousand in the repertory), and that is that they are found in a processional antiphon and a processional responsory. In other words, the two examples of descending flourishes found in Parisian *organum* both occur in works whose function has much in common (as part of a procession) with at least some of the *conducti cum caudis* in which the *punctus organi* is found.

What is striking about this search for analogies or antecedents for the *punctus organi* is not the presence of the figure in two processional works

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[9] Ibid., 1:53, reference points 195–202.
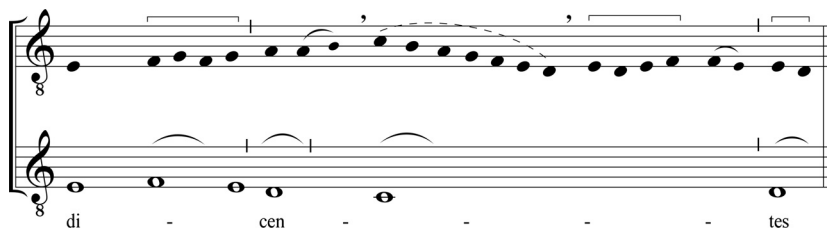
Example 4.7 Extract from 'Cristus resurgens' V. 'Dicant nunc Iudei' (O 8); *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 70v

(although as fascinating examples of generic interbreeding they remain remarkable) but that they are the only two convincing examples in the entire repertory of Parisian *organum*. Looking slightly further than the city of Paris, to the repertory of Aquitanian *versus*, where – given the wide range of descending melodic flourishes found there – one might expect to find some clearer points of comparison, the position is barely any more certain.

Half a century ago, Sarah Fuller advanced the strongest case for the relationship between Aquitanian *versus* and the *conductus* found in such Parisian sources from the thirteenth century as the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 291.1.[10] She drew a parallel between the terminal melismas of the Aquitanian repertory and the *caudae* found in the *conductus*. For Fuller, the *conductus* comes off rather badly: 'Whereas the *caudae* often totally engulf the text, obliterating its structural outlines, the Aquitanian melismas are carefully controlled and normally function to support or to interpret the structure of the text.'[11] While the *conductus cum caudis* certainly places its *caudae* at any point in the line or strophe, it could be argued that this is at least as powerful an articulative tool as a terminal melisma. Be that as it may, Fuller's commentary points to the weakened cadential function of the *cauda* in the *conductus cum caudis*, and a logical reason for the emergence of the *punctus organi*: as a cadential discourse more tightly aligned with the structure of the poetry than the now freewheeling *cauda*.

Descending melodic flourishes are the common coin of Aquitanian *versus* and encompass a vast range of forms and types. The *punctus organi* as found in the *conductus cum caudis* finds its origin in this highly varied

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[10] Sarah Fuller, 'Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,' 3 vols. (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1969) 1:3–4.

[11] Ibid., 1:227–8.

repertory of melodic gesture. This is by no means, however, to weaken the particular profile of the *punctus organi* in the repertory of the *conductus cum caudis*, for whereas the types of descending flourish found in Aquitanian *versus* are multiple, in the *conductus*, they are restricted almost exclusively to the form of the *punctus organi* outlined here. Even in the case of octave to unison cadences, there is a profusion of descending flourishes of which, as Theodore Karp has shown, only a tiny proportion match the *punctus organi* as found in the *conductus cum caudis*. In his account of the comparisons between Aquitanian and Parisian treatments of the octave-unison progression, his comparisons are entirely with the Parisian *organum* repertory – and therefore have no points of contact with the *punctus organi* as found in the *conductus cum caudis*.[12] Furthermore, the single example of the *conductus* he adduces, 'Novum sibi texuit', is placed alongside two Aquitanian examples that he specifically identifies as exemplifying 'an *unusual* preparation for an octave-unison close' (emphasis added).[13] Karp's single comment about the *conductus* in this part of his discussion makes the point that 'Among the Notre Dame conductus, the [octave-unison] progression generally becomes standardised into either of two basic forms.'[14] This, needless to say, encapsulates the main thrust of this chapter with the condition that Karp's two basic forms are viewed here as a single one presented at two different levels of transposition.

To summarise the relationship between the *punctus organi*, Aquitanian *versus* and contemporary Parisian *organum*, mere elements of the *punctus organi* are found in embryo in the Aquitanian repertory, but they are there of no more importance than the dozens of other descending flourishes that characterise the *versus*; the fact that the *punctus organi* then – as Karp says – crystallises one among dozens of possible forms simply points out the remarkable consistency, and – as this chapter argues – the conventional status of the figure within the *conductus cum caudis*. There are few examples of descending flourishes in the repertory of Parisian *organum*, and the two examples that present themselves without difficulty argue strongly for a processional context quite possibly shared with the *conductus* itself.

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[12] See the careful comments in Theodore Karp (ed.), *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992) 1:110 and example 12 on 1:112.

[13] Ibid., 1:112 and example 13. 'Novum sibi texuit' not only places the *punctus organi* at the end of its second and third stanzas but also includes the figure at the end of the first line of the first stanza and in the middle of the third.

[14] Ibid., 1:110.

Punctus organi, Punctus organicus: The Theoretical Context

A point of transition between Aquitaine and the theoretical background to the *conductus cum caudis* and its *punctus organi* is the so-called Vatican Organum Treatise. Those with a casual knowledge of the text might expect to find the type of octave-unison progression found in the *punctus organi*. However, the author of the *Ars organi* – as the Vatican Organum Treatise is correctly titled – dedicates only four of his thirty-one rules to counterpoint where the plainsong rises, and only the very first to instances of the plainsong rising by step. He writes: 'Si cantus ascenderit duas voces et organum incipiat in dupla, descendat organum 3 voces et erit in quinta.'[15] For the author of the *Ars organi*, then, the only available contrapuntal structure is one where the *duplum* starts at the octave with the plainsong but then descends to a fifth, and not to a unison. The only formulae that he proposes that end in a unison are those in which the chant rises a fourth and the *duplum* begins at the octave or the chant rises a fifth and the *duplum* again begins at the octave. As is clear, the *Ars organi* has nothing to do with the *punctus organi* or any of its embryonic predecessors.

A more useful point of departure is the so-called De Lafage Anonymous, who acknowledges the possibility of texted note-against-note counterpoint followed – at the end of each stanza (*clausula*) – with 'some phrases of *organum* (*aliqui organi moduli*)':

But if by chance at the end of a *clausula*, on either the last or penultimate syllable of the word of the poetry (*dictio*), in order to have a finer and more delightful *discantus* and in order to hear with greater pleasure, you wish to mix certain phrases of *organum* you may do so, however much nature does not wish this to be brought in, for it is known that *discantus* is one thing and *organum* another.

Sed si forte in fine clausulae in ultima aut in penultima dictionis sillaba, ut discantus pulchrior et facetior habeatur et ab auscultantibus libentius audiatur, aliquos organi

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[15] 'If the chant ascends by a second and the organum begins at the octave, let the organum descend by a third, and it will arrive at a fifth' (Frieder Zaminer, *Der Vatikanischer Organum-Traktat (Ottob. Lat. 3025: Organum-Praxis der frühen Notre-Dame-Schule und ihrer Vorstufen*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 2 (Tützing: Schneider, 1959) 186. Translation from Irving Godt and Benito Rivera, 'The Vatican Organum Treatise: A Colour Reproduction, Transcription and Translation,' *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984) 2:299.

modulos volueris admiscere licet facere, quamvis natura hoc non velit auferre [*sic*, *recte* 'afferri'], aliud enim discantus aliud organum esse cognoscitur.[16]

This is a general description of the class of musical and poetic gesture that could encompass both the terminal melisma found in Aquitanian *versus* and the *punctus organi* in the *conductus cum caudis*, but mostly explicitly not the *caudae* themselves. For more specific descriptions, and hints at a justification for calling the figure found at the end of the *conductus cum caudis* a *punctus organi*, we have to turn to later thirteenth-century theory, by which time the *conductus* was being subject to significant modification, in terms of its musical profile, notational presentation and theoretical categorisation, as outlined in Chapter 9.

There is theoretical support for the description and nomenclature of the *punctus organi*, but as is so often the case with attempts to match theoretical precept to musical artefact, not only do theoretical sources in some cases postdate those of the music by several decades but there is no medieval author who gives a single definition that unequivocally links the term *punctus organi* to the cadential figure found in the two-part *conductus cum caudis*. Of the relevant statements found in thirteenth-century theory, one describes only a fragment of the figure, and another is found in a generic discussion of *discantus*. A third, although it relates the figure to the composition of the three-part *conductus*, creates the clearest link between theoretical description, nomenclature and the presence of the figure in the surviving repertories of two-part *conductus cum caudis*.

Anonymous IV describes a notational figure and its rhythmic consequences that has much in common with the *duplum* of the *punctus organi*. He writes: 'Again there is a certain *longa simplex* standing before *currentes*, which is divided into as many parts as there are *currentes* following it'[17] ('Iterato est quaedam longa simplex stans ante currentes, quae dividitur per tot partes, quot fuerint currentes sequentes cum eisdem simul').[18] This description of two figures – a *longa simplex* and a series of *currentes* – corresponds to element 2 in the schematic plan of the figure given in Example 4.1a. Anonymous IV identifies no generic context for this figure because the framework for his discussion is a structured account of

[16] Albert Seay, 'An Anonymous Treatise from St. Martial,' *Annales musicologiques* 5 (1957) 33. I am grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for a discussion of this passage and for the suggestion of emending 'auffere' with 'afferri' in the Latin citation.

[17] Jeremy Yudkin (trans.), *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, Musicological Studies and Documents 41 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1985) 37.

[18] Fritz Reckow (ed.), *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4–5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967) 1:44.

notational shapes, and in the paragraph in question different types of *longa*.[19] His *longa simplex stans ante currentes*, although indeed found in the *conductus cum caudis* is a notational staple of the *organum* repertory and of organal passages at the end of measured passages of *discantus* called *punctus organi*, to which we may now turn.

At the end of the eleventh chapter of the treatise entitled *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, attributed to Franco of Cologne, the author writes:

It should be noted that as much in *discantus* as in *tripla* etc., equality in the perfections of longs, breves and semibreves is to be respected, in such a way that there are as many perfections in the tenor as in the *discantus* or in the *triplum*, and vice versa, counting real sounds as much as their omissions as far as the penultimate note, where such measure is not found, but where there is rather a *punctus organicus*.[20]

Notandum quod tam in discantu quam in triplicibus etc. inspicienda est aequipollentia in perfectionibus longarum, brevium et semibrevium, ita quod tot perfectiones in tenore habeantur quot in discantu vel in triplo etc., vel e converso, computando tam voces rectas quam obmissas usque ad penultimam, ubi non attenditur talis mensura, sed magis est organicus ibi punctus.[21]

The fourteenth chapter of *Ars cantus mensurabilis* is entitled 'De discantu et eius speciebus' but includes the paradigmatic statement of compositional process in the *conductus*, 'qui vult facere conductum', discussed in Chapter 1.[22] The grouping of *conducti* as a species of *discantus* is hardly surprising given the changes made to the notation, rhythm and metre of *conductus* by the time *Ars cantus mensurabilis* was written, although its author still admits the distinction between discursive modes in the *conductus* ('Cum littera et sine fit discantus in conductis').[23] The inclusion of *conductus* as a species of *discantus* – however daring a move for this point in the century – clearly locates the author's description of *punctus organicus* within the domain of the *conductus cum caudis* as well as of the better-known *clausula*, *organum* and motet.

The definition of the *punctus organicus* in *Ars cantus mensurabilis* is at best partial, in that in the context of the *conductus cum caudis*, it explains only that note-against-note polyphony (the *cauda*) yields to unmeasured music (the *punctus organicus*) at the end of the composition; it says

[19] Ibid., 1:43–4.
[20] Translation adapted from Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. ed. Leo Treitler (New York and London: Norton, 1998) 156.
[21] Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles (eds.), *Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis*, Corpus scriptorum de musica 18 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1974) 75.
[22] Ibid., 73–74.   [23] Ibid., 69.

nothing, however, about the nature of the melodic materials and does not distinguish between the different types of *discantus*. Although the description strongly suggests the involvement of counterpoint over a sustained-note tenor, it goes very little way to describing the type of figure that characterises cadential patterning in the *conductus cum caudis*.

Anonymous IV describes a similar use of unmeasured counterpoint after a passage of measured music. At the end of his description of *organum triplum*, he observes that 'And together with such things, some people add a *punctum puri organi* after what we have discussed above [*organum triplum*] for a more noble ending'[24] ('Et cum talibus quidam addunt punctum puri organi post praedicta loco nobilioris finis').[25] Anonymous IV is writing about the mensurally organised upper voices in *organum triplum* over a sustained-note tenor. The effect, however, is similar to that discussed in the passage in *Ars cantus mensurabilis*: mensural or partly mensural polyphony yields to what the latter treatise calls the *punctus organicus* and Anonymous IV calls the *punctus puri organi* – counterpoint in which measure plays no part.

The theoretical testimony to the functioning of the *punctus organi* that best accords with its use in the two-part *conductus cum caudis* and justifies its nomenclature comes again from Anonymous IV. Towards the beginning of his sixth chapter, where he is outlining the contents of various books of polyphonic music, he writes:

The third volume is of triple *conducti* that have *caudae* . . . , in which are contained the final *puncta organi* at the end of the stanzas and in some not, and a good *organista* is expected to know these perfectly.

Tertium volumen est de conductis triplicibus caudas habentibus . . . , in quibus continentur puncta finalia organi in fine versuum et in quibusdam non, quos bonus organista perfecte scire tenetur.[26]

Anonymous IV is clearly speaking of three-part *conductus*, and indeed the *punctus organi* – as he puts it – is present as described in this chapter in both the works he cites. There seems every reason, then, to adopt a version of Anonymous IV's nomenclature for the specific figure found in the *conductus cum caudis* – *punctus organi* – and to reserve the terms *punctus organicus* and *punctus puri organi* for the more generic

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[24] Yudkin, *Music Treatise*, 76.

[25] Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 1:84. Anonymous IV uses the second declension neuter *punctum*, whereas Franco of Cologne uses the fourth declension *punctus*.

[26] *Ibid.*, 1:82. The complete citation is discussed in Chapter 1.

Example 4.8a End of 'Salvatoris hodie'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 fol. 202r

passages of unmeasured music that follow *discantus* in both *organum* and *conductus.*

The three-part context of Anonymous IV's description renders the situation only slightly more complex than if his statement concerned two-part composition. Examination of the end of one of Anonymous IV's examples, 'Salvatoris hodie' (Example 4.8a), shows just how close even three-part writing that uses the *punctus organi* comes both to his description and to the outline of the figure in the two-part repertory.[27]

Of the five obligatory characteristics of the *punctus organi* found in the two-voice *conductus cum caudis*, three are found intact and two are partially present in the work specifically identified by Anonymous IV. The contrapuntal framework (element 1 in Example 4.1a) is lightly modified at the end (Example 4.8b; the contrapuntal summary of the lower two parts of 'Salvatoris hodie' may be compared with Example 4.1b in this regard), but otherwise entirely congruent.

Although the final unison (5) is replaced with a fifth in 'Salvatoris hodie,' the terminal tenor note and its voice-leading are identical to those found

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[27] The three-part versions of neither 'Salvatoris hodie' nor *'Relegentur ab area' are given in Appendix 4.1. Sources for the former are *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 201r–2v and 307r–7v; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 628), fols. 86r–7v; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 1099), fols. 31r–3r; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486 (hereafter *E-Mn* 20486), fols. 111r–1v; London, British Library, Egerton 2615 (2) (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (2)), fols. 86v–7v; and for the latter, *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 202v–3v and 287v–8v; *D-W* 628, fols. 87v–9r; *D-W* 1099, fols. 34v–6r; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 109v–10v; *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (2), fols. 89v–90r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A. 44, fol. 80r. See Mark Everist, 'Le conduit à nombre de voix variable (1150–1250)', *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, ed. Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadieu, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, Rencontres-Civilisation médiévale (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018) 329–344.
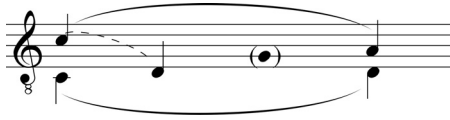
Example 4.8b Contrapuntal summary of two lowest voices at end of 'Salvatoris hodie'

in the two-part repertory. The lower two parts at the end of *'Relegentur ab area' are, however, identical to those in Example 4.1a, as is the corresponding contrapuntal structure.[28] Other obligatory features – the *currentes* spanning the seventh (2) supported by the sustained tenor pitch (3) and the octave at the beginning of the *currentes* (4) – are present in 'Salvatoris hodie.' Even optional and variable features are present: the *cambiata* (A) is an obvious variant related to the change at the end of the contrapuntal structure; the *suspiratio* before the *currentes* (B), the *longa plicata* before the *currentes* (C) and the antepenultimate sustained tenor pitch that matches that at the end (E) are all found. The only absence is the measured rest from the end of the *cauda*.

The significance of Anonymous IV's comments for the two-part *conductus cum caudis* is all the stronger when it is recognised that the two *conducti triplices* he cites are two of only five examples of the variable-voice *conductus*. In the two-part presentation of these two works, the *punctus organi* – in exactly the form discussed in this chapter – is found twice in each (see Appendix 4.1). There can be no doubt that when Anonymous IV used the term 'punctum . . . organi', he was describing a specific form of what was called more generally *punctus organicus* in *Ars cantus mensurabilis* and which is found in abundance in the two-part *conducti cum caudis* in the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.

Although no medieval theorist speaks unequivocally of a *punctus organi* within the repertory of two-part *conductus cum caudis*, taking together the comments from *Ars cantus mensurabilis* (a generic statement about *discantus*) and Anonymous IV (a description of part of the figure under discussion here and a specific statement about three-part *conductus*), the relationship between the theoretical underpinning of the *punctus organi* and observations made on the compositions themselves are as sound as

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28 The *punctus organi* is found at the end of the first and final stanzas of the three-part section of 'Salvatoris hodie' and at the end of the entire work only in the three-part section of *'Relegentur ab area'. Examples of the *punctus organi* in the middle of a strophe are extremely rare in the sixth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. Two specimens are *'Naturas Deus regulis' (at 'voluit') and 'Pater noster qui es in celis' (at 'temptationem').

any that characterises the interpretation of twelfth- and thirteenth-century polyphony.

Contexts

To understand the frequency of the appearance of the *punctus organi* among the *conducti* collected in the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, an analysis of the makeup of the manuscript is an essential prerequisite. The fascicle is made up of four sections, each prefaced by a historiated initial.[29] It is reasonable to assume that, given that the artists, scribes and notators are the same across the fascicle, these divisions reveal the nature of the exemplars used by the copyists.[30] In his classic study of the *conductus*, Eduard Gröninger broke these four sections into thirteen on the basis of elementary distinctions of style: whether the work was melismatic or syllabic (*cum* or *sine caudis*) and whether the work was strophic or through composed.[31] Both groupings may be used to provide a context for works that employ the *punctus organi*.

Graphing the occurrence of the *punctus organi* against the distribution of *conducti cum caudis* in the four subdivisions of the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 suggests the following results (Table 4.1).

The total figures for the fascicle mask a fundamental difference between the heterogeneous section 4, where the *conducti cum caudis* make up only around half the compositions in the group, and the rest of the fascicle, in which *conducti cum caudis* account for between 80 per cent and 100 per cent of the contents. In terms of the distribution of the *punctus organi*, sections 1 and 3 contain *conducti cum caudis* of which around four-fifths make use of the *punctus organi*; the very low occurrence in the fourth section is a direct consequence of its low proportion of *conducti cum caudis*. The striking feature of Table 4.1 is the very low proportion of *conducti cum caudis* in section 2 that make use of the *punctus organi* – less

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[29] The initials fall on fols. 263r, 299r, 336r and 349r; the subdivisions of the fascicle are indicated in Appendix 4.1 by a horizontal line.

[30] Robert Falck, 'The Structure of the Polyphonic and Monophonic Conductus Repertories: A Study of Source Concordances and Their Relation to the Chronology and Provenance of Musical Styles' (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1970), published as *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981) 68. For a richly detailed account of the historiated initials across the entire manuscript, see Rebecca A. Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972) 1–18.

[31] Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame Conductus*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939) 39–41.

Table 4.1 Statistical distribution of *conducti cum caudis* and *puncti organi* in the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1

Section of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1	Number of compositions	*Conductus cum caudis*	*Conductus cum caudis* with *punctus organi*
Total	130	107 (82% of total)	62 (58%)
Section 1	30	24 (80% of section)	20 (83%)
Section 2	46	43 (93% of section)	21 (49%)
Section 3	11	11 (100% of section)	9 (82%)
Section 4	43	24 (56% of section)	11 (49%)

than half. In this section, the most eclectic of the first three, Gröninger identifies five sub-sections, again according to his largely convincing stylistic criteria.[32] Whether his further claims, developed later by Robert Falck and built on interpretations of concordance base that seek to support and refine the articulations of these sub-sections, are sustainable is an open question.[33] But the eclecticism of this part of the collection is at least part of the explanation for the low proportion of *conducti cum caudis* that here make use of the *punctus organi.*

The distribution of the *punctus organi* within individual works is given in column five of Appendix 4.1. The most frequent pattern is for the figure to appear at the end of the composition or at the end of individual stanzas. 'Veri vitis germine' is an example of a multistrophic work in which the *punctus organi* is reserved for the end of the entire composition while its neighbour, 'Auctor vite virgine' (I), uses the figure at the end of each of its three stanzas.[34] But a much more common presentation of the *punctus organi* is its use at the end of certain stanzas for emphasis, either as a way of grouping stanzas together and separating out that group from its fellows or of simply drawing attention to one particular stanza by embellishing it with a *punctus organi.* Such procedures constitute important compositional resources for the development of large-scale structures in this repertory. 'Gloria in excelsis Deo,' for example, provides such embellishment for its first and third stanzas only (of a total of three),[35] whereas in 'Magnificat anima mea' it is found in stanzas 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6; only the third is excluded from this treatment, and this exclusion suggests a compositional strategy

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[32] Ibid., 39–40.   [33] Falck, *Notre-Dame Conductus*, 72–102.

[34] The composer of 'Auctor vite virgine' (I) was an enthusiastic devotee not only of the *punctus organi*, but also of the elaborate use of *currentes* more generally. See the melismas on the words 'oritur,' 'pandens' and 'conpensemus' in stanza 3, none of which however share any of the features – obligatory or optional/variable – of the *punctus organi.*

[35] The use of *currentes* in the tenor is an important compositional resource in this work, however.

that seeks to enhance the continuity between the music for stanzas three and four by omitting the most striking cadential qualities of the *punctus organi* from the former. With the marker for the end of the stanza missing, stanzas 3 and 4 merge – musically speaking – one into another. The data provided in Appendix 4.1 may serve as a focus for the further investigation of the internal segmentation of large numbers of individual pieces that transcends the criteria proposed by either Gröninger or Falck.

'Magnificat anima mea' has a further usage of the *punctus organi* that goes beyond the practice outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The opening two lines are as follows:

*Mag*nificat anima mea *do***minum**
Qui iudicat verba, cor, renes *ho*minum

where *caudae* are marked in *italics* and the *punctus organi* in **boldface**. The three '*caudae*' on the syllables '*do*minum,' '*Qui*' and '*ho*minum,' while apparently measured, are very short (three, five and three LTT, respectively; Example 4.9).

The *caudae* on '*do*minum' and '*ho*minum,' however, are of identical length, have important contrapuntal similarities and involve the same phonemes; they thus contribute to the symmetry and balance of the opening lines of the piece by calling attention to the first syllable of the last word in each line.[36] But the end of the first line is characterised not only by a short snippet of *discantus* but also by a *punctus organi*, which marks off the first line of the text from the rest of the stanza; this sets up an attractive tension between this articulation and the consonance of the symmetrical *caudae* at the end of the first two lines. Despite the brevity of the *caudae*, the relationship of the *punctus organi* to the preceding *discantus* is very much in line with the definition of the figure outlined previously.[37]

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[36] There are notational difficulties with the groups of two-note ligatures that constitute these two *caudae*, not least the issue of assigning a modal classification to them. Furthermore, the matter is complicated by the fact that the last syllable of the section *cum littera* before the *cauda* on '*ho*minum' (on the word '*re*nes') involve two-note ligatures in both parts in just the same way as the following *cauda*, thus throwing into question not only the length of the *cauda* but also the declamatory strategy adopted by the composer for this passage. However, the melodic and rhythmic similarities between the tenors of the *caudae* on '*do*minum' and '*ho*minum', which reinforce these structural parallelisms, also support the interpretation given in Example 4.9.

[37] Even in this complex medial position, all five obligatory features of the *punctus organi* are present, and even the *cambiata* (A) takes its most common form. While, for the most part, the transcriptional basis for the examples in this chapter serves Example 4.7 well, there is one point at which it comes under a certain pressure. The change from the *cauda* on '*Qui*' to the following passage *cum littera* is complicated by a ligature eliding the two sections. Although this is transcribed faithfully in Example 4.7, it does raise questions of the relationship between syllable-change and ligature – different, naturally, for *musica cum littera* and *music sine littera*.

Example 4.9 Extract from 'Magnificat anima mea'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 301v

In the case of 'Magnificat anima mea', the reason for this particular compositional move – the deployment of the *punctus organi* within the body of the stanza – is clear: the text of this *conductus* begins with the first line of the text of the *Magnificat*, and the *punctus organi* marks off this

The norm is that a single ligature carries no more than one syllable, and the example breaks that rule. Transcribing the example in any other (measured or unmeasured) fashion makes no difference to the problem, and 'Magnificat anima mea', where there is a rapid exchange between music *cum* and *sine littera*, may be a witness to the notational resources available to the composer of the *conductus cum caudis* being stretched to the limit.

Example 4.10 Extract from 'Consequens antecedente'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 327r

citation from the rest of the stanza, the text of which is newly composed. Citation of fragments from the *Magnificat* text appear throughout and constitute a critical structural device for the work as a whole.

Other reasons for the medial use of the *punctus organi* are rather less clear. In 'Consequens antecedente' the last two syllables of the word 'antece**dente**' form a *punctus organi* in the context of music *cum littera*; it follows a passage of syllabic declamation.[38] In turn, however, it is followed by a *cauda* (Example 4.10), and its significance for the structure of the work as a whole resists definition.

In other cases, the *punctus organi* is completely enclosed within a *cum littera* context. The presentation of the word 'natu**re**' in 'De nature fracto iure' is a case in point (Example 4.11).

The opening *cauda* closes clearly and yields to a passage *cum littera*, only the first two syllables of which appear before the *punctus organi*; the *musica cum littera* then continues until a second *cauda* begins on 'mi*ra*tur'. The significance of this inclusion of the *punctus organi* remains obscure. The single further occurrence is at the end of the second stanza of three and is no further aid in the interpretation of the work's treatment of the word 'nature'.

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[38] All the obligatory features of the *punctus organi* are here present, as are the most simply varied versions of the *cambiata* (A) and the preceding *longa plicata* (C). Other optional properties (B, D and E) are absent.

Example 4.11 Opening of 'De nature fracto iure'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 303v

Thus far, the *punctus organi* has been set in the context of the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 alone. The logic of controlling its identification and of describing its use in such a context is unassailable: the collection is the largest and the most central in terms of the production of the manuscript in which the works are found, and in terms of what is known of the geographical location of other repertories contained in the manuscript.[39] Looking further afield to the three other large collections of *conducti cum caudis*, the conclusions reached from an examination of the works in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 are strongly supported, although some variety in general and in specific points of detail emerges.

Of the 130 *conducti* in the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, 69 are also found in *D-W* 628, 40 *E-Mn* 20486 and 12 in *D-W* 1099.[40] Other concordances are in manuscripts so far removed from a Parisian orbit

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[39] See Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures,' *passim*, and Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989) 58–86.

[40] See the table of concordances in Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen*, 106–36. As Falck points out (*Notre-Dame Conductus*, 67), five of these pieces are variable-voice *conducti* found copied together in *D-W* 628. Whatever view is taken of the relationship between these works shared between fascicles VI and VII in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, and of the versions that put the material together in *D-W* 628, for the *compilator* of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 these were indeed separate works, and are thus treated in this chapter, in the knowledge that other interpretative strategies might treat them differently.

or in books so badly fragmented as to make comparisons beyond that network of manuscripts extremely difficult, given the sporadic appearance of the *punctus organi* in any single work. The overriding impression of reading the *punctus organi*, as found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, against concordant sources is one of consistency: in only one case is it omitted. In the *D-W* 628 transmission of 'Ego reus confiteor', the *punctus organi* – found at the end of the entire work in *I-Fl* Plut 29.1 – is simply excised, and the preceding *cauda* ends the work.[41] Conversely, there are instances where the *punctus organi* is present in *D-W* 628, but where it is omitted in concordant sources including *I-Fl* Plut 29.1.[42] More generally, the penultimate note in the figure (A in Example 4.1a) is frequently replaced in *D-W* 628 by the two-note ligature duplicating the final pitch of the *currentes*. In *E-Mn* 20486 – a smaller comparative group – the replacement of the single note at this point in the figure is more or less comprehensive, and the *simplex* A element almost unknown.

Broadening the inquiry somewhat to include *unica* in the principal sources for the *conductus* is inconclusive. There are no analogous works unique in *D-W* 1099, and of the four works in *D-W* 628, 'O quotiens vos volui' and 'Si quis amat quod amare' do not make any use of the *punctus organi*.[43] Although a third composition, 'Adiuva nos Deus', closes with a phrase that exploits descending *currentes*, the contrapuntal structure of the passage and the configuration of the tenor are very different from those found in the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 under investigation here.[44] A fourth work, 'A deserto veniens' (II), is found in *D-W* 628 and another British source.[45] Here the work ends with a near-classic statement of the *punctus organi* as described in this chapter; the only difference that marks it out from the archetype outlined in Example 4.1a is the slight variation in element C.[46] In contrast to the inconsistency exhibited in *D-W* 628,

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[41] This version of 'Ego reus confiteor' is found in *D-W* 628, fols. 138v–139v.

[42] Two examples are given in passing in Jürg Stenzl, 'Experimentalstudio Notre-Dame-Conductus', *Musikwissenschaft-Musikpraxis: Festschrift für Horst-Peter Hesse*, ed. Kai Bachmann and Wolfgang Thies, Salzburger Akademische Beiträge 43 (Anif: Müller- Speiser, 2000) 161 and 166. The works in question are 'Hec est dies triumphalis' and 'Fraude ceca desolato'.

[43] 'O quotiens vos volui': *D-W* 628, fols. 100v–1r; 'Si quis amat quod amare' (J2; 328): *D-W* 628, fol. 111r.

[44] 'Adiuva nos Deus': *D-W* 628, fols. 135v–6r.

[45] 'A deserto veniens' (II): *D-W* 628 fols. 143r–3v; Cambridge, Jesus College, QB 1, fols. Br-Bv. This is the same text but a completely different version to the work in the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (I) and listed in appendix 4.1. Note that Falck (*Notre-Dame Conductus*, 178) assigns the same number to both works.

[46] The end of 'A deserto veniens' (II) may be therefore compared with profit to Example 4.3.

both the *unica* in *E-Mn* 20486, 'Adest annus' and 'Salve sancta' employ the *punctus organi* at the end and in the middle of the composition respectively; furthermore and in common with all the concordances between *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and *E-Mn* 20486, element A (see Example 4.1a) is expressed on both occasions as a ligature of two notes.[47]

This examination of the context of the *punctus organi* may be concluded with a consideration of the figure's fate in *conducti* copied around 1300. Although the evidence is scattered, it suggests that, even in a context where unmeasured notation *cum littera* was being replaced by notation that distinguished between *longae* and *breves*, the *punctus organi* remained largely intact. Where the rhythms of *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera* were coming close to elision in sources around 1300, the continuing presence of the *punctus organi* meant that the unmeasured nature of *conductus* rhythm was never fully lost.

The *conductus cum caudis*, when read as a site of equilibrium between text and music, emerges as a remarkable genre. While the technical sophistication of the *cauda* and the extensive role it plays in the *conductus* has long been recognised, understanding the *conductus cum caudis* without a grasp of the *punctus organi* is severely impoverished. There are not two but three musico-poetic discourses at play in the genre. Across all major sources for the *conductus cum caudis*, and the recipient of theoretical recognition from contemporary authors, the *punctus organi* recurs regularly as a critical index of the structural complexity that characterises these works. It is a further generic marker to be added to the divisions into numbers of voice parts, to a strophic or through-composed nature and to the presence or absence of the *cauda*. Its consistent profile made it an identifiable point of musical reference for performers and theorists alike, and, for any musician who occupied himself with the *conductus*, it was an important resource that, as Anonymous IV put it, 'bonus organista perfecte scire tenetur'.[48]

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[47] The two works are found in *E-Mn* 20486 fols. 67v–69r and 138r–139r, respectively.

[48] Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, 1:82.

5 | The Mixed Form: Architecture and Structure

The Mixed Form

The foregoing account of compositional resources and their deployment in the *conductus cum caudis* suggests that the genre is fundamentally dependent for its musical and poetic structures, and for the techniques it uses to coordinate text and music, on more than one musico-poetic discourse: syllabic and neumatic declamation, *musica sine littera* and *musica cum littera*, or combinations of discourse that involve the use of the *punctus organi*. In this respect, the *conductus cum caudis* may be viewed as what literary critics call a mixed form or *prosimetrum*, a work that creates structure by combining verse and prose. *Musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera* project a poetic idea in two fashions in the same manner as the quantative verse (*metra*) and prose of the *prosimetrum*. The twelfth century saw both the emergence of the *conductus cum caudis* and a simultaneous growth in the composition and reception of contemporary and late antique *prosimetra*. In the half century before the appearance of the first datable *conductus*, a significant number of *prosimetra* were composed, particularly by authors associated with the cathedral school of Tours. The same period also saw a new growth in interest in the greatest late-antique *prosimetrum*, the *De consolatione philosophiae* of Boethius.[1]

The *De consolatione philosophiae*, composed in five books of prose in which were included thirty-nine quantative poems or *metra*, was one of the key texts for the Carolingians. Widely copied, the text acquired its most important early gloss in the first decade of the tenth century

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[1] The standard edition of the *De consolatione philosophiae* is Ludwig Bieler, *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii Philosophiae consolatio*, Corpus Christianorum Series latina 94 (Turnhoult: Brepols, 1957). See also Joachim Gruber, *Kommentar zu Boethius De consolatione philosophiae, Texte und Kommentare*; eine altertumswissenschaftliche Reihe 9 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1978). Although old, Friedrich Klingner, *De Boethii consolatione philosophiae*, Philologische Untersuchungen 27 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1921) is still important. The standard study of the metra is Helga Scheible, *Die Gedichte in der 'Consolatio philosophiae' des Boethius*, Bibliothek der klassische Altertumswissenschaften, neue Folge 46 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1972), but see also Gerard O'Daly, *The Poetry of Boethius* (London: Duckworth, 1991).

from the pen of the elderly commentator Remi of Auxerre shortly before his death in 908. Modern views on the value of this text – which circulated both together with copies of the *De consolatione philosophiae* as well as independently – differ, but it served as the basis for an important series of further commentaries on the *De consolatione philosophiae* that depended directly on Remi. While the exact details of the textual tradition of those works are not clear, they testify to a tenth-century enthusiasm for Boethius's *prosimetrum* that would not be matched for two hundred years.[2]

The *De consolatione philosophiae* fell prey to an eleventh-century suspicion of the pagan classics that meant the work remained largely ignored until a new wave of copying and commentary was triggered by William of Conches at the end of the first decade of the twelfth century.[3] This was followed by no less than four commentaries within the next quarter century. The one preserved in Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 72 and Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 244 has been judged harshly as little more than a paraphrase of the original Latin text, while those in Erfurt, Stadt– und Regionalbibliothek, Bereich Sondersammlungen, Q 5 and other manuscripts, and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 14689 both depend heavily on William of Conches and earlier exegetical traditions. The anonymous author of the further commentary in Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 919 was the target of William's original comments, and the text in the Vatican manuscript is a response to that attack. The author of the so-called *Tables de Marseille* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 14704), written in 1141, leaned heavily both on the *Consolatio* but also on William of Conches's gloss. Despite the fact that the early thirteenth century saw the translation of the *Consolatio* into French for the first time, there was little new commentary on the text after 1200, although it was much read and copied. Claims that Thomas Aquinas or Robert Grosseteste wrote commentaries on the *Consolatio* have been shown to be false.[4] Together with newly composed *prosimetra*, to be discussed shortly, the twelfth-century reception of the *Consolatio* is a central context for the *conductus cum caudis*.

[2] See the careful diagnosis of the Carolingian tradition of commentary on the *Consolatio*, and the separation of Remi of Auxerre's commentary from other cognate writings in Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris: Études Augustiennes, 1967) 241–299.

[3] Ibid., 301–302.   [4] See the account ibid., 303–306 and 314–315.

Publications surrounding the sesquimillennial celebrations of Boethius's birth that took place in 1980 gave an opportunity to reflect on the qualities of the *De consolatione philosophiae*. Previously, the work had been the subject of arguments over its philosophical originality and the object of an inquiry into its sources.[5] While the form in which the work was cast – its literary value, in short – had been a subject for debate at least since the beginning of the twentieth century, the subsequent analysis of the work's literary predecessors demonstrated its author's remarkable control of his sources.[6] The most important consequence of the re-examination of the *De consolatione philosophiae* was the attention paid to its structure, whether this was essentially numerico-proportional, literary or philosophical. Anna Crabbe pointed to the structural importance of the *metra* in the work: 'The metra of the *Consolatio* . . . contribute to the argument as it proceeds, yet take a wider view, with an authority outside and above the adjacent process. They possess their own thematic design which spans the entire work. For example, many of the ideas of the later poems of Book III have been anticipated in the early metra of Book I. A certain unity and coherence result, in that the crucial issues are permanently before our eyes regardless of the immediate details discussed.'[7] Thomas F. Curley III is only one among several scholars to stress the importance of the ninth *metrum* of Book III of the *Consolatio* (hereafter Bk III, m. 9) as the centre point in the text,[8] and Elaine Scarry goes further and identifies Book III as an almost separable but central part of the work in which its principal processes are encapsulated: it 'recapitulates and anticipates the contents of the other four books', as she puts it.[9]

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[5] On the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history of scholarship on the *Consolatio*, see Thomas F. Curley III, 'How to Read the *Consolation of Philosophy*', *Interpretation* 14 (1986) 212–214.

[6] Much of the enthusiasm for treating the *Consolatio* as a work of literature may be traced to a pioneering article by Edward Kennard Rand, 'On the Composition of Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 15 (1904) 1–28. Rand's editorial work on the *Consolatio* (Edward Kennard Rand and Hugh Fraser Stewart [eds.], *Boethius: The Theological Tractates . . . The Consolation of Philosophy*, Loeb Classical Library [London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam, 1918]) still stands today.

[7] Anna Crabbe, 'Literary Design in the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*', *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981) 260.

[8] Curley, 'The *Consolation of Philosophy*', 251–252. Curley also attaches importance to the matching use of poetic metres in comparable passages; see his comments on the use of anapaestic dimeter acatalectic, ibid., 250. Similarly, he points to the parallelism of Bk I, m. 5 and 6 with Bk V, m. 3 and 4 (ibid., 260).

[9] Elaine Scarry, 'The Well-Rounded Sphere: The Metaphysical Structure of the *Consolation of Philosophy*', *Essays in the Numerical Criticism of Medieval Literature*, ed. Caroline D. Eckhardt (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1980) 110–111.

Observations on the numerical planning, symmetries and equilibria found in the *De consolatione philosophiae* abound in the literature; Scarry puts the case forcefully: 'It is inconceivable that Boethius, exhilarated by the form residing in mathematics, in astronomy, in music, in human thought, would in that work he knew to be his final work abandon his love of structure', but observed that there is little concerning the overall planning of the alternation of verse and prose that characterises the work.[10] But Scarry also observes that 'There are also other aspects of the *Consolation*'s numerology that have not been dealt with here. For example, it is entirely possible that the number of lines in each poem was significant to its author: it is probably no more accidental that [Bk III, m. 9] has twenty-eight lines, the triple ternary plus one, than that Dante's *Divine Comedy* has 100 cantos, ninety-nine plus one'.[11] Although Scarry's interest is more in number symbolism than in numerical disposition, it is much more the latter – as one might expect from the author of the *De arithmetica* – that underpins the structure of the *De consolatione philosophiae*.[12]

This challenge to examine the proportional structure of the *Consolatio* – and by extension other twelfth-century *prosimetra* – is compelling, although the difficulties of this work are substantially greater than those posed by twelfth-century specimens, as will be seen. However, a consideration of the first book of the *Consolatio* helps to lay out some of the principal terms of the argument. It consists of seven *metra* separated by the prose sections of the work, and the *metra* consist of the following numbers of lines:

Metrum	Numbers of lines
I	22
II	27
III	10
IV	18
V	48
VI	22
VII	31

The number of lines in each of the *metra* is controlled by Pythagorean ratios, transmitted to the Middle Ages by no less a text than Boethius's

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[10] Ibid., 137.   [11] Ibid., 140, note 27.

[12] For the difference between numerology and numerical disposition, and the ways in which such differences are exploited in this study, see pp. 158–171.

own *De arithmetica*.[13] *Metra* I and VI are of the same length, while II and IV stand in a *sesquialtera* relationship (27:18; 3:2) one to another.[14] The relationship between the adjacent *metra* IV and V is a *proportio dupla sesquitertia* (8:3). The ten-line *metrum* III has no obvious place within this scheme but relates beyond Book I to Bk II, m. 2, 5 and 8 (stanzas of ten, thirty and thirty lines, respectively), as well as to other *metra* of identical length (Bk III, m. 5 and Bk IV, m. 2).

The most remarkable feature of the organisation of Book I is the length of the final *metrum*. Thirty-one is the eleventh prime number and therefore stands apart from any possible proportional organisation, and certainly from the relationships developed elsewhere in the *Consolatio*. Book I therefore sets up a three-way opposition between internal proportional structures, isolated numbers that relate to other books and the isolated use of a prime number. This would be remarkable in its own right, but its importance is enhanced by the fact that the pattern is replicated in all five books. A single stanza with a prime number of lines sits alongside a number of stanzas whose numbers of lines develop proportional relationships between each other (Bk II, m. 6: seventeen lines; Bk III, m. 1: thirteen lines; Bk IV, m. 3: twenty-three lines; Bk V, m. 3: thirty-one lines). In all cases but one, the primes are different; the framing eleventh prime (thirty-one), found in Books I and V, is the highest of all, and takes on a key introductory and cadential role – a numerical and proportional frame – in the macrostructure of the work.

Alongside the twelfth-century interest in the reading, copying and commenting on the *De consolatione philosophiae* developed a range of allegorical texts that on the one hand exploited the form of the *prosimetrum*

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[13] The standard edition is still Gottfried Friedlein (ed.), *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De institutione arithmetica libri duo*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867). There is a modern English translation in Michael Masi, *Boethian Number Theory: A Translation of the De institutione arithmetica*, Studies in Classical Antiquity 6 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1983). The derivative nature of Boethius's mathematical works has long been recognised. See Calvin M. Bower (trans.) and Claude V. Palisca (ed.), *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius: Fundamentals of Music*, Music Theory Translation Series (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989) xx–xxi.

[14] Much of the technical working with numbers of lines within the stanza, Pythagorean proportions, symmetries and asymmetries echoes the preoccupations of those working in early-modern English poetry, especially Spenser, Milton and Dryden. See Michael Baybank, Paul Delaney and A. Kent Hieatt, 'Placement 'in the middest' in *The Faerie Queen*', *Silent Poetry: Essays in Numerological Analysis*, ed. Alistair Fowler (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970) 141–152; Alistair Fowler, ''To Shepherd's Ear': The Form of Milton's *Lycidas*', ibid., 170–184; Alistair Fowler and Douglas Brooks, 'The Structure of Dryden's *Song for St Cecilia's Day, 1687*', ibid., 185–200.

but that also depended significantly on ideas, structures or material borrowing from Boethius's text. The four principal specimens span the first two-thirds of the twelfth century: Adelard of Bath's *De eodem et diverso* (before 1108), Hildebert of Lavardin's *Querimonia et conflictu carnis et spiritus* (before 1125), Bernard Sylvester's *Cosmographia* (1147–1148) and Alan of Lille's *De planctu naturae* (1160–1165).[15]

Adelard of Bath is frequently considered the first English scientist and, although he was born in Bath, spent much of his life in continental Europe, Asia Minor and North Africa. As a result of the Tourangeau origins of the Bishop of Bath, John of Villula, Adelard was sent to study in Tours in 1100 (he was born *c*1080), and this is where the *De Eodem et diverso* was written.[16] He was more famous, however, for his work in natural philosophy and the translation of Arabic works; his translations of Arabic geometric terms found their way into Anonymous IV's descriptions of such note shapes as the *elmuahim* and *elmuarifa*, for example.[17] His discussion of music within the more general discussion of the seven liberal arts in the *De eodem et diverso* has earned him – especially in his reliance on personal music experience – a reputation as a music theorist of some distinction around 1100.

Tours featured even more prominently in the work of the author of the *Querimonia*: Hildebert of Lavardin was its archbishop from 1125 until his death in either 1133 or 1134.[18] He was previously Bishop of Le Mans, where he rebuilt the cathedral that was consecrated in 1120. At the

[15] For a summary of the achievements of the Tourangeau School of prosimetric composition in the twelfth century, see Peter Dronke, *Verse with Prose from Petronius to Dante: The Art and Scope of the Mixed Form* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994) 47–52. An essential introduction to these texts is Bernhard Pabst, *Prosimetrum: Tradition und Wandel einer Literaturform zwischen Spätantike und Spätmittlealter*, Ordo – Studien zur Literatur und Gesellschaft des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit 4 (Cologne etc.: Bohlau, 1994) 389–508.

[16] The standard edition of the text, Hans Willner (ed.), *Des Adelard von Bath Traktat 'De eodem et diverso'*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 4 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1903), has been largely superseded by Charles Burnett et al. (eds.), *Conversations with His Nephew: On the Same and the Different, Questions on Natural Science, and On Birds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Much of what is known of Adelard's life and work is found in the essays in Charles Burnett (ed.), *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 14 (London: Warburg Institute, 1987).

[17] Charles Burnett, 'The Use of Geometrical Terms in Medieval Music: "elmuahim" and "elmuarifa" and the Anonymous IV', *Sudhoffs Archiv* [*Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*] 80 (1986) 198–205.

[18] Peter Orth (ed.), *Hildeberts Prosimetrum De querimonia und die Gedichte eines Anonymus; Untersuchungen und kritische Editionen*, Arbeiten zur mittel- und neulateinischen Philologie 6; Wiener Studien: Beiheft 26 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000). For the dating of the text, see ibid., 61.

centre of church politics in the first third of the twelfth century, he was described by Bernard of Clairvaux as *tanta ecclesiae columna*. Although the authorship of much of his literary output is disputed, he seems to have been the author or a number of epistles, *vitae*, sermons, poetical works and – of course – the *Querimonia*, almost certainly written before he became archbishop of Tours. It was of work of some significance, to judge from the number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts that preserve the work.[19] Perhaps the greatest mark of esteem accorded the *Querimonia* was the use made of it by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale*, where significant extracts feature in the twenty-fifth book.[20]

There is no conclusive proof that Bernard Sylvester was a *magister* of Tours, but his Tourangeau family pedigree and the obvious literary debts to Adelard of Bath and Hildebert of Lavardin make this likely, as Dronke has argued.[21] Although the only other text that can be securely attributed to Bernard is the *Mathematicus*, this small number of independent literary works belies the importance of the *Cosmographia*. Influential on authors as diverse as Matthew of Vendôme, Gervase of Melkley, Peter of Blois and Alan of Lille, Bernard's allegorical poem had literary echoes that resounded into the fourteenth century.[22]

Alan of Lille was one of the *Cosmographia*'s most important legatees. Although he travelled widely, certainly visited Tours and knew Bernard's work and possibly that of his two predecessors, he studied and taught in Paris (he may also have studied in Chartres and almost certainly taught in Montpellier); he therefore represents an important physical, as opposed to literary, link between the scholastic *prosimetra* in Tours and the composition of *metra* and *rithmi* in Paris. Difficulties with establishing the most basic chronology of Alan's life hamper further analysis of the relationship between the author of the *De planctu naturae* and his Tourangeau predecessors.[23]

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[19] Ibid., 11–34   [20] Ibid., 34.

[21] Peter Dronke (ed.), *Bernardus Sylvestris: Cosmographia*, Textus minores 53 (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 7–8.

[22] Ibid., 9–15.

[23] For what is known of the biography of Alan of Lille, see James J. Sheridan, *Alain of Lille, The Plaint of Nature: Translation and Commentary*, Mediaeval Sources in Translation 26 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980) 1–10. The *De planctu naturae* is edited in Nikolaus M. Häring, 'Alan of Lille: *De planctu naturae*', *Studi medievali* 19 (1978) 797–879, on which Sheridan's translation is based. This supersedes the edition in Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Alani de Insulis doctoris universalis opera omnia*, Patrologiae cursus completus 210 (Paris: J.-P. Migne Editor, 1855) 429–482.

The interrelating discourses in all four of these twelfth-century *prosime-tra* are, as in the case of the *De consolatione philosophiae*, prose and quan-tative verse (*metra*). Their complexity ranges from the inclusion of two *metra*, each of a single stanza, in Adelard's *De eodem et diverso* to the nine *metra*, each ranging from one to twenty-three stanzas, in Bernard's *Cos-mographia*. In between are Hildebert's *Querimonia* with five, and Alan's *De planctu naturae* with nine, monostanzaic *metra*. With its total of fifty stanzas, the *Cosmographia* comes closest to the scale of the *Consolatio* of all the twelfth-century *prosimetra*.

Pythagorean proportions play as central role in the distribution of *metra* within all four twelfth-century *prosimetra* as they do in the organisation of the *De consolatione philosophiae*. The simplest and earliest of the four is Abelard's *De eodem et diverso*. The two *metra* are of sixteen and twelve lines and stand therefore in a simple *sesquitertia* relationship. In terms of the density of *metra*, Hildebert's *Querimonia* falls closest to the type of distribution found in the *conductus cum caudis*. They work as follows:

Metrum	Numbers of lines
I	50 (36 + 14)
II	32
III	28
IV	33
V	11

The text immediately separates into two, with the first three *metra* exploiting one group of proportions and the last two another. *Metra* IV and V stand in a simple *tripla* relationship and, based as they are on a module of 11, relate not at all to the organisation of the first three *metra*; significantly, the module 11 is a prime number. The fifty lines of the first *metrum* seem to fall outside any scheme until it is realised that the poem falls into two sections, one uttered by *Animus* and the other by *Corpus*; no other poem in the *Querimonia* behaves in this way. The resulting lengths are 36 and 14. *Metra* III, II and the first section of I therefore stand in a ratio of 7:8:9 (module 4), and the second section of *metrum* I exhibits a *dupla* relationship with *metrum* III.[24] It goes without saying that the last *metrum* is characterised explicitly, and the penultimate *metrum* implicitly, by a prime number of lines that enhances the division between these two *metra* and the rest of the structure.

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[24] Orth, *Hildeberts Prosimetrum De querimonia*, 73.

The opposition between prime numbers and rational proportion, found in the *De consolatione philosophiae* and echoed in the *Querimonia*, is further exemplified in Alan of Lille's *De planctu naturae*. The former frame the work, which ends with the last and antepenultimate *metra* of forty-three and seventy-nine lines each (the fourteenth and twenty-second primes, respectively). The length of the first *metrum*, fifty-eight lines, is twice the tenth prime number (twenty-nine). The rest of the work is controlled by a series of interlocking mathematical proportions that necessarily exclude *metra* I, VII and IX, because they are controlled by prime-number durations. *Metra* IV and VI are related by equivalence, II and VIII by a ratio of 10:7 and V and VIII by a ratio of 7:4. Although *metra* II and III are related by a distant proportion (13:7) only, *metra* V and II are related by a proportion of 5:2. In contrast to Hildebert's *Querimonia*, where the principal modules are four and eight, in the *De planctu naturae*, they are four and seven.

Of all the twelfth-century *prosimetra* that might be considered structural analogues of the *conductus cum caudis*, Bernard Sylvester's *Cosmographia* is the most complex. It is divided into two sections, the *Megacosmus* and the *Microcosmus*, in which two *metra* (I and II) are found in the former and seven in the latter (III–IX). Most, but not all, of the poems use elegiac couplets. The structure is further complicated by the fact that many of the *metra* are multistanzaic, so that both the numbers of stanzas and the number of lines within the stanza may be of significance. Both *metra* in the *Megacosmus* have prime numbers of stanzas, which sets off this section from the *Microcosmus*, but one of the primes (the three stanzas of the first *metrum*) recurs in *metra* VI and VIII, thus reminding the medieval reader that both parts of the universe contribute to the *Cosmographia*. But more important is the symmetrical structuring of the *Microcosmus* in terms of the poetic forms employed: the first and last *metra* are elegiac couplets, but the second and penultimate use very different metrical schemes that develop intertextual links with other works. The Archilocheian metre of *metrum* VIII alludes to Horace, *Odes*, IV, 7, but the alternating hexameters and tetrameters of *metrum* IV relate to nothing less than Bk. I, m.3 of the *De consolatione philosophiae* itself.[25] In other words, Bernard makes reference to works from classical and late antiquity to structure his own composition. One of these – the *Consolatio* – is among the principal sources for his work. Between the two symmetrically positioned borrowed structures are three *metra* in elegiac couplets; the two that frame the central one both begin

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[25] Dronke, *Bernardus Sylvestris: Cosmographia*, 28.

with stanzas of thirty-two lines that stand in a *dupla* proportion to the sixty-four lines of the Horace imitation.

The *De consolatione philosophiae* and its related twelfth-century *prosimetra* exploit alternations of prose and verse in ways that use juxta-positions of contrasting discursive modes for expressive effect that may be related to the development of narrative or allegorical voice, poetic form or numerical disposition. The *prosimetra* reveal a range of approaches to structure: simple arrangements of balance and symmetry, a variety of mathematical relationships based on the Pythagorean proportions that underpin contemporary number theory as expressed in Boethius's own *De arithmetica* and – perhaps the least expected, but as will be seen a propos the *conductus cum caudis*, perhaps the most significant – the opposition between numerical structures based on Pythagorean propor-tions and those based on prime numbers or other less rational propor-tions. This network of practices gives a methodological framework to the interpretation of *conducti cum caudis* that respects twelfth-century atti-tudes to the mixed form in terms of structure, number and expressive effect.

The Virgin's Garden

To explore how the *conductus cum caudis* might function in similar terms to the *prosimetrum*, an example from the seventh fascicle of Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1) shows how patterns can control, and even determine the structure of, the composition. 'Floret hortus virginalis' is a poem that is both short and simple.[26] Consisting of three lines only, the poetry exhibits only slight variation on the familiar trope of the virgin's garden and concludes with a reference to manna raining down from Exodus XVI, 15, a reference well known to the Middle Ages from the account given in the *Glossa ordinaria*, in which the Old Testament bread of heaven is equated with Christ.[27] The

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[26] 'Floret hortus virginalis' is unique in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 371r–371v. Anderson's edition, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 11 vols. [Institute of Mediaeval Music], Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vol. 7 and 11 have appeared] 5:89–90 (music) and 5:xliii (text) sets the sections *cum littera* in an uncompromising mode I that seems to rely on *extensio modi*. Furthermore, the cadences of the *caudae* are squared off to fit into Anderson's prevailing 6/8 metre, as discussed in Chapter 3. The transcription in Appendix 5.1 avoids both these anachronisms.

[27] Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Walafradi Strabi fuldensis monachi opera omnia*, 2 vols., Patrologiae cursus completus 113–114 (Paris: Garnier and Migne, 1879) 1:969–970.
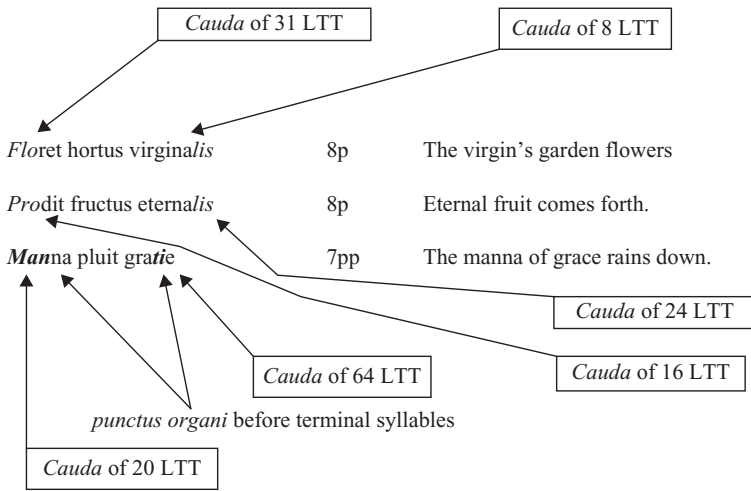
Figure 5.1 Distribution of *caudae* in 'Floret hortus virginalis'

text summarises the unsurprising claim that the virgin gave birth to the son of God.

Despite, or perhaps because of, this modest poetic background, the musical profile of 'Floret hortus virginalis' is ambitious and sophisticated. Most of the work consists of *musica sine littera*, with each of the poem's three lines beginning and ending with a *cauda*. Both *caudae* in the final line of the poem in turn end with a *punctus organi*. Like the *prosimetra* discussed in the previous section, the structure of the work is determined by the alternation of contrasting musico-poetic discourses, as can be seen from the diagram in Figure 5.1; furthermore, the durations of the *caudae* are of numerical significance in much the same way as are those of the *Consolatio philosophiae* or any of its dependent twelfth-century *prosimetra* (Figure 5.1).

Even in a text as short as this, the phonemic parallelism of 'virgi*nalis*' and 'eter*nalis*', ending lines 1 and 2, respectively, generates a pair of *caudae* whose durations are closely related by a *tripla* proportion (24:8). Like the *De planctu naturae*, the *Cosmographia* or the *Consolatio* itself, the six *caudae* in 'Floret hortus virginalis' develop an opposition between prime numbers and simple arithmetic proportions. *Caudae* II to V are linked together closely, their durations being products of the factor 4 in the proportion 2:4:6:5. The first three of this sequence (*caudae* II–IV) are even more closely related; they are products of the factor 8 in the proportion

1:2:3 (8:16:24 *longae trium temporum* [LTT]). The final *cauda* is problematic in this regard. It, too, is a product of a factor of 4 but then stands in a relationship of 2:4:6:5:16 with *caudae* II to V. And while *caudae* II to V are linked by proportions no more remote than that of *sesquiquinta* (6:5), a proportion of 16:5 is a rather different proposition, and less easy to rationalise with the rest of the composition. On the other hand, *caudae* II to IV and VI are also linked by a relationship of 1:2:3:8. The anomalous position of *caudae* V and VI – unrelated to the proportional systems of *caudae* II through IV – may well be explained by the particular nature of their final cadences; significantly, they are both decorated by the *punctus organi*. The effect of this elaboration is to add weight to the ends of the words 'manna' and 'gratie', the two key words of the *Exodus* citation that – according to the *Glossa ordinaria* at least – symbolise Christ. If the links between *caudae* II through IV could not be much stronger (a proportion of 1:2:3), the slightly weaker links between *caudae* V and VI, and between those two and the rest of the sequence, are related to the symbolism of the poem.

While the last five *caudae* in 'Floret hortus virginalis' are linked by a variety of interlocking proportional means, the first, with a duration of thirty-one LTT, stands apart at this level of analysis. Given that the rest of the work depends on the modular structures of four and eight, it is difficult to imagine a more comprehensive way of separating out the first *cauda* than creating a durational pattern based on a prime number, thirty-one. Even the particular choice of the prime seems to stress its alterity from the rest of the piece. It is one less than exactly half the duration of the last *cauda* and in numerological terms falls between two numbers of at least some significance: thirty (the years of preparation for Christ's teaching, the parable of the sower) and thirty-two (the paths of wisdom).[28] And even the proportion between the duration of the first *cauda* and the sum of those of the remainder yields a proportion of 124:132, which resolves only to 33:31, and obviously no further because of the prime quality of thirty-one.

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[28] Such observations risk abandoning the reasonably objective methodologies of numerical disposition in favour of the vagueness of numerology. But such comments may be anchored in specific texts, in this case the *Exegetica in scripturam sacram* of Hugh of St Victor (Jacques-Paul Migne [ed.], *Hugonis de S. Victore canonici regularis S. Victoris Parisiensis tum pietate, tum doctrina insignis opera omnia*, 3 vols., Patrologiae cursus completus 175–177 (Paris: Garnier and Migne, 1879–1880) 1:22–23), written in the early decades of the twelfth century. For a summary of the organisation and principal aims of Hugh's comments, see Vincent Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression*, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature 132 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938; *R* Mineola, NY: Dover, 2000) 100–104.

The use of prime numbers and their opposition to arithmetical proportions in 'Floret hortus virginalis' is similar to their deployment in the *De planctu naturae* and the *Cosmographia*. In all three cases, primes are used as introductory or framing gestures to enclose or preface sets of interlocking arithmetical proportions. Both *metra* in Bernard Sylvester's *Megacosmos* begin with stanzas whose numbers of lines are prime (seventeen and twenty-three, respectively), and this underpins a fundamental difference between the *Megacosmos* and *Macrocosmus* (where no primes are found) that make up Bernard's *Cosmographia*. Alan of Lille frames his *De planctu naturae* with a *metrum* of 58 lines (twice the prime twenty-nine) at the beginning, and with *metra* of seventy-nine and forty-three lines for the antepenultimate and final poems, respectively.

One of the key properties of the rhythmic organisation of *discantus*, whether found in *clausula*, motet or the *cauda* of the *conductus*, that proved attractive to composers in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries was its ability to project overlapping cadences. In other words, for the first time in the history of music, phrases of unequal duration could be superimposed one on another. The resulting flexibility of being able to choose between phrases that do (isochronous) or do not (allochronous) cadence simultaneously became an important resource for the composer of the *conductus*, and interpretation of 'Floret hortus virginalis' is significantly furthered by an examination of the ways in which cadences within the *caudae* are planned and of the consequent durations of the phrases themselves. *Cauda* II consists of phrases of eight LTT in both *duplum* and tenor; there is no overlap between the voices whatsoever. *Cauda* III introduces an important compositional principle, found in all other *caudae* in the work. The sixteen LTT of the section are made up of five phrases in the *duplum* ($2 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 6$) and three in the tenor ($7 + 3 + 6$) (Example 5.1).

The first two phrases in the *duplum* are the same length as the first phrase of the tenor, the second two phrases of the *duplum* are the same length as the second phrase of the tenor and the last phrase of both voice parts is of identical duration. This sets up a hierarchy of cadential planning: cadences where both voices rest ($7 + 3 + 6$), determined by the longer phrases of the tenor, to which are subsumed the shorter phrases in the *duplum*. The resulting structure may be expressed as follows with the duration of the *duplum* phrases above the line and that of the tenor below:

$$\frac{(2+5) + (1+2) + 6}{7 \quad + \quad 3 \quad + 6}$$

Example 5.1 *Cauda* III of 'Floret hortus virginalis'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 371r

What is immediately striking from this scheme is the complete absence of the factors of 16, the overall duration of the *cauda*. Indeed, it seems as if, at this level, there is every attempt to subvert the durational qualities of the *cauda* that are so important proportionally at the next level (*cauda* III lies at the centre of the most closely related sequence of durations embodied in *caudae* II–IV, as just shown). It is almost as if the even numbers that characterise the relationship between the durations of these *caudae* are being abandoned in favour of predominantly odd numbers at the level of the individual phrase. Or rather, within the phrase, odd and even are harnessed to some degree: durations of two LTT are always linked with an odd duration to create a further odd one, whereas the *cauda* ends with an isochronous phrase of six LTT. This interplay of odd and even numbers at different phraseological levels serves as a reminder of the deep-seated medieval understanding of odd numbers as masculine and even numbers as feminine, and their subtle juxtaposition in a work concerned with perhaps the most important biblical male and female is at once elegant and persuasive.[29]

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[29] In Pythagorean number theory, as transmitted via Plotinus, Macrobius and Martianus Capella, the monad is both masculine and feminine (because when added to odd it produces even and vice versa). 'If the monad is the Father then the duad is the Mother of number' (Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, 39), and according to Plutarch, feminine even numbers are weaker than masculine odd numbers because they are empty in the centre (i.e., when divided into two they leave nothing between the two halves). This theory was 'one of the most widely

This level of analysis assists in understanding the place of the first and last *caudae* in 'Floret hortus virginalis' and may be seen in the complete transcription of the work in Appendix 5.1. In its juxtaposition of odd and even phrase lengths and especially in its projection of three isochronous phrases, *cauda* I has much in common with *caudae* III to V, although in the former the longer and shorter phrase lengths swap back and forth.

$$\frac{10 \quad + (5+2) + \quad 14}{(2+2+6) + \quad 7 \quad + (7+2+5)}$$

Much of the final *cauda* behaves similarly, but this – the longest – of all six *caudae* adopts two very different principles within the same section. The first seven phrases of the *cauda* are purely isochronous with both voices cadencing simultaneously.

$$\frac{3+5+6+5+6+1+1+ \quad 7 \quad + (6+9) + \quad (5+6) \quad +4}{3+5+6+5+6+1+1+ (1+6) + (4+11) + (1+5+5) + 4}$$

With the exception of *cauda* II (which, as has been seen, is rather different), this is the only instance of such prolonged isochrony in the work. These phrases are then followed by a series whose members – as is more typical – overlap at a local level but coalesce to create four cadential points for both voices. As in the case of *cauda* III, the final phrase is of an identical duration on both voice parts, which both ties it together to those of the first half of the *cauda* and stresses the number four that is key to its relationship with *caudae* II to V. The *cauda* that closes 'Floret hortus virginalis' therefore falls into two parts: a sequence of seven phrases, whose durations in both voice parts match, followed by a section characterised by the more typical (for this composition) combination of overlapping phrases that occasionally cadence together. The two sections of *cauda* VI are by no means equal; in fact the proportions of the two sections are 27:37, the most erratic found in the work. But the use of the number thirty-seven ties the end of the composition to its beginning in harmonious fashion: thirty-seven is the next prime number after thirty-one, the anomalous duration of the first *cauda*. At one level, then, 'Floret hortus virginalis' may be read as a progression from the tenth to the eleventh prime number.

known of Pythagorean principles' in the Middle Ages (ibid., 101), and its background for the twelfth and thirteenth-century *conductus* is again Hugh of St Victor (*Exegetica*, 1:23).

The *Prosimetrum* and the *Conductus cum Caudis*

Reading and listening to 'Floret hortus virginalis' in the way proposed in the previous section is far removed from practices common in the year 2000 or even 1800. In the past two hundred years, poetry has been valued for its rhythm, its lexical choice and its imagery rather than for the numerical organisation of its stanzas; similarly, with the exception of the residue of modern intuitive responses to phrases of four, eight and sixteen bars and their corresponding asymmetries, current musical senses are less alive to the specific length of phrases and to the equilibria and instabilities present in just such a work as 'Floret hortus virginalis'. But medieval *mentalités* embraced number to a far greater extent than do modern minds, as a glance at the theoretical sources for *rithmus* makes clear.[30] What is to be made of the remarkable description of fifteenth-century Florentine gauging, just to take a single example, in which an individual with no more schooling than a fifteen-year-old was able to calculate, with no recourse to any mechanical aid, the cubic capacity of a barrel and to find a result that involved a fraction whose denominator and numerator ran to five digits?[31] To understand the implications of this is to develop what Michael Baxandall terms the 'period eye' in art history, and it is significant that his example is taken from a treatise entitled *De abaco* by none other than Piero della Francesca, therefore forging a clear link between the mercantile and the artistic that has enormous significance for medieval poetry and music.[32] This also forms a central example in the anthropologist Clifford Geertz's explanation of how art as

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[30] Although focussing on the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, Anna-Maria Busse-Berger ('Musical Proportions and Arithmetic in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance', *Musica disciplina* 44 [1990] 89–118) offers a trenchant critique of a wide range of musicological methods involving analysis of number. She cites two particularly problematic mid-fifteenth-century cases: Antoine Busnois (Richard Taruskin, 'Antoine Busnois and the L'Homme armé Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 [1986] 255–293, and the response by Rob Wegman, '[Letter from Rob C. Wegman]', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 [1989] 437–443) and the four competing analyses of Dufay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* (Busse-Berger, 'Musical Proportions', 92), but goes on to stress the importance of commercial, as opposed to theoretical arithmetical sources, leaning – as does this study – on Baxandall and Piero della Francesca. Her accurate description of the status of Boethius *c*1500 contrasts with the esteem in which his work was held 300 years earlier (ibid., 97–98).

[31] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd edn. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 86–87.

[32] Gino Arrighi (ed.), *Piero della Francesca: Trattato d'abaco dal codice ashburnhamiano 280 (359*–291*) della Biblioteca medicea laurenziana di Firenze*, Testimonianze di storia della scienza 6 (Pisa: Galilaeana, 1970) 233.

a cultural system has to be explained in terms that are sensitive to period-specific *mentalités*.[33] It is the shortest of leaps from Baxandall's 'Period Eye' to the recognition that attempting to understand a 'Period Ear' for both poetry and music is of immeasurable value. In the mixed form of the *prosimetrum* and the *conductus cum caudis*, and especially in their numerical disposition, the possibility of understanding how a 'period ear' might have worked begins to emerge.[34]

Such a period ear for the polyphonic music of the high Middle Ages depends not only on the similarities of structural function in the *prosimetrum* and *conductus cum caudis* but also on the specific links between the two repertories and their creators. Three pieces of evidence play a role here: the connections between the composition of *organum duplum* and quantative verse in the work of Leoninus, the overlapping poetic and musical interests of Alan of Lille and the musical settings of *metra* from the *De consolatione philosophiae*.

The most celebrated composer of both measured and unmeasured polyphony, Leoninus, was by all accounts an accomplished poet. In addition to whatever work he may have undertaken that resulted in the compilation of the *Magnus liber organi*, he was the author of the *Hystorie sacre gestas ab origine mundi*, a text that consisted of fourteen thousand hexameters that paraphrased the first eight books of the Old Testament.[35] It circulated in at least seven manuscript copies during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; one of these, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 14759 (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 14759), contains an important collection of eight further poems and was copied at the Abbey of St Victor around 1200. Leoninus, a canon of Notre Dame, was also well known at St Victor, where the Augustinians there called him 'frater noster', and where he lived at least until 1201, so that it is quite likely he knew about and perhaps supervised the copying of this manuscript.[36]

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[33] Clifford Geertz, 'Art as a Cultural System,' *Modern Language Notes* 91 (1976) 1481–1488.

[34] Although focusing on a slightly later period of music history, the conference proceedings edited by Rob Wegman entitled 'Music as Heard: Listeners and Listening in Late-Medieval and Early Modern Europe (1300–1600): A Symposium at Princeton University, 27–28 September 1997', *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998) 427–691 have a not dissimilar objective.

[35] This is not the occasion to reopen the question of how Leoninus relates to Anonymous IV's description of the *Magnus liber organi* (Fritz Reckow [ed.], *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4–5 [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967] 1:46) beyond restating the incontrovertible fact that Leoninus was responsible for at least some of the compositions of the repertory of *organum duplum*.

[36] Craig Wright, 'Leoninus, Poet and Musician', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986) 16–17.

No.	Incipit	Genre	Line numbers
1	Hystorie sacre gestas ab orignie mundo		
2	Proh dolor ut nulla est virtus sincera nec umquam	Moralising	16
3	Papa meas Adraine preces si postulo digna	Papal	
4	Summe parens hominum Christi devote minister	Papal	
5	Anule qui sacri datus es michi pignus amoris	Personal	
6	Hanc tibi que sine te rara est michi mitto salutem	Personal	
7	Qui bene cuncta fugis gravioris crimina noxe	Moralising	12
8	Grandior est iusto michi cuppa sed hec michi una	Moralising	16
9	Vivere quisque diu, nemo bene vivere curat	Moralising	

Figure 5.2 Contents of *F-Pn* lat. 14759

The eight poems consist of four moralising works and four verse epistles, a division that gives a neat symmetry to the entire corpus of Leoninus's shorter poetry, a symmetry that echoes that obtaining between the *Hystorie sacre* and the rest of his output. Craig Wright has argued that, on the basis of what is known of the biography of three of the four correspondents in the verse epistles, the collection in *F-Pn* lat. 14759 may have been organised in chronological order.[37] This may well be true, but the organisation of this part of the manuscript – perhaps prompted by Leoninus himself – is more subtle, as an outline of the contents shows (Figure 5.2).[38]

First, the four verse epistles are framed by the moralising poetry, with one poem at the head of the collection, and three at the end. The verse epistles themselves are divided into two pairs: one consisting of two papal letters (to Adrian IV and to his successor Alexander III) and the other of two personal letters. The final moralising distich 'Vivere quisque diu' contains only two lines and has the character of an *envoi*. Based on Cicero's *De senectute*, it rounds off the collection with an apposite commentary on old age ('Everyone tries to live long, no one tries to live righteously / Although everyone is able to live righteously, no-one is able to live long') and therefore stands at some distance from both the rest of the moralising poetry in the collection.[39]

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[37] Ibid., 31.
[38] Figure 5.2 is based on the material presented in Bruce Holsinger and David Townshend, 'The Ovidian Verse Epistles of Master Leoninus (ca. 1135–1201)', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000) 247.
[39] Wright, 'Leoninus, Poet and Musician', 31.

The three remaining framing poems exploit the sorts of numerical relationships found in *prosimetra* with which Leoninus must have been familiar. The one that introduces the verse epistles ('Proh dolor') is of sixteen lines, the same as the one that precedes the closing distich ('Grandior est iusto'). In between the latter and the collection of verse epistles is 'Qui bene cuncta', which, in its construction of twelve lines, stands in a Pythagorean *sesquitertia* relationship to the other moralising poems of sixteen lines. While this is a relatively simple proportional structure compared with some of the *prosimetra* discussed earlier, it is identical – in proportion and number – to the organisation of Adelard of Bath's *De eodem et diverso*, whose two *metra* of twelve and sixteen lines also stand in a *sesquitertia* relationship one to another. In addition to the fundamental proportion underpinning the diatesseron, *proportio sesquialtera* is an important ratio in many of the structures in the *conductus cum caudis*.

Leoninus not only must have known of the tradition of writing *prosimetra* in the twelfth century, but in the organisation of his poetry in the single complete manuscript of his *œuvre* he employed similar proportional methods to those used by those he emulated. The relevance of this claim to this study could be countered by the argument that Leoninus's musical achievement lay in the domain of *organum duplum* and not in the *conductus*, and that is certainly true. However, it is equally true that *organum duplum* functions as much as a mixed form as the *conductus*; moreover, the tone of the moralising works in *F-Pn* lat. 14759 has much in common with the *conductus*[40] – and Albertus Precentor, for whom Leoninus was sufficiently close to sign a property document, bequeathed a volume of *versus* at his death to the Cathedral of Notre Dame.[41] The manuscript of Leoninus's poetry, and the works themselves, give clear evidence of a concrete link between the composition of literary *prosimetra* and the construction of musical works based on a multiplicity of musical and poetic discourses. Furthermore, the domain in which numerical planning in music is most evident – *discantus* – is common as much

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[40] Ibid., 23.

[41] Auguste Molinier, *Obituaires de la province de Sens I (Diocèces de Sens et de Paris)*, Receuil des historiens de France: Obituaires 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902) 159. The text has 'Idem vero Albertus dedit nobis missale, lectionarum, antiphonarium, gradale, psalterium cum hymnis, duos troperios, duos versarios, vas etiam argenteum ad patenam ibidem collocandam'; whether *versarius* should be translated as unequivocally as 'a volume of *conductus*' (Wright, 'Leoninus, Poet and Musician', 9) is an open question. It is not at all clear from the context if the *versus* were polyphonic or monophonic, or even furnished with music.

to the *cauda* of the *conductus* as to the *clausula* of Leoninus' *organum duplum.*

A further link between the repertory of twelfth-century *prosimetra* and their near-contemporary *conducti* lies in the work of Alan of Lille. That Alan was familiar with the vocabulary of polyphonic music is clear from the *De planctu naturae* itself. In a description of the features of the natural world found emblazoned on the clothing of the lady *Natura* is the following:

There the ass, offending our ears with his idle braying, as though a singer of organum, by antiphrasis [*quasi per antifrasim organizans*], introduced barbarisms into music.

Illic asinus, clamoribus aures ociosis fastidiens quasi per antifrasim organizans, barbarismum faciebat in musica.[42]

The accusation of the introduction of *barbarismus* into music on the part of those who compose or perform *organum* resonates clearly with Alain's general assumption in the *De planctu natura* 'that grammatical 'barbarism' in language and gender inversion in human sexual relations are one and the same'. It is an important piece of evidence in the analysis of Parisian two-part polyphony (*organum* and *conductus*) as the 'enchant[ment of] the spectacle of same-sex polyphonic performance' that uncovers 'a distinctly medieval homoerotics of polyphonic performance and reception' and a critical link between the aesthetics of Alan of Lille and the world of polyphonic composition.[43]

A second piece of evidence also links Alan of Lille to the repertory of Parisian *conducti*. The first stanza of the monophonic *conductus*, 'Exceptivam actionem', is preserved in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[44] Other sources contain

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[42] Häring, 'Alan of Lille: *De planctu naturae*', 818. The translation follows Sheridan, *Alan of Lille: Plaint of Nature*, 100, with the exception of the word *organizans* where 'musician' is offered. The translation 'singer of *organum*' is taken from Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer*, Figurae (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001) 139. There would, however, be a case for preserving the symmetry of the present participles 'fastidiens' and 'organizans' and rendering 'quasi per antifrasim organizans' as 'as though singing in organum, by antiphrasis' but that, too, is over specific because *organizare* could equally mean composing or creating *organum* as much as performing it.

[43] Ibid., 139–140. A further context to this important citation concerns the tradition of the ass as the animal least responsive to music. See the references to Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae*, 3.16.13 and St Jerome, *Epistolae*, 27.2, given in Sheridan, *Alan of Lille: Plaint of Nature*, 100, note 110.

[44] 'Exceptivam actionem' (Falck 110; Anderson K67: *I-Fl* Plut.29.1, fol. 444r. See Anderson, 'Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea musicologica* 6 (1972) 200 for a full listing of nineteen other sources (almost all of the text alone). See the editions in Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, 6:xci–xcii (poetry) and 6:96–7 (music).

up to seven stanzas, and one of these, Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 385 explicitly attributes the poetry of the work to Alan of Lille, and gives it the rubric 'Rhythmus de incarnatione Christi'.[45] The work dedicates one stanza to each of the seven liberal arts, with the single strophe provided with music in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 taking grammar as its subject. The stanza devoted to music plays on technical terms associated with polyphonic music (*coniunctio*, *modus*, *ligatura*, *ordo*, *musica*, *proportio* and *copula*) and thus reinforces the link between Alan of Lille as author of the prosimetrum and as literate polyphone.[46] In addition to the prose and *metra* that together engender the prosimetric structure of the *De planctu naturae*, Alain was inclined to the composition of *rithmi* that would be suitable for setting to music, and – in the same composition – demonstrated a knowledge of some of the most contentious and contemporary technical musical vocabulary.

A final connection between the *prosimetrum* and music lies in the *metra* from the *De consolatione philosophiae* that had been set to music for at least two centuries before the composition of *conducti* or *organa*. While individual settings of *metra* from the *Consolatio* are found in ninth-century manuscripts from Limoges, copies of the entire text have also been found with some of the *metra* furnished with musical notation, and in one case the melody has been identified as one notated elsewhere in a more-or-less unequivocal letter notation.[47] Given that these melodies are clearly non-metrical, there is no question of the durational importance of their phrases and therefore no possibility of numerical comparison with the organisation of the *metra* in the *Consolatio*, but the close alignment of music and *prosimetrum* over a period of centuries cannot here be denied.

Prosimetra depend for their structure on the disposition of their constituent parts, usually prose and quantative verse, and such organisation

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[45] Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire*, 163.

[46] Or rather, as Holsinger points out, the stanza develops 'a number of logical and grammatical terms borrowed by [music-]theoretical texts to describe polyphonic voice-relations' (ibid., 165).

[47] See the ninth-century Limousin manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 1154. For the copy of the *Consolatio* whose *metra* are furnished with notation, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.I.15. The melody of one of these, 'Bella bis quinis' (Bk IV, m.7), is comparable with a melody in pseuo-Odo's *De Musica*. See Christopher Page, 'The Boethian Metrum 'Bella bis quinis': A New Song from Saxon Canterbury', *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981) 306–312. For the broader context, see Sam Barrett, *The Melodic Tradition of Boethius 'De consolatione philosophiae' in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., Monumenta Monodica Subsidia 7 (Bärenreiter, Kassel, 2013).

is frequently informed by simple symmetries and asymmetries, proportional relationships or the presentation of oppositions between different types of number: odd and even, proportional and prime, and so on. Similar attempts at analysis of medieval and early-modern music have been beset by problems of method, the elision of numerology and numerical disposition, and the leaps of faith – particularly in terms of the invocation of number alphabets and *gematria* – expected of the analyses' readers. This was most pressing in the phase of research that was dominated by musicological responses to Otto von Simson's *The Gothic Cathedral*.[48] But more recent attempts at understanding medieval polyphony in particular have been less ambitious but more persuasive:[49] Ernest Sanders' careful recovery of sounding number in a Notre-Dame *clausula* has been matched by equally credible analyses of isorhythmic motets by Vitry, Machaut and their contemporaries.[50] But it was John Stevens's *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* that really gave the context to the way in which the *conductus* is approached in this study; Stevens was the first to transmit Ernst Robert Curtius's distinction between numerology and numerical disposition into the domain of musical scholarship, and although his concept of number – allied as it was to questions of rhythm and metre as much as structure – was less ambitious than the sounding number of Sanders,

[48] Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956). Much of this work was focussed on the works of Ockeghem and Obrecht. See Marianne Henze, *Studien zu den Messenkompositionen Johannes Ockeghem*, Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 12 (Berlin: Merseberger, 1968); Marcus van Crevel (ed.), *Jacob Obrecht: Missae VI – Sub tuum presidium*, Jacob Obrecht opera omnia 6 (Amsterdam: Nederlandse Muziekgeschiednis, 1969) and van Crevel (ed.), *Jacob Obrecht: Missae VII – Maria zart*, Jacob Obrecht opera omnia 7 (Amsterdam: Nederlandse Muziekgeschiednis, 1964).

[49] A pivotal study that reviewed the sometimes far-fetched thinking of the 1960s and laid the ground work for a more critical approach to the subject was Brian Trowell, 'Proportion in the Music of Dunstable', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 105 (1978–1979) 100–141.

[50] Ernest H. Sanders, 'Polyphony and Secular Monophony: Ninth Century – c.1300', *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Frederick W. Sternfeld, A History of Western Music (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973) 120. See also the wider ranging comments in Laurie Koehler, *Pythagoreisch-platonische Proportionen in Werken der ars nova und ars subtilior*, 2 vols. Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 12 (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1990) 1:74–83. The range of work on Vitry and Machaut is difficult to summarise, but convincing examples are Margaret Bent, 'Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur and its Quotations', *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) 82–103; Bent, 'Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15' *Early Music History* 10 (1991) 15–27; and the finely textured and systematic analysis of Machaut's motet repertory in Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Bent or Robertson, it is fundamental to those parts of the analyses presented here that deal with numerical organisation.[51]

Drying Rachel's Tears

The examination of 'Floret hortus virginalis' coupled to an understanding of late antique and medieval *prosimetra*, shows how the alternation of discursive modes allows the creation of symmetry and asymmetry, parallelisms and oppositions; in short how it creates structure and how musical structure relates to poetry. The presence of patterned structures in the *conductus* should come as no surprise, given the analogous organisation of the poetry, *rithmus*, that is its basis. Additionally, given the close relationship between those responsible for the creation of the *conductus* and the *prosimetrum*, the planned disposition of the various elements in the *conductus cum caudis* is entirely to be expected. A final example from the *conducti* preserved in the seventh fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, 'Luget Rachel iterum', shows how the different musical, numerical and poetic parameters may play into each other in a single work.[52]

The poetry of 'Luget Rachel iterum' invokes the image of Rachel as a metaphor for the Holy Land and the fall of Jerusalem, with the daughters of Sion as the principal mourners for the fall of the temple. At the simplest level, this poem relates to a tradition of *conductus* poetry relating to the crusading ideal in the wake of the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. This is not, however, to make any claims for the date of this work because the images return not only in *conducti* probably written for later crusades but also in datable papal letters encouraging the participation of the French nobility in such enterprises. 'Crucifigat omnes' is a well-known example of the former, and Gregory IX's letter 'to all the faithful in the kingdom of France', dated 17 November 1234, begins with the same invocation

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[51] See Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinische Mittelalter* (Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1948), trans. Willard R. Trask as *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953; *R* 1979) 'Excursus XV', 501–510. Stevens's opening chapter on the courtly *chanson* is informed at a fundamental level by a grounding in late antique and medieval number theory (*Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986] 13–47). Having explained the background to numerology, Stevens writes 'The other branch of number philosophy is more important – numerical disposition. By numerical disposition I mean the use of numbers (or their discovery, since numbers are the ultimate reality) for their own sake, not for any collateral truth they may reveal' (ibid., 17).

[52] 'Luget Rachel iterum' is unique in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 359v–360.

as 'Luget Rachel' – 'Rachel suum videns', and amplifies 'luget' from the *conductus* into 'Lamentatur', 'flet' and 'luget'.[53]

The syntax of the poem divides it into three sections, the first two of three lines each, and the third of six.

1. Luget Rachel iterum	7pp(a)	Rachel weeps again
2. Cuius dampnat uterum	7pp(a)	Whose womb is condemned
3. Filiorum orbitas	7pp(b)	By the loss of her sons.
4. Lapso tabernaculo	7pp(c)	The temple having fallen;
5. Quondam plena populo	7pp(c)	Once full of people,
6. Sola sedet civitas	7pp(b)	The city sits solitary.
7. Languent Syon filie	7pp(d)	The daughters of Syon mourn
8. Cotidie	4pp(d)	Daily,
9. Affligentes animam	7pp(e)	Afflicting their spirits,
10. Cum non sit qui faciat	7pp(f)	Because none will act
11. Nec veniat	4pp(f)	Or come
12. Ad paschalem victimam	7pp(e)	To the paschal victim.

Syntactic structure is reinforced by the poetry that projects heptasyllables for the first two sections (lines 1 to 3 and 4 to 6) but mixes lines of four and seven syllables in the last section (lines 7 to 12). The poem's division into three is further emphasised by the differences in rhyme scheme (regular for the first two sections, irregular for the third) and by the fact that each of the sections begin with a word beginning with the phoneme [l], and in the case of the beginning of section 2 and 3, by the phonemic group /læ/. But above all, it is the range of biblical reference that distinguishes the sections in the poetry. Broadly speaking, while the first two sections select key phrases and quote them more or less verbatim, the third section paraphrases. The first section depends on *Jeremiah* XXXI, 15 and *Matthew* II, 18 (exact correspondences rendered in underlined text),

<u>Luget</u> Rachel iterum   Haec dicit Dominus vox in excelso audita est
Cuius dampnat uterum   lamentationis fletus et <u>luctus Rachel</u> plorantis
<u>Filiorum</u> orbitas   <u>filios</u> suos et nolentis consolari super eis quia
                               non sunt

and similarly the second section works with *Lamentations*, I, 1.

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[53] 'Crucifigat omnes' is discussed at length in Chapter 8. Gregory IX's letter is edited in Carl Rodenberg (ed.), *Epistolae saeculi xiii e regestis pontificum romanorum selectae*, 3 vols., Monumenta Germaniae historica (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883–1894) 491–495.

Lapso tabernaculo	quomodo <u>sedit sola civitas plena populo</u>
Quondam <u>plena populo</u>	facta est quasi vidua domina gentium
<u>Sola sedet civitas</u>	princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo

By contrast, the third section allies the content of the poem with Christ's address to the women on the road to Calvary, a very loose paraphrase of *Luke* XXIII, 27–29 with no lexical correspondences.

Languent Syon filie	[27]sequebatur autem illum multa turba populi
Cotidie	et mulierum quae plangebant et
Affligentes animam	lamentabant eum [28]conversus autem ad
Cum non sit qui faciat	illas Iesus dixit filiae Hierusalem nolite
Nec veniat	flere super me sed super vos ipsas flete et
Ad paschalem victimam	super filios vestros [29]quoniam ecce venient
	dies in quibus dicent beatae steriles et
	ventres qui non genuerunt et ubera quae
	non lactaverunt

The proportions of the numbers of lines result in a 1:1:2 ratio for the three sections, with a clear point of demarcation between the two halves of the poem after line 6. In terms of the number of syllables the two 'halves' consist of forty-two and thirty-six syllables, respectively, a *sesquisexta* proportion of 7:6.

The placement of the *caudae* in 'Luget Rachel iterum' underscores both the division into two halves and into two short sections and one long (Figure 5.3).

Each of the three principal sections begins with a short *cauda*, on the words 'Luget', 'Lapso' and 'Languent', while the end of the first half is characterised by a further *cauda* on the last syllable of the word 'civitas', linked phonemically to '*La*pso' and '*La*nguent' by the use of the æ phoneme. All three *caudae* in the first half of the work are of identical length – eight LTT while the one that begins the second half of the work stands in a *sesquitertia* relationship to its predecessors with a duration of six LTT and to the total duration of the *caudae* in the first half by a simple *quadrupla* proportion (24:6; 4:1). This close set of relationships that bind together the first half of the *conductus* to the beginning of the second stand in marked contrast to the work's terminal *cauda*, whose duration is twenty-seven LTT. There would seem to be no numerical point of contact whatsoever between the figure of twenty-seven and the interlocking structures based on even numbers and, for the most part, even-numbered proportions that

		Caudae of 8 LTT		
1. *Lu*get Rachel iterum	7pp(a)	Rachel weeps again		Lines 1-3: *Jeremiah* XXXI, 15; *Matthew* II, 18
2. Cuius dampnat uterum	7pp(a)	Whose womb is condemned		
3. Filiorum orbitas	7pp(b)	By the loss of her sons.		
4. *La*pso tabernaculo	7pp(c)	The temple having fallen;		
5. Quondam plena populo	7pp(c)	Once full of people,		Lines 4-6: *Lamentations*, I, 1
6. Sola sedet civit*as*	7pp(b)	The city sits solitary.		
7. *Lan*guent Syon filie	7pp(d)	The daughters of Syon mourn		
8. Cotidie	4pp(d)	Daily,	*Cauda* of 6 LTT	
9. Affligentes animam	7pp(e)	Afflicting their spirits,		Lines 7-12: *Luke* XXIII, 27-29
10.Cum non sit qui faciat	7pp(f)	Because none will act		
11.Nec veniat	4pp(f)	Or come		
12.Ad paschalem *vic***timam**	7pp(e)	To the paschal victim.		

Cauda of 27 LTT

punctus organi sets final two syllables

Figure 5.3 Distribution of *caudae* in 'Luget Rachel iterum'

characterise the durations of the other *caudae* in the work. But twenty-seven is a number of some importance: it is the first odd cube (3^3), so not only is its fundamental the first odd number but so is its power; it is difficult to imagine a more comprehensive presentation of odd number in such a context, and therefore to imagine a more striking contrast between the workings of even numbers in the first half of the piece and odd ones in the second. But the length of the final *cauda* of twenty-seven (3^3) LTT has now to be set against the length of the three identical *caudae* in the first half of 'Luget Rachel iterum', each of which is eight (2^3) LTT. While, at the level of the cube, these *caudae* and the final one sit in a *sesquialtera* relationship, this relationship dramatises the difference between odd and even. In many respects, the final *cauda* calls out for an explanation in terms of the opposition between a single separate number and a set of

Example 5.2 First two *caudae* of 'Luget Rachel iterum'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 359v

numerical proportions seen in the late-medieval *prosimetrum* discussed earlier, after a more detailed examination of the internal workings of the rest of the composition. And such an explanation lies in the opposition between the prevalance of 2^3 in the first section and 3^3 in the third.

In general, *caudae* within a single *conductus* do not share musical material without good cause. It is remarkable, then, to compare the first two *caudae* of 'Luget Rachel iterum' and to witness a remarkable parallelism (the complete work is found in Appendix 5.2). With the exception of a single pitch, the melodies of the two tenors are identical (Example 5.2).

The two tenors open in a rhythmically identical way, and the ascending leap of a fifth in the *duplum* of the first *cauda* is mirrored in the same descending interval, in exactly the same place, in the second. In very audible terms, the melodic parallels of the two *caudae* reflect the semantic parallels of 'weeping' and 'falling' that begin each of the first two sections of the poem.

As in 'Floret hortus virginalis', the overlapping phrases within each *cauda* enrich the understanding of the numerical disposition within the composition. Relationships in the first two *caudae* are exclusively binary. The first exhibits the simplest sort of arithmetical proportions with the *duplum* composing out a single phrase of eight LTT with shorter tenor phrases of $1 + 1 + 2 + 4$ LTT, while the second, retaining binary relationships, introduces the figure six:

$$\frac{6 \qquad\quad + 2}{(1 + 1 + 2 + 1 + 1) + 2}$$

The phraseological organisation of the *caudae* in 'Luget Rachel iterum' gives a progressively greater emphasis to the number three and its multiples. *Cauda* III inverts the overall shape of *cauda* I, by placing a single phrase of eight LTT in the tenor (rather than the *duplum*) but introduces a phrase of three LTT for the first time:

$$\frac{(1 + 3 + 4)}{8}$$

and this, at least in part, prompts *cauda* IV of six LTT duration, where the *duplum* consists of a single phrase supported by a tenor made up of two phrases of four and two LTT, respectively.

The apparent dissimilarity between the duration of the last *cauda* and the others in the composition has already been noted: although the second cube ($3^3 = 27$) stands in contrast to the essentially binary qualities of the earlier *caudae*, but the increasing role for the figure three throughout the work is also clear from the more detailed analysis of phrase structure. The overall pattern of the final *cauda* stresses not only the number three but also its double and its square:

$$\frac{(3 + 3) \quad + \quad (2 + 9 + 6) \quad + 4}{(2 + 2 + 2) + (7 + 1 + 2 + 7) + 4}$$

The only slight ambiguity lies in a phrase in the tenor, where a pitch is missing in the single source. It has been transcribed here as a *nota simplex* followed by a *tractus*, but it is not impossible that it was originally a *nota simplex* without the *tractus* (an example of *extensio modi*), and therefore the phrase would have been of three LTT duration. The prominent position given to the phrase of nine LTT (3^2) in the *duplum* is clear from the preceding outline, but it is worth noting that the shorter phrases on either side throw this figure even further into relief by adding up to eight and ten LTT so that there is a macrostructure for the *duplum* of 8:9:10 ([3 + 3 + 2]: 9: [6 + 4]). The short passage of canon that characterises this *cauda* begins during this central *duplum* phrase. The distance that separates this final *cauda* from the rest of the work, and its fundamental cadential effect, is enhanced by the use, twice, of the prime number seven in the phraseological structure of the tenor: among what would otherwise be simply binary arithmetic proportions (not unlike the very first *cauda*) are two phrases of seven LTT that, unlike the use of 3^2 and 3^3, are entirely unprepared and without precedent in the composition.

The analysis presented here suggests that the disposition of contrasting musical discourses does more than create a context for 'sounding

number': it articulates the structure of the poem and enhances it expressive power. The arrangement of the *caudae* in 'Luget Rachel iterum' reflects the tripartite poetic structure (lines 1–3, lines 4–6 and lines 7–12) by placing them at the beginning and end of the sections that the poem creates by its syntax and use of biblical allusion. But the movement from the use of phrases of feminine-gendered even numbers of LTT to those that use both masculine-gendered odd numbers – squares, cubes and prime numbers – reflects the shift in the subject matter of the poem. The first half of the poem treats female subjects; it not only invokes the image of the barren Rachel and her procreational subterfuges, but also the daughters of Jerusalem on the road to Calvary. Both subjects have male associations, however: Rachel's sons and the object of the daughters of Jerusalem's mourning, and it is in the direction of the latter that the poem turns in its second half. As the poem switches from female (Rachel and the daughters of Jerusalem) to male subjects (Christ, the 'paschal victim') the numerical disposition of phrases correspondingly shifts focus from the exclusively feminised even numbers to the largely masculinised odd numbers in a bonding of words and notes of great sophistication.

The deployment of contrasting musical discourses in the *conductus cum caudis* to create symmetrical and asymmetrical structures, and patterns that gloss the text of its poetry, encourages comparison with the alternation of prose and quantative verse that characterises the late-antique and medieval *prosimetrum*. But the *conductus* and *prosimetrum* were more than simply analogues: those who were involved in the composition and cultivation of polyphonic music between 1150 and 1250, especially of the *conductus* but of *organum* as well, were well versed in the literary tradition of the mixed form, and in one case at least – Alan of Lille – wrote both *prosimetra* and the *rithmi* that formed the poetic component of the *conductus*. The disposition of prose and verse, *musica cum* and *sine littera*, was controlled by structural principles that depended in large part on Pythagorean number theory, and oppositions and balances created within that context. The aesthetics of the *conductus cum caudis*, then, may be seen to have consisted of the structural disposition of different musical discourses that provide an exegetical commentary – a gloss, at the simplest level – on its poetry.

As the *conductus* fell from favour as a preferred genre for compositional experiment but remained an essential feature on the repertorial landscape of the later thirteenth century, it was subjected to change. The most striking modification was the growing interest in the rationalisation of the notation of *musica cum littera*, the syllabic and neumatic sections of

the *conductus cum caudis*, in the light of contemporary changes in motet notation. Seen perhaps most early in certain of the rhythmic modifications in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst., clear modal values were being assigned by musicians to the notation of these sections by the end of the century.[54] Whether these rhythms are evidence of the original rhythm of *musica cum littera* is a question that has already been answered negatively. More important for the *conductus cum caudis*, though, was the concomitant blurring of rhythmic profile between *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera*. While the declamation of text still remained clearly differentiated between the two sections, the notational and probably rhythmic differences between them was all but effaced, and the end of the mixed form in polyphonic music was marked. For the fourteenth century, there was always the alternation between plainsong and polyphony in sacred music that would hark back to the music of previous eras, but polyphonic song and the isorhythmic motet – despite, in the case of the latter, an enhancement of interest in sounding number – rejected their prosimetric background for ever.

[54] Discussed in Chapter 9.

6 | The *Conductus* and the Liturgy

The first five chapters of this book have broadly accepted the received wisdom that the *conductus* stands apart from *organum* and motet because its tenors do not make use of material borrowed from plainsong and also that there is little exchange of voices or texts – as in the motet – or of large sections, as in the *clausulae* of *organa*. Although it is true that the levels of borrowing, of intra- and intertextuality, in the *conductus* are smaller than in other contemporary genres, it is false to suggest that the genre is immune to certain practices that associate it with others. Chapter 7 investigates the relationships between motet and *conductus*, while Chapter 8 considers the changing identity of poetry and music, *contrafactum*, the recomposition of the *conductus* – mostly the reduction in number of voice parts – and the presence of *conductus* texts embedded in longer poems. The current chapter addresses the relationship of the *conductus* with the liturgy: poetic borrowing, the setting of liturgical texts and the role of the 'Benedicamus Domino'.

The Liturgy: Poetry

The stanzaic nature of the *conductus* poem has much to do with the hymn, so it is no surprise that hymns play a part in the repertory.[1] Two examples in the *conductus* repertory, 'Ave maris stella Ave' and 'Pater creator omnium', consciously structure their poems around the hymn repertory.

'Ave maris stella Ave' has an apparently straightforward structure that is masked by some complexity in the sources that preserve it. Like the hymn, the *conductus* consists of seven stanzas. The complete text is found monophonically in a Vatican manuscript (Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 602), while the text alone is found in

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[1] Brian Gillingham points to the wide range of stanzaic forms that form the basis of the Aquitanian repertory, including 'hymn, sequence [and] trope' ('A New Etymology and Etiology for the Conductus', *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, Musicological Studies 53 [Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990] 100–117, repr. in *The Musical Quarterly* 75 [1991] 63 [page numbers refer to 1991 reprint]).

a manuscript in Cambridge.[2] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1), preserves a two-part reading of the music but with the text of the first stanza only.[3] The two-part setting in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 is syllabic until the last line where there is a *cauda* on the penultimate syllable. In the monophonic Vatican version, the notation stops abruptly just before the final *cauda*, strongly suggesting that the latter was pruned from the original version represented by the reading in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. Each opening line of the seven-stanza poem is taken from the first line of each of the seven stanzas of the hymn 'Ave maris stella'; the rest of each stanza in the *conductus* is newly composed. Neither a trope nor a paraphrase, 'Ave maris stella Ave' simply builds its structure on that of the hymn by borrowing each stanza's opening line.

Every stanza of the *conductus* also ends with a refrain, 'Descendit ut pluvia' which has nothing whatsoever to do with the hymn 'Ave maris stella, Dei'. It is however taken directly from the Bible, *Matthew*, VII 24–27:

24. Omnis ergo qui audit verba mea haec et facit ea adsimilabitur viro sapienti qui aedificavit domum suam supra petram
25. Et descendit pluvia et venerunt flumina et flaverunt venti et inruerunt in domum illam et non cecidit fundata enim erat super petram
26. Et omnis qui audit verba mea haec et non facit ea similis erit viro stulto qui aedificavit domum suam supra harenam
27. Et descendit pluvia et venerunt flumina et flaverunt venti et inruerunt in domum illam et cecidit et fuit ruina eius magna

The phrase is also found in one of the added stanzas to the *conductus*, 'Si Deus est animus', but similarly depends directly on biblical quotation.[4] 'Ave maris stella ave' therefore borrows from two liturgical sources: from a hymn for its opening lines and from the New Testament for its refrain.

A more striking example of the use of the hymn as the basis for a *conductus* poem is the monophonic 'Iam lucis orto sidere'. The opening stanza of the hymn is 'Iam lucis orto sidere, / Deum precemur supplices, /

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[2] Fols. 9v–10v. Cambridge, University Library, Ff. VI. 14, fol. 26v.

[3] Fol. 373v.

[4] 'Si Deus est animus' has already been discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. Of the four sources for the work, only Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 628) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 510 include the stanza with the lines 'O felix commercium / Descendit ut pluvia / Virginis in gremium / Qui creavit omnia'.

Ut in dirunis actibus / Nos servet a nocentibus'. This is reconfigured in the *conductus* by the use of a refrain.

Hymn	*Conductus*
Iam lucis orto sidere,	Iam lucis orto sidere,
	Fulget dies
Deum precemur supplices,	Deum precemur supplices
	Fulget dies ista
Ut in diurnis actibus	Ut in diurnis actibus
	Fulget dies
Nos servet a nocentibus.	Nos servet a nocentibus
	Fulget dies ista

The four lines of the hymn's first stanza are broken up into two stanzas in the *conductus* and are separated by the lines of the refrain 'Fulget dies / Fulget dies ista'. The practice of alternating lines of the hymn is so simple that the scribe of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 did not bother to write out the further stanzas because he assumed that the hymn would have been known to all.[5] Trying to assess exactly where the refrain originates is an exercise in futility; it is found in a wide range of texts from the twelfth century onwards, and the identification of any immediate source remains impossible.[6]

By contrast, 'Pater creator omnium' is a monophonic refrain song found only in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. Its five stanzas exploit hymns, the office versicle 'Deus in adiutorium' (II) and probably the *conductus* 'Dum medium silentium tenerent'. Its opening stanza is as follows:

Pater creator omnium,	Father, creator of all,
Deus in adiutorium,	God, in aid,
Pater creator omnium	Father, creator of all,
Mundo volens consulere,	Wanting to look after the world,
Deus in adiutorium	God came in haste
Nostrum venit intendere	To aid us.

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[5] The *explicit* is 'et sic de aliis versibus'; fol. 470v.

[6] Just to take a single example, the monophonic 'Exultet celi curia', found in Santiago de Compostela, Catedral Metropolitana, s.n. (hereafter *E-SC* s.n.), fols. 130r–131r, uses exactly the same 'Fulget dies' – 'Fulget dies ista' in all eight stanzas, but here the stanzas are of six lines each. A systematic account of the 'Fulget dies' tradition is found in Mary Channen Caldwell, 'Seeking Song: Locating the *Conductus* between Orality and Literacy', paper read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Rochester New York, 9–12 November 2017.

The refrain material is clearly taken from the versicle 'Deus in adiutorium me intende', while the opening line refers to either the Holy Trinity hymn or the Kyrie trope of the same name. The line 'Mundo volens consulere' is taken from a further hymn, 'Deus creator omnium'. The second stanza employs words that might come from an introit, an antiphon or a *conductus* that begins with the incipit 'Dum medium silentium tenerent'. The presence of line 5 of the *conductus* (which does not occur in either the introit or antiphon) in the fourth stanza of the poem rather suggests that the *conductus* is the source; but here, in the fourth stanza, the line is paired with none other than 'Iam lucis orto sidere'. Unfortunately, too little of the poem is used to identify whether it is the hymn or the *conductus* that begins with this incipit, but the presence of the second line of the *conductus* 'Luto carens et latere' in the final stanza, coupled to the likely use of the *conductus* 'Dum medium silentium tenerent', perhaps points slightly more strongly to the *conductus* than the hymn, although the rest of the poem exploits a range of further hymn lines: 'Veni redemptor gentium' (Stanza 3) is the first line of a well-known hymn, and there are others in the same poem. Whatever the exact origins of the poetic borrowings turn out to be (and it is unlikely that this conundrum will ever be fully solved), 'Pater creator omnium' well illustrates the kaleidoscopic range of intertextual sources referenced by the *conductus* repertory.[7]

One of the most widely transmitted liturgical texts in the *conductus* repertory is 'Ave Maria gratia plena'. It is unclear if the four *conducti* take their texts from the well-known prayer or from the Advent Offertory.[8] The presence of a setting of the word 'Amen' in one but in none of the other settings suggests a setting of the prayer and the absence of the word elsewhere suggests a setting of the offertory. The first setting of 'Ave Maria gratia plena' is unique in Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas 9 (hereafter *E-BUlh* 9), the second is found in all four of the 'central' Notre-Dame sources together with versions in Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S 231 and Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588. The third is unique in the

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[7] A first attempt at identifying the borrowed material in 'Pater creator omnium' is in Gordon A. Anderson (ed.), *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 11 vols., [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vols. 7 and 11 have appeared], 8:xxiv. A fuller identification and wide-ranging study is in Caldwell, 'A Medieval Patchwork Song: Poetry, Prayer and Music in a Thirteenth-Century *Conductus*', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 25 (2016) 139–165.

[8] The numbering system for the four *conducti* follows that used in the database, Gregorio Bevilacqua and Mark Everist, '*Cantum pulcriorem invenire*: Latin Poetry and Song, 1160–1330', 2012, http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk.

Table 6.1 Distribution of *caudae* in 'Ave Maria gratia plena' I–IV

I	*Av*e Maria, gratia plena, *Do*minus *te*cum: Benedicta tu in mulieri*bus*, et benedictus fructus ventris tu*i*.	5
II	*Av*e Maria, gratia ple*na*, Dominus te*cum*: Benedicta *tu* in mulieri*bus*, et benedictus fructus *ven*tris tu*i*.	7
III	*Av*e Maria, grati*a* plena, *Do*minus *te*cum: Benedicta tu in mu*lieribus*, et benedictus *fruc*tus *ven*tris tui. *A*men	9
IV	*Av*e Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris *tu*i.	2

St Victor manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 15139 (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 15139), and the last is unique in the English source Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 489 (hereafter *GB-Occ* 489). All are elaborate settings because, in general terms, such short prose texts as 'Ave Maria' elicit highly melismatic responses.[9] There seem to be few points of similarity between the four settings.[10] The exact placement of the *caudae* in the four differs radically. The St Victor setting includes the largest number of *caudae*, which is not explained solely by the additional setting of the 'Amen', and although the *cum littera* discourse in the *GB-Occ* 489 version is much more complex than elsewhere, this is perhaps why it sets only the first and penultimate syllables as extensive *caudae*. Comparing all four versions shows how little consistency there is in which syllables are selected for emphasis (Table 6.1).

The four settings have virtually nothing in common but the extensive *cauda* on the very first syllable. Although all also have a terminal melisma, this is on the last syllable in versions I and II but on the penultimate syllable in version IV. Version III – that in St Victor – does not use a melisma on the last word of the prayer/offertory ('tui') at all and places its terminal *cauda* on the first syllable of the word 'Amen'. But the differing choices across the rest of the four versions are quite extraordinary, with almost no two consecutive *caudae* appearing in any two settings. This does raise a number of questions about versions that were apparently prepared in the British Isles (IV), on the Iberian peninsula (I), probably in Paris relatively early in the history of the genre (II) and also in France but later in the thirteenth century (III). Did the idea of setting this text occur to

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[9] 'Ave Maria gratia plena' IV is discussed in Chapter 7 in relation to the complex of *conducti* around *'Stella serena'.

[10] The various settings are discussed in Chapter 1, especially in relation to the testimony of Anonymous IV.

four musicians separately? It would be a remarkable explanation, given the relatively few other examples of multiple settings of the same text, and of settings of liturgical texts, in the repertory. Or is there a type of genealogy involved, in which case why do the settings differ so much in their broad outlines? A possible explanation is that some sort of emulation is in play here with composers deliberately avoiding the compositional strategies of their predecessors or competitors. The evidence for resolving such a question remains opaque, however.

A polyphonic setting of 'Salve sancta parens enixa' deserves at least passing attention. 'Salve sancta parens enixa' is well known as an introit for Marian feasts, and a two-voice setting – without its psalm verse – is found in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486 (hereafter *E-Mn* 20486).[11] Although it is unique in the manuscript, and therefore suggests a provenance in Toledo at the end of the thirteenth century, the *conductus* setting exhibits the sophistication of a Parisian work. There are not only five *caudae* embedded in this short text as follows (in italics)

*Salv*e sancta parens / Enixa puerpera *Re*gem / Qui **ce***lum* terram*que* regit / In secula secu***lo***rum

but also two examples of the *punctus organi*, one placed conventionally at the end of the polyphony on the word 'secu**lo**rum', and the other, placed much less conventionally, on the word '**ce**lum' but before the *cauda*, thus doubly emphasising the word. It might be thought sufficient to dismiss this Spanish *unicum* as a peripheral or at least non-central phenomenon, but the very large concordance base between the two-part repertory in *E-Mn* 20486 and the central Notre-Dame sources might suggest a Parisian work all of whose other concordances have been lost.

One of the best-known liturgical texts set as a *conductus* is also one of the most elusive. 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' simply looks like a two-voice troped 'Gloria' but is more complex. It is found in three of the four Notre-Dame manuscripts (missing only from Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst., hereafter *D-W* 1099) but also in a second English manuscript, Cambridge, Jesus College, QB 1 (hereafter *GB-Cjec* QB 1).[12] In all cases, witnesses preserve both voices and all three stanzas, although the Cambridge version is fragmentary. The three stanzas of the poem treat the canonical text of the 'Gloria' differently.

[11] Fols. 100v–101r.

[12] *D-W* 628, fols. 104v–105v; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 92r–94r; *GB-Cjec* QB 1, fols. Cr–Dr; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 341r–342.

The opening stanza, given here alongside the text of the 'Gloria', gives some sense of how the work proceeds:

<u>Gloria in excelsis Deo,</u>	Gloria in excelsis Deo	Glory to God in the highest,
Redemptori meo,		To my redeemer,
Galileo sydereo		To the heavenly Galilean
Bine maiestatis;		Of double majesty
<u>Et in terra pax hominibus,</u>	Et in terra pax hominibus	And in earth peace to men,
Non tamen omnibus!		Not, however, to all men!
Ergo quibus? fidelibus		Then, to whom? to the faithful
<u>Bone voluntatis.</u>	Bone voluntatis	Of good will.
Hinc amor, Inde tremor,		Here we have love, there fear,
Inter utrumque premor.		And between both I am pressed.

The first three lines in the 'Gloria' text are separated first by three lines of the rest of the poem and then by two, and the presentation and interpretation of the stanza is largely unproblematic. The first four lines of the second stanza appear to paraphrase all the rest of the 'Gloria' text as indicated here underscored.

Alleluia, expositum		Alleluya, praise the
<u>Laudate</u> invisibilem	<u>Laudamus</u> te . . .	Invisible revealed
Patrem, filium, spiritum,	Deus <u>pater</u> omnipotens, Domine <u>fili</u> . . . Cum sancto <u>spiritu</u>	Father, Son, Spirit
Magnum, ruffum et humilem!		Great, ruddy, humble.

The equivalence is problematic, for, unlike in the first stanza, the words from the 'Gloria' are in varying cases and conjugated differently; furthermore the ellipses in the 'Gloria' text are enormous, jumping, it seems, over most of the second half of the text. The third stanza simply complicates the picture because it invokes the 'Gloria patri'.

Ergo sit <u>gloria</u>	<u>Gloria</u>	Therefore, let glory be
<u>Patri et filio</u>	<u>Patri, et Filio,</u>	To the father and to the son.

This apparent inconsistency is explicable by reference to the concept of the greater and lesser doxologies. The *conductus* 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' makes use of the greater doxology in its first two stanzas and of the lesser doxology in the third.

The music is similarly inconsistent in that it makes no attempt to respond to even the simplest quotation of the either of the two doxologies. For example, the first stanza assigns lengthy *caudae* on the first syllable of the first and the last syllable of the last words 'Gloria' and 'tremor', together with a *punctus organi* at the end of the stanza. In addition, there is a *cauda* on the word 'Ergo' at the beginning of line 7. While this gives an emphasis to the rhetorical question whose answer dominates the second half of the stanza, it has nothing to do whatsoever with the quotation of the 'Gloria' text that is of such importance – apparently – for the construction of the poem set by the *conductus*.

However problematic the poetry and music of 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' might appear, it provides a context for three *conducti* that set parts of the liturgical texts: 'Sursum corda elevate', 'Alma redemptoris mater' and 'Pater noster qui es in celis'.

'Alma redemptoris mater' is a two-voice setting of Hermannus Contractus's Marian antiphon, found in two sources that preserve the piece almost identically.[13] 'Pater noster qui es in celis' is a three-voice *conductus* that is transmitted in both three- and two-voice versions. It is found in three parts in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and in a fragmentary form in Erfurt, Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek, Bereich Sondersammlungen, Fragm.lat.VI.41.[14] It is also preserved in a two-voice version (the two lowest voices of the three-voice version) in four other sources including the English manuscript London, Lambeth Palace, 752.[15] Both *conducti* are complete settings of liturgical items: a Marian antiphon and the Lord's Prayer which articulate the text with extended *caudae* to emphasise key lexical moments or structural parallelisms. Thus, in 'Pater noster qui es in celis', 'in celo / et in terra' is furnished with extensive *caudae* on the second syllables of 'ce*lo*' and 'ter*ra*' which elegantly parallels 'Heaven' and 'Earth'. With such a parallel established, the similar – but not so obvious – parallel between 'debita nostra' and 'in temptationem' begins to look much more deliberate, as it associates the imprecations to 'Forgive us our trespasses' with 'Lead us not into temptation' with similarly long *caudae*. It also aligns 'Our Father who

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[13] *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 329r–330r; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 99r–100r.

[14] Fols. 215r–216r; fols. Dr–Dv.

[15] Fol. Bv. Other witnesses are *D-W* 1099, fols. 112v–114v; *D-W* 628, fols. 113v–114r; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 116r–117v.

art in Heaven' and 'Lead us not into temptation' by the use of the *punctus organi*, which similarly binds the two pairs of *caudae*: simple, but elegant. 'Alma redemptoris mater' is similarly ambitious in its use of extended *caudae*, but these seem to have less to do with the illustration of lexical significance and more to do with the articulation of syntactic unit. In the first three lines of the poetry, for example, the beginning of every syntactic unit is embellished with a *cauda*, and this is the only use to which they are put. The only exception is the very last *cauda* on the syllable 'mis*e*rere'. 'Pater noster qui es in celis' and 'Alma redemptoris mater' are relatively straightforward examples of sophisticated and ambitious two-voice and three-voice *conducti cum caudis* in that they represent rare settings of an entire liturgical text.

'Pater noster qui es in celis' and 'Alma redemptoris mater' also hint at a context for a work whose profile is much less clear. 'Sursum corda elevate' is a two-voice *conductus* transmitted in all major sources, one of the manuscripts that make up the so-called Worcester Fragments and fragmentarily – with what is almost certainly a *triplum* added later – in the Metz Fragments (Metz, Médiathèque, 732 bis/20, hereafter *F-ME* 732bis/20).[16] It consists of six stanzas whose music is mostly through composed. Its text quotes and paraphrases large parts of the ordinary of the Mass as can be seen in Table 6.2.

Liturgical quotation begins with the dialogue that introduces the preface, which reads as follows with the key referents underscored and corresponds to lines one and three of the first stanza:

Per omnia secula seculorum
℟ Amen
℣ Dominus vobiscum
℟ Et cum spiritu tuo
℣ Sursum corda
℟ Habemus ad Dominum
℣ Gratias agimus Domino Deo nostro
℟ Dignum et justum est

The *conductus* text then bypasses the preface, and continues in stanzas three and four by quoting the three acclamations 'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus' and the final line of the 'Sanctus': 'Hosanna in (ex)celsis'. The

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[16] *D-W* 628, fols. 107v–110v; *D-W* 628, fols. 172r–173v; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 94r–96v; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 342v–344r; Worcester, Cathedral Chapter Library, Add. 68, fol. 4v; *F-ME* 732 bis/20, fol. 1r. For the significance of the added third part of 'Sursam corda elevate' in the latter source, see chapter 9. The work is also preserved in *E-Bulh* 9, fols. 150v–151v and in New York, Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, N-66, fol. Ar.

Table 6.2 Analysis of poetry of 'Sursum corda elevate' and sources

Sursum corda elevate;	8p	a	Lift up your hearts;
Dulci corda resonate:	8p	a	Resound with sweet string:
Habemus Dominum;	6pp	b	'We lift them up to the Lord.'
Non discordet	4p	c	Let not the voice discord
Vox a corde,	4p	a	With the heart,
Sed concordet	4p	c	But let the lyre concord
Lira corde	4p	a	With the string
Ut vitis pampino.	6pp	d	As a vine with its tendril.
Argumentum sine instantia,	10pp	a	It is a gentle subject
Documentis sine fallatia,	10pp	a	In lessons without deceit,
Cantu prosa	4p	a	In a texted song
Instrumentis	4p	b	With instruments
Dignis melodia,	6pp	a	Worthy of the melody;
Lete mentis	4p	b	The voice's gloss
Exponit gaudia	6pp	a	Expounds joys
Vocis glosa.	4p	a	Of a happy soul.
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus cantus	8p	a	The Sanctus is the song
Est sanctorum angelorum	8p	b	Of the holy angels
Teste Ysaya.	6pp	c	On Isaiah's testimony.
Patet, quantus	4p	a	It is manifest how great
Est rex tantus,	4p	a	Is the king
Cui tantorum	4p	b	Whom the harmony
Beatorum	4p	b	Of all the blessed
Servit armonia;	6pp	c	Saints extols.
Celi symphonia nos hortatur,	10p	a	The symphony of heaven urges us
ut canamus	4p	b	To sing
Et letatur,	4p	a	And to rejoice;
Dum cantamus,	4p	b	While we sing,
Angelorum chelis	6p	c	The angels' lute
Modulatur,	4p	a	Is set atune,
Dum clamamus:	4p	b	While we cry:
Osanna in celis!	6p	c	Osanna in heaven!l
Ergo agnus veri Dei,	8p	a	Therefore, Lamb of the true God,
Magne magnus dator spei,	8p	a	Great giver of mighty faith,
Qui tollis peccata,	6p	b	Who bearest away sins,
Qui peccata	4p	b	Who the sins
Mundi tollis,	4p	c	Of the world dost bear away,
Lege lata,	4p	b	With the Law repealed,
Penas mollis	4p	c	Lighten our punishment
Et emendas fata.	6p	b	And emend our destiny.

(*cont.*)

Table 6.2 (*cont.*)

Miserere miserator,	8p	a	Take pity, pitying one,
Verus vere legis lator	8p	a	True law-giver of the true law,
Leva pacis facem;	6p	b	Lift up the torch of peace;
Miserator	4p	a	O pitying one,
Miserere,	4p	c	Have mercy;
Legis lator	4p	a	True giver
Verus vere	4p	c	Of the true law
Dona nobis pacem.	6p	b	Grant us thy peace.

final two stanzas of the *conductus* jump over the Canon of the Mass and the 'Pater noster' and quote almost all of the words of the 'Agnus Dei', although without the full set of repetitions. Rhymes and end accents are configured carefully to incorporate the prose of the liturgical items: the three acclamations of 'Sanctus' are supplemented at the beginning of stanza three to generate an eight-syllable line, and in the same way the incipit of the 'Agnus' is assimilated into the eight-syllable line 'Ergo agnus veri Dei' at the beginning of Stanza 5. This is a strange passage in which the liturgical line 'Qui tollis peccata mundi' is reworked twice in the same stanza: 'Ergo agnus veri Dei / Magne magnus dator spei / Qui tollis peccata' and 'Qui peccata / Mundi tollis'.

In summary, then, the *conductus* 'Sursum corda elevate' makes reference to the opening dialogue before the preface, but not to the preface itself, then paraphrases the 'Sanctus', ignores the Canon of the Mass, the following prayer, the 'Pater noster' and its following dialogue and concludes with a paraphrase of the 'Agnus Dei'. It is quite unlike any other *conductus* that depends, in whole or in part, on liturgical texts. But like 'Pater noster qui es in celis' and 'Alma redemptoris mater', it is closely tied to the liturgy, even if a liturgical function for 'Sursum corda elevate' would involve the performance of stanzas 1 and 2, a gap, stanzas 3 and 4, another gap, and 5 and 6. And whether the paraphrases of the 'Sanctus' and 'Agnus' would be sufficient for liturgical propriety remains an open question. It goes without saying that the gap between stanzas 4 (the 'Sanctus' paraphrase) and 5 (the 'Agnus' paraphrase) invites filling with one of the only other similar pieces in the repertory, the 'Pater noster' just discussed.

Although some aspects of the musical structure of 'Sursum corda elevate' might argue against such a liturgical performance, their analysis is a key part of our understanding of the work. Stanzas 1, 3 and 5 exhibit the same musical phenomena. In all three stanzas, the tenor to the polyphonic setting of the first three lines of the text (twenty-two syllables, 8 + 8 + 6)

is repeated for the last five lines of the poem (again twenty-two syllables, $4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 6$). These musical parallelisms extend across both *cum littera* and *sine littera* sections of the work (Example 6.1 is a transcription of the first stanza),

Worth indicating in passing are the possibly unmeasured melismas at the end of the lines 'Dulci corde resonate' and 'Lira corde'. They occur in the middle of a *cum littera* section and may well be read as unmeasured or measured.[17] The effect of this practice is to settle in advance where the *caudae* in each stanza have to be placed: placing a *cauda* on the final syllable of 'Domi*num*' entails the presence of one on 'pampi*no*', and the same is true for stanzas three and five, although – because the piece is through composed – the music and the placement of the *caudae* are different. The overriding effect of this practice is to link stanzas 1, 3 and 5 together with an identical musical practice that might vitiate the division of the piece into its first four and last two stanzas. However, there is one surviving source, *E-BUlh* 9 that preserves a two-voice setting of stanzas five and six only – effectively something quite close to an 'Agnus' trope, where the parallel musical practices alluded to here are consequently of little importance.[18]

The Liturgy: Music

Searching for examples of musical borrowing from the liturgy in the *conductus* is a much less fruitful activity than the search for poetic correspondences. Two convincing examples only survive of a *conductus* apparently being based on plainsong. Other examples seem to bring musical borrowings from the liturgy into alignment with practices familiar from *clausula* and motet, although they pose serious challenges of identification and interpretation. The two-voice *conductus* 'Adiuva nos Deus' is unique in

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[17] They are placed over two statements of the same tenor segment – between the sixteenth and seventeenth syllables of the twenty-two-syllable structure. There are also some points in Example 6.1 where the normal principle of one note or ligature is violated. See especially both voices on the words 'Non discordet' where there are two identical figures (*simplex g* followed by a two-note ligature *a-b*) of two elements over a single syllable. The transmission in *D-W* 628 elides the two elements in the *duplum* over the syllable '*dis*cordat' into a single three-note ligature, therefore eliminating the violation of the principle. Others, however, remain in all sources.

[18] *F-ME* 732 bis/20 also preserves just the last two stanzas, but this is the result of fragmentary preservation rather than of deliberate planning.

Example 6.1 Edition of first stanza of 'Sursum corda elevate'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 342v-342r

Example 6.1 (*cont.*)

D-W 628, and its prose text exploits no less than seven *caudae* as its text shows (*caudae* are in italics):

*Ad*iuva nos, Deus salutaris nos*ter, et prop*ter gloriam nominis *tu*i libe*ra* ' nos; Et propitius esto peccatis nost*ris* propter nomen tuum, Domine.

It is an ambitious work, and in some respects overlaps with the *conducti* discussed in the previous section since its text is taken either directly from Psalm 78, verse 9, which it quotes directly – or from the second verse of the tract 'Domine non secundum'. This is largely unproblematic: a setting of a single psalm verse is the more likely origin of the poem, but a source in the tract text cannot be ruled out. However, Manfred Bukofzer argued that the *cauda* on the third syllable of the work 'Libera' is based musically on the melisma 'Liberati' in the gradual 'Audi filia'.[19] This would be interesting because the 'Liberati' melisma is also used for a *clausula* and the motet (96) 'Liberator libera' – 'Libera' (M 7), and the tenor of the *cauda* in the *conductus* appears in Bukofzer's example to be in the same single notes as the *clausula* and the motet. However, in the example, the identity that Bukofzer cited between the two works is difficult to sustain, and even he remarked: 'It must be admitted that the quoted section of the tenor is not very characteristic in itself. The melodic correspondence is quite possibly fortuitous'.[20] Despite Bukofzer's attempt to align this piece with other *conducti* that seemed to have something to do with the *clausula*, its real intertextual importance lies much more in its setting of the Psalm/Tract text and the resulting question it raises about the work's function.

A more convincing example is the *conductus*, 'O vera o pia', a three-voice piece found in *I-Fl* Plut 29.1,[21] which survives in a two-voice version in London, British Library, Add. 27630 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Add. 27630)[22] and in various monophonic versions.[23] The music of its tenor is based on the offertory chant, 'Recordare virgo mater', but apparently filtered through a polyphonic trope of the same offertory chant that survives in *D-W* 628; in all versions of the *conductus* except that in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, the piece is copied alongside offertory verses. The offertory itself ends with a melisma on the words 'a nobis' (the rest of the chant is mostly syllabic or neumatic);

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[19] Manfred Bukofzer, 'Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula', *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953) 72–74.

[20] Ibid., 74. Bukofzer understates the case: the two tenors share seven notes, but this involves three pitches only. Similar correspondences are found in only two out of the eleven presented in Bukofzer's example.

[21] Fol. 242v.   [22] Fols. 36v–37v.

[23] Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Bibliothek, 588m, fol. 226r; Abbeville, Bibliothèque municipale, 7, fol. 203v; Dublin, Trinity College, L.1.12, fol. 3v.

Example 6.2 Comparison of

A: opening of *conductus* 'O vera o pia'; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 242v

B: opening of offertory trope 'Ab hac famila'; *D-W* 628, fol. 209v

C: final melisma of offertory 'Recordare, virgo mater'; *Liber usualis missae et officii pro dominicis et festis I. vel II. Classis cum cantu gregoriano ex editione vaticana adamussim excerpto et rhythmicis signis in subsidum cantorum a Solesmensibus monachis diligenter ornato* (Rome and Tournai: Desclée, 1920), 1442

in the troped polyphonic setting, two things happen: each of the musical phrases is repeated, and a new troped text is furnished to this music. This duplicate melody in turn forms the basis of the tenor of the three-voice *conductus*. The identification of the melodic correspondences is as secure as can be, given the state of the material (Example 6.2).[24]

The filial relationship of plainsong to troped polyphonic offertory to *conductus* is further reinforced by the presence of the lower two voices of the *conductus* copied after the concluding trope to 'Recordare virgo

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[24] Gordon A. Anderson, 'A Troped Offertorium Conductus of the Thirteenth Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (1971) 96–100. Anderson's comparison omits the plainsong and imparts an erroneous mode two reading to the *conductus* (ibid., 97).

mater', the words 'Ab hac familia' in the manuscript *GB-Lbl* Add. 27630, thus cementing the relationship between the two compositions in a codicologically conclusive way.

If the case of 'Adiuva nos Deus' is one where there are real doubts about the identification of the supposed borrowings, 'O vera o pia' not only convinces in terms of its appropriation of plainsong but also restricts its borrowing to the liturgy – admittedly via the intermediary of a polyphonic trope – in a way that is relatively rare. For example, the *conductus* 'Si membrana esset celum' is much more closely tied up with the world of *clausula* and motet. The piece is problematic in the extreme: it is found untexted as a later addition in three voices in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1,[25] and in a further three-voice version, texted but fragmentary, in Darmstadt, Universitäts– und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, 3471 (hereafter *D-DS* 3471);[26] fortunately, there is a version of the text alone that presents all the poetry.[27] All three transmissions are required to assemble a workable edition of the *conductus* that permits an identification of the borrowing, which has been known since the 1930s.

The second *cauda* of 'Si membrana esset celum' shares the music of its tenor with a troped Kyrie 'Kyrie celum creans', whose only source is London, British Library, Egerton 274 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274).[28] The identification – with the exception of the first note and some ornamentation, which may indicate nothing more than that the reading in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274 was not the exact source for the tenor – is entirely secure. But this tenor, in not only the same rhythmicisation but largely the same notation, also forms the lowest part in a bilingual motet copied into the first appendix of the seventh fascicle of Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, H 196 (hereafter *F-MOf* H 196): (620) 'Donnez ma dame ai mon coeur tresdont' – (621) 'Adies sunt ces sades brunetes' – 'Kyrie caelum' (Kyrie VI).[29] None of the upper voices in the motet correspond to any in the *conductus*. Were it not for the fact that both tenors carry the same rhythmic profile, the simplest explanation would be that both *conductus* and motet borrowed the plainsong independently; one could then ask questions about the circulation of the plainsong and why two very different sorts of work might depend on it. But the rhythm of the two tenors is identical, and the tenor of the motet also carries the *incipit* 'Kyrie caelum', suggesting that one was copied from

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[25] Fols. 254r–254v.   [26] Fols. 5r–5v.

[27] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 3639, fols. 216r–216v.

[28] Fol. 92r.   [29] Fols. 335r–336r.

Example 6.3 Comparison of
A: opening of kyrie trope 'Kyrie celum creans'; *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274, fol. 92r
B: beginning of tenor of second melisma to '[Si membrana esset celum]'; *I-Fl* Plut.
29.1, fols 254r-254v; *D-DS* 3471, fol. 5v (the two versions are identical).
C: opening of tenor of 'Donnez ma dame ai mon coeur tresdont' – 'Adies sunt ces sades
brunetes' – 'Kyrie caelum'; *F-MOf* H 196, fol. 335r-335v

the other. Rokseth was careful not to assign priority, but Bukofzer went as far as to claim that 'The melisma of the conductus is in effect a clausula found imbedded [sic] in a conductus'.[30] This risks exaggeration: the two works share the same tenor in the same rhythmicisation; one uses it as the basis of a motet – for which there is no source-*clausula* nor indeed any concordances – and the other uses it as the basis for the *cauda* in a *conductus* in a way – making use of a borrowing – that is atypical for the genre. The three versions of the tenor – the *conductus* tenor, the tenor of (620) 'Donnez ma dame ai mon coeur tresdont' – (621) 'Adies sunt ces sades brunetes' – 'Kyrie caelum' (Kyrie VI) and the troped Kyrie are given in Example 6.3.

The reason for disputing Bukofzer's claims about the importance of this borrowing – which he takes as the starting point for a discussion of relationships between *conductus* and *clausula* – is the chronology and notation of the surviving material. This places the sharing at some remove from the early 1200s where one might expect to see perhaps the same musicians moving from one genre to another and perhaps using the same material. The chronology of the sources is problematic. Although little is known about the 'Parisian' group of compositions in *D-DS* 3471 where 'Si membrana esset celum' is found, the chronology of the seventh fascicle of

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[30] Bukofzer, 'Interrelations', 76.

F-MOf H 196 and its appendices is better understood. It seems likely that (620) 'Donnez ma dame ai mon coeur tresdont' – (621) 'Adies sunt ces sades brunetes' – 'Kyrie caelum' (Kyrie VI) was copied after the seventh fascicle was prepared in the 1290s and before or perhaps at the same time as the copying of the eighth fascicle in the second decade of the fourteenth century. There is little evidence to date the copying of 'Si membrana esset celum' as an afterthought to the sixth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1; the main part of the manuscript was complete between 1245 and 1255, but exactly how much later 'Si membrana esset celum' was copied depends on an analysis of the ligatures both in the tenor and in the upper voices. Ligatures in both versions of the *conductus* and in the tenor of the motet are strictly Franconian and therefore unlikely to have been notated before *c*1280 at the earliest. Not only, then, is there good reason for arguing with Bukofzer's association of *conductus* and *clausula* in this instance, but also it is entirely possible that the act of borrowing the Kyrie trope and the reworking of its polyphony (supported by a late date also for *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274) might have happened as late as *c*1300. Finally, the fact that the version in *D-DS* 3471 is also copied in a fully mensural notation argues for a date in the last third of the thirteenth century at the earliest. In short, Bukofzer was quite right to point to the intertextual relationships between the Kyrie trope, the untexted *conductus* and the motet, as Rokseth had already done,[31] but his alignment of this set of relationships with the compositional practice of the *conductus* in general was overly optimistic and ultimately misleading.

The *Conductus* and the 'Benedicamus Domino'

The most extensive, and best-documented, engagement of the *conductus* repertory with the liturgy lies in its use of the text and music of the versicle 'Benedicamus Domino'. This relationship has already been shown to be important for the function of parts of the repertory, but this is the opportunity to investigate the technical – both poetic and musical – devices twelfth- and thirteenth-century composers employed as they assimilated the versicle into a newly composed genre.[32] There are around

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[31] Yvonne Rokseth (ed.), *Polyphonies du treizième siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935–39) 4:188.

[32] For a discussion of the degree to which the function of the *conductus* as a whole may be allied with the 'Benedicamus Domino', see Chapter 2.

Table 6.3 The *conductus* and
the 'Benedicamus Domino'

Amor patris et filii
Ave virgo virginum (I)
Beatis nos adhibe
Brevi carne deitas
Columbe simplicitas
Deduc Syon uberrimas
Deus creator omnium
Deus in adiutorium (II)
*Gaude virgo virginum (A)
Gloria sit soli Deo
Iherusalem accipitur
*Ista dies celebrari
Leniter ex merito
*Naturas Deus regulis
O felix Bituria
O lilium convallium
O totius Asie glorie
Patrem parit filia
Regis cuius potentia
Relegata vetustate
Serena virginum

twenty surviving *conducti* that involve the use of text, music or both of
the 'Benedicamus Domino' (Table 6.3).

With a single exception, 'Patrem parit filia', all the pieces that make
use of this material are polyphonic in at least one – and probably the
original – version, with monophonic versions being the result of merely
removing polyphonic upper voices and reworking.[33] This is a striking
proportion when the overall distribution of the genre is considered: the
balance between monophonic and polyphonic *conducti* is approximately
4:3, whereas that proportion when the use of the 'Benedicamus Domino'
is taken into account is 1:21. Without doubt, the engagement with the

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[33] There are ten sources for the refrain song 'Patrem parit filia', which break down into four
families characterised by different combinations of stanzas (the music is the same). Three of
the four families (the exception is represented by the single source Burgdorf, Stadtbibliothek,
B.XI.8, fols. 156r–156v) end with the stanza 'Ergo nostra contio / Omni plena gaudio /
Benedicat Domino'. The earliest versions appear to be 'Patrem parit filia' (I) found in Sens,
Bibliothèque municipale, 46, fol. 6r and London, British Library, Egerton 2615(1),
fols. 65v–66r, the Sens and Beauvais New Year Offices, respectively.

'Benedicamus Domino' was specifically involved with the creation of the polyphonic *conductus*.

The poetic quotation of the words 'Benedicamus Domino' necessarily defines this particular process in general terms and therefore the size of the *corpus*. However, there are a number of ways in which and degrees to which the versicle text may be integrated into the text of the *conductus*. There is always a question of whether the 'Benedicamus Domino' is an addition to a pre-existing *conductus* or forms part of a *conductus* in such a way as to make its removal in other sources impossible. For an example of the first case, the *conductus* 'O lilium convallium' shows how 'Benedicamus Domino' was almost certainly added later. The piece survives in three voices in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and in Toledo, Catedral, Archivo y Biblioteca Capítulares, 9828;[34] it is also found in two voices in Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. LVI and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, H.B.I.Asc.95 (hereafter *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95).[35] The musical and poetic text of these three versions is effectively the same, although the fragmentary reading in *E-Tc* 9828 stops before the end, so it is impossible to say whether it shares the characteristics about to be discussed.

In the so-called Stuttgart *Cantionale*, *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95, a two-part version (notated successively) of 'O lilium convallium' is the only one to conclude its text with the Benedicamus versicle. This is later and geographically distant to the remaining sources for the work. The poetry, as well as the distribution of the versicle in the sources, suggest that it is an addition.[36]

O lilium convallium.	O lily of the valley.	8ppa
Flos virginum; Stirps regia;	Flower of virgins. Royal stem;	8ppb
Spes omnium fidelium	Hope of all people who are faithful.	8ppa
Lux luminum. O filia;	Light of lights. O daughter;	8ppb
Eve matri contraria.	How opposite to the mother Eve.	8ppb
A ve matris de gratia	From woe by a mother's grace	8ppb
Nos redimens per filium.	Redeeming us through thy son.	8ppa
Ave, ave, remedium	Hail! Hail! a remedy	8ppa
Nos eximens miseria.	Releasing us from our wretched condition.	8ppb
[Benedicamus Domino]	[Let us bless the Lord]	[8ppc]

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34 Fols. 241r and 237v–238v.   35 Fols. 252r–252v and 78r.

36 The layout of the poetry in Anderson (ed.), *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, 2:xxii distorts its structure, which is corrected here.

The poem makes use of proparoxytonic octosyllables throughout, and this matches well with the first line of the versicle 'Benedicamus Domino'. On the other hand, the inclusion of the versicle introduces an entirely foreign rhyme into the poem. Even this could be argued both ways: suggesting that the original inclusion of 'Benedicamus Domino' represents a conscious effort to close the piece with an orphan rhyme or, perhaps more simply, the lack of any preparation for the '-o' rhyme suggests that the versicle is an addition. More importantly, perhaps, all other sources – central, peripheral, contemporary and later – do not include the versicle and conclude with the line 'Nos eximens miseria' which strongly points to an addition of the verse unique to the Stuttgart *Cantionale*. Furthermore, the sense of the stanza is complete without the versicle. This repurposing of 'O lilium convallium' argues – despite the presence of an archaic successive notation in *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95 – against the idea that the Notre-Dame sources might preserve a reworking of an original that closed with the words 'Benedicamus Domino'.[37]

A slightly clearer case is the *unicum* 'Gloria sit soli Deo', a two-voice *conductus* found only in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[38] Its six-line poem consists almost entirely of regular octosyllables; all are proparoxytones except the first which is a paroxytone. The rhyme scheme is AABBAA, and the last line 'Benedicamus Domino' fits perfectly with the rest of the poem and was therefore probably part of the original conception. By contrast, another *unicum* found just a page or so earlier in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, 'Brevi carne deitas', shows all the signs of the versicle having been added to the end of an already complete work.[39] The line before the versicle ends with the word 'numinis', which is set to an elaborate *cauda* and a *punctus organi*; in addition to these obviously cadential features, the versicle is not required by the sense of the poem. Unfortunately, the work is only found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, so that it is impossible to judge whether other sources handled the end of the work differently.[40]

In general, however, it is difficult to engage as closely with the question of the degree of separability of the versicle as is possible in 'O lilium convallium' or 'Gloria sit soli Deo' because so many of the poems that end

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[37] Sarah Fuller, 'Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries' (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1969) 25.

[38] Fols. 362v–363r.   [39] Fols. 361r–361v.

[40] Robert Falck ('The Structure of the Polyphonic and Monophonic Conductus Repertories: A Study of Source Concordances and their Relation to the Chronology and Provenance of Musical Styles' [PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1970], published as *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 [Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981] 188) also believes that the 'Benedicamus Domino' is added but offers no evidence.

with the 'Benedicamus Domino' versicle are so irregular. On the other hand, even in an irregular stanza, it is possible to make some sense of the presence of the 'Bendicamus Domino'. Here is the fourth and final stanza of *'Gaude virgo virginum' (A), a melismatic through-composed *conductus* of four irregular stanzas:

In Egypto constituti,	8	a	p	Long languishing in Egypt,
Te ducente sumus tuti,	8	a	p	With thee as leader, we are safe,
Ut saluti,	4	a	p	So that saved,
Restituti,	4	a	p	Restored,
Morbo sani pristino,	7	b	pp	And cured of our former sickness,
Benedicamus	8	b	pp	Let us bless the Lord!
Domino.				

Although the stanza is highly irregular, its syntax makes explicit the integral role that the versicle plays in the sense of the stanza. There is no question here of any possible omission of the closing versicle and its music. All four versions agree,[41] and the poem invites the *cauda* on 'Benedicamus Domino' by ending the preceding line 'Morbo sani pristino' syllabically and prompting the concluding *cauda*.

If there are various ways in which the 'Benedicamus Domino' versicle text is used in the *conductus*, its musical borrowings are much more circumscribed. Many musical intertexts are the result of an overlap with the *clausula* and motet repertory, but a good number of 'Benedicamus Domino' sources and *conducti* are found in the rather late collection of polyphony in *F-Pn* lat. 15139, which probably represents a significantly later tradition than the rest of the repertory. 'Deus creator omnium' is a single example of a *conductus* whose 'Benedicamus Domino' *cauda* is derived from a 'Benedicamus Domino' chant, apparently without any intervening polyphonic stage. It is a two-voice *conductus* found in three of the four main 'Notre-Dame' sources, and is a through-composed version of three identically structured stanzas at the end of which the 'Benedicamus Domino' versicle fits seamlessly.[42] All three sources preserve the 'Benedicamus Domino' *cauda*, and the version in *D-W* 628 also includes a *punctus organi* at the end. The tenor of the 'Benedicamus Domino' *cauda* is taken directly from the first of the plainsong 'Benedicamus Domino' chants. Example 6.4 gives the last few lines of the poem in the version from *D-W* 628.

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[41] *D-W* 1099, fols. 99r–101v; *D-W* 628, fols. 136v–137v; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 37r–38r; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 282v–283v.

[42] *D-W* 628, fols. 131v–132v; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 32v–35r; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 266r–267v.

Example 6.4 End of 'Deus creator omnium' with plainsong indicated; *D-W* 628, fol. 132v

Example 6.4 (*cont.*)

The example also gives the original 'Benedicamus Domino' chant underneath the tenor derived from it.[43] The first thing to observe is that, as in the case with many polyphonic 'Benedicamus Domino' settings, the first word is set syllabically, *cum littera*, while the second word of the versicle 'Domino' is set to a *cauda*. Furthermore, the first five notes of the tenor are repeated with a different rhythm to the rest (marked A in the example). Here, then, the *cauda* begins with an *ordo* of a three-note ligature followed by two single notes, stops and restarts with *ordines* of a three-note ligature alone. This is unique in the repertory of polyphonic 'Benedicamus Domino' settings in the Notre-Dame manuscripts, and Bukofzer may well have been wrong when he suggested that 'it seems as though the composer had wavered before he decided to conclude his cauda with a strict clausula', largely because he thought that a ligature of three notes followed by two single notes constituted 'an irregular pattern'.[44] More likely – and this would have had to have been in the exemplar for the surviving manuscripts – the composer began his *clausula* with one *ordo* and then changed his mind without deleting his first thoughts. This hesitation may well be the consequence of an *embarras de richesses* rather than inexperience because the *cauda* sustains a sophisticated overlap between tenor and duplum throughout most of its duration.[45]

Although based on the plainsong 'Benedicamus Domino', the final *cauda* of 'Deus creator omnium' – on the word 'Domino' – has no relation to any known *clausula* on the melisma. There is, however, at least one surviving *clausula* that uses exactly the same rhythmic organisation of the tenor. A good example is the freestanding *clausula* copied among a group of similar compositions together with the two-voice 'Benedicamus Domino' settings in the third fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[46] This observation invites the question of exactly what intertextual source the composer of 'Deus creator omnium' was using. The arrival of both the *clausula* and the *conductus* in the same manuscript could well be nothing more than accidental, and both composers could well have arrived at a division of the chant into *ordines* of three ligatures and two single notes independently. Furthermore, the repetition of the first five pitches is found only in the

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[43] See Barbara Marian Barclay, 'The Medieval Repertory of Untroped Polyphonic Benedicamus Dominos' (PhD diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1977) 64, note 32.

[44] Bukofzer, 'Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula', 76–77.

[45] Bukofzer therefore surely overstates the case when he describes 'Deus creator omnium' as a work that 'incorporates a liturgical organum which in turn contains a clausula' (ibid., 77).

[46] Fol. 88v.

conductus cauda and not in the freestanding 'Domino' *clausula* nor in any of the plainsong sources assembled by Barclay.

So there is some doubt about the intertextual technology in this instance: whether the composer of 'Deus creator omnium' borrowed the plainsong as he found it in his service book or whether he borrowed the rhythmicised version known from such polyphonic settings as the one described earlier. 'Deus creator omnium' is unique but provides a link between *conducti* concluding with the 'Benedicamus Domino' versicle that simply cite its text and those that are involved in the more complex world of *clausula* and motet.

An intriguing, but less significant, set of relationships exist between 'Benedicamus Domino' settings and the *conducti* in *F-Pn* lat. 15139. Its two-voice and three-voice *conducti* have been the subject of debates about chronology, and about the priority of works shared between the manuscript and the main Notre-Dame sources. Rokseth argued that the manuscript was a mid-thirteenth-century collection, the texts of whose *unica* reflected concerns with the Sixth Crusade, while Falck pointed to the possibility of the Fourth Crusade as a context and argued that works shared with, for example, *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 found their earliest versions in *F-Pn* lat. 15139.[47] His conclusions were couched in very tentative terms, as befitting some very ambiguous evidence. Leaving aside the question of the *contrafacta* in *F-Pn* lat. 15139 for the moment, there are four *conducti* in the manuscript that involve the 'Benedicamus Domino' versicle that may offer a further way in to the discussion of this collection.

'O totius Asie glorie'
'O felix Bituria'
'Deduc Syon uberrimas'
'Iherusalem accipitur'

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[47] Yvonne Rokseth, 'Le counterpoint double vers 1248', *Mélanges de musicologie offerts à M. Lionel de la Laurencie*, no ed., Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie 2:3–4 (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1933) 5–13; Robert Falck, 'New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23 (1970) 315–326; see also the uncommitted position in Jurg Stenzl, 'Zu den Conducten in *StV* (fast eine Liebesgeschichte)', *Miscellanea musicae: Rudolf Flotzinger zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Werner Jauk et al., Musicologica austriaca 18 (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1999) 315–331; Stenzl, 'Experimentalstudio Notre-Dame-Conductus', *Musikwissenschaft-Musikpraxis: Festschrift für Horst-Peter Hesse*, ed. Kai Bachmann and Wolfgang Thies, Salzburger Akademische Beiträge 43 (Anif: Müller-Speiser, 2000) 158–172.

Of this group, the two-voice 'O totius Asie glorie' is the least problematic.[48] Like 'Gloria sit soli Deo', discussed earlier, it simply makes use of the text of the 'Benedicamus Domino' versicle at the end of the text, to which it is syntactically inseparable. It achieves this by slight modification to the versicle text to make it rhyme with the preceding line: 'Protector virginum / Benedicamus dominum' (the poem is highly irregular in structure otherwise).

The three-voice 'O felix Bituria' is found in *D-W* 628 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 in slightly differing formats.[49] In both sources, stanzas 1, 3 and 5 are given new music, whereas stanzas 2 and 4 are, in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, copied as a *residuum* and in *D-W* 628 they are simply omitted. Both versions end with an extended *cauda* on the last word of the final line 'Cursu curram is*to*'. This is largely uncontentious and unremarkable. All three voices of this final *cauda* however also appear as the final *cauda* in a 'Benedicamus Domino' setting in *F-Pn* lat. 15139.[50] Despite Falck's claims to the contrary, the most logical explanation is that the *F-Pn* lat. 15139 'Benedicamus Domino' setting is reappropriation of the *cauda* from the older *conductus*.[51]

Two *conducti*, 'Iherusalem acciptur' and 'Deduc Syon uberrimas', engage with the music of 'Benedicamus Domino' settings in ways that are almost self-referential: in both cases, the *conductus* and the 'Benedicamus Domino' source are preserved exclusively in *F-Pn* lat. 15139. 'Iherusalem acciptur' is a two-voice *conductus*, unique in *F-Pn* lat. 15139, which closes its final stanza with the lines 'In cuius pacis nomine / Benedicamus Domine', an imprecation to bless the Virgin Mary that switches the syntactic function of the versicle text significantly.[52] The music of the *cauda* that sets the final word of the text is taken from two *clausulae*, both found unique in *F-Pn* lat. 15139: 'Eius' and 'Fiat'.[53] Now, given that the *conductus* *cauda* and the *clausulae* with which it shares its music are copied in the same manuscript within a few folios of each other, it might be thought difficult to ascertain whether the *conductus* quotes the *clausulae* or *vice versa*. Matters are complicated by the fact that, like most of the *clausulae* in *F-Pn* lat. 15139, 'Eius' and 'Fiat' have *incipits* of French motets written in the margin of the manuscript: (673) 'Quant de ma dame part' for 'Eius' and (803) 'Chies soutis' for 'Fiat'. Of these two, the second incipit has no correspondence in any notated source, but (673) 'Quant de ma dame

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[48] 'O totius Asie glorie' is *unicum* in *F-Pn* lat. 15139, fols. 266r–266v.
[49] Fols. 88r–90r; fols. 209r–210v.   [50] Fol. 281r.   [51] Falck, 'New Light', 322–323.
[52] Fols. 274r–275v.   [53] Fol. 291r; fol. 290v.

part' – 'Eius' (O 16) is found fully texted in the *Chansonnier de Noailles*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 12615 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 12615), thus raising a further question about priority.[54] Working with the assumption that the *clausulae* in *F-Pn* lat. 15139 are motets stripped of their texts and that the *incipits* simply cue the original motets would strongly suggest that both 'Eius' and 'Fiat' *clausulae* were the source of the *conductus cauda* in 'Iherusalem accipitur'. But it is by no means certain that a single explanation can account for all the *clausulae* and their associated motet *incipits*, which continues to leave open the question of priority. But in the case of 'Iherusalem accipitur', the motet (673) 'Quant de ma dame part' – 'Eius' (O 16) in *F-Pn* fr. 12615 raises the very real possibility – despite the fact that the *conductus* and polyphonic source are preserved in the same manuscript – that 'Iherusalem accipitur' may well be making use of pre-existent material from a two-voice French motet.

'Deduc Syon uberrimas' is a very different proposition. It is a two-voice *conductus* through-composing three stanzas that is found in all four Notre-Dame sources and others.[55] The lower two voices of its opening *cauda* are also found as the two lower parts of the opening *cauda* of a three-voice 'Benedicamus Domino' setting in *F-Pn* lat. 15139.[56] Whatever the merits of arguing in favour of priority of the 'Benedicamus Domino' setting over the *conductus* – and the evidence has to be massively in favour of the 'Benedicamus Domino' being reworked from the *conductus* material – the interest in the 'Benedicamus Domino setting is completely enclosed within the *F-Pn* lat. 15139 environment. Both 'Deduc Syon' and especially 'Iherusalem accipitur' point up the real importance of links between the *conductus*, the 'Benedicamus Domino' and the repertory of motet and *clausula*. Three works, all listed in Table 6.3, 'Serena virginum', 'Columbe simplicitas' and 'Beatis nos adhibe', exploit characteristics of these three genres.

'Serena virginum' appears as a three-voice *conductus* in the second fascicle of *D-W* 628. However, this is not one of the fascicles of the manuscript dedicated to the genre but one of mixed-genre works, all in three parts. This alone might encourage some further scrutiny of the other forms in which the work is preserved. It is found configured both as a motet and

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[54] Fol. 196r.

[55] *D-W* 1099, fols. 93r–96r; *D-W* 628, fols. 159v–161r; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 83r–85r; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 336r–337r; *GB-Cjec* QB 1, fol. Dv (22v). The text alone is also found in Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660, fol. 5v; Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, 184 (hereafter *F-Ps* 184), fol. 92v.

[56] Fol. 280v. Only the tenor and *duplum* of the *conductus* are shared with the *clausula*.

as a *conductus*. As a motet, [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena virginum' – 'Manere' (M 5) is notated in score, with all three upper parts sharing the text of the *motetus*, with the tenor notated separately at the end. The *motetus* text, however, ends with the words 'Benedicamus Domino', and the work is copied in the three-part *conductus* fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. Its tenor and *motetus* are based on a sequence of four two-voice *clausulae* copied in the *clausula* fascicles of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and *D-W* 628, and they follow the order of the *clausulae* in *D-W* 628. In its presentation in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, it resembles the layout of the three-voice *conductus*-motets in the eighth fascicle. With these characteristics, [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena virginum' – 'Manere' (M 5) is already a complex work.[57] Its various transmissions enhance this complexity; it appears in the following versions and formats:

I-Fl Plut. 29.1, fols 235r-237v: three top parts in score with tenor notated at the end and text under *motetus*; it is copied in the three-voice *conductus* fascicle among mostly syllabic *conducti*.

D-W 628, fols 13r-15r: three top parts without the tenor in score with the text under the lowest voice (the *motetus*); it is copied in the second fascicle alongside three-part *organa* and *conducti*, and is indistinguishable – without knowledge of its tenor source – from a three-voice *conductus*.

London, British Library, Egerton 2615 (2) (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (2)), fols 92r-93r: lower three parts notated in score with text underneath the tenor, effectively the same as *D-W* 628.

GB-Lbl Egerton 2615 (1), fols 74r-76v: three voices notated in score without text.

E-Mn 20486, 119v-122r: two-voices – *motetus* and *triplum* copied in score with text under the *motetus*, copied with other two-voice *conducti*; indistinguishable from a two-voice *conductus*.

Salamanca, Universidad, Archivo y Biblioteca, 226 (hereafter *E-SAu* 226), 101r: two-voices – *motetus* and tenor copied successively with tenor identified; all other works in the manuscript are monophonic versions of *conducti* (including *'Qui servare puberem' below). As a motet, it is unique in this fragmentary collection.

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409 (hereafter *A-Gu* 409), fol. 72v: monophonic – *motetus* voice alone. It is indistinguishable from three other monophonic *conducti* copied in the manuscript.

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[57] For a fuller account of the various forms in which 'Serena virginum' is found, 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.

This commentary on the state of the different surviving versions of the 'Serena virginum' complex reveals that the musical points of contact with the 'Benedicamus Domino' tradition depend on the tenor only. Given that the 'Domino' tenor is only found in the *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and *E-SAu* 226 transmissions (which, incidentally, again throw this latter version into sharp relief), these are the only versions that may be considered as having any relationship with – or function as – a 'Benedicamus Domino'. The function of all other versions is shared with that more generally of the *conductus*. The presence of the words 'Benedicamus Domino' at the end of the *conductus* poetry in all transmissions of the piece, with the exception of the one in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (1), which is untexted, and the fact that the poem is highly irregular, aligns these aspects of the work with those discussed earlier in this section.

The two-voice melismatic *conductus* 'Columbe simplicitas' claims our attention for several reasons. It includes a number of elaborate and ambitious *caudae* and exploits *cum littera* styles that range from the strictly syllabic (one note in each voice part per syllable) to passages where there are neumatic constellations that include up to twelve notes in the *duplum* over a single note in the tenor. It survives in two sources: *E-BUlh* 9 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, but in the latter there is an additional *cauda* on the words 'Benedicamus Domino'.[58] The music of this 'Benedicamus Domino' *cauda* is furthermore shared with the lower two voices of the motet [(59) 'Qui servare puberem'] – (59) 'Qui servare puberem' – '[Domi]ne' (M 3), which is turn is based on a two-voice *clausula*. The music of the *clausula*, the motet and the *conductus cauda* is based on a melisma from the gradual for the Feast of St Stephen, 'Sederunt principes', and not on a 'Benedicamus Domino' chant. The presence of the *conductus* with the 'Benedicamus Domino' *cauda*, the *clausula* and the three-voice motet all in the same source (*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1) perhaps argues for the integral nature of the *cauda* and for a view that the transmission in *E-BUlh* 9 (without the 'Benedicamus Domino' *cauda*) represents a clear – and local – attempt to excise it. On the other hand, the poem provides no cue for the 'Benedicamus Domino' in terms of rhyme (although it does prepare the 8pp line carefully), and the final *cauda* on 'Benedicamus Domino' is prefaced by a lengthy *cauda* on 'agmina' (which shares its material with the *conductus* 'Veris ad imperia'); this might suggest that the version in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 must end with an 'optional addition' of the 'Benedicamus

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[58] Fols. 137r–138r; fols. 328v–329r.

Domino' *cauda*, as Bukofzer declared.[59] But a more cautious view is that the evidence is finely balanced, and a clear answer not forthcoming. What may be said is that 'Columbe simplicitas' is embroiled in the musical practices around the *clausula*, and possibly the motet as well, although whether the reworking – if that is what it is – of the *cauda* from the *clausula* involved the motet as well is difficult to judge. Certainly the partial score format of the motet argues against its involvement.[60]

A motet copied in the three-voice *conductus* fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 poses very different questions. (761) 'Beatis nos adhibe' – 'Benedicamus Domino' (BD V) needs be discussed here only because it is copied among *conducti* and shares elements of their format. It is a curious work because the 'Benedicamus Domino' tenor is disposed not in the tightly organised *ordines* of many of the settings but simply takes the pitches of the tenor melisma and deploys them in single sustained notes – 'organal', as Ludwig put it.[61] It is, however, notated in score with the two upper parts sharing the same text, which is underlaid to the *motetus* only. (761) 'Beatis nos adhibe' – 'Benedicamus Domino' (BD V) therefore shares the qualities of three different genres: motet – it is based on a plainsong tenor and combines this with an upper-voice text; *organum* – the notes of the tenor are disposed in non-metrical single notes; *conductus* – the unique copy of the piece is found among three-voice *conducti* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.

These three compositions – 'Serena virginum', 'Columbe simplicitas' and 'Beatis nos adhibe' – show how works that appear in some manuscript versions as *conducti* and also apparently make use of the 'Benedicamus Domino' closing formula, are implicated – to a greater or lesser degree – with the world of the *clausula* and motet. They represent a small subset

[59] Bukofzer, 'Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula', 77–78. An edition and translation of the poetry, with indications of the position of the *caudae* is given in Chapter 2.

[60] *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 381v–382r, where it is notated as a conventional *conductus*-motet, with the two upper voices sharing the same text in score followed by the tenor in ligatures.

[61] Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols. (1 [1] – Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1910; *R* [ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 7] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964); (1 [2] – [345–456 ed. Friedrich Gennrich including *R* of 'Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 [1923] 185–222 and 273–315, Summa musicae medii aevi 7] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1961; *R* [345–456], [457–783, ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 26] [Binningen]: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1978); (2 – [1–71 ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Summa musicae medii aevi 8 – 65–71 in page proof only] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1962; *R* [1–64, 65–71 corrected], [72–155 ed. Luther A. Dittmer (Musicological Studies 17)] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972) 1/1: 100. Ludwig had earlier described the work as 'eine 3st. Motette singulären Stils' (ibid., 1/1:96).

of two dozen further *conducti* that have some sort of relationship with chant-based polyphonic genres, and a discussion of these follows in the next chapter.

The range of poetry that forms the basis of the *conductus* repertory is wide, and the most extreme instances are perhaps those works that set pre-existent texts from the liturgy. This is a small group, dwarfed by those that, to some degree, engage with the liturgical function of the 'Benedicamus Domino' and depend on it for their structure. Borrowing from the music of the liturgy is unknown outside the use of the 'Benedicamus Domino', and even these examples are rare. Where these intertextual relationships really begin to have significance is when the borrowed plainsongs are shared with motets. The instances discussed in this chapter serve as a prompt for wider questions of the relationship between the *conductus* and the motet in the next.

7 | The *Conductus* and Motet

One of the works discussed at the end of the previous chapter raises the question of the relationship between the *conductus* and the motet. There may be some similarities to be drawn between the relationship between *conductus* and *clausula* in 'Columbe simplicitas' and a *conductus* with a much wider distribution, *'Relegentur ab area'. *'Relegentur ab area' is one of the group of five 'variable-voice *conducti*' that consist of two *partes*, one for three voices and one for two. Like its fellows, *'Relegentur ab area' is an ambitiously melismatic, three-stanza *conductus*.[1]

The final *cauda* of *'Relegentur ab area' is preserved in two forms in its two surviving sources (three other sources preserve only the first stanza and a fourth the text alone): Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 628) gives a version in mode I and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1), a version in mode V. Matters are rendered more complex by the fact that the mode V tenor of the *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 version of the *cauda* is shared with the tenor of a work whose generic profile is doubtful: 'Anima iugi lacrima' – 'Caro spiritui quid subderis' – (1055) 'Lis hic ratio'.[2] This composition is listed in catalogues both of the *conductus* and of the motet and is found in sources for both: *I-Fl* Plut, 29.1, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.f. 13521 (hereafter *F-Pn* n.a.f. 13521), and Szczyrzyc, Biblioteka Opactwa OO. Cystersów, Muz 9 (the incipit is also found in the index, Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, I 716).[3] But in all surviving sources, not only is the work notated in parts, successively, but each voice carries a different Latin text in the manner of a motet: 'Anima iugi lacrimas' – (1055) 'Lis hec ratio' – 'Caro spiritui quid subderis' (the order of the last two voices is reversed in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1). Furthermore, 'Anima iugi' is largely cast in the form of a mode V tenor

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[1] *'Relegentur ab area' and its sources are discussed in Chapter 4, and in Everist, 'Le conduit à nombre de voix variable (1150–1250)', *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, ed. Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadieu, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, Rencontres-Civilisation médiévale (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018) 329–344.

[2] The voice part texted 'Lis hic ratio' is the only one of the three to receive a number in the Gennrich – Ludwig numbering system.

[3] Fols. 433v–434r; fol. 370v; fol. 3v.

whereas the two 'upper' voices quite clearly develop a mode III profile. Its voices are rhythmically differentiated both in terms of mode and also in terms of phrase structure and of rhyme scheme, end accent and line length.[4] It is clearly not a *conductus*, but given that its tenor is fully texted and shares its musical material with a *conductus cauda*, it is an atypical motet.[5] Even in *conducti* that made use of 'Benedicamus Domino' formulae and that engaged with the motet/*clausula* repertory, questions of format were key to how the works were conceptualised and copied – either as *conducti* or as motets.

Conductus and Motet: Intertexts and Format

The manuscript preservation of *'Relegentur ab area' is emblematic of a group of surviving sources that preserve compositions in the format of a *conductus* but that survive or overlap with the repertory of motets (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Manuscripts with motets in score format

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 11	(783) 'Salve virgo rubens' – 'Neuma' (Neuma I)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 72	(760a) 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' – 'Domino' (Domino I)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G. 18	(808) 'Mellis stilla' – 'Domino' (Domino I)
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. LVI	'Nycholay sollempnia' – 'Benedicamus domino'
	(760a) 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' – 'Domino' (Domino I)
Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, 3471	(760a) 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' – 'Domino' (Domino I)
London, British Library, Harley 978	(760a) 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' – 'Domino' (Domino I)
Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I. 17	(747) 'Amborum sacrum spiramen' – 'Benedicamus domino' (Benedicamus domino IV)

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[4] See Leo Schrade, 'Unknown Motets in a Recovered Thirteenth-Century Manuscript', *Speculum* 30 (1955) 410. The work is edited in Gordon A. Anderson (ed.), *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 11 vols., [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vols. 7 and 11 have appeared] 6:63–64 and in Thomas B. Payne (ed.), *Philip the Chancellor: Motets and Prosulas*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 41 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2011) 35–37.

[5] There is a discussion of the texts in Sean Curran, 'Vernacular Book Production, Vernacular Polyphony and the Motets of the 'La Clayette' Manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521)' (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 2013) 143–146.

Two motets in this table have no surviving manuscript transmissions in parts: 'Nycholay sollempnia' – 'Benedicamus Domino' and (747) 'Ambrorum sacrum spirmamen' – 'Benedicamus domino' (Benedicamus Domino IV) are unique in the two sources in which they are preserved.[6] If the manuscripts in question do indeed come from the Cathedral of Cividale del Friuli and the Augustinian Abbey of Leicester, respectively, the first probably dates from around 1300 or later, while the second appears – certainly on the basis of its notation – to originate before 1200.[7] 'Nycholay sollempnia' – 'Benedicamus domino' is found in two-voice score with the *motetus* above the tenor and the *motetus* text under the appropriate voice. (747) 'Ambrorum sacrum spirmamen' – 'Benedicamus domino' (Benedicamus Domino IV) is copied similarly but with the tenor above the *motetus.* It seems entirely possible that 'Nycholay sollempnia' could have formerly existed in a more conventional motet format in parts whereas it is likely that 'Ambrorum sacrum spirmamen' – in common with many other works in *GB-Cu* Ff. I. 17 – found its *mise en page* in the manuscript as a result of trial and error and an improvisatory, rather than conventional, approach to manuscript layout.

The transmission of (783) 'Salve virgo rubens' – 'Neuma' (Neuma I) in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 11 (hereafter *I-Bc* Q 11) is a good example of how a widely distributed motet was reworked in a provincial centre for a particular local use.[8] The three-voice motet exists in two versions: one with French texts in the fifth fascicle of Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, H 196 (hereafter *F-MOf* H 196): (781) 'Encontre le mois d'avril' – (782) 'Amours tant voz ia servi' – 'Neuma' (Neuma I);[9] and another with Latin texts: (783) 'Salve virgo rubens rosa' – (784) 'Ave lux luminum' – 'Neuma' (Neuma I). The three-voice Latin version is found in the fourth fascicle of *F-MOf* H 196, in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (hereafter *D-BAs* Lit. 115) and

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[6] Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. LVI (hereafter *I-CFm* Cod. LVI), fols. 254v–255r; Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I. 17 (hereafter *GB-Cu* Ff. I. 17), fols. 7v–8r.

[7] Giulio Cattin, 'La tradizione liturgica aquileiese e le polifonie primitive di Cividale', *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, ed. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1989) 117–130; Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Répertoire International des Sources Musicales BIV3–4 (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1972) 2:743–746; Marie Louise Martinez, Die Musik des frühen Trecento, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 9 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1963) 128, note 28. The origins of *GB-Cu* F f.i.17 are discussed in John Stevens (ed.), *The Later Cambridge Songs: An English Song Collection of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 3.

[8] Fols. 7v–8r.   [9] Fols. 189v–191.
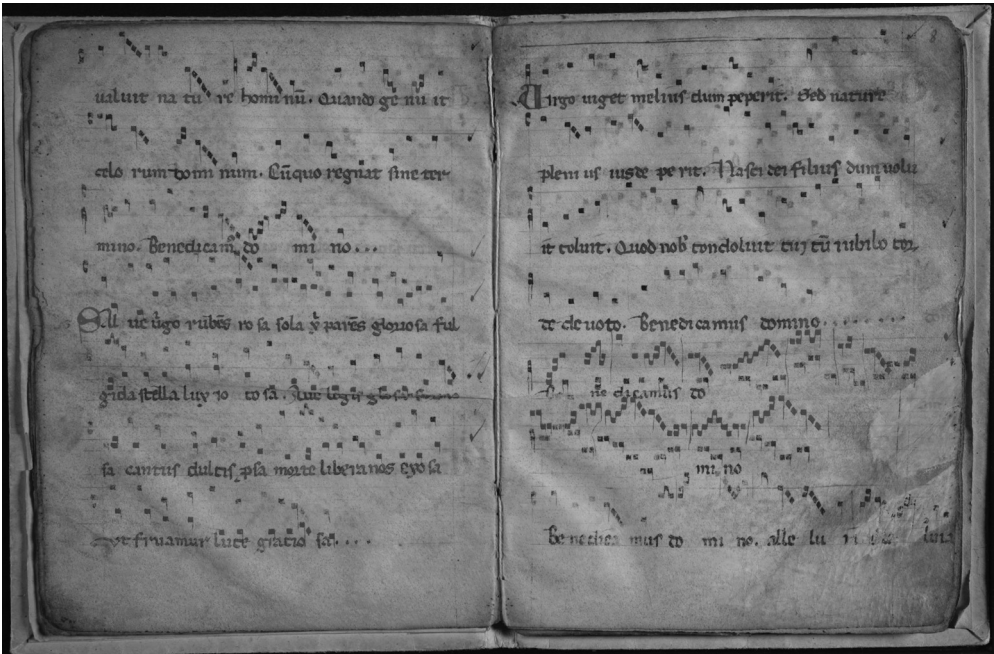
Figure 7.1 (783) 'Salve virgo rubens' – 'Neuma' (Neuma I); *I-Bc* Q 11, fols. 7v-8

in one of the sections of French origin in Darmstadt, Universitäts– und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, 3471 (hereafter *D-DS* 3471).[10] It is found as a two-voice motet (783) 'Salve virgo rubens' – 'Neuma' (Neuma I) in several sources (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3518 (hereafter *F-Pa* 3518); Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135 (hereafter *F-Pa* 135) and Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, A 410 (hereafter *F-CA* A 410)),[11] and the *motetus* of (784) 'Ave lux luminum' – 'Neuma' (Neuma I) is found as a monody in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3517 (hereafter *F-Pa* 3517).[12] Clearly, the generic assignment for a monophonic motet voice, especially in such a manuscript source that uses unmeasured notation as *F-Pn* 3517, is highly ambiguous. The transmission in *I-Bc* Q 11, however, is perhaps one of the strangest in the entire repertory (Figure 7.1).

On the lower half of the verso of this opening are the two lower voices (*motetus* and tenor) of (783) 'Salve virgo rubens' – 'Neuma' (Neuma I), notated in score with the *motetus* text under the lower of the two voices; there is no verbal indication of the source of the tenor. The tenor – as

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[10] Fols. 295v–297r; fols. 18–18v; fol. 4ar.   [11] Fol 118r; fol. 291r; fol. 129v.   [12] Fol. 2v.

is the case with other polyphonic pieces in this manuscript – is picked out in red ink, while the contrapuntal *motetus* is given in the black ink of the rest of the text. Again, this is a motet whose manuscript format is indistinguishable from that of the *conductus*, but here the liturgical origins of the tenor are highlighted in a particularly original way. And given that the notes of the tenor are broken up to match the syllables of the *motetus*, sonically, a performance of this version of 'Salve virgo rubens' would sound like any syllabic portion of a *conductus*. This is all the more striking given that the motet on the *recto* side of the opening, whose origins are not that dissimilar to those of (783) 'Salve virgo rubens' – 'Neuma' (Neuma I) is copied as a monody (its *motetus*) only. Like its fellow, (653) 'Castrum pudicie' – (654) 'Virgo viget' – 'Flos filius eius (O 16) is also found as a three-voice Latin motet in *D-BAs* Lit. 115 and in two voices in *F-CA* A 410,[13] but its purely monophonic transmission differs radically in *I-Bc* Q 11.[14]

The third piece in Table 7.1 is also well known. (807) 'Par une matinee el mois' – (808) 'Mellis stilla, maris stella' – 'Domino' (Domino I) is a bilingual motet found in the third fascicle of *F-MOf* H 196 and in *F-Pn* n.a.f. 13521;[15] the same music is also preserved as a three-voice Latin motet – (809) 'O Maria mater pia' – (808) 'Mellis stilla' – 'Domino' (Domino I) in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 11266[16] and (810) 'Virginis preconia' – (808) 'Mellis stilla' – 'Domino' (Domino I) in *D-BAs* Lit. 115.[17] (808) 'Mellis stilla' – 'Domino' (Domino I) is known as a two-voice motet in four other sources, a monody in one other, and its text alone is found in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8521;[18] the voice part is also cited in two theoretical sources.[19] It is therefore not surprising to find it also copied in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G. 18 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Rawl. G. 18) in two parts.[20] Here, however, the two lower parts of

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[13] Fols. 60v–61r; fol. 131v.

[14] The context for all the polyphony in *I-Bc* Q 11 is discussed in Chapter 9.

[15] Fols. 72v–75r; fols. 374v–375r.   [16] Fols. 40v–41v.   [17] Fols. 36r–36v.

[18] *F-CA* A 410, fol. 129v; Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5539 (hereafter *D-Mbs* clm 5539), fols. 73r–73v; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135 (hereafter *F-Pa* 135), fol. 290v; *F-Pa* 3517–3518, fol. 3r; Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 119 (hereafter *F-BSM* 119), fol. 1v; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8251 (hereafter *F-Pa* 8521), fol. 180r.

[19] It is cited in the so-called 'Règles sur l'art de déchanter', the sixth treatise edited in Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen age* (Paris: V. Didron libraire, 1852; *R* Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966) 277, and in Coussemaker's Anonymous II (Coussemaker [ed.], *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera*, 4 vols. [Milan: Bolletino bibliografico musicale; Paris: A. Durand, 1864–76; *R* Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963]) 1:301.

[20] Fol. 106v.

the polyphony are notated in score with the *motetus* text ('Mellis stilla') underlaid to the lower of the two voices; it is presumably to be sung by both voices. In all the three- and two-voice versions of this piece, the tenor is laid out in *ordines* of seven *longae trium temporum* (LTT) that consist mostly of LTT *simplex* groups. However, in *GB-Ob* Rawl. G. 18 the tenor is split up into as many notes as are needed to declaim the *motetus* text, exactly in the manner of a *conductus* preserved in any of the surviving collections.

The three remaining sources in Table 7.1 – Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 72 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Lyell 72), *D-DS* 3471 and London, British Library, Harley 978 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Harley 978) – all transmit a version of (760a) 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' – 'Domino' (Domino I) in score.[21] This work is found as a three-voice motet in *F-MOf* H 196, *D-BAs* Lit. 115 and in the Besançon index,[22] and with a *triplum* in Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas 9;[23] two-part versions exist in at least four other sources.[24] In most of these cases, the piece is copied in parts like any other motet. In the three sources under discussion, however, the piece is preserved in score. The different ways in which the three versions are copied reveal much. The versions in *D-DS* 3471, *I-CFm* Cod. LVI and *GB-Ob* Lyell 72 are in two-part score, place the text under the tenor and break its notes so that it can carry the single text. As in the case of 'Mellis stilla' in *GB-Ob* Rawl. G. 18, these versions could comfortably pass muster as *conducti* in any major collection. The version in *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 is intriguing in many respects: (1) it combines the tenor and *motetus* of the motet with a newly composed *triplum* that moves – unlike the motet *triplum* (which is in mode VI) – in the same sort of rhythmic range as the *motetus*; (2) it copies an additional Anglo-Norman *contrafactum* text, 'Duce creature'; (3) it also includes a fully ligated duplicate version of the tenor at the end of the piece – as if it were in four parts, which it clearly is not; (4) in the score-notated version, the ligatures of the tenor are broken into single notes but not – as is the case in *D-DS* 3471, *I-CFm* Cod. LVI and *GB-Ob* Lyell 72 – broken into the single notes that the declamation of the 'Ave gloriosa' or 'Duce creature' text requires. The version in *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 invokes a curious paradox, then: it includes a new *triplum* that makes it possible to sing the text of the *motetus* correctly but does not,

as in the case of other sources and of other compositions discussed here, modify the tenor sufficiently to make all three voices work in the same way.

Taking an overview of all the motets copied as *conducti* in Table 7.1, the version of 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' in *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 comes into focus as an attempt to assemble a *conductus* out of the same materials as a motet (words need be chosen carefully here, as will be seen subsequently) in which the notes of the tenor are *not* reworked sufficiently to enable a performance from the manuscript itself. It may well be that this was simply not deemed necessary because it might have been thought that further splitting of the LTT into smaller values was a purely mechanical affair. Whether this is an overoptimistic view of the abilities of the users of *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, what emerges is a consistently executed convention across the other seven instances discussed here of always, when the work is in score, of breaking the notes of the tenor to accommodate the poetry. The specific form of the *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 version of 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' – with tenor ligatures broken into individual notes, but not sufficiently to enable them to declaim the text – will be seen again later in London, British Library, Egerton 2615(2) (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2)) and Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne 3. J. 250 (hereafter *F-CECad* 3. J. 250).

Almost all the manuscripts that betray practices outlined here are peripheral to the main Notre-Dame sources. *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, *GB-Ob* Rawl. G. 18 and *GB-Cu* Ff. I. 17 are all English; *GB-Ob* Rawl. G. 18 quite possibly from Burnham Abbey and *GB-Cu* Ff. I. 17 from Leicester Abbey. *GB-Ob* Lyell 72, *I-Bc* Q 11 and *I–CFm* Cod. LVI are all Italian: from the Cathedral of Aquileia, a north-central Italian nunnery and the Cathedral of Cividale, respectively. The only real query is the transmission in *D-DS* 3471, where it is less than certain where the group of fragments originates in which 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' is found (*D-DS* 3471 consists of at least three, possibly four, sets of largely unrelated fragments). It is striking, however, that two of the sources are from nunneries and two from secular cathedrals, which bespeaks a wide, but non-monastic, range of institutional support for the practice of preserving motets as *conducti*. The origins of *GB-Cu* Ff. I. 17 seem out of place here, but then so does its very early date, and it is very likely that, whereas most of the other examples discussed here are reworkings as *conducti* of motets, 'Amborum sacrum sprimamen' – 'Benedicamus domino' may belong to a different tradition altogether.[25]

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[25] Stevens described it as 'an altogether eccentric piece' (*The Later Cambridge Songs*, 26).

The absence of any clear provenance for the transmission of 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' in *D-DS* 3471 is frustrating because this is the only instance of the use of mensural notation among this group of pieces. In general, whatever the metrical style of the original composition, reworking as a *conductus* almost always entailed the removal of any mensural indications in the manuscript, and therefore – it may be assumed – a style of performance familiar from the *cum littera* sections of the newly composed *conducti* in such manuscripts as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. The presence of mensural notation in *D-DS* 3471 may be the consequence of its late date and will be discussed from this perspective in Chapter 9.

But 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' poses yet more questions in terms of how it relates to the culture and aesthetics of the *conductus*. All the other cases described in Table 7.1 are certainly various instances of motets being displayed and performed as *conducti*, making use of varying formats and modifications to their musical and textual superstructure. The origins of 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' are far from clear. Ludwig believed that the two part version in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 1099) to be the original (where the *triplum* and *motetus* appear without the tenor and the text underlaid to the *motetus*)[26] whereas Handschin preferred to see the *motetus* combined with a paraphrased tenor as the origins of the work.[27] The pursuit of origins may not be the most fruitful way to address this particular question: it is certainly the case that – whatever the origins of its tenor – the work was transmitted both as a three-part Latin motet and as a reduction to two voices (*motetus* and tenor) in several central sources, and this has much in common with conventional motet practice; it was clearly then treated as if it shared its origins with the rest of the mid-century motet repertory. Where this leaves the four versions adapted to the norms of the *conductus* is an intriguing question: whether they are associated with the

[26] Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols. (1 [1] – Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1910; *R* [ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 7] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964); (1 [2] – [345–456 ed. Friedrich Gennrich including *R* of 'Die Quellen der Motetten altesten Stils', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923) 185–222 and 273–315, Summa musicae medii aevi 7] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1961; *R* [345–456], [457–783, ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 26] [Binningen]: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1978); (2 – [1–71 ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Summa musicae medii aevi 8 – 65–71 in page proof only] Langen bei Frankfürt: n.p., 1962; *R* [1–64, 65–71 corrected], [72–155 ed. Luther A. Dittmer (Musicological Studies 17)] Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972) 2:119.
[27] Jacques Handschin, 'The Summer Canon and Its Background', *Musica disciplina* 3 (1949) 55–94 and 5 (1951) 65–113, pages 71 and 77–78.

murky origins of the polyphony or whether – more simply and similar to other examples – they are later reworkings of the motet version. It is possible that some versions could belong to a process of discovery and invention, and others to a process of reworking: the three-part version in *GB-Lbl* Harley 978, especially when account is taken of its unique *triplum*, does indeed stand apart from the two-part reworkings in other sources; it could well have a much earlier place in the history of the work than the later two-voice reworkings.

Whatever view is taken of the relationship between the motet and *conductus* versions of 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris', it cannot obscure the remarkable consistency in the choice of tenors in the group of pieces give in Table 7.1, almost all of which are based on 'Benedicamus domino' chants; the one exception makes use of a melody similarly remote from the graduals, alleluias and responsories that make up the bulk of tenor sources for thirteenth-century polyphony. The identification of these sources is entirely lost in presentations in score that underlay a *motetus* text to the entire polyphonic texture, but it does not seem unreasonable to search for some reason why these types of tenors made these compositions so susceptible to reworking as *conducti*. One reason is the very fact that these chants are less than common in the context of thirteenth-century polyphonic setting but at the same time have a greater liturgical frequency, and it was perhaps their *passe-partout* nature that meant that they could lose their liturgical reference as the tenor incipit was abandoned in favour of reconfiguring the piece as a *conductus*.

Conductus Poetry and the Motet

If the reformatting of motets as *conducti* is the first of the two ways in which the *conductus* and motet repertories are connected, a second is the reuse of *conductus* texts – either in whole or in part – as the basis for motets. In some cases, these reworkings consist of just a couple of lines. For example, the first two lines of the *conductus* 'Omnis mundus iocundetur' (I), found in some of the earliest sources for the repertory,[28] are also found in a polytextual motet widely transmitted in eastern European sources

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28 The monody is found in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 289, fol. 144v and Le Puy-en-Velay, Bibliothèque municipale, s.n., fol. 56v. The text is also found in Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 2992, fol. 235v. A musical variant is found in Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, 4413, fols. 90v–91r.

much later than the thirteenth century: 'Omnis nunc microcosmus' – 'Omnis mundus iocundetur' – 'Omnis'.[29] And in the case of the *conductus* 'Auctor vite, virgine' (I),[30] the whole of the first stanza is used in the two-voice motet 'Auctor vite virgine' – 'Tenor' in the manuscript Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 457.[31]

But in other cases, the *conductus* poem plays a more extensive role. The motet (409) 'Benedicta Marie virginis' – (410) 'Beate virginis fecondat' – 'Benedicta' (M 32)[32] takes the text of its *motetus* from the *conductus* *'Beate virginis'.[33] All three stanzas are employed in this work in ways that determine some aspects of its musical and poetic superstructure. The poetry of the first stanza is broken into two halves that correspond to two musical phrases, whereas the poetry of the second and third stanzas is treated so as to give each pair of lines to a single phrase; this results in a very regular phrase structure in the *motetus* that divides the composition into three sections of thirty-two LTT, or at least that is how it ought to have worked out except that the composer organised the tenor into *ordines* of twenty LTT. This means that the beginning of each of the three *motetus* stanzas begins over a different segment of the chant, and, given that the composer also wanted five complete statements of the tenor, that the final stanza comes to an end at LTT 96 (3 × 32) so that the *motetus* and its *conductus*-derived text is extended by four LTT at the end. But although it appears as if the composer preferred the articulation of the tenor over the articulation of the stanzaic structure of the *motetus*, he compensates by characterising the beginning of each of the stanzas melodically and contrapuntally (Example 7.1).

[29] Prague, Narodní muzeum – Muzeum České hudby, XIII.A.2, fols. 362v–363r (hereafter *CZ-Pnm* XIII.A.2); Prague, Knihovna klaštera premonstratů, K Vs.376, fols. 76v–78r; Prague, Narodní knihovna, VI.B.24, fols. 154v–155r. The text is found in Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I.8, fol. 113r. *CZ-Pnm* XIII.A.2 is dated as late as 1512.

[30] 'Auctor vite virgine' (I) is transmitted in three of the central Notre-Dame sources (*D-W* 628, fols. 134r–135r; Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 20486 (hereafter *E-Mn* 20486), fols. 38v–40r; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 270v–271v) and in Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S 231, fol. Av.

[31] Fol. 107v.

[32] The motet is unique in the eighth fascicle of *F-MOf* H 196, fols. 376v–377v.

[33] The *conductus* *'Beate virginis' is found in a two-voice form in a wide range of sources: in the central *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 283v–284v and Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588, fol. 2v; in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 591, fols. 4r–4v, which is clearly English; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 54v–56r, from Toledo; *D-W* 628, fols. 137v–138v (St Andrews); and finally in Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 457, fol. 105r. *'Beate virginis' is also found as a monody in London, British Library, Add. 22604, fols. 17v–18r; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 40580, fol. 48v; Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 314, fol. 83r; and Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 756, fols. 189v–190r. The text alone survives in Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 107, fol. 66v and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 18571, fols. 89v–90r.

Example 7.1 (409) 'Benedicta Marie virginis' – (410) 'Beate virginis fecondat' – 'Benedicta' (M 32): edition of *longae trium temporum* 1–4; 65–68; 129–132; *F-MOf* H 196, fols 376v-377v

In all three cases, the beginning of the stanza is identified by the isolated use of *fractio modi* (the only time it is used in the work) at the same time as an *f-c* fifth (with the upper fifth doubled), a sonority not used at the beginning of a phrase anywhere else in the piece. Furthermore, the voice

part that carries the *conductus* poem always holds the fifth of the sonority. The *conductus* here lives on through its poetry in a motet probably copied in the early fourteenth century, and its original structure informs and is reflected by the careful construction of the motet in which it is reused.[34]

The presence of the *conductus* repertory in the notated version of the *Roman de Fauvel*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 146 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 146) is extensive, well known and is discussed in the context of the later thirteenth-century fate of the genre in Chapter 9. However, no less than seven *conducti* are redeployed among the motets in *F-Pn* fr. 146 in similar ways to the examples already discussed (Table 7.2).

'Quare fremuerunt gentes' is a simple case where the text of the *conductus* poem is used as the basis of a two-part motet in which all the music of the *motetus* is, however, newly composed; the tenor to this work, 'Quare fremuerunt gentes' – 'Tenor', however, remains unidentified.[35] The *motetus* therefore takes the text of the *conductus*, abandons its music and sets it anew. A similar case is the motet 'Scrutator alme cordium' – '[Tenor]' where the text of the *conductus* forms the basis for most of the *motetus* text.[36] More complex is the use of the *conductus* 'Quomodo cantabimus': here, the two stanzas of the poetry become the *motetus* and

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[34] The most recent attempts at explicating the date of the eighth fascicle of *F-MOf* H 196 is in Mark Everist, 'Montpellier 8: Anatomy of . . . ', *The Montpellier Codex: The Final Fascicle*, ed. Catherine Bradley and Karen Desmond (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018) 13–31 and the other essays in the same volume.

[35] Edited in Leo Schrade (ed.), *The 'Roman de Fauvel', The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the 'Ordinarium missae'*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 1 (Monaco: Oiseau-Lyre, 1956) 4. Schrade also goes on to argue that the motet tenor is in part a paraphrase of part of the *conductus* tenor. See Schrade, *Commentary to The 'Roman de Fauvel', The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the 'Ordinarium missae'*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 1 (Monaco: Oiseau-Lyre, 1956) 59. While this idea is developed at length in Lorenz Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre-Dame Conductûs [sic] in BN fr. 146; *Mundus a mundicia* and *Quare fremuerunt*', *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998; *R* 2004) 622–630, it had already been rejected by all other authors from Ludwig (*Repertorium*, 1/1:99) to Joseph Charles Morin, 'The Genesis of Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 146, with Particular Emphasis on the *Roman de Fauvel*' (PhD diss., New York University, 1992) 351–352. Tischler's attempt at rendering the notation of 'Quare fremuerunt' – 'Tenor' in a simpler 'Petronian' style than Schrade's edition, although welcome, really just serves to indicate how the notation of *F-Pn* fr. 146 can tolerate multiple rhythmic readings depending on the age imputed to the musician and their exposure to contemporary rhythmic thought (Hans Tischler, 'The Two-Part Motets of the *Roman de Fauvel*: A Document of Transition', *Music Review* 42 [1981] 7–8). Tischler's transcription behaves like a reading by a much older musician resistant to the advances found elsewhere in the manuscript whereas Schrade's transcriptions (notwithstanding the large number of contentious decisions documented by Tischler) have the appearance of a more up-to-date interpretation.

[36] Schrade, *The 'Roman de Fauvel'*, 64.

Table 7.2 *Conducti* repurposed in the *Roman de Fauvel*, *F-Pn* fr. 146

Conductus incipit	Motet in *F-Pn* fr. 146	Borrowing or reuse	Rhythmic style
Mundus a munditia (text; 1v; 2vv; 3vv)	(fol. 1r) Mundus a munditia – Tenor	Music and poetry of tenor becomes *motetus*	L-B differentiation with c.o.p ligatures
Quare fremuerunt gentes (3vv)	(fol. 1r) Quare fremuerunt gentes – Tenor	Single stanza of poem becomes *motetus* text	[*Prolatio*], *tempus* and *modus* all ternary; Petronian Sbs
*Quid ultra tibi facere (text; 1v)	(fol. 6v) Quasi non ministerium – Trahunt in precipita – Ve qui gregi – Displicebat ei	Stanzas 4–5 (complete) of poetry become complete *quadruplum* text	*Prolatio maior, tempus imperfectum, modus imperfectus*; Petronian Sbs
Quomodo cantabimus (text; 1v)	(fol. 32r) Thalamus puerpere – Quomodo cantabimus – [Tenor]	Stanza 1 becomes the *motetus* text; stanza 2 becomes the *triplum* text	L-B differentiation with c.o.p ligatures
Scrutator alme cordium (2vv)	(fol. 43v) Scrutator alme cordium – [Tenor]	Poem becomes *motetus* text with changes in last two lines	L-B differentiation with c.o.p ligatures
Trine vocis tripudio (text; 3vv)	(fol. 6v) Quasi non ministerium – Trahunt in precipita – Ve qui gregi – Displicebat ei	Stanza 2 becomes the beginning of *triplum* text (which consists of two more stanzas based on structure of borrowed material); stanza 3 becomes the end of the *motetus* text	*Prolatio maior, tempus imperfectum, modus imperfectus*; Petronian Sbs
Ve mundo a scandalis (text; 1v)	(fol. 6v) Quasi non ministerium – Trahunt in precipita – Ve qui gregi – Displicebat ei	Stanza 4 (complete) becomes the beginning of *motetus* text	*Prolatio maior, tempus imperfectum, modus imperfectus*; Petronian Sbs

triplum texts of the three part motet 'Thalamus puerpere' – 'Quomodo cantabimus' – 'Tenor'.[37] 'Mundus a munditia' – 'Tenor' takes the poetry as well the music for its *motetus* from the tenor of the *conductus* 'Mundus a munditia', to which an additional voice part named 'tenor' in *F-Pn* fr. 146 is grafted; this 'tenor' however also makes use of the pitches of the

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[37] Ibid., 51–53.

conductus duplum.[38] In addition, the version in *F-Pn* fr. 146 continues for a further twelve LTT to conclude the piece.

A further remarkable case concerns the motet: 'Quasi non ministerium – Trahunt in precipita – Ve qui gregi – Displicebat ei'. As can be seen from Table 7.2, the poetry of each of the three upper parts in this four-voice motet is taken from a stanza of a different *conductus*: the *quadruplum* from stanzas four to five of *'Quid ultra tibi facere'; the *triplum* from the second stanza of 'Trine vocis tripudio' and the *motetus* from the fourth stanza of 'Ve mundo a scandalis' *and* the third stanza of 'Trine vocis tripudio'.[39] This is clearly an extreme case of the type of reworking seen in the other compositions in Table 7.2. The complexity of this case is increased by the presence of a three part version of the motet in the Brussels *rotulus*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert, 19606 (hereafter *B-Br* 19606); here the *motetus* is given a French text 'An diex! Ou porai ge trover' and the *quadruplum* has been omitted; the end of the French *motetus* furthermore quotes the end of stanza 4 of Nevelon's *Dit d'amour*. The complexities do not end there since the French *motetus* is found in *F-Pn* fr. 146 as the basis of a so-called semi-lyric where the French *motetus* is dismembered and each of its component parts forms the basis of a series of lyric stanzas. The first of these component parts, 'An diex! Ou pourri ie trouver / Confort secours alegement' takes on the status of a *refrain* and is used in a *sotte chançon*, divided into two and placed at beginning and end of the song. Much recent scholarship seems to argue for the priority of the three-voice motet in *B-Br* 19606 over the four-voice work in *F-Pn* fr. 146 but does so with no acknowledgement of the borrowing from the *conductus* repertory.[40] To argue that the Latin *motetus* 'Ve qui gregi' is a *contrafactum* of 'An diex! Ou pourrai ie trouver' must take into account that the Latin text of the *motetus* is itself borrowed from two *conducti* 'Ve mundo a scandalis' and 'Trine vocis tripudio'. Both explanations of the motet's history are problematic: if 'An diex! Ou pourri ie trouver' is to be viewed as the original, then the quotation of two *conductus* texts in the *contrafactum* requires explanation; on the other hand, if 'Ve qui gregi' is considered the original, then the French *contrafactum* – with its citation

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[38] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/1:41. See also the account in Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', 620–622.

[39] Emilie Dahnk, *L'hérésie de Fauvel*, Leipziger romanistische Studien, Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe 4 (Leipzig and Paris: Vogel, 1935) li–lxvi.

[40] Yolanda Plumley, *The Art of Grafted Song: Citation and Allusion in the Age of Machaut* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) 109–114. Pages 112–114 of this account are highly speculative.

of Nevelon's *Dit d'amour* – also demands elucidation. In either case, the process of *contrafactum* and quotation are clearly combined.

Seven *conducti* therefore contribute to the texts and music of five motets in *F-Pn* fr. 146. Three of the motets ('Mundus a munditia' – 'Tenor'; 'Thalamus puerpere' – 'Quomodo cantabimus' – ['Tenor']; 'Scrutator alme cordium' – ['Tenor']) are no more advanced rhythmically than those in the *corpus ancien* of *F-MOf* H 196 and cognate sources, and may – at the time of their copying in *F-Pn* fr. 146 have been anything up to forty years old.[41] On the other hand, 'Quare fremuerunt gentes' – 'Tenor' and 'Quasi non ministerium' – 'Trahunt in precipita' – 'Ve qui gregi' – 'Displicebat ei' – in their use of Petronian semibreves and possibly *tempus imperfectum* – have the appearance of works whose rhythmic configuration is more likely contemporary with the more up-to-date works in the *F-Pn* fr. 146.

The origins of the seven *conducti* involved vary widely. Of the three *conductus* texts that contribute to 'Quasi non ministerium' – 'Trahunt in precipita' – 'Ve qui gregi' – 'Displicebat ei', two are monophonic: *'Quid ultra tibi facere' is found with music in three sources apart from *F-Pn* fr. 146 and its text is found in a further fourteen;[42] 'Ve mundo a scandalis' survives in four notated sources,[43] and two witnesses preserve just the text.[44] The third *conductus* that forms part of the motet to the motet is the three-voice 'Trine vocis tripudio', which survives in two-three-voice versions with one contemporary transmission of its text.[45] None, however, of the sources for text or music contains all three of the texts found in 'Quasi non ministerium' – 'Trahunt in precipita' – 'Ve qui gregi' – 'Displicebat ei', so a search for a single surviving source for the work's texts is futile.[46] 'Quare fremuerunt gentes' survives uniquely as a three-voice *conductus* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 apart from its use in *F-Pn* fr. 146. For the older-style motets, their precise origins in the *conductus* repertory are equally difficult to identify. 'Scrutator alme cordium' is a two-voice

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[41] Many of the other motets in *F-Pn* fr. 146 are even older, going back to the origins of the genre. See Tischler, 'The Two-Part Motets', 2.

[42] The music is found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 423v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. VI.Q.3.17, fol. 10 ext. a; and Salamanca, Universidad, Archivo y Biblioteca, 226, fol. 100v.

[43] *D-W* 628, fols. 185r–185v; Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas, 9, fols. 157v–158r; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 426r–426v; Rome, Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani (S. Sabina), Archivio dei Dominicani di Santa Sabina, XIV L3, fol. 142r.

[44] Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, 2777 (hereafter *D-DS* 2777), fol. 3v; Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 927, fol. 19v.

[45] The music is in *D-W* 628, fols. 75v–77r and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 205r–206v and the poetry alone in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 510, fol. 245v.

[46] Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', 634, rightly suggested that the source for the compiler of *F-Pn* fr. 146 was almost certainly monophonic.

motet whose *conductus* source is known from three sources, all preserving both voices of the polyphony,[47] but 'Quomodo cantabimus' is only known from monophonic and poetic sources.[48] The case of 'Mundus a munditia' is more complex, as it survives in poetic, monophonic, two-voice and three-voice versions.[49]

Matters are complicated by the fact that the tenors of four of the five *conductus*-derived motets in *F-Pn* fr. 146 have resisted identification, and have been assumed to be newly composed. This led Ludwig to throw the genre of these works into question when he considered them as part of the emergence of polyphonic song;[50] in this he was followed by Tischler and Ernest Sanders.[51] The index of *F-Pn* fr. 146 grouped the works however as either 'motez a tenure et trebles' or 'motez a tenures sanz trebles'; Welker, arguing on the grounds of musical style, text handling and compositional process, argued that they were effectively *conducti*.[52] This view has been correctly rejected by Morin, who argues that the works are *sui generis* and that their particular configuration is the product of the local circumstances and context of the *Roman de Fauvel* itself.[53]

A question that, as a consequence, has been submerged is the effect on these works of borrowing from a *conductus*. The result of taking a *conductus* poem and then setting it modally, as in the case of 'Mundus a munditia' – 'Tenor' is that the phrase structure of the motet is dictated by the structure of the poem. In this case the effect is striking. The original *conductus* poem consists of heptasyllabic proparoxytones with a single three-syllable line:

Mundus a munditia	7	a	pp
Dictus per contraria:	7	a	pp
Sordet immunditia	7	a	pp
Criminum,	3	b	pp
Crescit in malitia,	7	a	pp
Culpa nescit terminum.	7	b	pp

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[47] *D-W* 628, fols. 149v–150r; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 89r–90r; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 325r–326r.

[48] The music is found in *D-W* 628, fol. 185r and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 425v–426r, and the poetry in *D-DS* 2777, fol. 4r.

[49] The three-voice *conductus* is *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 240v; the two lower voices are preserved in London, British Library, Egerton 274, fols. 41r–42r; the monody is in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 8433, fols. 46r–46v, and the text in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 8207, fol. 13v and Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu: Knihovna metropolitní kapituly, N VIII (hereafter *CZ-Pak* N VIII), fol. 38v.

[50] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/1:99 and *passim*.

[51] Tischler, 'Two-Part Motets; Ernest Sanders, 'The Medieval Motet', *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1973) 537–555.

[52] Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', 631.   [53] Morin, 'Genesis', 315–380.

The additional twelve LTT at the end of the piece set three additional lines of poetry: 'Nam seductrix hominum / Favelli nequicia / Non habet hic dominum.' All are heptasyllabic proparoxytones and retain the rhymes of the rest of the poem (b-a-b). All the heptasyllables, both in those parts setting the original poem and the additional text, translate into phrases of four LTT. Inevitably, given the syllabic-modal setting of the piece, the three-syllable line results in an irregular-length phrase of two LTT. Such a practice represents something of a paradox because both newly composed motets and motets based on *clausulae* take such irregularity of poetic line length and hence musical phrase as a conventional norm, and here the irregularity of what is, more often than not, regular poetry creates an irregularity as if the work were based on a *clausula* or written in imitation of the same practice.

   Even in a motet where the relationship between the declamation of the poetry and rhythmic modality is more complex, the regular structure of the original *conductus* poem determines the phrase structure of the motet derived from it. In 'Quare fremuerunt gentes' – 'Tenor', for example, the regular hexasyllables of the poetry, although deployed in a more elaborate way than in 'Mundus a munditia', 'Tenor' still result in phrases of four LTT until the final added lines where the new text occupies phrases of three and five LTT. What is striking, though, is that the overall AAB form of the motet is not prompted by the structure of the *conductus* poetry from which it is borrowed.[54] The poem is as follows:

Quare fremuerunt	6	a	p	Why so furiously rage
Gentes et populi?	6	b	pp	The heathen and the people?
Quia non viderunt	6	a	p	Because never have so many eyes seen
Monstra tot oculi,	6	b	pp	Such monstrosities,
Neque audierunt	6	a	p	Nor have old men and youngsters
In orbe seculi	6	b	pp	In the ages of the world
Senes et parvuli	6	b	pp	Heard of
Prelia que gerunt,	6	a	p	Such wars as they wage,
Et que sibi querunt	6	a	p	And of what rulers and judges
Reges et reguli.	6	b	pp	Seek for themselves.
[Hec inquam inferunt	6	a	p	[These, I say bring in
Fauvel et Falvuli]	6	b	pp]	Fauvel and his followers]

The two added lines respect the rhyme, end-accent and line-length of the original poem, but when the Fauvel musician creates his AA structure (lines 1–4 and 5–8 of the poem), his setting is not entirely consistent as

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54 The overall AAB structure of 'Quare fremuerunt' – 'Tenor' was recognised in Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 1/1:99.

he retains the irregular structure of the two quatrains (abab and abba) in what is otherwise an entirely exact musical repetition.

F-Pn fr. 146 clearly contains a repertory that engages its motets with the *conductus* repertory in a particularly intensive way. Perhaps even more striking, although less extensive, is the way in which a pair of *conducti* are treated in the same manuscript. Oxford, Corpus Christ College, 497 is a set of fragments, almost certainly English, which preserves a number of *conducti* including 'Ihesu fili summi patris' and 'O Maria stella maris medicina'.[55] Both *conducti*, like all others in the source, are in three parts with ambitious *caudae*; but these two are marked out because both their texts are abstracted from their *conductus* context and reused as the texts of a three-voice motet copied in the lower margin of the manuscript.[56] This forms part of what is clearly a secondary campaign of copying in this fragment: the motet 'O Maria stella maris' – 'Ihesu fili summi patris' – [Tenor] is not the only example: 'In odoris miro suavio' / 'In odore fragrant dulcedinis' / 'In odorem', unrelated to the *conductus* contents of the manuscript, is similarly copied.[57]

Two phantom examples of relationships between the *conductus* and motet repertory may be dismissed swiftly. Jacques Handschin claimed that the opening of the *duplum* of the *conductus* 'Mater salutifera', found unique in *D-DS* 3471, shared the music of the beginning of the motet (606) 'O miranda dei caritas' – (607) 'Salve mater salutifera' – 'Kyrie' (Kyrie I).[58] Handschin's music example, printed in his 1934 article, merely serves to show how entirely unconvincing is his argument;[59] the claim is, however, transmitted without question by Anderson.[60] And Anderson himself included in his 'catalogue raisonné' the motet (1209) 'Ave Ihesu Christe' – 'O premium' (T 18).[61] This motet survives in three sources of German-speaking provenance (one in a fragmentary form)[62] and in a single text manuscript.[63] It also survives in Flacius Illyricus' 1552 collection, which presumably led Anderson to posit a lost *conductus* on

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[55] Fols. 7r–7v and fols. 6r–7r.   [56] Fols. 5v–6r.

[57] Fols. 3v–4r. I am grateful to Amy Williamson for clarification on the source for this work.

[58] Jacques Handschin, 'Erfordensia I', *Acta musicologica* 6 (1934) 106.   [59] Ibid., 107.

[60] Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*, 9:126.

[61] Anderson, 'Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné', *Miscellanea musicologica* 6 (1972) 153–229; 7 (1975) 1–81, p. 27.

[62] Erfurt, Stadt– und Regionalbibliothek, Bereich Sondersammlungen, Folio 169, fols. IVr–IVv; Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 322/1994, fols. 209v–210r; London, British Library, Add. 27630, fols. 53v–54r.

[63] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5121, fol. 177v.

which Illyricus based his edition, an argument that is redundant in the light of the surviving sources.[64]

Two further groups of sources develop the relationship between *conductus* and motet in different ways: (1) simply transmitting three-voice motets without their tenors among groups of two-voice *conducti* and (2) manuscripts that take non-standard views of the formatting of their contents with the result that the generic boundaries between motet and *conductus* become blurred.

Manuscript Distribution and Style

Individual manuscript sources impose what is effectively local convention on works that originate elsewhere, and while these transmissions complicate the history of individual works, understanding the practices in some single sources is an important contribution to grasping the intriguing relationship between *conductus* and motet. Two manuscripts contain examples of motets with their tenors removed: *D-W* 628 and *E-Mn* 20486. *D-W* 628 preserves five motets in the form of a *conductus* (Table 7.3).

Leaving [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena virginum' – 'Manere' (M 5) aside for a moment, *D-W* 628 preserves the *duplum* and *triplum* of four three-voice motets, all of which are copied in the eighth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 as a tightly packed group towards its beginning. In each case, the version in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 places the text under the *motetus* and *triplum* in score with the liturgical tenor added at the end in the form known as *conductus*-motet. And even in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, the *conductus*-motet versions are copied close together, as Table 7.3 shows. In between [(59) 'Qui servare puberem'] – (59) 'Qui servare puberem' – '[Domi]ne' (M 3) and [(131) 'Deo confitemini'] – (131) 'Deo confitemini' – 'Domino' (M 13) are (98) 'In Bethleem' – 'In Bethleem' (M 8) and (108) 'Novus nove' – 'Mus' (M 11). While the latter is *unicum* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, the former participates in a widely distributed family of motets.

All that is required to turn a *conductus*-motet from the eighth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 into a two-voice *conductus* in *D-W* 628 is to omit the tenor

64 Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Pia quaedam vetustissimaque poemata, partim Antichristum eiusque spirituales filiolos insectantia, partim etiam Christum, eiusque beneficium mira spiritus alacritate celebrantia* (Magdeburg: Lottherus, 1552) 59.

Table 7.3 Motets notated as *conducti* in *D-W* 628

	D-W 628 as *conductus*	*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 as motet (fascicle VIII)	*E-Mn* 20486	Other
[(131) 'Deo confitemini'] – (131) 'Deo confitemini' – 'Domino' (M 13)	107r	383r–383v	106r–106v	*D-W* 1099 (three and two-voice motet); *EBUlh* s.n., 119r (two-voice motet)/two-voice source-*clausula*; *D-W* 1099 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1
[(140) 'Laudes referat'] – (140) 'Laudes referat' – "Quoniam' (M 13)	107r–107v	383v	106v	*D-W* 1099 (two-voice motet)/no apparent source-*clausula*
[(215) 'Gaudeat devotio'] – (215) 'Gaudeat devotio' – 'Nostrum' (M 14)	107v–108r	383v–384		*D-W* 1099 (three and two-voice motet); *E-TO* Cód. 97, 140v (*motetus* only)/Two-voice source-*clausula*; *D-W* 628 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1
[(59) 'Qui servare puberem'] – (59) 'Qui servare puberem' – '[Domi]ne' (M 3)	115r–115v	381v–382r	128r–128v	*GB-Ob* Add. A. 44 and *GB-Ob* Rawl. A. 410 (text only); two-voice source-*clausula*; *D-W* 628 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1
[(69) 'Serena virginum'] – [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena virginum' – 'Manere' (M 5)	13r–15r	235r–237v		See Chapter 6

and copy the two other parts *verbatim*; the result then looks and sounds much like a *conductus*. An entirely legitimate question is to ask what happens to the counterpoint if the tenor is omitted; in later centuries, this would be likely to have resulted in unsupported fourths, and it would be easy to identify an incomplete work. Here, however, (1) the tenor frequently shares the range of at least one of the upper voices, and there is consequently a good deal of voice exchange in the original three-voice *conductus*-motet version; and (2) the contrapuntal vocabulary of both motet and *conductus* is such that it is difficult to point to simultaneities that identify clear contrapuntal lapses created by the omission of a voice part. It is easy to see how the close relationship between the three-voice *conductus*-motets in the eighth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and

Table 7.4 Motets notated as *conducti* in *E-Mn* 20486

	E-Mn 20486	*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1	*D-W* 628	Other
[(441) 'Hodie Marie concurrant'] – (441) 'Hodie Marie concurrant' – 'Regnat' (M 34)	103r–103v	394v–395r		Two-voice source-*clausula*; *D-W* 628 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1
[(635) 'Ad veniam perveniam'] – (635) 'Ad veniam perveniam' – 'Tanquam' (O 2)	102r–102v	381r		Two-voice source-*clausula*; *D-W* 628 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1
[(69) 'Serena virginum'] – [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena virginum' – 'Manere' (M 5)	119v–122r	235r≠237v	13r–15r	See Chapter 6
[(643) 'Formam hominis'] – (643) 'Formam hominis' – 'Gloria' (O 2)	129r	381r–381v		Two-voice source-*clausula*; *D-W* 628 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1

the two-voice *conducti* would lead Heinrich Husmann to invent the term *conductus*-motet (*Konduktmotette* or *Konduktusmotette*).[65]

[(69) 'Serena virginum'] – [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena virginum' – 'Manere' (M 5) is a motet whose career has already been traced, and given its history, it is perhaps no surprise that it appears as a *conductus* (without its tenor) not only in *D-W* 628 but also in the other collection of motets without their tenors transmitted as *conducti*, *E-Mn* 20486 (Table 7.4).

Here are also found the first two three-voice motets in the eighth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 that precede the close-knit group in *D-W* 628, so remarkably almost all of the first half-dozen or so works in the eighth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 are found without their tenors, in either of the two manuscripts but not both. This division prompts a number of questions about other possible lost sources for exactly this configuration

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[65] Heinrich Husmann, *Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa: kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Publikationen älterer Musik 11 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1940; *R* Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1967), passim; Husmann, 'Ein Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen auf Texte des Pariser Kanzlers Philipp in einer Dominikanerhandschrift (Rome, Santa Sabina XIV L3)', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1967) 6. See Darwin F. Scott, 'The Three- and Four-Voice Monotextual Motets of the Notre-Dame School' (PhD diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1988) 15–16. Scott's preference for the term 'monotextual motet' has not gained general acceptance.

of motets (two-voice *conducti* created by the omission of the motet's tenor) that *D-W* 628 and *E-Mn* 20486 might have shared. It is furthermore striking that these two groups are found in two of the so-called central sources for the *conductus*. Given the close relationship that must have existed between the exemplar(s) for *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and *D-W* 628, it is tempting to see this commutative relationship – notwithstanding the St Andrews origin of *D-W* 628 – as evidence of the experimental workshop in Paris that resulted in the emergence of a wide range of compositions surrounding the birth of the motet.[66]

A more complex engagement between the *conductus* and related genres is found in the manuscript *F-CECad* 3. J. 250, a collection of fragments thought to come from a manuscript prepared in Paris for the Abbey of Marchiennes and thought also to be dated very early in the thirteenth century.[67] The source claims our attention for many reasons, not least because of its mix of genres. What remains are clearly fragments of a much larger source because at the end of the single complete quire is the quire-signature xxix; given that the composition on that leaf is incomplete, the manuscript must have consisted of at least 30 quires of probably 12 folios each, resulting in a manuscript of at least 360 folios, which compares favourably with the 476 ruled folios in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, for example. The fragments reveal four separate sections of the manuscript, as outlined in the table of contents (Table 7.5).

The first section of the set of fragments (fols. 1r–4v) consists exclusively of monophonic sequences, consistent and coherent; the first and fourth are incomplete as a result of the fragmentary state of the source.

The four pieces in the second set (5r–5v) contain the end of a two-voice *conductus* 'Regis decus et regine' and three motet voices copied as monodies. 'Regis decus et regine' is found, also in two parts in *I-Fl*

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[66] The fourth of the central Notre-Dame sources, *D-W* 1099, fols. 140r–141v, contains a version of (760a) 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' – 'Domino' (Domino I) in a format analogous to those in *D-W* 628 and *E-Mn* 20486; in other words the two upper voices survive with the text under the *motetus* as a *conductus*. While the format of the *D-W* 1099 transmission may be similar, the origins of the motet are sufficiently different to the *conductus*-motets in the eighth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 to set it apart from the works in Tables 7.3 and 7.4 discussed here.

[67] Jacques Hourlier and Jacques Chailley, 'Cantionale Cathalaunense', *Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, Commerce, Sciences, et Arts du Département de la Marne* 71 [2e série 30] (1956) 141–159; Jacques Chailley, 'Fragments d'un nouveau manuscrit d'Ars Antiqua à Châlons sur Marne', *In memoriam Jacques Handschin*, ed. Higinio Anglès et al. (Strasbourg: P. H. Heitz, 1962) 140–150.

Table 7.5 Table of contents of *F-CECad* 3. J. 250

No	Fols	Incipit	Genre
1	1r–1v	Maiestati sacrosanctae	Sequence
2	1v–3r	Ad Martini tytulum	Sequence
3	3r–4r	Paule doctor	Sequence
4	4r–4v	Per eundem tempus	Sequence
5	5r	Regis decus et regine	*Conductus*
6	5r–5v	[(216) Nostrum est impletum gaudium] – (216) Nostrum est impletum gaudium – Nostrum (M 14)	Motet (a3)
7	5v	[(101) Eximia mater plena gratiae] – (101) Eximia mater plena gratiae – Et illuminare (M 9)	Motet (a2)
8	5v	[(231) Homo, quam sit pura] – (231) Homo, quam sit pura – Latus (M 14)	Motet (a3)
9	6–6v	[(317) O quam sancta, quam benigna] – (317) O quam sancta, quam benigna – Et gaudebit (M 24)	Motet
10	7–7v	Dogmatum falsas species	*Conductus* (refrain) (a1)
11	7v–10v	(451) In veritate comperi quod sceleri – Veritatem (M 37)	Motet (a3)
12	10v–14	O Maria virginei	*Conductus* (a3)
13	14–15v	(448) O Maria, maris stella plena gratie / Veritatem (M 37)	Motet (a3)
14	15v–16	Gedeonis area	*Conductus* (a3)
15	16v–18	De rupta rupecula	*Conductus* (a3)

Plut. 29.1 and its text is also preserved in *CZ-Pak* N VIII.[68] The presence of a third stave, for the *triplum*, in the version of 'Regis decus et regine' in *F-CECad* 3. J. 250, even if it is left without notation, leaves open the possibility of the two-voice version in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 being a reduced copy of a three-part original whose copy in *F-CECad* 3. J. 250 is incomplete. Now, *CZ-Pak* N VIII preserves three stanzas of the poem while *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 gives just stanzas 1 and 3. This means that the fourth stanza in *F-CECad* 3. J. 250 is unique, either possibly added, or this version might be an original of which both other sources are incomplete copies. This is of relevance as we turn to the rest of this section.

The three motets on fols. 5r–5v are not only notated as monodies, but the second of the three, [(101) 'Eximia mater plena gratie'] – (101) 'Eximia mater plena gratie' – 'Et illuminare' (M 9) is supplied with an additional stanza.[69] Whether the *conductus*-motet was based on a lost *clausula* with irregular phrase lengths or whether it simply adopted those

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[68] Fols. 364v–365r; fol. 38v.
[69] The only known concordance is *D-W* 1099. fols. 180v–181, where the two-voice motet is conventionally presented in successive notation, but without the additional stanza.

conventions, the original *motetus* would have supported a text that would be similarly irregular. So when the additional stanza in *F-CECad* 3. J. 250 exactly replicates the highly irregular structure of the original *motetus* text, its poet is undertaking much more than building on an additional regular poem by having to construct a new text to a model whose structure is dictated by musical rather then literary convention. It is impossible to tell whether a similar process is visible in [(231) 'Homo, quam sit pura'] – (231) 'Homo, quam sit pura' – 'Latus (M 14) because the version in *F-CECad* 3. J. 250 is incomplete. The original version of [(101) 'Eximia mater plena gratie'] – (101) 'Eximia mater plena gratie' – 'Et illuminare' (M 9) is in two parts whereas the two others are originally in three, and are found in the eighth fascicle in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[70] Reduction of a three-voice polyphonic complex to a monody and the development of additional stanzas of irregular motet poetry is typical of a *conductus* environment.

Fols. 6r–6v of the fragments *F-CECad* 3. J. 250 contain a version of the motet (317) 'O quam sancta, quam benigna' – 'Et gaudebit' (M 24) that is found in a large number of versions in a wide range of sources. Here, the predominating three-voice musical superstructure is presented in score format with the *motetus* texts underlaid not to the *motetus* voice but to the tenor. This format has already been seen in the transmission of [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena virginum' – 'Manere' (M 5) in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2). It is also seen in the fourth section of *F-CECad* 3. J. 250 where not only do two three-voice motets alternate with three-voice *conducti*, but the two motets, like (317) 'O quam sancta, quam benigna' – 'Et gaudebit' (M 24), are both presented in score with the *motetus* text under the tenor. These two motets are both found as *conductus*-motets in the eighth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, but in *F-CECad* 3. J. 250 both are put into three-voice score and the *motetus* text placed under the tenor rather than under the *motetus* iself, as is conventional.

The motet format found in *F-CECad* 3. J. 250 – three-voice score with the *motetus* text under the tenor – is also found in two motets in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2). This is a fragment of a manuscript in which the preparation, copying and notation may well have originated in the same workshop as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, although its decorative scheme is different.[71] Of the

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[70] Fols. 384r–384v; fols. 385v–386r.

[71] For the separation of the middle section of *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2) from the first section (the New Year's Office) and the third (the *Play of Daniel*), see Mark Everist (ed.), *French 13th-Century Polyphony in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615 (folios 79–94v)* (London: Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society, 1988) 46–47; for the relationship between *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2) and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, see Everist,

dozen compositions preserved in the book today, four are *organa*, five are *conducti* and three are motets. [(359) 'Veni doctor previe'] – (359) 'Veni doctor previe' – 'Veni sancte spiritus' (M 27) was copied unconventionally among the *conductus*-motets in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 in three-voice score, with the text below the *motetus*.[72] This is explicable because the piece is a setting of a complete solo section of an alleluia verse deployed in sustained tenor notes, and it is unsurprising that *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2) entirely replicates this format. But of the remaining pair of motets, scribal attitudes to their genre vary between *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2) and other sources. For example, the four-voice version of [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena virginum' – 'Manere' (M 5) has already been seen to have been copied among the three-part *conducti* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 with the tenor buried at the end, whereas in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2), it is copied in three-voice score with the text under the tenor, which is still left in ligatures. This is exactly the same format as used for [(532) 'Agmina milicie'] – (532) 'Agmina milicie' – 'Agmina' (M 65), but in this case the original motet is a three-voice work copied conventionally as a *conductus*-motet (upper voices in score with the text under the *motetus*, tenor in ligatures at the end) and radically transformed here in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2). In their presentation of *conductus*-motets in score with the *motetus* text under the tenor, these two pieces are identical in format to the three motets in *F-CECad* 3 J. 250 just discussed.

There are five motets that survive in the format identified in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615(2) and *F-CECad* 3. J. 250 to which may be added the motet from *GB-Lbl* Harley 978 discussed earlier. All present the music in score with the text under the tenor.

- [(317) 'O quam sancta'] – (317) 'O quam sancta' – 'Et gaudebit' (M 24)
- [(451) 'In veritate comperi'] – (451) 'In veritate comperi' – 'Veritatem' (M 37)
- [(448) 'O Maria, maris stella'] – (448) 'O Maria, maris stella' – 'Veritatem' (M 37)
- [(532) 'Agmina milicie'] – (532) 'Agmina milicie' – 'Agmina' (M 65)
- [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena virginum' – 'Manere' (M 5)
- [(760a) 'Ave gloriosa mater'] – (760a) 'Ave gloriosa mater' – 'Domino' (Domino I)

'Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution', 2 vols. (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1985), published as *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989) 63–71.

[72] Fols. 390v–392v.

All of these motets present in score material that elsewhere is mostly displayed in parts, or in combinations of score and parts that characterise the *conductus*-motet. Furthermore, they place the single text under the tenor, which is left largely unchanged from the untexted and ligated versions in a way that is not performable and would require modification if it is to carry the text as well as the remaining voices. While it can be agreed that all the pieces in the preceding list are unperformable in the versions in the manuscripts under consideration, it is by no means clear which configuration might have carried any kind of authorial imprimatur. It could simply be argued that these motets were reworked as *conducti* and the liturgical origins of their tenor were simply ignored; and in an environment where the *cum littera* sections of *conducti* were conceived and performed in non-metrical rhythms, a fully measured homophonic Latin song would have been quite a novelty (it may even be the first point at which the *conductus* and mensural rhythm became associated, a tradition that would expand at the end of the century). But it could equally be suggested that the types of unperformable formats identified here were just part of a wide range of experimentation that brought chant-based polyphony, freely composed polyphony, *rithmus*, format and texting into a series of more-or-less successful alignments in the first half of the thirteenth century and of which only a very few were cemented into some sort of convention later in the century.

The conventional view proposes that motets and *conducti* could not be more different. The former exploit all sorts of intertextual tricks: the use and reuse of plainsong and, in the vernacular motet, the *refrain*; they constantly permutate texts and music, and subjugate the structure of their poetry (*rithmi*, as in the *conductus*) to the exigencies of fully metrical music. *Conducti*, on the other hand, depend hardly at all on the borrowing of pre-existing material and take an integrated view of the composition of music and poetry, where the latter is not only carefully respected but provides much of the structural underpinning for the individual work. This chapter has, however, pointed to moments in the history of the long thirteenth century where the two genres had more in common than this orthodox view of their differences suggests.

It certainly would appear that during the emergence of the motet in the very early thirteenth century, there was significant overlap with the *conductus* as experiments with texting, underlay, format and texture were undertaken. Much of this understanding has to be reconstructed through the occasionally confused inclusion in manuscripts designed to preserve, in a well-organised way, genres that were clearly defined. And even after

the two genres were sufficiently well differentiated for the purpose of manuscript *ordinatio* and theoretical description, motets found themselves being reworked in ways that resulted in not only manuscript formats but performances having much to do with the *conductus*. And finally, *conductus* poetry found its way into the motet in musical forms that had almost nothing whatsoever to do with their original form in the *conductus*.

8 | The *Conductus*: Intratexts and Intertexts

Unlike *organum* or the motet, the *conductus* largely avoids wholesale replacement of texts, music and discrete sections within works. That is not to say, however, that the *conductus* is immune to certain levels of intra- and intertextuality. Whereas the two previous chapters have asked questions about the extent to which the genre overlaps with the liturgy and with the motet, Chapter 8 refocuses on the *conductus* itself in the first instance and goes on to consider questions of musical and poetic relationships between the genre and others, including the question of vernacular *contrafactum* – sharing the same music with secular vernacular texts – and the presence of *conductus* poetry in longer, non-lyric, poems.

Passages of music shared either within the same *conductus* or between two or more *conducti* have been the subject of intense scrutiny as evidence to support the erroneous view that the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus* should be interpreted metrically if not modally. The arguments rehearsed in Chapter 3 ran as follows: if the same melodic material could be found both within a demonstrably metrical section (*sine littera*; the *cauda*) and within a rhythmically ambiguous section (*cum littera*), it could be argued that the metrical rhythm of the *cauda* should determine the ambiguous rhythm of the *cum littera* section. Although this argument has been considered and dismissed, the evidence produced in support of the claim may be reinterpreted by asking what the intratextual or intertextual value of these similarities might be. In other words, in a musical environment where – in *organum* and the motet especially – we find intertextual reference (borrowing, reuse, citation) as the norm, what is the function of such practices in a genre – the *conductus* – where intertextual reference is thought to be so rare as to be largely invisible?[1]

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[1] Thomas Payne has observed that the degree to which these correspondences characterise the *conductus* is 'somewhat underwhelming'; of the *c*275 polyphonic *conducti* in the repertory, there are no more thirty-six examples of this practice, and of these only fourteen *conducti* use the practice more than once ('Insider Trading: Syllabic and Melismatic Identity in the Notre Dame *Conductus*', paper read at conference 'Ars Antiqua 2013', Southampton, September 2013).

Figure 8.1 Heinrich Husmann's comparison of two passages from 'Sursum corda elevate'; 'Zur Grundlegnung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittelalterlichen Liedes', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1952) 14

As has been seen in the critique of the use of this material as providing evidence of modal interpretation of the *musica cum littera*, the number of pieces that has been adduced is on the one hand rather small and, on the other, largely spurious. Even Payne's generous diagnosis of the repertory suggests no more than around three dozen examples of any sort of intratextual reference. Of these, many are much better explained as conventional uses of formulae rather than the transfer of material within a single work, and in many cases the similarities between *cum littera* and *sine littera* are nothing more than a question of 'contour'.

To take a single example, Heinrich Husmann claimed that two passages from the fifth stanza of the *conductus* 'Sursum corda elevate' were melodically identical.[2] Even Husmann admits that only the first three pitches of the two extracts are the same. Figure 8.1 is Husmann's illustration of the relationship.

Husmann depends on the version of the piece in Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas 9 (hereafter *E-BUlh* 9) to argue for the 'mode V' reading of the passage on the words 'qui tollis peccata' and has to explain in prose that the two passages are separated by a *cauda*. It is difficult to see how such a generic similarity could be used either to argue for the modal presentation of the notation for 'qui tollis peccata' or – the focus here – for some sort of intratextual relationship. The melodic evidence, by any standards, is unconvincing.

When searching for examples of intratextual reference that genuinely point to a relationship between different parts of the same *conductus*, the list appears small and scattered:

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[2] Heinrich Husmann, 'Zur Grundlegnung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittelalterlichen Liedes', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1952) 14. The text and sources of 'Sursum corda elevate' are given in Chapter 6.

Example 8.1 'Sol sub nube latuit', final texted section and beginning of final *cauda*; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 355r

'A deserto veniens' (II)
'Ave maris stella virgo'
'Ortus summi peracto gaudio'
'Sol sub nube latuit'
'Soli nitorem equori'

'Sol sub nube latuit' offers a good point of departure.[3] As can be seen from the following example, the beginning of the final *cauda* shares the tenor and *duplum* melodies of the *cum littera* passage that immediately precedes it (Example 8.1).

It is short but telling, and not only do the two passages have the melodic integrity that Husmann's example lacks, but they are also contiguous. 'Sol sub nube latuit' is a two-voice refrain song, syllabic throughout except for its final *cauda*. The function of this tiny correspondence seems just to introduce the *cauda* and, by sharing melodic material between *cum littera* and *sine littera* sections, effectively smooths over the point of articulation between the two discursive modes.

Such a practice seems to underpin similar instances where the same musical material is found at the boundary of sections *cum* and *sine littera*.

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[3] 'Sol sub nube latuit' is found in its two-voice form in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1), fols. 354v–355r and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 628), fols. 119v–120r. A different two-voice version is found in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 383, fols. 169r–170r. Various forms of the poetry (different numbers of stanzas) are: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409, fol. 1r; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phill. Ms. 1996, fol. 292v; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 225, fol. 178v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 4880, fols. 83v–84r; Saint Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 351, fols. 20r–20v; London, British Library, Royal 7.A.VI (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Royal 7.A.VI), fol. 107v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A. 44 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Add. A. 44), fols. 80r–80v.

This is the case in 'A deserto veniens' (II), and 'Ave maris stella virgo'.[4]
In 'Ortus summi peracto gaudio', another refrain song, the practice is
reversed so that the beginning of the preceding *cauda* on *sol*lempnio
is shared with the music of the following passage *cum littera*, 'Eya et
eya'.[5] The reason for this might be as much to do with providing a link
between the stanza and the refrain as much as between *cum* and *sine littera*
sections. Payne argues persuasively that some of these instances also serve
to articulate major points in the poetry – just in the same way, it could be
added, as the placement of *cauda*, *punctus organi* or the use of any other
technical resource.[6] The essentially experimental nature of these practices
is rendered even clearer in the case of 'Soli nitorem equori' where an
understanding of the *conductus* and the significance of the intertextuality
there present requires an overview of the entire piece.[7]

Turning to the intertextual sharing of material between *conducti*, a
group of four works are all based on the final *cauda* of a different pre-
existing *conductus*:

'Anima iugi lacrima'
'Minor natu filius'
*'Bulla fulminante'
'Crucifigat omnes'

respectively, *'Relegentur ab area', 'Austro terris influente', *'Dic Christi
veritas' and *'Quod promisit ab eterno'. In two instances, the practice
is identical: 'Minor natu filius' and *'Bulla fulminante' are monophonic
conducti preserved in the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1,[8] and their
music is taken from the polyphonic tenor of their source. In both
cases the *incipit* of the new monody is taken from the end of the
passage of *musica cum littera* that precedes the *cauda* from which the
music is taken. It could be therefore argued that they are a species of

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[4] 'A deserto veniens' (II) is found in two voices in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 216v and *D-W* 628,
fols. 174r–174v. The three-voice 'Ave maris stella virgo' is found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 221r–
221v; *D-W* 628, fols. 71r–72r; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486 (hereafter *E-Mn* 20486),
fols. 113r–114r; *E-BUlh* 9, fol. 145r.

[5] Unique in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 218r–218v.   [6] Payne, 'Insider Trading'.

[7] A complete analysis of 'Soli nitorem equori' is ibid.

[8] 'Minor natu filius': *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 450v–451r; London, British Library, Egerton 274
(hereafter *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274), fol. 36r. Its text is *in* Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu: Knihovna
metropolitní kapituly, N VIII (hereafter *CZ-Pak* N VIII), fol. 37v. *'Bulla fulminante': *GB-Lbl*
Egerton 274, fols. 38v–39r; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, H.B.I.Asc.95
(hereafter *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95), fol. 33v; Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660 (hereafter
D-Mbs clm 4660), fol. 54r. The text alone is given in *in CZ-Pak* N VIII, fol. 37v.

prosula. But in the case of 'Anima iugi lacrima', although the process of borrowing is the same, the borrowed material becomes the tenor in a three-voice motet, discussed as part of the fuller account of *'Relegentur ab area' in Chapter 7. More ambitious, 'Crucifigat omnes' shares both *duplum* and tenor with the final *cauda* of *'Quod promisit ab eterno'.[9]

A single instance appears at first sight to belong to the same type of practice: the three *conducti* 'Purgator criminum' (three voices), 'Procurans odium' (three voices, but the piece survives in two voices as well) and the monophonic 'Suspirat spiritus' all share the same melody for the tenor.[10] However, all three works fit into a network of vernacular compositions that also include Blondel de Nesle's 'Amour dont sui espris / M'efforce' (RS 1545) and Gautier de Coinci's 'Amours dont sui espris / De chanter' (RS 1546).[11] It is likely but not certain, furthermore, that Blondel's *chanson*

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[9] 'Crucifigat omnes', in three voices and two stanzas is preserved in a three-voice form in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 231v–232r. Other versions in three parts provide only the first stanzas of the poetry: *D-W* 628, fols. 78v–79r; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 1099), fol. 46v; there is a fragmentary three-voice version in Cambridge, Jesus College, QB 1(hereafter *GB-Cjec* QB 1), fols. 1Cr–1Cv. Two-voice versions survive in *E-BUlh* 9, fols. 97r–97v and *D-W* 1099, fols. 138v–139v; it is found as a monody in *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95, fol. 31r, and the poetry alone is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 510 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510), fols. 242v–243r and in *D-Mbs* clm 4660, fol. 13r. The sources for the two-voice through-composed *'Quod promisit ab eterno' include five witnesses to the two-part version: *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 300v–310r; *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 76v–78r; *E-Bulh* s.n., fols. 132r–134r; *D-W* 628, fols. 139v–140v; *D-W* 1099, fols. 111r–112v; the tenor alone is found in *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95, fol. 32v. There is some disagreement over the priority of the borrowing between the two works. Most authorities (listed in Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981) 192) assume that the melismatic two-voice *cauda* of *'Quod promisit ab eterno' served as the source for the almost entirely syllabic 'Crucifigat omnes' (there is little neumatic writing, as one would expect from a melismatic original – ligatures are the result of *fractio modi* in the *cauda*). Husmann, however, declared that 'Ein besonders interessantes Stück ist der *ursprünglich drestimmige* Konduktus *Crucifigat omnes*' ('Zur Grundlegnung der musikalischen Rhythmik', 13 [emphasis added, except for that on '*Crucifigat omnes*']); this claim, made in 1952, differs from his acceptance of the conventional view expressed two years later (Husmann, 'Das System der modalen Rhythmik', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 11 [1954] 11).

[10] The three-voice 'Purgator criminum' is *unicum* in *D-W* 628, fols. 80r–80v, with the text also found in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 258, fol. 2v; *GB-Ob* Add. A. 44, fol. 65r and *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510, fol. 244r. There are two sources for the three-voice version of 'Procurans odium': *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 226r–226v; *GB-Cjec* QB 1, fol. 1Ar; and two for its two-voice version: *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 124r–124v; Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5539 (hereafter *D-Mbs* clm 5539), fol. 37r. The text alone is *D-Mbs* clm 4660, fol. 47v. The monody, 'Suspirat spiritus' is found in *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274, fol. 39v; the text alone in *CZ-Pak* N VIII, fol. 38r.

[11] For sources of both, see Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*, Musicologica 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955) 218; Robert White, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*, Romance Monographs 31 (University, MS: Romance Monographs, 1979) 111 and 146.

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 origi- nate 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. I. 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.

within a few folios of each other in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[16] Two *conducti* 'Parce virgo spes reorum' and 'Deus in adiutorium' (II) are supposed to share the same opening material, but this only extends to the first couple of notes and renders interpretation even more difficult than other examples; the fact that both pieces are contiguous in Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Vari 42 means that the two probably date from the early fourteenth century.[17] Exactly what might be made of these correspondences is as unclear, as are the instances of in which correspondences are found within a single work. The examples discussed here are frequently found copied close together, which might signify a copyist's or even a composer's interest in reflecting a melodic shape that they found attractive, but exactly how one might develop such an argument is obscure, given the nature of the correspondence and the small number of surviving examples.

In many respects, the examples discussed in this section, and the – at best – ambiguous answers that emerge from questioning them respond to one of the key questions posed *à propos* the *conductus* repertory: if motets, *organa* and *clausulae* function in a complex, self-referential, intra- and intertextual environment, to what extent is this true of the *conductus*? *Organa* swap entire sections of *discantus* or sustained-tone *organum* between sources, and motets both add and suppress upper voices in various versions of more or less the same work. While it is clear that there is a certain number of intra-/intertextual references in the *conductus*, each of these types provides only a very few examples, and there is rarely any consistency of practice; indeed most of the examples give the impression of being experiments that are largely not replicated. Particularly striking are the examples just considered in which – to be set meaningfully alongside other genres – we might expect some extensive intra-/intertextual working to be present within the *conductus* repertory itself, and this working is simply not present; again there are scattered examples, experiments, but no real sense of any emerging convention that might govern the repertory in the same way as is the case in *organum* or motet. The *conductus* remains, overwhelmingly, a newly composed genre, with the examples discussed here tiny features on a very large map.

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[16] Fols. 234r–234v and 228v–229r, respectively. The transmission of 'Veris ad imperia' is complicated by the fact that it shares its music with the French-Occitan song 'A l'entrada del tens clar'. See Jacopo Mazzeo, 'The Two-Part *Conductus*: Morphology, Dating and Authorship' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2015) 71, note 139.

[17] Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 229.

Contrafactum and the *Conductus*

To a much more restricted extent than in the case of the motet, the *conductus* repertory shows signs of the process of *contrafactum*: the retexting of complete musical compositions with new poetry. The *conductus* repertory is also characterised by the reverse process: the resetting of the same poetry to different music. It also shares its material with French, Provençal and French-Occitan songs. The pairs of Latin texts that share the same music are as follows:[18]

'Ecce nomen Domini' – 'Magnum nomen Domini Emanuel'
'Hec est turris quam vallavit' – 'Ortus dignis Christi signis'
'Mater patris et filia' (I) – Veri solis presentia'
'Redit etas aurea' – 'Floret fex favellea'
*'Stella serena' – 'Ave maria gratia plena' (III)
'Crucifigat omnes' – 'Curritur ad vocem' – 'Mundum renovavit'

The 'Ecce nomen Domini' – 'Magnum nomen Domini Emanuel' pair are discussed later in this chapter in the context of those *conductus* poems embedded in longer texts, and the *contrafactum* of 'Redit etas aurea' as 'Floret fex favellea' is best considered alongside the other example of *conducti* reworked in the *Roman de Fauvel* (discussed in Chapter 9). The relationship between the two Latin *conducti* 'Mater patris et filia' (I) and 'Veri solis presentia' is problematic, as it involves either the addition or subtraction of voices as well as a process of *contrafactum*.[19] Many have attempted to come to terms with the range of techniques in play (*caudae* in different modes, modal transmutation and voice-exchange); the most recent and most likely solution is offered by Rebecca Baltzer, who writes 'About 1220, the composer of the two-voice *conductus*, likely with the *Mater patris et filia* text, was an adventurous French musician who was willing to display his technical prowess with change of mode, modal transmutation, voice-exchange, and syllabic/melismatic identity. Another

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[18]   This list leaves out a number of highly varied versions of effectively the same text where there are enough examples of cross-reference between the two texts to consider them variants of the same poem rather than *contrafacta* per se.

[19]   Sources for 'Mater patris et filia' (I) are *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 117v–118v (two voices); *E-BUlh* 9, fols. 147r–150r (three voices); the text is also found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 507 fol. 192 and Porto, Biblioteca Municipal, Santa Cruz 65, fol. 98v. 'Veri solis presentia' is *unicum* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 222r–223r.

Parisian composer decided to change the text and add a triplum part.'[20] This accords with the assumption that the pre-existent sequence text 'Mater patris' was the older of the two. In the case of another pair of *conducti* that share the same music – 'Stella serena' and 'Ave Maria gratia plena' (III) – each is unique to the manuscript in which it is found, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 15139 and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, respectively.[21] As in the case of the 'Mater patris et filia' (I) and 'Veri solis presentia' pair, 'Ave Maria gratia plena' (III) is a pre-existent text, and Robert Falck has convincingly demonstrated that the 'Stella serena' *contrafactum* consists of 'a number of stock Marian formulas trimmed to match the 'Ave Maria' in syllable count and held together by an irregular rhyme scheme', and that in this case it is easy to show that 'Stella serena' is the retexting of 'Ave Mari gratia plena' (III).[22]

'Crucifigat omnes' is derived from the final *cauda* of *'Quod promisit ab eterno': it also shares its music with two other poems: 'Mundum renovavit' and 'Curritur ad vocem'. In the first case, the poetry is simply added at the end of the end of the music in *D-W* 628 and may be a replacement *residuum* for the other stanzas that are not copied there.[23] 'Curritur ad vocem' is transmitted in *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95 and in *D-Mbs* clm 4660;[24] in the latter, it appears as stanzas 4 and 5 of 'Crucifigat omnes' and, as in the case of *D-W* 628, seems to form part of that piece, but the second stanza of 'Curritur ad vocem' is found as a monody in *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95 where it functions as a free-standing and genuine *contrafactum*. It is copied just before 'Crucifigat omnes' in the manuscript, however. While there is no clear separate version of 'Crucifigat omnes', as there is in the case of the two previous examples, the process of rewriting the poetry to pre-existing music – *contrafactum* – is still part of the process. What is interesting is that *contrafacta* of 'Crucifigat omnes' seem to have been executed not only in St Andrews but also in two different locations within German-speaking territories.

A final pair of poems that share the same music, 'Exiit dilucolo' and 'Surrexit de tumulo', betrays a practice that functions entirely independently of the central orbit of Notre-Dame *conductus*, but one

[20] Rebecca A. Baltzer, '*Mater patris et filia* or *Veri solis presentia*?', paper read at conference 'Ars Antiqua 2013', Southampton, September 2013.

[21] Fols. 259r–260r; fols. 249v–250r.

[22] Robert Falck, 'New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23 (1970) 317.

[23] *D-W* 628, fol. 79r.   [24] Fols. 30v and 13r–13v, respectively.

that links the Arab frontier with the south of the German-speaking lands: 'Exiit diluculo' is found in *D-Mbs* clm 4660 and *D-Mbs* clm 5539, while 'Surrexit de tumulo' is preserved in *E-BUlh* 9.[25] In which direction this *contrafactum* took place is a matter for conjecture, but to judge from the sources and the late mensural notation for 'Surrexit in tumulo', some time around 1300 the two-voice and probably German 'Exit diluculo' found its way to the Iberian peninsula and was retexted with the poem 'Surrexit de tumulo'. The pair of poems 'Hec est turris quam vallavit' and 'Ortus dignis Christi signis' are found with the same two-part music in close proximity in the same source, Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 314 (hereafter *CH-EN* 314).[26] This type of hermetic treatment of the same music, possibly with both texts conceived simultaneously as a way of deriving greater value from the act of composition, may well be evidence of an idiosyncratic attitude to the relationship between poetry and music in the Benedictine Abbey of Engelberg in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.[27]

If the process of *contrafactum* within the *conductus* repertory is largely inconsistent, much the same might be said of occasions where the same poem is set to different music. There are nine examples of the same poetry appearing with different music – in other words, a different setting – across the entire repertory.

'A deserto veniens' (II)
'Angelus ad virginem' (I)
'Ave Maria gratia plena' (III)
'Ave virgo virginum' (I)
'O mira Christi pietas'
'Quid tu vides Ieremia'
'Sol sub nube latuit'
'Verbum bonum et suave' (I)
'Virga florem germinavit'

Two works, 'Angelus ad virginem' (I) and 'Quid tu vides Ieremia' (II) are partial resettings of *conducti*, but behave differently. The two settings of 'Angelus ad virginem' begin similarly, but the more widely distributed version of the piece is shorter:

[25] Fol. 38v (the poem only) and 35r–35v; fols. 93r–93v.

[26] Fols. 152r–153r and 150r–150v.

[27] Wulf Arlt and Mathias Stauffacher (eds.), *Engelberg Stiftsbibliotehk Codex 314*, Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler 11 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1986) 62–63.

I	II
Angelus ad virginem	Angelus ad virginem
Subintrans in conclave,	Subintrans in conclave,
Virginis formidinem	Virginis formidinem
Demulcens, inquit: 'Ave.	Demulcens, inquit: 'Ave,
Ave, regina virginum,	Ave, regina filium,
Celi terreque Dominum	Celique terre Dominum,
Concipies,	Concipies,
Et paries	Et paries
Intacta	Intacta'.
Salutem hominem:	Ut sit salus in periculis
Tu porta celi facta,	Pauperibus et in vinculis,
Medela criminum'.	Solamenque precantibus,
	Iuvamen desperantibus:
	Appereas,
	Aufer mundi varias
	Tristitias,
	Angarias,
	O Maria!

'Angelus ad virginem' must surely be one of the best-known Latin songs from the Middle Ages; mentioned by title in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, it was apparently described by Odo of Cheriton as *illa cantilena amenissima* – in an account which seems to suggest Philip the Chancellor as its author.[28] All but one of the dozen or so witnesses to the song use Version I of the text as the first of five stanzas that constitute a dialogue between the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin in a retelling of the story of the Annunciation. It is preserved in a variety of forms: in three-voice and two-voice polyphony,[29] as a monody,[30] with its text alone[31] and with it three-voice version without

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[28] The attribution to Philip the Chancellor was made by Christopher Page at the same time as finding a reference to the song in the late thirteenth-century *Speculum laicorum* (Oxford, University College 29, fol. 93r); see '*Angelus ad virginem*: A New Work by Philip the Chancellor?' *Early Music* 11 (1983) 69–70. While Peter Dronke rejects the attribution largely on stylistic grounds ('The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor', *Studi medievali*, Third Series 28 (1987) 584), the question is by no means resolved.

[29] In three voices in Cambridge, University Library, Add. 710 (hereafter *GB-Cu* Add. 710), fols. 130r; in two parts in London, British Library, Cotton Frag. XXIX, fol. 36v.

[30] *GB-Cu* Add. 710, fol. 127r; London, British Library, Arundel 248 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Arundel) 248, fol. 154r. The latter version is also furnished with an English *contrafactum* 'Gabriel fram evene king' (ibid.).

[31] Metz, Médiathèque, 535, fols. 163r (lost); Cambridge, University Library, Gg. I. 32, fol. 5v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 786, fol. VIIv; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 147, fol. 151v.

text.[32] Almost all of these sources are English. Version II of 'Angelus ad virginem' takes the beginning of the first stanza and curtails the direct speech of the angel, and concludes the poem as a generic prayer to the Virgin. This poem is then set to a totally different melody in Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 716 (hereafter *D-Mbs* cgm 716),[33] but this is from the late fourteenth century, possibly associated with the so-called Monk of Salzburg.[34]

Similarly fragmentary, but this time in purely musical terms, are the two settings of 'Quid tu vides Ieremia'. In a now-classic study of this work, Janet Knapp pointed both to the complexity of the relationships between the transmission and meaning of the poem in its various sources and also to the fact that there are two different but related pieces of music in play.[35] The *conductus* is found in four manuscripts in three voices,[36] and the text is found in *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510.[37] While the versions in *D-W* 628, *D-W* 1099 and London, British Library, Harley 5393 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Harley 5393) are all largely the same, the setting in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 takes the same tenor and builds an entirely new pair of upper parts above it.[38] Effectively, this is a new setting except that the two works share a tenor. In this regard, the practice of rebuilding polyphony over a tenor is akin to practices found in the motet except that the tenor of 'Quid tu vides Ieremia' is not a *cantus prius factus*. What is also important about this piece – and what marks it out from, say, the transmission of 'Angelus ad virginem' – is that both musical versions of this text are found in the central sources of Notre-Dame polyphony, which brings them into a chronological sphere of the first half of the thirteenth century. 'Quid tu vides Ieremia', notwithstanding Knapp's comments on its poetry, is a rare witness to recomposition over a tenor within the *conductus* repertory.

Rather like those of 'Angelus ad virginem', the two settings of 'Ave virgo virginum' fall into one large group preserving a first version, and an outlying one – both in terms of geography and chronology – preserving

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[32] In addition to the three-part and monophonic versions in *GB-Cu* Add. 710, the so-called Dublin Troper, the manuscript also contains a textless copy of the three-voice version (fol. 130v) copied just after the texted version.

[33] Fol. 18r.

[34] This version is also found in Prague, Narodní knihovna, III.D.10, fols. 226r–226v, and this version of the text alone is preserved in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 33.1 Aug., fol. 146r.

[35] Janet Knapp, '*Quid tu vides, Jeremia*: Two Conductus in One', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963) 212–220.

[36] *D-W* 628, fols. 79r–79v; *D-W* 1099, fols. 42r–43r; *GB-Lbl* Harley 5393, fol. 80v.

[37] Fol. 242v.   [38] Fols. 234v–235r.

a second. Although the sources for the first version are scattered (and the work is known in three-, two-voice, monophonic and text transmissions), it is certain that this was known in Paris by the middle of the thirteenth century.[39] The second, two-voice version, found in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 74, was copied in Bavaria in the fourteenth century.[40] 'Sol sub nube latuit' – although its transmission is complicated by vernacular versions to be discussed later – is much the same in that all sources except one[41] share the same setting, with an outlying different version in *CH-SGs* 383.

'O mira Christi pietas' is a refrain song that survives without music in all six of its sources; these divide into two versions of the text, close to identical, which might betray signs of having been set differently.[42] 'Virga florem germinavit' – even if it should be considered a *conductus* – exists in two different versions; both appear to come from the British Isles, the first in *D-W* 628 and the second in Worcester, Cathedral Chapter Library, Add. 68.[43]

Of the remaining three poems that seem to survive with more than one musical setting, 'Verbum bonum et suave' (I) is similar to 'Angelus ad virginem' and 'Ave virgo virginum' in that among its dozen sources a single one (Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 695; hereafter *I-Ac* 695) preserves an entirely different setting (II).[44] What is different is that *I-Ac* 695 is as close to the centre of musical activity as any of the others, coming as it does either from Reims or Paris and certainly before 1287; we have here two musical versions of the same text circulating more or less simultaneously within the same musical and cultural *milieu*.[45] The same may be said of 'A deserto veniens' (both versions are found in *D-W* 628, for example),[46] while the four versions of 'Ave Maria gratia plena' have been discussed in Chapter 6.

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[39] The version in three parts is in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 240r–240v. There is a version in *D-Mbs* clm 5539, fols. 34r–35v in which the first stanza is for two voices and the second two for one. There is a simple monophonic version in *D-Sl* H.B.1.Asc.95, fol. 42v, and the text alone is preserved in *CZ-Pak* N VIII, fol. 38v.

[40] Fols. 2r–2v.

[41] 'Sol sub nube latuit' is also discussed earlier in this chapter, where a full list of sources is given.

[42] Part of a larger text attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, it is discussed later in this chapter.

[43] Fols. 197v–198r and fol. XXIX, a2v.

[44] See the listing of sources in Ian Bent, 'A New Polyphonic Verbum bonum et suave', *Music and Letters* 51 (1970) 235.

[45] *I-Ac* 695, fols. 238v–239v. See Albert Seay, 'Le manuscrit 695 de la Bibliothèque Communale d'Assise', *Revue de musicologie* 39 (1957) 10–35.

[46] Fols. 143r–143v; 174r–174v.

The *Conductus* and the Vernacular Tradition

The discussion earlier in this chapter of the relationship between three *conducti*, 'Suspirat spiritus', 'Procurans odium' and 'Purgator criminum' stopped at the point where it became clear that the music of 'Suspirat spiritus' and the tenor of the two other *conducti* were shared with the music of two *trouvère* songs: Blondel de Nesle's 'Amour dont sui espris / M'efforce' (RS 1545) and Gautier de Coinci's 'Amours dont sui espris / De chanter' (RS 1546). While Gautier's song is a Marian *contrafactum* of Blondel's *chanson*, and therefore included in the *Miracles de Notre Dame* the date of Blondel's original is far from certain. Blondel wrote two songs dedicated to Conon de Béthune, who died in 1219 or 1220, so the former could have been composing easily into the 1220s.[47] The earliest dates that may be attributed to 'Procurans odium' and 'Purgator criminum' are those of the earliest manuscripts in which they are found: *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 – between 1245 and 1255 therefore – and *D-W* 628 – in the early to mid-1230s. It may however be hypothesised that they were copied from a lost archetype circulating in Paris perhaps as early as the 1210s. The sources for 'Suspirat spiritus' place its dating even later. However, given that it is attributed to Philip the Chancellor, this means that the poem cannot have been written later than 1236, and it is known that he was writing at least as late as the end of the 1220s.[48] This means that both Blondel and Philippe could have composed and/or retexted 'Suspirat spiritus' or 'Amour dont sui espris / M'efforce' (RS 1545) more or less at any time from the 1190s to the 1230s or later, and it is impossible, on chronological grounds to argue for the priority of one over the other. And the chronological priority of either 'Procurans odium' or 'Purgator criminum' over both cannot be ruled out. With such a fragile state of affairs, the investigation of the question of *conductus* and *contrafactum* demands a cautious and finely textured approach. Table 8.1 gives a

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[47] Holger Petersen-Dyggve, *Onomastique des trouvères*, Annales academiæ scientiarum fennicæ B30 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise, 1934) 55. For the dates of Conon de Béthune, see Theodore Karp, 'Conon de Béthune', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, consulted 10 October 2016; www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06298. See also Friedrich Gennrich, 'Zu den Liedern des Conon de Béthune', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 42 (1922) 231–241 and Philip August Becker, 'Die Kreuzzugslieder von Conon de Béthune und Huon d'Oisi', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 64 (1942) 305–312.

[48] Thomas B. Payne, 'Philippe le Chancelier', *Die Musk in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd edn., ed. Ludwig Finscher, 26 vols. (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1994–2007) 13:509–511.

Table 8.1 *Conducti* and *contrafacta*

Latin title	*Contrafactum* and rubrication	Notes
1. Ecce mundi gaudium	Lonc tens ai use ma vie	*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1; monophonic
2. *Fas et nefas ambulant	Far vuoil un nou sirventes (Folquet de Romans)	*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1; three voices
	Pessamen ai e cossir (Peire Raymon de Tolosa)	
3. Fidelium sonet vox sobria	Malidito seja quen non loara	*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1; monophonic
4. O Maria o felix puerpera	Ma viele vïeli vieler (Gautier de Coinci)	*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1; monophonic
	Pastourele vi seeant les un buisson	
5. Flos preclusus sub torpore	Povre viellece m'assaut	?Philip the Chancellor; Peter of Blois (Dronke) *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1; monophonic
6. Dic qui gaudes prosperis	Li dous termines m'agree (Moniot d'Arras)	'Li dous termines' is connected to motet repertory. Latin version is trans-channel (Lyre)
	Thumas Herier j'ai parle (Guillebert de Berneville)	
7. Syon egredere nunc de cubilibus	Ich lob ein wip (Der Tannhäuser)	Both versions in German MSS
8. Salve virgo virginum parens	Veine pleine de ducur	Both versions in same MS
9. Ave stella maris Maria	Nimpt mir I der frod	*CH-EN* 314
10. Congaudent omnes angeli	Wilduang e genaden	*CH-EN* 314
11. Flore vernat virginali	'[. . .]ten sehen[. . .]cher li	*CH-EN* 314
12. Nato celorum Domino	Blundes [. . .]s aller selikeit'	*CH-EN* 314
13. O stirpe regis filia	Dich alle so bin ich	*CH-EN* 314
14. Pusiolus nobis nascitur	C[. . .]kund	*CH-EN* 314
15. Salve virgo Margaretha	Ein wild uf gen	*CH-EN* 314
16. Veni sancte spiritus veni lumen	Sol man dienst singen	*CH-EN* 314
17. Ad sancte Katherine	La tres grant biaute de li ma le cuer du cors ravi. contra in latino	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 15131 (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 15131)
18. Alleluia Regi regum omnium	Au bois irai pour cullir la violeite/ mon ami I trouverai. Contra in latino	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
19. Ave regina celorum Regis	Dex quar haiez merci de m'ame si com j'e envers vous mespris. contra	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
20. Gallia cum letitia	E! jolis cuers se tu t'en vas s'onques m'amas pour dieu ne m'antroblie pas. Contra in latino	*F-Pn* lat. 15131

(*cont.*)

Table 8.1 (*cont.*)

Latin title	*Contrafactum* and rubrication	Notes
21. Iherusalem Iherusalem letare	Amours amours amours ai qui m'ocient et la nuit et la iour	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
22. Laudibus Nicholai dulcibus	Rois gentis faites ardoir ces Juiis pendre ou escorchier vis	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
23. Letare mater ecclesia	Ci aval querez amouretes. contra in Latino	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
24. Marie preconio	Par defaus de leaute que j'ai en amour trove me partire du pais. contra in latino	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
25. Mater ecclesia	Bonne amoureite m'a en sa prison pieca	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
26. Militans ecclesia	Unques mes ne fu seurpris du jolif mal d'amoureites mes or le sui orandroit	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
27. Nicholai laudibus	Je fere mentel taillier cousu de flours, ourle d'amours, fourre de violeite. Contra in Latino	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
28. Nicholai sollempnio	Onques an ameir loialment ne conquis fors ke maltalent	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
29. Pange cum letitia	Honniz soit qui mes onan beguineite devendra	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
30. Sancti Nicholai vacemus titulis	Jo'i le rousignol chanter dessus le raim u jardinet m'amie de sus l'ante florie . . . contra in Latino	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
31. Superne matris gaudia	Amez moi, douce dame, amez, et je ferai vouz voulentez	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
32. Syon contio	De tele heure vi la biaute ma dame que ne puis sanz li. contra in latino	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
33. Syon presenti sollempnio	Dex donnez me joie de ce que j'ain l'amour a la belle ne puis avoir	*F-Pn* lat. 15131
34. Iam mundus ornatur mira gloria	La douce acordance (Adam de Givenchi)	Latin and French versions in same MS
35. Ave gemma que lucis copia	Tant ai amours servies (Thibaut de Navarre)	Latin *conductus* is *unicum* in Adam de la bassée
36. Ave princeps celestis curie	Loiaus desirs et pensee jolie (Martin le Geguin de Cambrai	Latin *conductus* is *unicum* in Adam de la bassée
37. Ave rosa rubens et tenera	Tant ai d'amours apris et entendu (Gaidifer d'Avion)	Latin *conductus* is *unicum* in Adam de la bassée
38. Felix qui humilium	L'autrier estoie montes (Henri III de Brabant)	Latin *conductus* is *unicum* in Adam de la bassée

Table 8.1 (*cont.*)

Latin title	*Contrafactum* and rubrication	Notes
39. O constantie dignitas	Je ne chant pas pour verdour	Latin *conductus* is *unicum* in Adam de la bassée
40. Olim in armonia	?'De juer et de baler'	Latin *conductus* is *unicum* in Adam de la bassée
41. Ave virgo sapiens	Talens m'est pris orendroit (Gautier de Coinci)	Latin *conductus* is *unicum* in *F-Pa* 3517; French version in same MS
42. Planctus ante nescia	Ar ne kuthe sorghe non Eyns ne soy ke plynte fu	Latin version is trans-channel (Lyre)
43. In hoc statu gratie	Dame je vous aime plus Huimain par un ajournant	Latin version *unicum* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (monophonic)
44. Ortum floris	Quant voi nee	Origins of MSS of Latin version doubtful
45. *Vite perdite me legi (12)	A l'entrant del tanz salvage (Hue de St Quentin) Per dan que d'amor m'aveigne (Peirol225)	Peter of Blois; two-voice music in central source
46. Ave gloriosa virginum regina	L'autrier chevauchoie (RS 1695) Lonctens m'ai teu (RS 2060) Virge glorieuse (RS 1020) . . . .. en tremblement (RS 362a)	Philip the Chancellor
47. Beata viscera	De la Saint Leocade (Gautier de Coinci) Entendez tuit ensemble (Gautier de Coinci)	Philip the Chancellor
48. Homo considera (10)	De yesse Naistra (RS 7) Je chant comme desves (Jacques de Hesdin) (RS 922) L'autrier m'iere leves (RS 395)	Philip the Chancellor
49. Nitimur in vetitum	Quant li rossignol jolis (Raoul de Ferrières) (RS 1559) En pascour un jour erroie (RS 1718) L'autrier m'iere rendormis (RS 1609)	Philip the Chancellor
50. Pater sancte dictus Lotharius	Douce Dame gres et graces vous rent (Gace Brulé) (RS 719)	Philip the Chancellor
51. Veritas equitas largitas (8)	Flours de glais Geant mennais del cais	Philip the Chancellor
52. Quisquis cordi et oculi (13)	Amis qui est li mieus vaillant Li cuers si vait de l'oil pliagnent (Philip the Chancellor in MS) Plaine d'ire et desconfort Quan vei la lauzeta mover (Bernard de Ventadorn)	Philip the Chancellor (music by Henry of Pisa)

Table 8.1 (*cont.*)

Latin title	*Contrafactum* and rubrication	Notes
53. Suspirat spiritus	Amours dont sui espris / M'efforce (Blondel de Nesle)	Philip the Chancellor; monophonic
	Amours dont sui espris / De chanter (Gautier de Coinci)	
54. Procurans odium	Amours dont sui espris / M'efforce (Blondel de Nesle)	Three voice (*I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 but not unique)
	Amours dont sui espris / De chanter (Gautier de Coinci)	
55. Purgator criminum	Amours dont sui espris / M'efforce (Blondel de Nesle)	Three voice (only in *D-W* 628)
	Amours dont sui espris / De chanter (Gautier de Coinci)	
56. Quid frustra consumeris	Bien font amours lor talen (Thibaut de Blaison + others)	*Unicum* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (three voices)
57. Ve proclamet clericorum	Fols est qui a ensient (Simon d'Authie)	*Unicum* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (three voices)
58. Veris ad imperia (41)	A l'entrada del tens cler	*Unicum* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (three voices)
59. Sol sub nube latuit	Chanter et renvoisier seuil (Thibaut de Blason)	Walter of Châtillon; two-voice music in central sources
	Pour mon chief reconforter (Gautier de Coinci)	
60. Ver pacis aperit	Ma joie me serment (Blondel de Nesle)	Walter of Châtillon; two-voice music in central sources

listing of all Latin *conducti* that share their music with vernacular songs of all types. The only groupings it excludes are putative *contrafacta* for which no music is preserved and for which the status of *contrafactum* is conferred merely by the identity of verse structure. Take the *conductus*, 'Mundus a munditia', for example, whose sources have been described in the previous chapter. It has been observed that the *conductus* poetry 'has been related to Marcabru's *Dirai vos senes*',[49] although the single surviving source for Marcabru's song contains an entirely different melody.[50] Especially given the questionable analysis of the poetry underpinning

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[49] Hans Tischler, *Conductus and Contrafacta*, Musicological Studies 75 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2001) 104. Tischler also provides a (fully metrical) edition of the *troubadour* song and the three-voice *conductus* (ibid., 108).

[50] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 22543, fol. 5v.

this identification, this and other similar examples are avoided in this discussion.[51]

Two repertories of *conducti* that share their music with vernacular poetry may be explained with some ease. A small collection of refrain songs survive in the manuscript *CH-EN* 314, which have German incipits copied in the margin. *CH-EN* 314 was copied in the last quarter of the fourteenth century in the Benedictine Abbey of Engelberg; it is therefore a clearly discrete collection prepared and copied at some remove in time and space from the fulcrum of European cultivation of the *conductus*. All eight works in Table 8.1 are *unica*, and none of the poetry indicated by the German incipits survives in a more complete form.[52] It could be argued that the repertory here have little to do with the *conductus* in its earliest forms as found in the period 1160 to 1240. A second collection is perhaps more relevant to these concerns. A manuscript miscellany, probably from the Abbey School of St Victor in Paris, contains seventeen lyrics with refrains in Latin, with French *contrafacta* of the refrain in the margin; only the refrain lyrics are treated this way, the remaining *conductus* poems are in Latin exclusively.[53] Although almost certainly copied after 1289, three of the seventeen refrain songs reveal a certain amount about the intertextual nature of these *contrafacta*: all three reveal correspondences with the wider French lyric repertory.[54] The French *contrafacta* of 'Nicholai vacemus' and 'Marie preconio' ('J'oi le rossignol' [RS 829] and 'Par fate de loiauté' [RS 464]) are the *refrain* in both a song by Jehan de l'Escurel and an anonymous song in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Douce 308).[55] The third *contrafactum* ('Unques en amer loiaument'; 'Nicholai sollempnio') is found embedded, the *refrain* alone, in three of the four manuscript sources for the romance *Renart le nouvel*.[56]

[51] Tischler's argument that 'The rhyme order, a a a b a a, is the same, and so is the struture of the 4–4–4–2–4–4 trochees' imputes a metrical reading both of Latin *rithmus* and of provençal poetry that is not called for by the genres in question (*Conductus and Contrafacta*, 104).

[52] See Arlt and Stauffacher, *Engelberg Stiftsbibliotehk Codex 314*, 98–99.

[53] Barthelémy Hauréau, 'Notice sur le numéro 15131 des manuscrits latins de la bibliothèque nationale', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* 33 (1890) 127–139.

[54] Mary Channen Caldwell, 'Singing, Dancing and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000–1582' (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013) 38–39, provides a list of all seventeen Latin songs with their French *contrafacta*.

[55] 'J'oi le rossignol' (vdB 1159) is found in *F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 61r; 'Par fate de loiauté' (vdB 1476), in *GB-Ob* Douce 308, fol. 214r.

[56] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 25566, fol. 147v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 372, fol. 34v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 1593, fol. 33r. See Caldwell, 'Singing, Dancing and Rejoicing', 467.

A number of authors of *conductus* poetry are embroiled in questions of *contrafactum*. The music of Peter of Blois's 'Vite perdite me legi' is shared by two songs, one in French, 'A l'entrant del tanz salvage' by Hue de St Quentin; and one in Provençal, 'Per dan que d'amor m'aveigne' by Peirol. Biography of the authors helps very little, and although the priority of Peirol's song has been argued on internal grounds, others have argued that it is impossible to arbitrate.[57] Walter of Châtillon is the author of two *conductus* poems that share their music with vernacular works; again it is very difficult to distinguish between original and *contrafactum* in these two works, 'Sol sub nube latuit' and 'Ver pacis aperit'. Six of the monophonic *conducti* in Adam de la Bassée's *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* – copied some time shortly before 1286 – are *contrafacta* of songs by such *trouvère* luminaries as Thibaut de Navarre, Henri III de Brabant and others.[58]

The most extensive repertory of *contrafacta* involves Latin works whose poetry is attributed to Philip the Chancellor.[59] It seems reasonable to assume, as all have done before, that the devotional vernacular works in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame* based on 'Beata viscera' are *contrafacta* of Latin originals. In the case of 'Homo considera', there are three vernacular *contrafacta*, and while it might make a degree of sense to view both Jacques de Hesdin's 'Je chant comme desves' (RS 922) and 'De yesse Naistra' (RS 7) as retextings of the Latin original on the basis of the manuscript distribution of the songs (nothing is known of the biography of Jacques de Hesdin), the presence of 'L'autrier m'iere leves' (RS 1990) in the earliest surviving *trouvère* source, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 20050 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 20050), brings the copying of the song close to the lifetime of Philip the Chancellor and therefore complicates an obvious picture of the priority of the group of pieces. For the most part, the overlap between the biography of Philip the Chancellor and of the composers of the vernacular versions of his *conducti* makes it impossible to assign priority on anything other than internal evidence.[60]

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[57] See Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996) 164–166 and 225–226. The more cautious view is given in Mazzeo, 'The Two-Part *Conductus*', 77–86.

[58] 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).

[59] The list of *contrafacta* in Thomas B. Payne, 'Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School', 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991) 598–600, includes Latin *contrafacta* and *contrafacta* of the more doubtful elements of the Philip the Chancellor canon; these are omitted for clarity in Table 8.1.

[60] Mazzeo's analysis of the constellation of works around 'Quisqui cordi et oculi' ('The Two-Part *Conductus*', 71–77) again demonstrates the problems around assigning priority to one or the other textings of the tune, and the melodic complexity of its transmission.

Some instances of the same melody shared by two poems are found where the pair is preserved, and may well have originated, in the same manuscript or group of closely related manuscripts. For example, 'Syon egredere nunc de cubilibus' and its German partner 'Ich lob ein wip' are found exclusively in closely related manuscripts from German-speaking regions.[61] More precisely, the three-voice 'Salve virgo virginum parens' survives unique in *GB-Lbl* Arundel 248, but its Anglo-Norman counterpart, 'Veine pleine de ducur', is copied on the same leaf of the same manuscript.[62] Even more strikingly, because the pairing occurs in manuscripts associated with both *trouvère* song and the early motet, 'Iam mundus ornatur mira gloria' is found in the same manuscript as a French poem sharing the same music, Adam de Givenchi's 'La douce acordance' (RS 205).[63] Although its French *contrafactum*, 'Talens m'est pris orendroit' (RS 1845), is found in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*, the Latin melodic original, 'Ave virgo sapiens', is also *unicum* in one of the sources for the *Miracles*.[64]

One final observation to make on the sixty-nine melodies shared between the 142 texts in Table 8.1 is that so few central two-voice works are involved. A large proportion of the compositions are monophonic – hardly surprising since the vernacular compositions are *de facto* monodies – but what is striking is how many Latin versions are in three parts:

*'Fas et nefas ambulant'
'Procurans odium'
'Purgator criminum'
'Quid frustra consumeris'
'Ve proclamet clericorum'
'Veris ad imperia'

The last three of these pieces are unique in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1,[65] and another overlapping group of four – *'Fas et nefas ambulant', 'Procurans odium',

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[61] *D-Mbs* clm 5539, fols. 161r–167r and Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 848, fol. 265v–266r, respectively.

[62] Fol. 155r.

[63] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 844 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 844), fols. 77r–77v and 158v–159r. Adam de Givenchi's song is also found in the closely related Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 12615, fols. 82r–83r.

[64] 'Ave virgo sapiens': Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3517 (hereafter *F-Pa* 3517), fols. 1v–2r; 'Talens m'est pris', ibid., fols. 10v–11r (and twelve other sources). See Jacques Chailley (ed.), *Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci 1177 [78]-1236): édition musicale critique avec introduction et commentaires*, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie 1:15 (Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1959) 50 and 110–111.

[65] Fols. 227v–228r; 241r–241v; 228v–229.

'Quid frustra consumeris' and 'Veris ad imperia' – is copied in very close proximity in the same manuscript.

*'Fas et nefas ambulant' (fols. 225r–2225v)
'Procurans odium' (fols. 226r–226v)
['Si mundus viveret'] (fols. 226v–227v)
'Quid frustra consumeris' (fols. 227v–228r)
['Flos in monte cernitur'] (fols. 228r–228v)
'Veris ad imperia' (fols. 228v–229r)

All pieces exhibit a stylistic reluctance to engage in neumatic writing, preferring purely syllabic writing for the most part, and of the two pieces that do not share their music with vernacular *contrafacta* – 'Si mundus viveret' and 'Veris ad imperia' – the latter is involved in an intertextual relationship with 'Columbe simplicitas' and 'Legis in volumine', as already discussed.

Recomposing the *Conductus*

In the music of the thirteenth century, recomposition is embedded in the structure and conventions of individual genres. In *organum duplum*, for example, it is rare to find two manuscript witnesses to a single work in which exactly the same combination of *clausulae* and passages in sustained-tone *organum* is present. In the motet, the conventions of adding and subtracting voice parts is so endemic that it is frequently difficult to assign priority to one or the other version; adding a third voice to a two-part texture and subtracting a voice from a three-part texture is common, as is reduction of a *motetus* part to a monody and removal of anything between one and three parts from a four-voice motet.

The world of the *conductus* is different in three ways. The successive addition of voices is so rare as to be of negligible importance: addition of voices is found only in the later phases of the genre's history, and almost all recomposition involves the subtraction of voice parts; the practice of recomposition by subtraction of voices can be more often localised in a single manuscript source as part of its house style rather than what might be considered some sort of creative response. The third way in which the *conductus* differs is in the large numbers of manuscript witnesses that preserve just the poetry of the work. This raises a number of questions: is this trait a conventional shorthand for the notation of a monophonic or polyphonic work (an *aide mémoire* where the music is

Table 8.2 Manuscripts that preserve polyphonic *conducti* with just their poetry

A-Gu 409 (35) + 4 monodies (Seckau; Augustinian; 1435)

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C. 58 (hereafter *CH-Zz* C. 58) (10) (*c*1200; Benedictine; Schaffhausen 30 km north of Zurich)

CZ-Pak N. VIII (21)

Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, 2777 (hereafter *D-DS* 2777) (26) + 1 monody Liège

D-Mbs clm 4660 (18) + 16 monodies (Seckau; early s.xiii)

D-Sl H.B.I.Asc.95 (13) + 28 monodies + one two-voice *conductus*

F-Pn lat. 15131 (28)

F-Pn lat. 4880 (10)

GB-Ob Add. A. 44 (44)

GB-Ob Rawl. C. 510 (59) (before 1270; Bardney Abbey Benedictine).

memorised)? Or might it be that the poetry of the *conductus* had more value in its own right than that of the motet, for example, for which most of the manuscripts that preserve the texts alone do so because music, although destined to be included in the manuscript, was simply never copied.[66]

Of the 570 surviving manuscript sources for the *conductus*, no less than 304 include works preserved with their texts alone. In the majority of these cases, the manuscript preserves just a single text, usually among a collection of other lyric works. Around another two dozen manuscripts make up collections of between two and nine *conducti*. However, ten sources transmit larger collections (Table 8.2; number of works in the collection in parentheses).

Many of these sources are significant witnesses to the tradition of the *conductus*, and some of the larger ones provide clearer evidence of date and place of origin than do many of the sources that are preserved with music. The *collectio*, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510, was assembled by a member of the Benedictine community at Bardney Abbey in Lincolnshire, probably before 1270, and contains the poetry to fifty-nine *conducti* and – this is quite significant – in the order in which they appear in notated books of *conducti*.[67] Gröninger originally pointed to the fact that the Bardney *collectio* outlined three smaller groups: two-voice *conducti*; three-voice

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[66] The motet collection in *GB-Ob* Douce 308 is an obvious exception.

[67] Richard William Hunt, 'The Collections of a Monk of Bardney: A Dismembered Rawlinson Manuscript', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1961) 28–42.

conducti and monodies.[68] This points less to the compilation of *GB-Ob*
Rawl. C. 510 from a single music book than to construction from the
sorts of individual *libelli* (or fascicles) that went to make up such books
as *D-W* 628 or *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, as none give priority to two-part works
over three-part ones, which is what the Bardney book does. It seems
reasonable to assume, then, that the scribe of *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510
had access to the same material as the scribes of such books as *D-W*
628 or *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 but not in the final bound order in which the
latter were themselves compiled.[69] Another large source of *conducti* is
English, *GB-Ob* Add. A. 44, but further precision on its origin is not
forthcoming.

In general, this group of sources that preserves the *conductus* without
music is widely distributed geographically and in terms of function. In
addition to their presence in *collectiones*, the poetry of *conducti* is found
in at least one book, *F-Pn* lat. 15131, of teaching material belonging to a
grammar master from Saint-Denis in or around 1289. Some sources, such
as *A-Gu* 409 and *CH-Zz* C. 58, include *conductus* poems among other
collections of sacred Latin poetry (these two books appear to come from
Seckau and Schaffhausen, respectively), while the presence of eighteen
conductus texts in *D-Mbs* clm 4660 – the *Carmina burana* – points to the
wide range of poetic subjects in the *conductus*.

Most of the sources that contain larger numbers of *conductus* texts
contain no music at all, but the fact that four manuscripts also contain
monodies prompts a number of questions. The single monody in the
Liégeois *D-DS* 2777, also an important source for the attribution of texts
to Philip the Chancellor, is perhaps more to do with the compilation
of that particular manuscript as a theological *collectio* and might not be
particularly significant here.[70] But *A-Gu* 409 has four *conducti* preserved as
monodies as well as its poems, and *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95 has more monodies
than texts, perhaps a reflection of its thirteenth-century origins as opposed
to the fourteenth-century date for *A-Gu* 409. *D-Mbs* clm 4660 mixes

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[68] Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame Conductus*,
Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939) 26–28.

[69] For an acount of the likely circulation of Parisian copies of *organum*, *conductus* and the early
motet in *libelli* that were then copied into such books as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, see Mark Everist,
'Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution', 2 vols.
(DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 1985), published as *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century
France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989) 1:162–168.

[70] Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne, 'Text, Music and Image in a Manuscript from St-Jacob of Liege (Da
2777): a Tool for Monastic Meditation at the End of the Gothic Era', paper read at conference
'Ars Antiqua 2013', Southampton, September 2013.

texts and monodies in more or less equal proportions.[71] Much work remains to be done on this group of manuscripts, and how their contents relate to sources that preserve music and to monophonic and polyphonic repertories. But even the most cursory of glances at their concordance bases shows that the range of *conducti* reflected in them is enormous, with poetry being taken from works in one to four parts, simple syllabic works as well as the most complex melismatic pieces and from strophic as well as through composed pieces.

Transmitting *conducti* as texts alone is but one way in which they were reduced for various purposes. Frequently, three- and two-voice pieces are reduced to two-part works and monodies, respectively. For example, *E-Mn* 20486 transmits only *conducti* in two voices (sixty-three *conducti* in two parts), but these divide into three categories: *unica*, two-part works that most probably originate in that format, and two-voice *conducti* that are found elsewhere as three-part pieces, here reduced to two parts by the removal of the *triplum*. Of the sixty-three *conducti* preserved in *E-Mn* 20486, two are *unica*, thirty-nine two-voice copies of two-voice originals and no less than twenty-two are reductions of three-voice works to two-voice configurations.[72]

Far more widespread, however, is the reduction of two-voice *conducti* to monodies, and this is the preferred process for the manipulation of the genre after transmitting the poetry alone. Table 8.3 gives a list of the sources that take this approach with the compositions involved.

The twenty-five *conducti* in the notated copy of the *Roman de Fauvel*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 146 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 146) are all monophonic, and the best-known examples of the process.[73] Leaving aside the *conductus* texts that serve as texts for voice parts in motets and have already been treated in the previous chapter, two of the twenty-five are *unica*, fifteen are monophonic works copied in *F-Pn* fr. 146 in more or less the same form as they are found originally and eight are monophonic versions of mostly two-part compositions.

One of the monophonic *conducti* found in *F-Pn* fr. 146 stands out. 'Homo qui semper moreris' is found in the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 as well as in *F-Pn* fr. 146; its text is also found in *D-DS* 2777, attributed

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[71] Rudolf Flotzinger, 'Reduzierte Notre-Dame-Conductus im sogennaten Codex Buranus?' *Muzikoloski Zbornik* 17 (1981) 97–103.

[72] Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen*, 152.

[73] See Gregory Alexander Harrison, 'The Monophonic Music in the *Roman de Fauvel*' (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1963); Hans Tischler and Samuel Rosenberg (eds.), *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

Table 8.3 Manuscripts preserving monophonic reductions of polyphonic
conducti

A-Gu 409	Serena virginum (A1); Amor patris et filii (I) (P30)
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 756	Beate virginis; Gaudens in Domino; Nove lucis hodie
Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 457	Beate virginis
Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Bibliothek, 588m	O vera o pia
Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek 1003	*Dic Christi veritas
Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 102	Austro terris influente; Deus in adiutorium
CH-EN 314	Beate virginis
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 1397	Nove lucis hodie
CH-SGs 383	Veri floris sub figura
CZ-Pu III.D.10	Angelus ad virginem (I)
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 40580	Beate virginis
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Wolf s.s.	*Qui servare puberem
Beromünster, Stiftsbibliothek, C 2	Fraude ceca desolato
Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek 882	Ave nobilis venerabilis; Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim 100 (156)	Nove geniture; Gregis pastor Tityrus; In natali summi regis; Nove lucis hodie; Verbum patris humanatur
D-Mbs clm 4660	O varium fortune lubricum; Vite perdite me legi; Ave nobilis venerabilis; *Dic Christi veritas; Celum non animum; *Fas et nefas ambulant
D-Mbs clm 5539	Ave virgo viginum (I)
D-Sl H.B.I.Asc.95	Austro terris influente; Fraude ceca desolata; *Quod promisit ab eterno; *Dic Christi veritas; Ave virgo virginum; Crucifigat omnes + contrafactum 'Curritur ad vocem'; Deus in adiutorium (I); Fraude ceca desolata; Latex silice; Qui sub Dione militas; Verbum bonum et suave; Veri floris sub figura
Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 289	Orientis partibus
Salamanca, Universidad, Archivo y Biblioteca, 226	*Dic Christi veritas; *Qui servare puberem
Tortosa, Catedral Cód. 97	Gaudeat devotio
Abbeville, Bibliothèque municipale, 7	O vera o pia
Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale 283	Luto carens et latere
Lille, Bibliothèque municipale 2 (17)	Ave nobilis venerabilis
F-Pa 3517–8	Ave nobilis venerabilis; De Sainte Leocade/Beata viscera; Procurans odium; Entendez tuit ensemble / Beata viscera
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 146	Nulli benficium; Redit etas aurea; Omni pene curie; Virtus moritur; *Heu quo progreditur; O varium fortune lubricum; Clavus pungens acumine; In pretio pretium
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 1351	Novus annus hodie

Table 8.3 (*cont.*)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 8433	Mundus a munditia
Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, 46	Novus annus hodie
Cambridge, Trinity College, R.9.11	Nove geniture
Cambridge, University Library, Add. 710	Angelus ad virginem
London, British Library, Add. 22604	Beate virginis
GB-Lbl Arundel 248	Angelus ad virginem
London, British Library, Egerton 2615(1)	Orientis partibus
GB-Lbl, Egerton 274	Luto carens et latere
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 2	In te concipitur
I-Fl Plut. 29.1	Luto carens et latere
Dublin, Trinity College, L.1.12	O vera o pia

to Philip the Chancellor and in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 2303.[74] But it has also recently been found in a set of fragments, Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 1471 (hereafter *F-T* 1471). This is a collection of seven *conductus* texts with space allowed for two-voice staves and notation that were never entered. Of the seven *conducti* witnessed in the fragments, *'Dic Christi veritas' is known in both three- and two-voice versions and 'Salvatoris hodie' is a variable-voice *conductus*; it is reduced consistently to two voices in, among other sources, *E-Mn* 20486. Four other pieces are transmitted and originated in two-voice versions. The seventh *conductus*, 'Homo qui semper moreris' is the odd one out.[75]

Given that 'Homo qui semper moreris' is unequivocally given space in *F-T* 1471 for two-voice polyphony, there are two possible explanations here for the fact that this is the only two-voice concordance for any monophonic *conductus* in the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. Either it is the sole example of a two-voice *conductus* reduced to a monody in the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, or it is the sole example of a monophonic *conductus* from that source being reworked as two-voice polyphony. Clearly, because the staves and notation were never copied, it is impossible to speculate on exactly how this relationship might have worked, but *F-T* 1471 is a manuscript copied within the same orbit as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and the putative exemplar for *D-W* 628, and quite possibly a generation earlier; this points to a

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[74] Fols. 428v–429r; fol. 29v; fol. 4r; fol. Av.

[75] For a full account of the content and structure of *F-T* 1471, see Gregorio Bevilacqua, 'A New Source of Notre-Dame Polyphony?: A New Conductus Fragment from the Early Thirteenth Century', *Music & Letters* 97 (2016) 1–41.

commutative relationship between monophony and polyphony, very early in the tradition of copying the *conductus* in the form that it is known today, that the surviving sources – or the course of music history – has effaced.

Similarly there might well be a case for arguing that 'Angelus ad virginem' originated as a monody and served as the basis for two- and three-voice *conducti*, but even if this could be conclusively demonstrated, the predominantly English sources for 'Angelus ad virginem' suggest a practice far removed from the central traditions of the *conductus* as found in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. When the question of vernacular *contrafactum* is considered, there emerges a real possibility of this providing evidence of building *conducti* out of a *cantus prius factus*. As for a building three-voice polyphony out of two-voice originals, examples of this practice are found only at the very end of the thirteenth century, as the *conductus* was being transformed in the light of other generic practices; however, a singular example from earlier in the century is the pair of pieces 'Mater patris et filia' (I) and 'Veri solis presentia' – already discussed as an example of *contrafactum* – which may well entail the creation of three-voice polyphony from a two-voice original at a date before the copying of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.

Apart from *F-Pn* fr. 146, the three largest collections of polyphonic *conducti* reduced to monodies are all found in sources from German-speaking lands. They range from relatively early in the thirteenth century with *D-Sl* H.B.I.Asc.95 with the largest collection of pieces (twelve items), through the *Carmina burana*, *D-Mbs* clm 4660 (with six reductions), to the fourteenth-century Münich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim 100 (156) (hereafter *D-Mu* Cim. 100) with five works. But in general, and as Table 8.3 bears eloquent witness, the largest number of sources contain just a single work. Accounting for the specific choice of *conductus* in a given source, however, is less than simple. A few works emerge with some frequency – 'Angelus ad virginem', 'O vera o pia' and *'Dic Christi veritas', for example – but other sources seem to select their repertory according to principles that at eight hundred years' distance seem opaque or even capricious.

The Extended Poem

There are instances of a *conductus* circulating not only on its own in various forms and sources, but also as part of a larger work. These cases allow the interrogation of questions that are difficult to approach in other contexts – for example, questions of authorship, origin and function. Although it has been suggested that a number of *conducti* form part(s) of longer poems, in

nearly all cases, the situation is more complex than the existing literature might suggest:

'Auctor vite virgine' / Auctor vite nos mori voluit'
'Dum medium silentium tenerent'
'Magnum nomen Domini Emanuel'
'O mira Christi pietas'
'Omni pene curie'
'Porta salutis ave'[76]

The case of 'Auctor vite virgine' / 'Auctor vite nos mori voluit', more apparent than real, may be discounted readily. The poem that forms part of the longer work[77] shares only the first two words with the *conductus* that is found in four sources all with music in two parts.[78] It has little to do with the embeddedness of the *conductus* in larger poems. Similarly, 'Magnum nomen Domini Emanuel' can probably be discounted from consideration here. It is found in a monophonic form in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, 4494, and also in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 1290.[79] But these, and the manuscript in which the poem is found embedded (Prague, Narodní muzeum – Muzeum České hudby, II.C.7), all date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and are copied on paper.[80] The melody uses Ars Nova notation, and there is no clear link to the *conductus* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The same may be said for the version of this melody with the text 'Ecce nomen Domini' found in the called *Moosburger Graduale*, which dates from around 1360.[81]

More central to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century experience is a refrain song entitled either 'O Christi longanimitas' or 'O mira Christi pietas'. The material for the poem exists in three traditions and, although none of the surviving manuscript versions has music, the presence of an *incipit* with the text 'O mira Christi pietas' in a thirteenth-century library catalogue entry for a book of music, at least in part polyphonic, makes

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[76] Discussed in Chapter 2.

[77] Würzburg, Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Universitätsbibliothek, M. Ch. F. 121, inner cover.

[78] *E-Mn* 20486, fols. 38v–40r; Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S 231, fol. Av; *D-W* 628, fols. 134r–135r; *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fols. 270v–271v.

[79] Fol. 53v; fol. 144r.

[80] *F*ols. 121r–121v. The poem is also found in Mathias Flacius Illyricus, *Pia quaedam vetustissimaque poemata, partim Antichristum spirituales ejusque filios insectantia, partim etiam Christum ejusque beneficium . . . celebrantia* (Magdeburg: Lottherus, 1552) 47.

[81] *D-Mu* Cim. 100, fols. 235v–236r.

clear that 'O mira Christi pietas' had music that is now lost.[82] The two related *conductus* traditions are both subsumed by a *rithmus* attributed to Bernard de Clairvaux, which is preserved in two manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 14810 (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 14810) and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 996 (hereafter *F-Pm* 996).[83] The *rithmus* consists of three sections: the first is a section of five stanzas of nine octosyllabic proparoxytones with the refrain 'Dic, homo, cur abuteris / Discretionis gratia?'. The third and final section consists of six regular stanzas whereas the second, which concerns us here and begins 'O Christi longanimitas', takes the form of five octosyllabic proparoxytones, occupying five regular eight-line stanzas with a two-line refrain 'Cernat hoc meditatio / Qui nos primo fuerimus'. The attribution to Bernard de Clairvaux gives a *terminus ante quem* of 1153 for the composition of this *rithmus*.

The *conductus* versions of the poem may be identified by different *incipits* because they invert the first two couplets of the poem as follows:[84]

O Christi longanimitas	O mira Christi pietas
Et longa expectatio!	O quanta miseratio
O mira Christi bonitas	O Christi longanimitas
O quanta miseratio	Et longa expectatio!

The only textual difference is the variant '... pietas' – 'bonitas' in lines 3 and 1, respectively. Otherwise the first three stanzas of the two versions are identical save for line 5 of the second stanza where 'O Christi longanimitas' has 'Quo tendit congregatio' while 'O mira Christi pietas' has 'Qui prodest delectatio'.[85] The latter duplicates line 5 of the *third* stanza and may simply be the result of a *saut du même en même* at some earlier point in the manuscript tradition. One version of 'O Christi longanimitas' has five stanzas, the last two of which are also found – as the last two – in Bernard's *rithmus* while the other only has the first three.[86]

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[82] See Rebecca Baltzer, Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found'. *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987) 382.

[83] The longer poem, beginning 'Dic, homo, cur abuteris / Discretionis gratia?' is edited in Jean Mabillon (ed.), *S Bernardi, Claræ-vallensis abbatis primi opera omnia, vol. 3*, Patrolgiæ cursus completus 184 (Paris: Garnier and Migne, 1879) 1315–1318. The manuscript sources are *F-Pn* lat. 14810, fols. 327v–328v and *F-Pm* 996 (olim 902), fol. 180r.

[84] The text of the *conductus* 'O mira Christi pietas' is found in two manuscripts: *GB-Lbl* Royal 12.C.XII, fol. 76v and Cambridge, University Library, Ee. VI. 29, fol. 33r.

[85] Mabillon, *S. Bernardi . . . opera omnia 3*, 1315–1316.

[86] The five-stanza version is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 14923 (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 14923), fols. 229v–230r; the three-stanza version is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 15163, fols. 218v–219r.

There is no question that both versions of the *conductus* are embedded in Bernard de Clairvaux's *rithmus*: three manuscript versions share the first three lines of the second section of the piece while a fourth, *F-Pn* lat. 14923, presents all five stanzas. Furthermore, the two versions of the *conductus* employ a four-line refrain that takes Bernard's two-line refrain and adds two further lines. Logic dictates that the two versions of the *conductus* stem from Bernard's original and longer *rithmus*. 'O mira Christi pietas' seems certainly to have had music that is now lost, to judge from its presence in the book of polyphony found at St Paul's Cathedral; its near neighbour 'O Christi longanimitis' could well have shared the same music. And given the consistent 8pp stanzas in the *conductus* and the slightly different stanza structure in Bernard's *rithmus*[87], it is difficult to conceive of a way in which any music for 'O mira Christi pietas' could possibly have originated in a setting of the whole *rithmus*.

Exactly what the music for 'O mira Christi pietas' might have looked like is an open question. In the 1295 inventory of the books of St Paul's Cathedral, the entry reads as follows:

> 91. Item liber organorum, qui fuit Johannis de Bolemere, prima littera W. aurea; finit *O mira Christi pietas*. (A book of *organa* that was John de Bolemer's, the first letter a gold W (V?); it ends 'O mira Christi pietas'.)[88]

Baltzer's suggestion that the opening 'W' was in fact the 'V' of 'Viderunt omnes' is entirely plausible, and if that is the case, the volume clearly opened with *organum* (whether in two, three or four parts is not clear) and ended with *conductus*. Whether 'O mira Christi pietas' was monophonic or polyphonic is, with the evidence that survives, impossible to determine. That it had music is incontrovertible.

Perhaps the most important examples of *conductus* texts embedded in longer works – ones in which music is directly involved and the ones that

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[87] Each of the three sections of Bernard's *rithmus* has a different structure. The six stanzas each of eight lines of regular octosyllabic proparoxytones contrasts starkly with the outer sections. The first consists of nine-line stanzas (five stanzas) although all the lines are also octosyllabic proparoxytones, but the third and final section consists of six-line stanzas that alternate heptasyllabic proparoxytones with octosyllabic paroxytones. No music for the central section could, within reason, have been adapted or intended for the outer ones.

[88] Baltzer, 'Notre-Dame Manuscripts', 382, based on William Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, from its Foundation: Extracted out of Original Charters, Records, Leiger-Books, and Other Manuscripts*, 3rd edition with additions by Henry Ellis (London: Heath, 1818) 326–327, and Neil R. Ker, 'Books at St. Paul's Cathedral before 1313', *Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones*, ed. A.E.J. Hollaender and William Kellaway (London: Hodder and Staughton, 1969) 63.

seem to stem from the genre's early history – are associated with the works of Gautier de Châtillon. Gautier's biography and poetic contribution to the *conductus* were discussed in Chapter 1. Two *conducti* are at issue here, 'Dum medium silentium tenerent' and 'Omni pene curie', and both behave differently.

'Dum medium silentium tenerent' is a monophonic refrain song that consists of eight stanzas with refrain. Although its *incipit* is clearly taken from the introit for the first Sunday after Christmas, the poem concerns itself more with the New Law and Redemption than with the birth of Christ. Both the refrain and the stanzas are constructed exclusively out of octosyllabic proparoxytones. The music is found twice: in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 in the square notation conventional for that manuscript, and in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 551 but there in unheighted neumes.[89] Although it is possible that both manuscripts encode the same melody, comparing such radically different notational types is perhaps more fraught with difficulties than is sometimes assumed. The first five stanzas and the refrain were copied into the two large poetry manuscripts, *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510 and *GB-Ob* Add. A 44,[90] as well as in *D-DS* 2777, which triggered a doubtful claim that the poem could have been by Philip the Chancellor.[91] The text is also found in three other sources as well as in two of the four manuscript versions of a sermon by Gautier de Châtillon.[92]

'Dum medium silentium tenerent' is found embedded in a sermon preached by Gautier probably in Bologna in 1184, 'In domino confido: Quomodo dicitis anime mee . . .'.[93] To understand the *conductus* itself, some understanding of the form and content of the sermon is essential. It is a *prosimetrum*, on a smaller scale than those discussed in Chapter 5 but one that nevertheless mixes prose, quantitative verse (*metrum*) and rhythmic poetry (*rithmus*) in thirty-seven highly varied sections, of which the eight stanzas of 'Dum medium silentium tenerent' constitute the antepenultimate.[94] The sermon treats the three *ordines* of Liberal Arts,

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[89] Fol. 422v; *p.* 49.   [90] Fols. 248v–249r and fol. 65r, respectively.

[91] Fol 4v. See Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus*, 6:xxiv for the claim that the text is by Philip the Chancellor.

[92] The two other sources are *GB-Lbl* Royal 7.A.VI, fol. 107v and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert, II. 1019 (hereafter *B-Br* II. 1019), fol. 126v. For the manuscript versions of Gautier's sermon, see succeeding text.

[93] The sermon is edited in Karl Strecker, (ed.), *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon aus deutschen, englischen, französischen und italienischen Handschriften*, Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon [2] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929) 38–52 with an introduction, ibid, 33–38, and commentary, 53–57.

[94] Numbered 35, ibid., 49–51.

Law and Medicine, and Theology to emphasise the superiority of the latter. Most of the sermon is structured in stanzas of rhythmic poetry, invariably of heptasyllabic proparoxytones in stanzas ranging from four to eight lines in length. The prosimetric qualities of the sermon are reserved for the ends of each of the three *ordines* (Liberal Arts, Law and Medicine, and Theology): so the account of the *quadrivium* ends with five end-rhymed hexameters and fourteen hexameters; Law and Medicine conclude with eight Elegiac distichs and four end-rhymed hexameters followed by a prose conclusion; Theology ends in a slightly more complex way – ostensibly in prose but introducing 'Dum medium silentium tenerent' as the *exemplum.* 'Dum medium' is set off from all the other *rithmi* by its use of octosyllabic proparoxytones as opposed to the heptasyllables of the others.

The immediate context for 'Dum medium silentium tenerent' is yet more interesting. Following on from his exposition of theology (sections 24–33), Gautier asks why God chose to be incarnated himself rather than delegating the job of redemption to an angel or a pure man. He hangs the question on the peg of a citation from *Philippians* 2:6–8:

6 [Christus Jesus] qui cum in forma Dei esset non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo	6 [Jesus Christ] who, being in very nature God, did not consider equality with God something to be used to his own advantage;
7 <u>sed semet ipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens</u> in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inventus ut homo	7 rather, he made himself nothing by taking the very nature of a servant, being made in human likeness.
8 humiliavit semet ipsum factus oboediens usque ad mortem mortem autem crucis	8 And being found in appearance as a man, he humbled himself by becoming obedient to death – even death on a cross!

Gautier's exact quotation is underscored in the extract, and the key introductory text is given here:

Unde non inmerito in primitiva fide quaesitum est, quare paternae perditionis dampnum deus per procuratorem angelorum seu hominem purum resarcire noluerit, '<u>Set semet ipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens</u>'. Cuius nodosae questionis solutionem breviter iterare non arbitramur incongruum impetrata tamen a vobis venia, ne Minervam docere videamur.

Whence it was asked not unreasonably in early Christianity why God did not want to undo the loss of the parental perdition by an angel serving as a procurator or a pure man, 'but made himself as of no account, taking the form of a servant'. We do not find it incongruous to briefly run through the solution to this knotty problem, having first asked you pardon lest we should seem to teach Minerva.

Gautier offers no solution at this point but simply refers his reader to the eight stanzas of 'Dum medium silentium tenerent' (Example 8.3).

Stanza 2 outlines the need for life to be healed by the killing off of death: 'Nam mortis exterminio / Mederi vita debuit' (For by death's extermination / Life ought to be made whole), while stanza 3 explains that if a pure man – Gautier uses exactly the same expression in the *conductus* as in the introductory text – had been selected as redeemer, he might be thought more powerful than God and be worshipped in God's place. The next stanzas shows how the incarnation therefore permits a solution whereby God could both be subject to death and rise from it. Stanza 6 alludes to the fact that this solution was foretold in his interpretation of the Mosaic law, and the last two stanzas summarises Man's absolution and rebirth. At the conclusion of 'Dum medium silentium tenerent', Gautier moves on to outline what he sees as Man's four births: Natural birth; rebirth through Baptism; Penitence; Resurrection, and then to indicate the qualities of each. The first of these is as follows: 'Prima generativa hominis contrahit culpam, secunda confert innocentiam, tertia reparat veniam, quarta ducit ad patriam' / 'The first birth of man brings guilt/sin, the second confers innocence, the third brings pardon, the fourth leads to the homeland. The sermon ends with a prayer for salvation'.

Several further issues are of importance here. 'Dum medium silentium tenerent' is only included in two of the four manuscripts of the sermon, and in both cases all eight stanzas are preserved but not the refrain.[95] One wonders how the sermon would have been read in the versions without the *conductus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 3245 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 168,[96] but it seems that there is an unassailable case for assuming that the *conductus* was an integral part of the sermon and originated there. This is one of the reasons for questioning the ascription to Philip the Chancellor in *D-DS* 2777 and supporting an ascription to Gautier de Châtillon.[97]

But the context for 'Dum medium silentium tenerent' tells us more. Given that neither of the two sources for the sermon contains music, it seems reasonable to assume further that the two concordances with music

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[95] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 166, fol. 56v and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 603, fol. 57r.

[96] Fols. 43v and 222v, respectively.

[97] 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.

Dum medium silentium	While the summits of the Law
Tenerent legis apices,	Were immersed in profound silence,
Et littere dominium	And the lordship of the letter
Regnaret apud simplices,	Held down those in ignorance,
Extendit Pater brachium,	The Father extended his arm,
In quo, si recte iudices,	Where, if you should rightly judge,
Regnum et sacerdotium	The law and the priesthood
Reliquit Iude iudices.	Of the Jews had left their judges.
De tenebris historie	From the darkness of history
Processit sol iustitie.	The sun of Justice proceeded.
Modo fortassis alio	Perchance by some other means
Mundus mundari potuit	The world might have been cleanse
Quam passo Dei filio,	Than by the Passion of the Son of God,
Sed nullus ita congruit;	But no one was fitting so to act;
Nam mortis exterminio	For by death 's extermination
Mederi vita debuit,	Life ought to be made whole,
Et curari contrario	And by the incongruous,
Contrarium oportuit.	Incongruity should be reconciled.
De tenebris historie	From the darkness of history
Processit sol iustitie.	The sun of Justice proceeded.
Si purus homo fieret	If the Redeemer and no one else
Redemptor et non alius,	Should become pure man,
Redemptus homo crederet	Redeemed man should believe
Deo quiddam potentius	In God more strongly
Eique genu flecteret,	And to Him bend,
E t in cunctis obnoxius	And in all things, being subject
Cultore ius impenderet,	To care, devote himself to justice;
Quo nihil est absurdius.	Than this idea nothing is more incongruous.
De tenebris historie	From the darkness of history
Processit sol iustitie.	The sun of Justice proceeded.
Ergo nostre propaginis	Therefore, he came to take up
Naturam venit sumere,	The nature of our race,
Deus in alvo virginis	God in the virgin womb
ut artifex in opere,	As a worker among his works,
ut per naturam hominis	That through man's nature
Haberet morti cedere,	He might yield to death
Et per virtutem numinis	And through God's power
Posset a morte surgere.	Be able to arise from death.
De tenebris historie	From the darkness of history
Processit sol iustitie.	The sun of Justice proceeded.
Subtili diligentia,	By a delicate diligence,
Mirabili commercio,	By a marvellous fellowship,
Et duplici substancia	From two substances

Example 8.3 Text and translation of 'Dum medium silentium tenerent'

Facta fuit hec unio,	This one was made;
Et quicquid sapientia	And whatsoever God's wisdom
Possedit ab initio,	Possessed from the beginning
Collatum est ex gratia	Was brought together out of grace
Totum Marie filio.	Wholly in the son of Mary.
De tenebris historie	From the darkness of history
Processit sol iustitie.	The sun of Justice proceeded.
Hec est fides catholica,	This is the Catholic faith
Quam heresis non lacerat,	Which heresy cannot harm,
Hec est, quam vox prophetica	This is that which the prophet's voice
Rota in rotam dixerat,	Had spoken 'a wheel in a wheel'
Prioris analetica	He resolved the riddle
Dum resolvit et reserat,	When he explicated and unlocked
Quod sub lege Mosaica	That which truth had hidden
Vetustas occultaverat.	Under the Mosaic Law.
De tenebris historie	From the darkness of history
Processit sol iustitie.	The sun of Justice proceeded.
Qui se peccatis obligat,	He who binds himself to sin
Per hanc fidam absolvitur,	Is absolved through this faith,
Si post lapsum se corrigat,	If after his fall he corrects himself,
Nam qui vere conteritur,	For he who is truly repentant,
penam peccati mitigat	Lessens the punishment of sin,
Et iudex mitis redditur,	And a mild judgment is given him;
Nam ut idem bis exigat,	For good faith does not allow
Bona fides non patitur.	That he pay a double penalty.
De tenebris historie	From the darkness of history
Processit sol iustitie.	The sun of Justice proceeded.
A iudice se liberant	They free themselves from the judge
Et a contractu debiti,	And from the bondage of sin,
Qui luxum carnis macerant	Who weaken the extravagances of the
Et mundo non sunt dediti,	And are not given over to the world;
Et sic, qui consenuerant	And they who thus present themselves,
In peccatis decrepiti,	Having grown old in their sins,
Dum ita se regenerant,	When they renew themselves,
Sunt quasi modo geniti.	They are like those only just born.
De tenebris historie	From the darkness of history
Processit sol iustitie.	The sun of Justice proceeded.

Example 8.3 (*cont.*)

were settings of a pre-existent *rithmus*. This would then offer relatively few obstacles to treating the two melodies – in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and *CH-SGs* 551 as independent musical responses to the same poem. Both musical settings, and all other witnesses to the text, preserve the poem with the

refrain 'De tenebris historie / Processit sol iusticie' ('From the darkness of history, The sun of justice proceeded'). *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510 offers a rubric for this *conductus*: 'Qualiter de tenebris historie processit sol iustitie' ('How the sun of justice proceeded from the darkness of history'),[98] which more or less duplicates the text of the refrain. It is not impossible that the text of the refrain was generated in some intermediary source, now lost, that transmitted the poem as found in Gautier de Châtillon's sermon (without the refrain) via the presence of the sort of rubric found in *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510.

The second of the two *conducti* involved in longer poems by Gautier de Châtillon is 'Omni pene curie'. This is a two-part *conductus*, syllabic and stanzaic, with never more than ligatures of three notes above a syllable, and frequently two-note ligatures and single notes. Its poetry consists of five stanzas of proparoxytonic octosyllables. The music survives in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1,[99] while two manuscripts, *D-W* 1099 and New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke 712.59 have ruled space for the notation that was never entered.[100] *F-Pn* fr.146 gives a monophonic version of the piece (the tenor), and the text is found in the *GB-Ob* Rawl. C. 510.[101] But the poem is also found at the end of two longer poems by Gautier de Châtillon: 'Captivata largitas' and 'Frigescente caritatis'.

'Captivata largitas', like 'Omni pene curie', is concerned with the corruption of the Church.[102] Generosity and honesty (*Largitas* and *probitas*) are chased out of the world where depravity and greed (*pravitas* and *cupiditas*) reign. The idea that only money is valued and virtue ignored forms the central theme of the poem. 'Captivata' consists of stanzas of Goliardic verse (alternating 7pp and 6p lines) whereas 'Omni pene curie' consists of lines of 7pp. However, the lesson that 'Dum medium silentium tenerent' taught was that *rithmi* with different structures can co-exist in single larger works. The final stanza of 'Captivata' ends emphatically and convincingly, but this is found only in one of the four manuscript sources for the poem.[103] The two manuscripts that preserve 'Captivata' with its continuation to 'Omni pene curie' are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 468 and Cambridge, University Library, Hh. VI.

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[98] Fol. 248v.   [99] Fol. 353r.

[100] Fol. 144v and recto of single leaf.   [101] Fol. 7v and 239v, respectively.

[102] 'Captivata largitas' is edited in Strecker, *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, 110–112.

[103] This is Strecker's stanza 7 of 'Captivata' and is found only in London, British Library, Sloane 1580 (hereafter *GB-Lbl* Sloane 1580), fol. 158v.

11.[104] Of the two other manuscripts, *Ch-Zz* C.58 gives the first six stanzas, but London, British Library, Sloane 1580 omits the key sixth stanza. This, coupled to the fact that the fifth stanza of 'Captivata' and the first of 'Omni pene glorie' share the same play on words, might suggest that it is not simply a case of 'Omni pene curie' being copied at the end of 'Captivata' in two of its four manuscripts, and the possibility that the two poems originated in symbiosis cannot be ruled out.[105] Unlike the case of 'Dum medium silentium', where the balance of evidence is in favour of the creation of the *conductus* as part of the sermon, the question of the relationship between 'Captivata' and 'Omni pene curie' has to remain open.

The occurrence of 'Omni pene curie' in 'Frigescante caritatis' is perhaps a more straightforward case. There are more than a dozen surviving sources for 'Frigescante caritatis', and only one of these includes 'Omni pene curie'. However, the manuscript in question, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions latines 1544, runs the two texts together, but in a way that makes clear the very different structure of 'Omni pene curie'.[106] 'Frigescente caritatis' consists of nine stanzas that survive in two groups of orderings and of which the first four seem to be furnished with a refrain.[107] It mixes 8p and 7pp lines which contrasts with the regular heptasyllabic proparoxytones of 'Omni pene curie'. In any case, the manuscript clearly dates from the fifteenth century and discloses little – unlike the two previous cases discussed here – of twelfth- and thirteenth-century practices.

It is important to understand that the complex sets of relationships within passages in the same *conductus* and between different *conducti*, with which this chapter began, constitute a small fraction of the entire repertory and that for large tracts of the genre, individual works simply are not touched at all by these practices. In giving them so much room, *Discovering Medieval Song* risks falling prey to the misleading preoccupations of earlier scholarship. Much the same could be said of the chapter's preoccupation with both Latin and vernacular *contrafacta* and of the multiple settings of

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[104] Fols. VIIv and 68r.

[105] The play on words centres on 'Fuerant antiquitus presules dativi, / Omnes pene penitus nunc sunt ablatavi' in 'Captivata largitas' and 'Omni pene curie president incurii / Penes quos iustitie tenor et iudicii' (Strecker, *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, 111.

[106] Fol. 86v. For the remaining sources for 'Frigescante caritatis', see Karl Strecker (ed.), *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer*, Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925) 19–20.

[107] Edited ibid., 17–18.

the same text: although important to understand, these practices have an effect on a small part of the repertory only.

The title of this chapter, 'The *conductus*: intratexts and intertexts' could well have served for all three of Chapters 6 to 8. If the first five chapters of *Discovering Medieval Song* have laid out how the *conductus* functions in general, the next three chapters have considered a much smaller number of works that exhibit very different intra- and intertextual relationships. Each group discussed rarely has more than a dozen members, and the same works frequently occur more than once. On the other hand, these intra- and intertextual practices are found all over the repertory: some in the works copied in the sources originating in Paris in the middle third of the thirteenth century, others in further-flung regions of the continent: the Iberian peninsula, the Alpine Gate and beyond the Rhine.

The question of the intra- and intertextual, however, strikes right at the heart of the nature of the *conductus*. What is clear from the first five chapters of *Discovering Medieval Song* is that it is indeed the first coherent genre of both monophonic and polyphonic music to operate in ways entirely independent of plainsong, the liturgy or any other pre-existing object. But there are moments in the history of the genre where overlaps are discernable, and in all cases they illuminate the general picture of this extraordinary genre, whose career at the end of the thirteenth century – and beyond – is the subject of the final chapter of this book.

9 | Towards 1300

Posterity

Anyone surveying the sources for the *conductus* will be struck by the fact that music and poetry dating from the second half of the twelfth century is still found copied in sources from nearly as late as 1700; no other medieval genre seems to exhibit this longevity. Such sources as Matthias Flacius Illyricus's *Pia quædam vetussimique poemata* of 1552, Theodoricus Petri Nylandensis's *Piae cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum episcoporum* (1582) or the *Maxima bibliotheca* of 1677 are remarkable testimonies to the genre that *Discovering Medieval Song* has attempted to explain.[1] They represent, however, the end of a phase of cultivation of the *conductus* that stretches fragmentarily from the middle of the fourteenth century up to nearly 1700.

No one could argue that when Matthias Flacius Illyricus assembled a collection of medieval Latin poems in his *Pia . . . poemata* in 1552, he was transmitting the twelfth- and thirteenth-century *conductus* for posterity or performance. It was a much larger part of Flacius's project to write a Protestant history of the Church, and the subject matter of the *conductus* poems he chose served his purpose well. Exactly why he dedicated his work to Johann Ritzenberg of Hamburg is obscure, however. And although Flacius recognised that the poetry he was including in his collection was to be sung, there is no sense in which the *Pia . . . poemata* served as a source for the performance of either the poems or their music.[2] Although music is included, none of the melodies included in the 1582 collection

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[1] Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Pia quaedam vetustissimaque poemata, partim Antichristum eiusque spirituales filiolos insectantia, partim etiam Christum, eiusque beneficium mira spiritus alacritate celebrantia* (Magdeburg: Lottherus,1552); Theodoricus Petri, *Piæ Cantiones Ecclesiasticæ et Scholasticæ Veterum Episcoporum, in inclyto regno Sueciæ passim vsurpatæ* (Greifswald: Ferber, 1582); Marguerin de La Bigne, *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum, et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum primo quidem a Margarino de La Bigne, in academia Parisiensi doctore Sorbonico, in lucem edita*, 28 vols. (Lyon: Anisson; Geneva: Scionicus, 1677–1707).

[2] See Oliver K. Olson, *Matthias Flacius and the Survival of Luther's Reform* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002). In addition, Wilhelm Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (Erlangen: Blaessing, 1859–1861; *R* Hildesheim: Olms & Neukoop, 1964) is still valuable.

Piae cantiones goes back to the twelfth or thirteenth-century *conductus* repertory. *Pia . . . poemata* was not the latest transmission of *conductus* poetry either. The poem 'Qui habet aures audiat' is found copied both in the mid-thirteenth-century collection of *conductus* poetry, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A. 44 (hereafter *GB-Ob* Add. A. 44) and in the Lyonnais *Maxima bibliotheca* of 1677.[3]

Flacius' *Pia . . . poemata*, the *Maxima bibliotheca*, *Piae cantiones* and other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources represent the end of a final phase of the *conductus* tradition: a point where the poetry of the *conductus* survived for little more than antiquarian, or in Flacius's case propagandistic, interests. This is a good point to review the four phases of the history of the *conductus* as they were mapped out in Chapter 1 and as they have been used throughout this book. Phase 1, which encompasses the period in which most works were composed (*c*1160–*c*1220); phase 2, when the works were copied into most of the surviving manuscripts (*c*1220–*c*1270); phase 3, when *conducti* were subject to various forms of reworking (*c*1270 to middle of the fourteenth century); and phase 4, which includes the much later transmissions of *conductus* poetry.

The fourth phase, which is at issue here, seems to have its beginnings as early as the middle of the fourteenth century at a time not only when continuous traditions of performance and cultivation for the *conductus* were broken but also when both the text and the music (almost always a monophonic version, however many voices the original deployed) were continuing to be copied. The so-called Moosberger Graduale, München, Universitätsbibliothek, Cim 100 (hereafter *D-Mu* Cim 100), is a good example of the beginning of this fourth phase.[4] But even here, there is only a single example of a *conductus* that was copied in any of the earlier main manuscripts: 'Nove geniture' exists in its earliest copies in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst. (hereafter *D-W* 628) and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter

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[3] Fols. 125r–125v; *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, 14: 977. The poem is also found in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert, 647–650, fols. 58v–59v and in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, theol. lat. fol. 639, fol. 106v.

[4] See the introduction to the facsimile edition in David Hiley (ed.), *Moosburger Graduale, München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2o Cod. ms. 156: Faksimile mit einer Einleitung und Registern*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte (Tutzing: Schneider, 1996); Hans Spanke, 'Das Moosburger Graduale', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 50 (1930) 582–595; Franz Albert Stein, 'Das Moosburger Graduale' (PhD diss., Universität Freiburg im Breisgau, 1956); Stein, 'Das Moosberger Graduale (1354–1360) als Quelle geistlicher Volkslieder' *Jahrbuch für Liturgie und Hymnologie* 2 (1956) 93–97; Walter Lipphardt, 'Das Moosburger Cantionale', *Jahrbuch für Liturgie und Hymnologie*, 3 (1957) 113–117.

I-Fl Plut. 29.1), both in two parts, and in Tortosa, Catedral, Cód. 97, also in two parts.[5] In addition to its monophonic presentation in *D-Mu* Cim 100, its music is also found as a monody in Cambridge, Trinity College, R.9.11, and its text alone in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409.[6] 'Nove geniture' must furthermore rate as one of the simplest *conducti* in the repertory, and this might well explain its interest to the compiler of *D-Mu* Cim 100. It is syllabic throughout with no *caudae* and even the syllabicism plays off no more than two or three notes against a single pitch with the final cadence exploiting simultaneous two-note ligatures. There is also a significant degree of instability of the musical text between the three two-part versions, and this renders exact comparison with *D-Mu* Cim 100 problematic. But the overall nature of the relationship is clear: *D-Mu* Cim 100 takes the tenor of 'Nove geniture' and treats this as a monophonic song that it then sets alongside monodies that have nothing to do with the *conductus* repertory. In doing this, *D-Mu* Cim 100 falls into line with a large number of sources that present the tenor of polyphonic *conducti* as monodies, as discussed in the previous chapter; what is striking here is that this process appears to be taking place as late as the 1360s and that many of the polyphonic originals do not have their roots in the main Notre-Dame repertory.

There is much more to be said about the history of the *conductus* from the middle of the fourteenth century up until the seventeenth – the fourth phase of the tradition outlined here. But far more pressing is the history of the *conductus* around 1300 – phase 3 in the same scheme – for here the reception of the genre is complicated by a number of cross-currents to do with style, genre and theory. Around 1300, the notation of the *conductus* was reconfigured so that it made use of recent developments in distinguishing between *longa* and *brevis* and in the codification of ligature patterns, which meant that their evaluation was no longer contingent on an understanding of the rhythmic mode in *musica sine littera*. In the notation of *musica cum littera* – which encoded nothing in terms of metre in sources copied in the first two-thirds of the thirteenth century – this also changed the metrical nature of the music's performance. Also around 1300 are found a few examples of voice parts being added to two-voice *conducti* to make three-part pieces; this is entirely unlike previous practices in the *conductus* where the tendency is to remove voice parts, especially to create monodies, but it is much more like the practice found in the motet where

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[5] Fol. 117v; 355r; 81v.   [6] Fols. 233r–233v; 152v; 1v–2r,

the addition of a third voice to a two-part motet is common coin from early is the genre's history. A further consequence of both these changes is that the resulting mensural declamation of the *rithmus* poetry contradicts word accent that is left neutral in the original layers of composition and copying of this repertory, again in a fashion that is more typical of the declamation of motet texts throughout the thirteenth century and beyond. All these modifications brought to the *conductus* in its third phase may be explained by an overriding concern to bring the genre up to date in terms not only of its rhythm and metre but also of the ways in which the process of additive composition – so typical of the motet but almost unknown in the *conductus* – begins to make its mark on the *conductus* repertory itself. It is striking, also, that this period – the thirty years either side of 1300 – is the one when most of the theoretical accounts of the *conductus* are found: at exactly the point where so many of the basic features of the works are in a state of flux.[7]

Mensural Notation

There is perhaps no more exhaustive a redeployment of the *conductus* in the early fourteenth century than in the notated copy of the *Roman de Fauvel*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 146 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 146). Here, the thirty *conducti* that serve as a basis for compositions are found with their texts used for motets, and the text and music of individual voice parts are also used furthermore for motets. *Conducti* in two and three parts are reduced to monodies (discussed in

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[7] The resulting difficulties with reading Anonymous IV and even Johannes de Garlandia that arise from the late date of these texts underpinned both the claims of metrical performance of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus cum caudis* and of the diagnosis given here in Chapter 3. The same is true of the two much later treatises that continue to mention the *conductus*: the *De musica* of Johannes de Grocheo and the work entitled *Speculum musicae* formerly attributed to Jacques de Liège and now to Jacobus de Ispania. For the former, see Ernst Rohloff (ed.), *Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo nach dem Quellen neu herausgegeben mit Übersetzung ins Deutsche und Revisionsbericht*, Media latinitas musica 2 (Leipzig: Komissionsverlag Gebruder Reinecke, 1943), 49, 56, 62 and 65; for the latter, Roger Bragard (ed.), *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum Musicae*, 7 vols., Corpus scriptorum de musica 3 (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1955–73), 7:24–25 and 89. The *Speculum musicae* also should be read in the light of recent studies: Karen Desmond, 'Behind the Mirror: Revealing the Contexts of Jacobus's *Speculum musicae*' (PhD diss., New York University, 2009); Karen Desmond, 'New Light on Jacobus, Author of *Speculum musicae*', Plainsong and Medieval Music 9 (2000) 19–40; Margaret Bent, *Magister Jacobus de Ispania, Author of the 'Speculum musicae'*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 28 (London: Routledge, 2015).

Chapter 8), and monophonic pieces from the earliest phases of *conductus* composition are transmitted in more or less their original form and with their texts replaced by *contrafacta*; *F-Pn* fr. 146 also contains a single *unicum*.[8]

Whatever the routes of transmission from the original form of the *conductus* to *F-Pn* fr. 146, the latter always presents the music in some form of mensural notation. For an older generation of scholarship, this was merely read as evidence of the original rhythm of the *cum littera* sections of the music that could be recovered by extrapolating back 150 years to form the basis of arguments for the modal performance of these parts of the *conductus*. The basis of these arguments have been reviewed frequently (most recently in Chapter 3); the material is much more productively viewed as evidence of the late reception of the *conductus*: how musicians *c*1300 consumed music that was up to 150 years old. As suggested earlier, the musicians who were responsible for preparing *F-Pn* fr. 146 were concerned to update the notation of the exemplars with which they were working.

A good example is 'Nulli beneficium', a through-composed *conductus* preserved in two voices in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, *D-W* 628 and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486;[9] alternate stanzas of its text are found in *GB-Ob* Add. A. 44 and Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4660.[10] The tenor of the piece is presented monophonically in *F-Pn* fr. 146 with the poetry stanzas 2, 5 and 6 copied as a *residuum*.[11] Figure 9.1 gives the music from *F-Pn* fr. 146 and from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (variants with the other polyphonic sources are negligible).

The unmeasured notation of the original is clear from the facsimile of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, as is the mode I *cauda* at the end of the stanza on the syllable 'dene*gra*tur'; differentiated *longae* and *breves* are in evidence in *F-Pn* fr. 146, as are Franconian ligatures including the ligature *cum opposita proprietate*. The mensural notation at work in *F-Pn* fr. 146 begins by apparently assigning a *longa perfecta* (what would have been called a *longa trium temporum* before the advent of the theoretical concept of *perfectio* some time around 1270) to each syllable with the smaller values outlining mode three patterns. So 'Nulli beneficium', in its version in *F-Pn*

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[8] Standard accounts of all the monophonic music in the version of the *Roman de Fauvel* in *F-Pn* fr. 146 are Gregory Alexander Harrison, 'The Monophonic Music in the *Roman de Fauvel*' (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1963); Hans Tischler and Samuel Rosenberg (eds.), *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

[9] Fols. 334r–335r; 117v–118v; 63r–65r.   [10] Fol. 127r; 6r.   [11] Fol. 7v.

Figure 9.1a 'Nulli beneficium' from *F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 7v

fr. 146 proceeds by declaiming each syllable equally on the *longa perfecta* until it reaches the word 'plenitudinis' [sic; *recte* 'penetudinis') when it accelerates the declamation onto the *brevis* (Example 9.1).

Similar issues surrounding the modification of notation and rhythm may be seen in an excerpt from the variable-voice *'Transgressus legem

Figure 9.1b 'Nulli beneficium' from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 334r

Example 9.1 'Nulli beneficium', *F-Pn* fr. 146, fol. 7v

Domini' in its transmission in Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588 (hereafter *D-HEu* 2588), given here with the older if not original version from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 (Figure 9.2).[12]

In the *cauda* following the word 'miserie' ligatures are clarified by the addition of downstems to the left to indicate that the first note of the ligature is a *brevis*, in strict accordance with Franconian ligature theory. All the notation in the *cauda* may now be read without reference to the rhythmic modes. More striking is the *D-HEu* 2588 scribe's reworking of the *cum littera* notation on the words 'huic mediante filio' and 'finem dedit miserie'; here the unmeasured notation in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 is replaced with alternations of *longae* and *breves* (Example 9.2 gives the first passage from both sources).

What this example shows is how the *D-HEu* 2588 musician saw a passage of unmeasured notation and took the opportunity to update it: to impart what is effectively a metrical mode one profile to an originally non-metrical declamation. *'Transgressus legem Domini' displays high levels of variability within the early manuscript versions of the *cum littera* sections of the piece: in other words the text is declaimed both very simply and with great complexity, as can be seen on the words 'relegantur exilio' and 'Sed fons misericordie' (both visible in Figure 9.2); various highly erratic simultaneities are found there – 7:1:1; 5:4:2; for example. This style yields immediately to single notes in 'Huic mediante filio' and so on. The critical point here is that the scribe of *D-HEu* 2588 updated only those passages in single notes; those with more complex simultaneities

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[12] For a fuller account of the sources and generic context of *'Transgressus legem Domini', see Everist, 'Le conduit à nombre de voix variable (1150–1250)', *Les noces de philologie et musicologie: texte et musique au moyen âge*, ed. Christelle Cazeaux-Kowalski, Christelle Chaillou-Amadieu, Anne-Zoë Rillon-Marne and Fabio Zinelli, Rencontres-Civilisation medieval (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018) 329–344.

Figure 9.2a *'Transgressus legem Domini' from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 214r
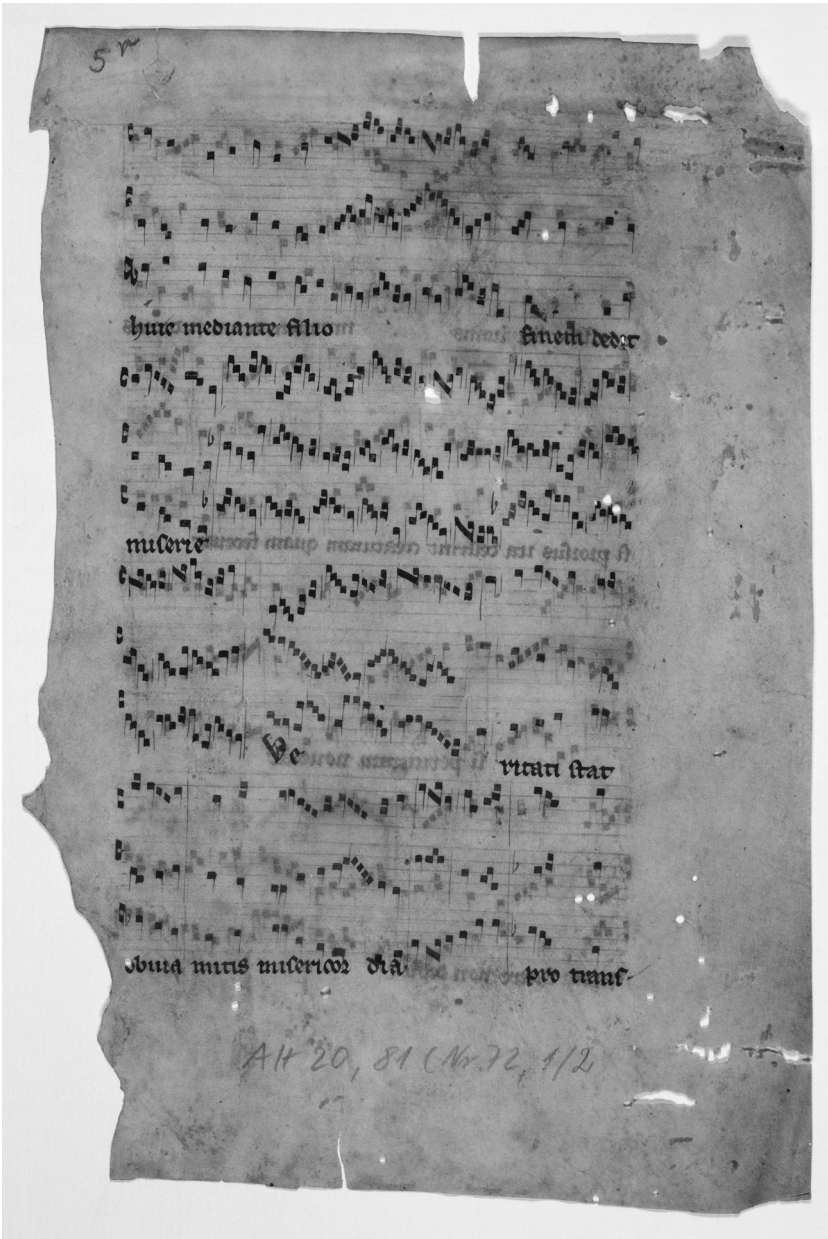
Figure 9.2b *'Transgressus legem Domini' from *D-HEu* 2588, fol. 5r

he simply left unchanged. What we seem to have here is a document of
transition with a scribe who had the ability and the knowledge to change
very simple note-against-note *musica cum littera* but was completely inca-
pable of undertaking the same task as soon as the notation became

Example 9.2 *'Transgressus legem Domini' ('huic mediante filio' from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 214v and *D-HEu* 2588, fol. 5r

more challenging (and more typical of the mainstream *conductus cum caudis*).[13]

A manuscript that has been recruited in support of the claim that the later-notated sources in mensural notation could explain the rhythm of much earlier sources is no more fruitful when it comes to the analysis of the reception of the *conductus c*1300 or a little later. There are five compositions in Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, 3471 (hereafter *D-DS* 3471), but none presents a mensural reading of a work known from the earliest layers of the surviving manuscripts: 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' is a complex work whose origins appear to overlap the genres of motet (which is measured, of course, from the very beginning) and *conductus*;[14] 'Deus in adiutorium' (II) may also have originated as a measured work in any case.[15] 'Mater salutifera' and a further textless piece

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[13] Matthias Hutzel, 'Die Heidelberger Conductus-Fragmente (Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs 2588) (PhD diss., Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel, 1990).

[14] Fol. 8av–8br. See the discussion of other sources in Chapter 7.

[15] Fol. 1ar. Other sources are listed in Chapter 8.
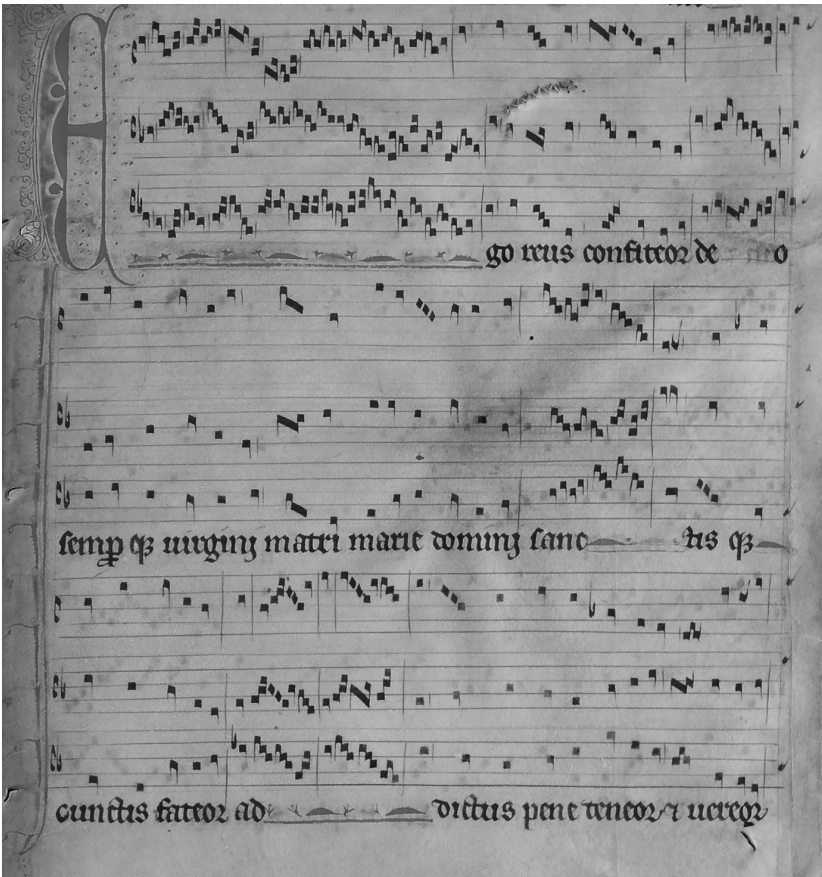
Figure 9.3 *F-ME* 732 bis/20, fol. 2r, transmission of 'Ego reus confiteor' (first three systems)

are *unica*,[16] and 'Si membrana esset celum', although it has a concordance with *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, this is with a late textless addition to the manuscript, and – again – looks much as it originated in a mensural form.[17]

A more thoroughgoing approach to updating the rhythm of the *conductus* in the light of rhythmic and notational advances from the last third of the thirteenth century onwards is found in the fragment Metz, Médiathèque, 732 bis/20 (hereafter *F-ME* 732 bis/20). Here are three *conducti*, all found in earlier sources, where the unmeasured rhythm and notation for the sections *cum littera* are replaced with notations and rhythms that distinguish between *longae* and *breves*. Figure 9.3 gives

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the first three systems of the three-voice version of 'Ego reus confiteor', orginally composed for two voices.

Furthermore, the handling of ligatures *cum littera* permits the composer (whose work consisted of both updating the notation and adding a third voice) to adjust the flow of the *musica cum littera*; he does this by moving the declamation from a mode I alternation of *longa* and *brevis* to declamation on the perfect long. Figure 9.3 shows how the declamation on the *longa perfecta* on the words '[E]-go reus confiteor' contrasts with the mode I declamation on 'Semperque virgini matri Marie domini'. In fact, the rhythm of this passage may be even more complex because the ligature on the word 'reus' could be read according to purely Franconian principles and therefore performed as *longa-brevis-longa* (taking up two perfections) rather than the *brevis-brevis-brevis* (occupying a single perfection).

This slight ambiguity in the notation of ligatures in the *cum littera* passages in 'Ego reus confiteor' in *F-ME* 732 bis/20 is flatly contradicted by the notation of the *sine littera* passages, which are hardly modified at all from their original presentation in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1. And this makes complete sense: the music is already fully metrical in its original form, and as long as musicians were able to read the modal notation, in which the *sine littera* portions of 'Ego reus confiteor' are notated in all its sources, no updating was necessary. A performance attempting to read these *sine littera* sections according to Franconian principles would fall apart in seconds, but what *F-ME* 732 bis/20 does show very clearly is that its notator – and presumably anyone who might use the book subsequently – was conversant both with traditional modal notation and its underlying modal rhythm and with more up to date notations that encoded *longae* and *breves* as notes with tails and notes without (*virgae* and *puncta*).[18]

If *F-ME* 732 bis/20 was probably copied *c*1300, it now begins to appear that the final manuscript in which mensural encodings of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century *conductus*, Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas, 9 (hereafter *E-BUlh* 9), dates from significantly later.[19] The manuscript contains thirty-five *conducti*, of which around a third are both polyphonic and survive in such demonstrably earlier sources as *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and *D-W* 628. A single example can make the key point that by the time of copying, the scribe of *E-BUlh* 9 felt that modal notation could no

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[18] The two preceding paragraphs summarise the findings in Mark Everist, 'Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic *Conductus cum cauda*: The Metz Fragment', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125 (2000) 135–163.

[19] David Catalunya, 'Music, Space and Ritual in Medieval Castile, 1221–1350 (PhD diss., Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, 2016) 87–260.
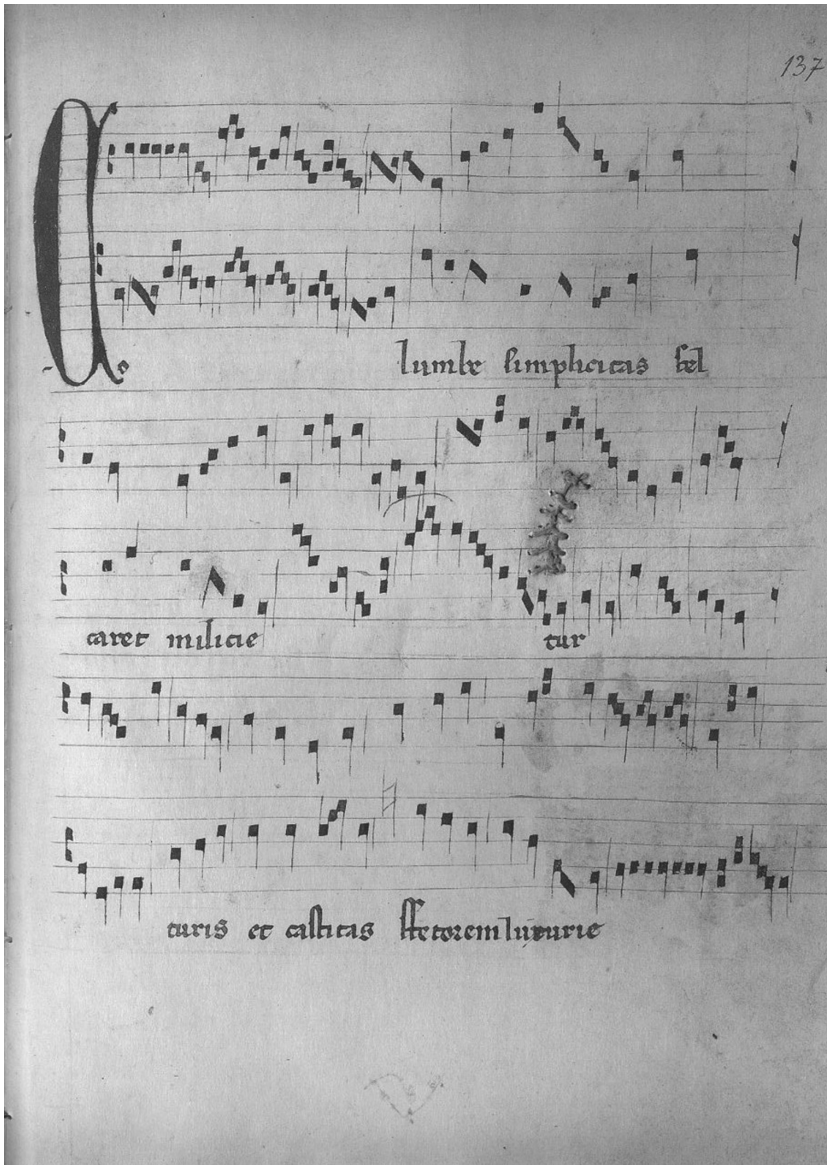
Figure 9.4 *E-Bulh* 9, fol. 137r, transmission of 'Columbe simplicitas'

longer – as had been the case in *F-ME* 732 bis/20 – stand as a means of encoding the modal rhythm of the *caudae* in such a piece as 'Columbe simplicitas' (Figure 9.4).

The sections *cum littera* mix declamation on the *longa* ('[tur]-turis et castitas') with clear mode I patterns ('[Co]-lumbe simplicitas fel caret

milicie'), much in the same way as the *F-ME* 732 bis/20 reading of 'Ego reus confiteor'. But what is striking in *E-BUlh* 9 is that the notation of the *cauda* is executed now by carefully modifying the ligatures so that they could be read by anyone with a competent understanding of Franconian ligatures; critically, anyone using the book did not have to have any understanding of modal notation. And this is where the differences between musical understandings between the musicians responsible for *F-ME* 732 bis/20 and *E-BUlh* 9 really lie.

The types of mensuralisation seen in *D-HEu* 2588 and *F-ME* 732 bis/20 have a profound effect on the declamation of the poetry. When this evidence was used for an attempt at a wholesale edition of the repertory replicating the later changes to the rhythm of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus*, editors were careful not to infringe what they considered to be the 'word accent' of the poetry. But what is clear from the attempts *c*1300 to modify this music is that 'correct' declamation of the poetry was very low on the list of the composers' priorities. Just to look again at the rhythmicised version of 'Ego reus confiteor' in *F-ME* 732 bis/20 (Figure 9.3) is to witness the following accents: 'Ego reus confiteor / Deo semperque virgini / matri Marie domini'; these flatly contradict what editors who wanted to impose metrical rhythms on the repertory would have wanted. Anderson imposes a mode V metre on this section, whereas thirteenth-century composers were happy with a mode I version that contradicted the 'word accent' of the poetry in exactly the same way that the motet had for most of the century.[20]

Addition of Voices

As representatives of a tradition that reconfigures the *conductus c*1300, *F-ME* 732 bis/20 and *D-HEu* 2588 not only update the notation and performance of the *cum littera* sections of the *conducti* they preserve, but they also add voices to pre-existing two-voice textures. This runs counter to every tradition associated with the *conductus*, where during the first century of its history (from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century) voices are subtracted from the texture; there is

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[20] For Anderson's edition of 'Ego reus confiteor', see *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 11 vols., [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–) [all but vols. 7 and 11 have appeared] 3:130–134.

no evidence of, for example, adding a second voice to a monophonic *conductus* from the tenth fascicle of *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, nor of adding a third voice to a two-voice work from the sixth fascicle of the same manuscript, for example.[21] Abundant examples, on the other hand, have been given of polyphonic works being copied as either monodies or as texts alone. What may be witnessed in the practices in the three *conducti* in *F-ME* 732 bis/20 and the single piece in *D-HEu* 2588 is something very different.

The first stanza of *ʻTransgressus legem Domini' has already been discussed in relation to its updated notation in *D-HEu* 2588 (Figure 9.2). Turning to the second stanza of the work, it is possible to see a number of characteristics that remain unchanged. The most striking of these is the Franconian presentation of the ligatures in the *cauda* on the first syllable of 'Veritati' in exactly the same way as was seen in the first stanza. The continuation of this passage, however, presents the poetry not in the carefully notated and measured mode one of the first stanza but in a series of perfect longs that, at the end of the line, give way to an elongated *longa* in the tenor (on 'miseri*cor*dia') to accommodate the cadential ornamentation in the upper parts.

However, the most striking feature of the second and third stanzas of *ʻTransgressus legem Domini' is that while the original version of the work provides music for three voices in the first stanza and the second and third for two voices, the version in *D-HEu* 2588 adds a *triplum* to the last two stanzas to create a *conductus* that would have been entirely in three parts except that the end of the piece is fragmentary in *D-HEu* 2588; the intention, however, is entirely clear. Among the aims in prolonging the three-voice texture into the second and third stanzas are to create a greater level of rhythmic variety into the contrapuntal texture and to emphasise parallelisms in the two-voice original. Example 9.3 shows an extreme case.

In this passage, the two original lower voices begin with regular phrases of four LTT. Against this, the new *triplum* constructs a series of phrases that carefully avoid cadencing at the same time as the two lower voices. At the beginning, this is simply achieved by beginning the line with a phrase of two LTT and then continuing with phrases of four, thus creating a perpetual overlap. Where the tenor and *duplum* change this pattern, introducing a phrase of five LTT in the *duplum* and six in the tenor, the new *triplum* adjusts its phrase lengths to ensure that it continues to overlap.

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[21] The sole exception is the recently discovered evidence that a two-part version must have existed of the monophonic 'Homo qui semper moreris', discussed in Chapter 8.

Example 9.3 Anderson's units 200–214 of third stanza of *'Transgressus legem Domini'

But the new *triplum* responds to the fact that the two-voice original has two identical phrases (2–6 and 10–14); these are boxed in Example 9.3. The *triplum* repeats the same phrase over the parallel phrases in the *duplum* and tenor; not only that, but for the two entirely unrelated LTT between the two identical phrases the composer manages to use the same melodic line descending from *g* to *d* in an entirely different contrapuntal context, thus drawing even more attention to the melodic and contrapuntal parallels.

Example 9.4 'Ego reus confiteor', opening *cauda*, *F-ME* 732 bis/20, fol. 2r

Example 9.4 gives the opening *cauda* of 'Ego reus confiteor' in the version as it is found in *F-ME* 732 bis/20.

It is in three parts and shares its lower two parts with three sources from earlier in the thirteenth century. The added voice again carefully overlaps the simultaneous phrase endings of the Florence original and creates a seamless flow of polyphony up to the point when the texted section *cum littera* begins (Example 9.5).

Example 9.5 'Ego reus confiteor', 'Deum et proximum' to 'iudico', *F-ME* 732 bis/20, fol. 2r and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 324v

In this example, the unmeasured notation of the Florence manuscript is replicated as usual by the use of unstemmed noteheads and may be compared with the more precise rhythmic indications of the version in the Metz fragments. The *cum littera* sections are now rewritten in a fully

measured notation. With a couple of exceptions, the declamation of the poetry is clearly characterised as the first rhythmic mode.[22] As a consequence of this rhythmicisation, the four phrases in the Florence version in ('Deum et proximum; 'in publico'; 'me publico'; 'reum valde me iudico') are elided into a single utterance in the Metz version.

Examples 9.4 and 9.5 show how both the versions of the *cum littera* and *sine littera* sections of 'Ego reus confiteor' in *F-ME* 732 bis/20 typically differ from the versions in the original sources. Example 9.6 contrasts a passage from later in the work in the two versions from *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 and *F-ME* 732 bis/20.

The later composer again adds precision to the notation of the original version, but here the added third part in *F-ME* 732 bis/20 simply mirrors the rhythmic structure of the two lower parts. Three phrases in the original version are elided into one in the later version. The unmeasured notation of the original is again shifted into the thinly veiled mode I of the later version. The transformation of the declamation – as was already noted in Example 9.5 – is not entirely consistent. In some cases, the Metz version imparts a rate of declamation that is analogous either to mode I *extensio modi* or mode V. There are three important points: the first syllable of the words 'Matri' and 'celestis' and the word 'piis'. The composer responsible for this reworking in each case was aiming to extend the phrase. In the case of the music for 'Matri' and 'celestis', he placed a *longa perfecta* where the rhythmic *ordo* would have dictated a *longa imperfecta*, and in the case of the music for 'piis', he placed two *longae perfectae* where one might have expected a *longa imperfecta* followed by a *brevis*. The effect is the opposite of the one in Example 9.5, and the phrase is here extended. Although each of the extensions occurs at the beginning of a line of the poetry, and therefore at the beginning of a phrase in the Florence original, the Metz composer has given an inconsistency to these three phrases: two lengthened by one *longa perfecta* but one lengthened by twice that value; more evidence of the idiosyncratic nature of the revising process of the Metz composer.

A final characteristic of the Metz recomposition of 'Ego reus confiteor' concerns the very end of the piece. The version in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 closes with an extended *cauda* followed by a short organal flourish over a *punctus organi*. The composer of the Metz version encountered serious problems with the end of 'Ego reus confiteor', where it would have been hard to turn

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[22] The exceptions are on the syllables <u>De</u>-um and <u>iu</u>-<u>di</u>-<u>co</u>. The implications of these changes are discussed later in the chapter (000–000).

Example 9.6 'Ego reus confiteor', 'Matri' to 'precibus', *F-ME* 732 bis/20, fol. 2v and *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, fol. 324v

this into something convincingly modal and even harder to write a third part. His solution was simply to leave out this passage and to close the work at the end of the *cauda*.

The Metz version of 'Ego reus confiteor' both compresses and extends the rhythmic structure of the original state of the composition. This is achieved in a variety of ways. The effect of this procedure is to loosen up the regularly repeating modal *ordines* that would have arisen from the mechanical imposition of modal rhythm on the unmeasured notation of the original.

A third example of both the mensuralisation of originally unmeasured notation and rhythm and the addition of a third voice is found in a manuscript of unquestionably English origin. What remains of Oxford, Worcester College, 3.16(A)* (hereafter *GB-Owc* 3.16(A)*) preserves three, three-voice *conducti* and fragments of a fourth. Three are *unica*, but the other, *'Ave tuos benedic', is found in a two-voice version in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1.[23] The *musica cum littera* in *GB-Owc* 3.16(A)* is clearly mensural and, in its use of alternations of *longae* and English *breves* (lozenge shapes), certainly English. It adds its *triplum* in two rather different ways to that employed in *D-HEu* 2588 and *F-ME* 732 bis/20, however. First, in the *caudae*, where it adds a third voice to two that are already measured, it carefully respects the phrase structure of the existing two-voice work: whereas the composers of the arrangements in the continental manuscripts felt free to create overlaps that effectively obscured the phraseological structure of their original, the English composer respected them slavishly. The second difference between the *GB-Owc* 3.16(A)* version of *'Ave tuos benedic' and other practices is that the composer attempts to add a third voice on top of the type of *punctus organi* present in the *duplum* (and described in Chapter 4) of the *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 original. This creates a passage of metrical instability each time it appears and challenges editors who feel disinclined to recognise that instability and attempt to render the passage fully metrically.[24]

The three manuscripts, *D-HEu* 2588, *F-ME* 732 bis/20 and *GB-Owc* 3.16(A)*, take pre-existing two-part works, impart mensural qualities to their otherwise unmeasured notation, and add a third voice to the original texture. A further example of the addition of voice parts to

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[23] Fols. 1v–2r and 366r–366v, respectively.

[24] Both versions are edited in Ernest H. Sanders (ed.), *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 14 (Monaco: Oiseau-Lyre, 1979) 39–41 and 42–43.

an original concerns the celebrated monophonic *conductus*, 'Beata vis-
cera', attributed to Perotinus by Anonymous IV with a text attributed to
Philip the Chancellor.[25] The *conductus* appears to have been reworked
polyphonically in two radically different ways and in two very different
contexts. Although both contexts involve the addition of a contrapuntal
second voice to the monophonic original, neither attempts to inflect the
non-mensural characteristics of the notation – or the resultant rhythm –
with any sort of measure.

'Beata viscera' serves as the basis for two works in various manuscripts
of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Notre Dame*. Both 'Entendez tuit ensem-
ble' and 'De Sainte Leocade' take the pitches of Perotinus's monophonic
conductus and add a new *duplum* while retexting the entire texture.[26]
The counterpoint is simple in the extreme, frequently making use of par-
allel unisons and other parallelisms, even at cadences, as Example 9.7
shows.[27]

And although the overall pitch structure of 'Beata viscera' is respected,
Example 9.7 shows great changes in ornamental detail between the version
of 'Entendez tuit ensemble' from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France,
fonds fr. 1536 (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 1536) and of 'Beata viscera' from *I-Fl*
Plut. 29.1.[28] 'Entendez tuit ensemble' is also found in a polyphonic form
in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 25532 (hereafter *F-Pn*
fr. 25532 ['De Sainte Leocade']), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France,
n.a.f. 24541 and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert, 10747.[29] None of the
concordances exhibit any mensural properties. Although the core of the
Miracles was composed between 1214 and 1233, this does not necessarily
represent the date at which the modifications were made to Perotinus's
conductus. Jacques Chailley's suggestion that they were made by Gautier
himself (on the dubious basis that the contrapuntal addition was less
than satisfactory) would have the advantage of placing the work before
his death in 1236, but the claim is based on no further evidence.[30] The
three manuscripts that preserve the polyphony all appear to be copied
at least as late as the second half of the thirteenth century and some

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[25] Frtiz Reckow (ed.), *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für
Musikwissenschaft 4–5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967) 1:46.

[26] Jacques Chailley (ed.), *Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci 1177 [78]-1236): édition
musicale critique avec introduction et commentaires*, Publications de la Société Française de
Musicologie 1:15 (Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1959) 7–8, gives the sources for 'Entendez tuit
ensemble' and 'De Sainte Leocade'.

[27] See ibid., 70–80 for a *variorium* edition of all the polyphonic versions of the two works. The
metrical rhythms are conjectural.

[28] Fol. 247v; fols. 422r–422v.   [29] Fols. 104r–104v; 111v–112r; 103v–104r.

[30] Chailley, *Les chansons à la Vierge*, 70.

Example 9.7 'Entendez tuit ensemble'; *F-Pn* fr. 1536, fol. 247v and *'Beata viscera'; *I-Fl* Plut 29.1, fol. 422r

into the fourteenth. One of the manuscripts that preserves 'Entendez tuit ensemble', Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds fr. 2163, has a colophon that makes its date of copying – 1266 – explicit, but this version of the piece is monophonic.

Even less clear in terms of date is the second reworking of 'Beata viscera', which comes from a northern Italian nunnery *c*1300 and is found in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 11 (hereafter *I-Bc* Q 11).[31] The lack of chronological precision is more than matched by the curious treatment Perotinus's *conductus* receives. Whereas the polyphonic line in 'Entendez tuit ensemble' and 'De Sainte Leocade' largely mirrors the rhythm of the original, the work in *I-Bc* Q 11 – which retains Philip the Chancellor's original text – treats Perotinus's melody more as a tenor and adorns it with a complex contrapuntal line that not only goes both above and below the *cantus prius factus* but also is highly melismatic (Example 9.8).

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[31] Fols. 5r–5v.

Example 9.8 *'Beata viscera'; *I-Bc* Q 11, fol. 5r

Exactly how this contrapuntal style fits in to the tradition of *organum* writing, given that this is what seems to be happening here, is unclear. Simply alluding to the simpler forms of Parisian *organum* fails to capture the very careful contrapuntal handling of the parallel ligatures in the melisma on the syllable '-*vi*-' of 'viscera', where each pitch of the six-note melisma (with a $1 + 3 + 2$ constellation in the tenor combined with a single six-note ligature in the *duplum*) seems to hark back to repertories that predate Perotinus and even his predecessors.

Although the context for 'Entendez tuit ensemble' and 'De Sainte Leocade' in the *Miracles de Notre Dame* by Gautier de Coincide is reasonably clear, the context for this 'organal' setting of 'Beata viscera' is much less obvious. *I-Bc* Q 11 is best described as a liturgical miscellany compiled by more than a dozen hands within only twenty-eight folios.[32] Overall it contains items from the proper and the ordinary of the Mass, psalm tones, tropes, settings of the 'Benedicamus domino' and sequences. In the section of the manuscript copied by Hand D, folios 5 to 8, are all the works

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[32] See Francesca Bassi, 'Museo internazionale e biblioteca della music di Bologna: manoscritti liturgici' (2007) consulted 10 October 2016; www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/tools/liturgici .pdf [65].

Table 9.1 Contents of *I-Bc* Q 11, folios 5–8 (Hand D)

	Hand D	
Fol. 5r–5v	Perotinus: 'Beata viscera'	First stanza and refrain **+ *counterpoint in red***
Fol. 5v	'Sanctus'	**+ *counterpoint in red***
Fol. 5v–6r	'Agnus dei'	**+ *counterpoint in red***
Fol. 6r	'Alleluya. O consolatrix'	
Fol. 6v–7r	'Credo'	**+ *counterpoint in red***
Fol. 7r–7v	'Verum sine spina' ['Benedicamus domino' trope]	
Fol. 7v	(783) 'Salve virgo rubens rosa' – 'Neuma' (U.I.)	Lower two parts of 3-pt motet in *F-MOf* H 196 and *D-BAs* Lit. 115. (Ludwig, *Repertorium* 2:117): **+ *counterpoint in red*** (= tenor of motet in red) with tenor notes repeated to accommodate text
Fol. 8r	(654) 'Virgo viget melius' – 'Flos filius eius' (O 16)	*Motetus* voice only of motet in 3 parts in *D-BAs* Lit. 115
Fol. 8r	'Benedicamus domino'	**+ *counterpoint in red***
Fol. 8r	'Benedicamus domino'	

that have some sort of relationship with polyphony; this group is headed by the setting of 'Beata viscera'.[33] The contents of this section are given in Table 9.1.

Of the ten compositions in this section of the manuscript, more than half are furnished with polyphony, with the new contrapuntal line presented in red on a single stave, as the version of 'Beata viscera' shows (Figure 9.5).

In all cases but one, the contrapuntal works take monodies as their *cantus prius factus* and add a *duplum* voice to it, in exactly the same way as 'Beata viscera' is constructed. Sources include Mass proper and ordinary items and the 'Benedicamus domino'. The exception is (783) 'Salve virgo rubens rosa' – 'Neuma' (U.I.),[34] where the two lower voices of a motet that frequently appears for three voices (in Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, H 196 [hereafter *F-MOf* H 196] and Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 16444)[35] are given in score, and the pitches of the mode V tenor are duplicated to allow the declamation

[33] See Alessandra Fiori, 'Le manuscrit I-Bc Q11', paper read at conference 'Iberian Polyphony in the Middle Ages: New Sources, New Hypotheses', Schola Cantorum Basel, 8–9 May 2015.

[34] *I-Bc* Q 11, fol. 7v.

[35] Fols. 93v–95r; fol. 1a. The motet is also found for two voices in Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, A 410, fol. 129v; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 135, fol. 291r; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3518, fol. 118v.
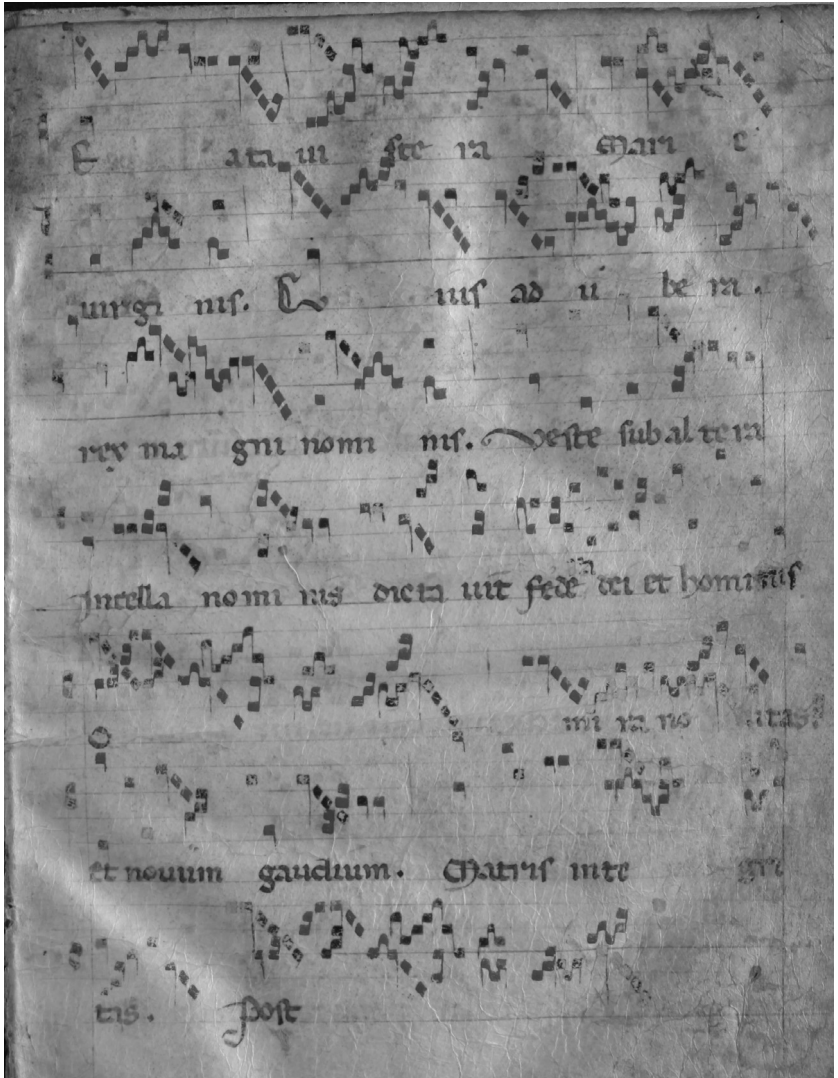
Figure 9.5 *I-Bc* Q 11 transmission of *‘Beata viscera’

of the *motetus* text by both voices. This puts it in the same category as a number of motets that are modified and formatted to function as motets that are described in Chapter 7 (where its sources are discussed at greater length and facsimile given), but here it stands apart from the rest of the polyphony in this section of the manuscript. Indeed, the motet presence in the manuscript is vitiated by the copy of (654) ‘Virgo viget melius’ – ‘Flos filius eius’ (O 16), which survives in *I-Bc* Q 11 as a monody (the *motetus*) only.

This discussion of the mensuralisation of non-mensural originals takes as axiomatic the idea that musical processes and ambitions change over time, and that works that have a long life span – as the *conductus* most certainly does – will be modified in response to those changing processes and ambitions. In other words, these changes are viewed as part of the works' reception rather than anything to do with their ontology. The telescope needs to be turned around the right way to examine the reception of the *conductus* rather than attempting to use the evidence to sustain an untenable view of its ontology (that the *cum littera* sections of the genre were as metrical as the motet or any form of *discantus*). Coupled to earlier comments on the ways in which the mensuralisation of the *cum littera* sections of *conductus* paid little attention to the 'word accent' of the text, much of what happened to the *conductus* around 1300 seems to ally it more closely with the genre of the motet, and more generally with the species of polyphony discussed in the theoretical literature as *discantus*.

Looking elsewhere on the generic map of music around 1300, it is possible to find analogous practices in the reception of *organum*. Although there is no evidence of adding voices to pre-existent polyphonic complexes, there are two clear examples of updating the notation of the earliest sources for the *organum* repertory: the first fascicle of *F-MOf* H 196, Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek Fiolstræde, 1810 4° (hereafter *DK-Ku* 1810 4°) and Stockholm, Riksarkivet, R 813 (hereafter *S-Sr* R 813).[36] In the case of the first source, the *organa* concerned are all in three parts, so although there is great care taken to clarify the ligatures in the upper voices – as is the case of some of the *conductus* sources discussed in the preceding text – there is no mensuralisation because the upper voices in the original three-voice *organa* were subject to the principles of modal rhythm and notated in modal notation. The repertory of *DK-Ku* 1810 4° consists of two-voice *organa* – whose upper voices were originally notated freely and rhythmically non-metrical – which are here mensuralised to a degree. The *clausulae*, as in the case of *F-MOf* H 196, are notated in a way that clarifies the values of the ligatures, but here the melismatic sections of

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[36] Yvonne Rokseth (ed.), *Polyphonies du treizième siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935–39) 4:37–62; John Bergsagel, 'The Transmission of Notre-Dame Organa in Some Newly-Discovered 'Magnus liber organi' Fragments in Copenhagen', *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, 3 vols., ed. Angelo Pompilio et al. (Turin: EDT, 1990) 3:629–636. For *S-Sr* R 813, see Anna Wolodarski, 'Gdy pozostały tylko fragmenty . . . Membra disiecta w zbiorach Riksarkivet w Sztokholmie', *Muzyka* 48 (2003) 31–48 and Gunilla Björkvall, Jan Brunius and Anna Wolodarski, 'Flerstämmig musik från medeltiden: två nya fragmentfynd I Riksarkivet', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 83 (1996) 129–155.

the *duplum* are also mensuralised, making use even of the ligature *cum opposita proprietate* to indicate the precise rhythms of the smallest values in the voice part.

The late thirteenth-century modifications to the *conductus* described here, especially the recasting of unmeasured *musica cum littera* in a metrical guise, explain many of the difficulties that have arisen with late thirteenth-century theory that attempted to explain the *conductus* and its rhythm. As suggested in Chapter 3, where the question of rhythm of the *cum littera* sections of the *conductus* were examined in detail, one of the key pieces of evidence adduced by those who were certain that modal rhythm should be applied to *musica cum littera* in the *conductus* were such statements as those from *Ars cantus mensurabilis* that sound fairly conclusive: both *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera* in the *conductus* are species of *discantus* and therefore *conductus* as a genre is a subspecies of *discantus* as well. But the author of *Ars cantus mensurabilis* was writing in the last two decades of the thirteenth century, and therefore at exactly the same time as the modifications to the rhythmic profile of *musica cum littera* in the *conductus* was subjecting the genre to epoch-making change, as has beeen explained here. In the light of the examination of *conducti* in the sources just discussed, it was impossible for the author to have reached any other conclusion. Responding, as he was, to music that he considered up to date, he barely gave consideration to the traditions that underpinned the *conducti* that he knew (phases 1 and 2 of the tradition described in this chapter) and described the *conductus* exactly as he found it, in the forms in which it is known from the sources discussed here.

Conclusion

Despite its apparent simplicity – in that for the most part it does not depend on the complex use of intertextual reference or borrowing from other genres – the *conductus* continues to remain elusive. Even asking some fairly basic questions – In what contexts was it performed? How big is the repertory? – does not elicit simple responses. *Discovering Medieval Song* has examined the surviving evidence and tried to retain the intricacy of the subject while attempting answers. We know a certain amount about the performance context for a small (and early) part of the repertory: the traditional view of a paraliturgical genre associated with movement in the ceremony works well for those works preserved in the New Year's Offices or in very early sources. But as we approach 1200, the evidence for this type of context begins to thin out, and the emergent *conductus* as known from its major surviving sources may well fit into an environment – monastic, secular or both – that is more associated with the concept of the *lectio publica*. And when we ask the question 'how big is the repertory?', answers depend on how you want to frame the question. Simple solutions – a *conductus* is a *conductus* if another scholar has so considered it – have the advantage of practicality; others – for example including everything in sources that has at least one concordance with an established repertory – runs the risk of including not only the Sicilian-Norman repertory, which probably should figure, but also that of Aquitaine which probably should not.

Many issues are completely intractable if approached in terms familiar from the study of more modern music. Attribution is complicated by the fact that little is known of the composers of the *conductus*, whereas many texts survive with secure attributions to well-known authors of which *rithmus* – the type of poetry used in the *conductus* – is only one part of their output. And the exact relationship between 'poet' and 'composer' is a vexed one, as is that between 'words' and 'notes'. Early on in *Discovering Medieval Song*, the concept of 'setting' a text was put aside to allow a more complex set of relationships between agents and objects; this is important across the entire repertory with the exception of the settings of clearly pre-existent liturgical texts.

Much of the first part of *Discovering Medieval Song* has been an attempt at giving precision to how the *conductus* should be understood: the nature of *rithmus*, the balance between *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera* and the consequent expressive power of the *cauda*; this binary tension between *musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera* – between syllabic/neumatic music and the *cauda* – is complicated by the addition of the *punctus organi* as a further expressive and structural resource. To this is added a review of the way in which *musica cum littera* should be performed – the thorny question of how the unmeasured notation of these sections should be projected in performance and how the declamatory or uncommitted style should be displayed in modern notation.

With those technical matters brought under review, it is a short step to recognising the *conductus* as a mixed form, sharing qualities of the literary *prosimetrum*. *Musica cum littera* and *musica sine littera* create complex alternating structures in the same way that *prosimetra* – as their name implies – do the same with prose and (usually) quantative verse. Reading these prosimetric *conducti* against the careful construction of their texts – based so much on classical, biblical and patristic quotation and allusion – reveals a carefully integrated composition of both words and notes that creates extended compositions of great sophistication and ambition.

The first five chapters of *Discovering Medieval Song* confirm the status of the *conductus* – unlike *organum* and motet – as a genre immune to the multifaceted networks of borrowing and reworking that characterise the two other principal genres of polyphonic music in the long thirteenth century. It is, however, inescapable that the *conductus* shares intertextual relations with plainsong, liturgical texts, the style of *discantus* found in *clausula* and motet, and vernacular song. And this is hardly surprising given the similar links between the poetry of the *conductus* and its classical, biblical and patristic cognates. It would not be true to say that the intertexts exposed in Chapters 6 to 8 characterise any of the groups of *conducti* found in the repertory at large. They are found widely distributed in time and space; just to take a single example, the relationships between *conductus* and motet are scattered among the very origins of the latter genre around 1200, the later thirteenth-century reworking of motets and *conducti* and the reuse of *conductus* texts in such motets as those found in the single notated copy of the *Roman de Fauvel* from the second decade of the fourteenth century, and other sources from even later.

The final chapter of *Discovering Medieval Song* is largely dedicated to understanding the changes made to the genre as part of its reception in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and later. Two striking things emerge.

The first is that almost all the theoretical commentary on the *conductus* comes from a time at the end of the thirteenth century when the changes described in Chapter 9 had already been wrought; this means that theorists' comments on such questions as rhythm in particular have to be carefully read through the lens of this late thirteenth-century reception – and this is key to some of the arguments advanced in Chapter 3. The second thing to emerge in the examination of the 'beyond' is that the *conductus* continued as a tradition – admittedly battered and fragmented – as late as the copying of the single *conductus* text in the *Maxima biblioteca* of 1677. This is only a century before Charles Burney would include the first scholarly commentary on the *conductus* in his *General History of Music* and arguably launch the modern study of the genre.[1]

The prognosis for the modern cultivation of the *conductus* remains less propitious than for *organum* and motet. In the latter instances, we have modern, reliable, critical editions of the repertory that both meet scholarly standards and in which the music is displayed in ways that meet the needs of the modern performer. The now elderly editions of the *conductus* repertory fulfil neither of these needs, and modern performances and recordings either risk working with texts that are misleading or have to invest in new ways of engaging with the repertory and its medieval sources. But for those performers who do manage to fight their way through the thicket of less-than-helpful editions, and for their audiences who enjoy their performances, the rewards are great. What awaits them is a repertory not only of great historical significance but of dazzling sophistication and incandescent expressive power.

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[1] See Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. Frank Mercer, 4 vols. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935) 2: 553–554 and note 't' (originally published in 1782). John Hawkins does not mention the *conductus* at all; he comes closest in his discussion of Anonymous IV, but overcome by his enthusiasm for liturgical polyphony, he makes no mention of the genre (*A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London: Payne, 1776) 2:196–200).

Appendices

List of Compositions

Incipit

'. . . en tremblement' (RS 362a)

'[. . .]ten sehen[. . .]cher li'

'A deserto veniens' II

*'A globo veteri'

'A l'entrada del tens cler' (PC 461)

'A l'entrant del tanz salvage' (RS 41)

'Ab hac famila'

'Ad sancte Katherine'

'Adesse festina'

'Adest annus iubileus'

'Adest dies optata',

'Adiuva nos Deus'

'Age penitentiam'

[(532) 'Agmina milicie'] – (532) 'Agmina milicie' – 'Agmina' (M 65)

'Alabastrum frangitur'

'Alleluia Regi regum omnium'

'Alma redemptoris mater'

'Alto gradu gloriae'

(747) 'Ambrorum sacrum spirmamen' – 'Benedicamus domino' (Benedicamus Domino IV)

'Amez moi, douce dame, amez, et je ferai vouz voulentez' (vdB 117)

'Amis qui est li mieus vaillant' (RS 365)

'Amor patris et filii' I

Amours amours amours ai qui m'ocient et la nuit et la iour (vdB 150)

'Amour dont sui espris / M'efforce' (RS 1545)

'Amours dont sui espris / De chanter' (RS 1546)

'An diex! Ou porai ge trover'

'Angelus ad virginem' I

'Anglia planctus itera'

'Anima iugi lacrima'

'Anima iugi lacrima' – 'Caro spiritui quid subderis' – 'Lis hic ratio'

'Anni favor iubilei'

'Anni novi circulus'

'Anni novi reditus'

'Ar ne kuthe sorghe non'

*'Artium dignitas'

'Associa tecum in patria'

'Au bois irai pour cullir la violeite/ mon ami I trouverai. Contra in latino' (vdB 191)

'Auctor vite virgine' – 'Tenor' (U.I.)

'Auctor vite virgine' I

'Audi filia'

'Austro terris influente'

'Ave gemma que lucis copia'

'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris'

(760a) 'Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris' – 'Domino' (Domino I)

'Ave gloriosa virginum regina'

(1209) 'Ave Ihesu Christe' – 'O premium' (T 18)

'Ave Maria gratia plena' I

'Ave Maria gratia plena' II

'Ave Maria gratia plena' III

'Ave Maria gratia plena' IV

'Ave Maria laus tibi quia'

*'Ave Maria salus hominum

'Ave Maria virgo virginum'

'Ave maris stella ave'

'Ave maris stella virgo'

'Ave nobilis venerabilis'

'Ave princeps celestis curie'

'Ave pugil qui in agonia'

'Ave regina celorum Regis'

'Ave rosa rubens et tenera'

'Ave stella maris Maria'

*'Ave tuos benedic'

'Ave virgo sapiens'

'Ave virgo virginum' I

'Beata nobis gaudia reduxit'

'Beata viscera'

*'Beate virginis'

'Beatis nos adhibe'
(761) 'Beatis nos adhibe' – 'Benedicamus Domino' (BD V)
'Beatus servus sapiens'
(409) 'Benedicta Marie virginis' – (410) 'Beate virginis fecondat' – 'Bene-
 dicta' (M 32)
'Bien font amours lor talen' (RS 738)
'Blundes [. . .]s aller selikeit'
'Bonne amoureite m'a en sa prison pieca' (vdB 288)
'Brevi carne deitas'
*'Bulla fulminante'
'C[. . .]kund'
'Captivata largitas'
'Caput in caudam vertitur'
*'Celorum porta'
'Celum non animum'
'Centrum capit circulus'
'Chanter et renvoisier seuil' (RS 1001)
'Christe Deus Christe meus'
'Christi miles Christo commilitat'
'Christo nostra devotio'
'Christo psallat ecclesia'
'Ci aval querez amouretes. contra in Latino' (vdB 355)
'Circa mundi vesperam'
'Clavis clavo retunditur'
'Clavus pungens acumine'
'Columbe simplicitas'
'Condimentum nostre spei'
'Congaudent omnes angeli'
'Congaudentes iubilemus hodie'
'Consequens antecedente'
'Cortex occidit littere'
'Cristus resurgens' V. 'Dicant nunc Iudei'
'Crucifigat omnes'
'Crux de te volo conqueri'
'Curritur ad vocem'
'Dame je vous aime plus' (RS 1908)
'De juer et de baler' (RS 767a)
'De la Saint Leocade' (RS 12)
'De nature fracto iure'
'De rupta rupecula'

'De Stephani roseo sanguine'
'De tele heure vi la biaute ma dame que ne puis sanz li. contra in latino'
  (vdB 484)
'De yesse Naistra' (RS 7)
'Debet se circumspicere'
'Deduc Syon uberrimas'
'Dei sapientia'
[(131) 'Deo confitemini'] – (131) 'Deo confitemini' – 'Domino' (M 13)
'Deus creator omnium'
'Deus in adiutorium' II
'Deus pacis et dilectionis'
'Dex donnez me joie de ce que j'ain l'amour a la belle ne puis avoir' (vdB
  515)
'Dex! quar haiez merci de m'ame si com j'e envers vous mespris' (vdB
  488)
*'Dic Christi veritas'
'Dic qui gaudes prosperis'
'Dich alle so bin ich'
'Dies ista colitur'
'Divina providentia'
'Dogmatum falsas species'
'Domine non secundum'
(620) 'Donnez ma dame ai mon coeur tresdont' – (621) 'Adies sunt ces
  sades brunetes' – 'Kyrie caelum' (Kyrie VI)
'Douce Dame gres et graces vous rent' (RS 719)
'Duce creator virgine Marie'
'Dulces laudes tympano'
'Dum iuventus floruit'
'Dum medium silentium tenerent'
'Dum sigillum summi patris'
'E! jolis cuers se tu t'en vas s'onques m'amas pour dieu ne m'antroblie
  pas' (vbB 847)
'Ecce iam celebria'
'Ecce mundi gaudium'
'Ecce nomen Domini'
'Ecce torpet probitas'
'Eclypsim patitur'
'Ego reus confiteor'
'Ein wild uf gen'
'En pascour un jour erroie' (RS 1718)

(781) 'Encontre le mois d'avril' – (782) 'Amours tant voz ia servi' – 'Neuma'
(Neuma I)
'Entendez tuit ensemble' (RS 83)
'Eterno serviet'
'Ex creata non creates'
'Ex oliva Remensium'
'Exceptivam actionem'
'Excitatur caritas in lericho'
'Excuset que vim intulit'
*'Excutere de pulvere'
'Exiit dilucolo'
[(101) 'Eximia mater plena gratie'] – (101) 'Eximia mater plena gratie' –
'Et illuminare' (M 9)
'Exultemus et letemur'
'Exultemus socii'
'Exultet celi curia'
'Eyns ne soy ke plynte fu'
'Far vuoil un nou sirventes' (BdT 156)
*'Fas et nefas ambulant'
'Fas legis prisce'
'Felix qui humilium'
'Fidelium sonet vox sobria'
'Flore vernat virginali'
'Floret fex favellea'
'Floret hortus virginalis'
'Flos de spina procreator'
'Flos in monte cernitur'
'Flos preclusus sub torpore'
'Flours de glais' (RS 192)
'Fols est qui a ensient' (RS 665)
'Frater iam prospicias'
'Fraude ceca desolato'
'Frigescente caritatis'
'Fulget in propatulo'
'Gallia cum letitia'
'Gaude presul in Domino'
*'Gaude virgo virginum' A
'Gaudeat devotion'
'Gaudens in Domino'
'Geant mennais del cais'

'Gedeonis area'
*'Genitus divinitus'
'Gloria in excelsis Deo'
'Gloria sit soli Deo'
'Gratuletur populus'
'Gregis pastor Tityrus'
'Hac in anni ianua'
'Hac in die Gedeonis'
'Hac in die rege nato'
'Hac in die salutari'
'Hec est dies triumphalis'
'Hec est turris quam vallavit'
'Helysie manubrio'
*'Heu quo progreditur'
'Hoc in sollempnio'
'Homo considera'
'Homo cum mandato spreto'
*'Homo natus ad laborem tui status'
'Homo per potentiam'
[(231) 'Homo, quam sit pura'] – (231) 'Homo, quam sit pura' – 'Latus
    (M 14)
'Homo qui semper moreris'
'Honniz soit qui mes onan beguineite devendra' (vdB 881)
'Huimain par un ajournant' (RS 292)
'Iam lucis orto sidere'
'Iam mundus ornatur mira gloria'
'Iam vetus littera'
'Ich lob ein wip'
'Iherusalem accipitur'
'Iherusalem Iherusalem letare'
'Ihesu fili summi patris'
(98) 'In Bethleem' – 'In Bethleem' (M 8)
'In hac die gloriosa'
'In hoc statu gratie'
'In natali summi regis'
'In novas fert animus'
'In occasu syderis'
(500) 'In odore fragrant dulcedinis' – (501) '[Gracia viam con]tinencie' –
    '[In odorem]' (M 45)
'In pretio pretium'

'In Rama sonat gemitus'
'In ripa Ligeris'
'In rosa vernat lilium'
'In terram Christus expuit'
[(451) 'In veritate comperi'] – (451) 'In veritate comperi' – 'Veritatem'
  (M 37)
'Involutus in erroris'
*'Ista dies celebrari'
'Iubilemus cordis voce'
'Je chant comme desves' (RS 922)
'Je fere mentel taillier cousu de flours, ourle d'amours, fourre de violeite.
  Contra in Latino' (vdB 1044)
'Je me quidoie partir' (RS 1440)
Je ne chant pas pour verdour (RS 2017)
'Jesse virgam humidavit'
'Jo'i le rousignol chanter dessus le raim u jardinet m'amie de sus l'ante
  florie … contra in Latino' (vdB 1159)
'Kalendas ianuarias'
'Kyrie celum creans'
'L'autrier chevauchoie' (RS 1695)
'L'autrier estoie montes' (RS 936)
'L'autrier m'iere leves' (RS 395)
'L'autrier m'iere rendormis' (RS 1609)
'L'autrier par une matinee' (RS 530a = 528)
'La douce acordance' (RS 205)
'La tres grant biaute de li ma le cuer du cors ravi' (vdB 1205)
'Latex silice'
'Laudibus Nicholai dulcibus'
'Lautrier m'iere leves' (RS 1990)
'Legem dedit olim Deus'
'Legis in volumine'
'Lene spirat spiritus'
'Leniter ex merito'
'Letare mater ecclesia'
'Lex honus importabile'
'Li cuers si vait de l'oil plaignant' (RS 349)
'Li dous termines m'agree' (RS 490)
(96) 'Liberator libera' – 'Libera' (M 7)
*'Librum clausum et signatum'
'Licet eger cum egrotis'

'Loiaus desirs et pensee jolie' (RS 1172)
'Lonc tens ai use ma vie' (RS 1233)
'Lonctens m'ai teu' (RS 2060)
'Luget Rachel iterum'
'Luto carens et latere'
'Lux illuxit gratiosa'
'Lux optata claruit'
'Luxuriant animi'
'Ma joie me serment' (RS 1924)
'Ma viele vïeli vieler' (RS 1899)
'Magnificat anima mea'
'Magnum nomen Domini Emanuel'
'Manna mentis dat refectionem'
(733) 'Marie preconio' – 'Aptatur' (O 45)
'Martyr insignis'
'Mater ecclesia'
'Mater patris et filia' I
'Mater salutifera'
'Malidito seja quen non loara' (CSM 290)
(808) 'Mellis stilla' – 'Domino' (Domino I)
'Militans eccelsia'
'Minor natu filius'
'Miser homo cogita'
'Monstruosis fluctibus'
'Mors'
'Mundum renovavit'
'Mundum salvificans mundum'
'Mundus a munditia' – 'Tenor'
'Mundus a munditia'
'Nato celorum Domino'
∗'Naturas Deus regulis'
'Naturas hic per mundum'
'Natus est hodie Dominus'
'Nicholai laudibus'
'Nicholai sollempnio'
'Nicholai vacemus'
'Nimpt mir I der frod'
'Nitimur in vetitum'
'Nobilitas animi'
'Non habes adytum'

'Nove geniture'
'Nove lucis hodie'
'Novum sibi texuit'
'Novus annus hodie' I
'Novus miles sequitur'
(108) 'Novus nove' – 'Mus' (M 11)
'Nulli beneficium'
'Nycholay sollempnia' – 'Benedicamus Domino'
'O Christi longanimitas'
'O constantie dignitas'
'O crux ave spes unica'
'O felix Bituria'
'O felix mortale genus'
'O levis aurula'
'O lilium convallium'
[(448) 'O Maria, maris stella'] – (448) 'O Maria, maris stella' – 'Veritatem'
    (M 37)
(809) 'O Maria mater pia' – (808) 'Mellis stilla' – 'Domino' (Domino I)
'O Maria o felix puerpera'
'O Maria stella maris medicina'
(448) 'O Maria stella maris' – 'Ihesu fili summi patris' – [Tenor]
'O Maria virginei'
'O mira Christi pietas'
(606) 'O miranda dei caritas' – (607) 'Salve mater salutifera' – 'Kyrie'
    (Kyrie I)
'O mors que mordes omnia'
(317) 'O quam sancta, quam benigna' – 'Et gaudebit' (M 24)
*'O qui fontem gratie'
'O quotiens vos volui'
'O stirpe regis filia'
'O totius Asie glorie'
'O varium fortune lubricum'
'O vera o pia'
'Olim in armonia'
*'Olim sudor Herculis'
'Omni pene curie'
'Omnis caro peccaverat'
'Omnis in lacrimas'
'Omnis mundus iocundetur' I
'Omnis nunc microcosmus' – 'Omnis mundus iocundetur' – 'Omnis'

'Onques an ameir loialment ne conquis fors ke maltalent' (vdB 1420)
'Orientis partibus'
'Ortu regis evanescit
'Ortum floris'
'Ortus dignis Christi signis'
'Ortus summi peracto gaudio'
'Pange cum letitia'
'Pange melos lacrimosum'
'Par defaus de leaute que j'ai en amour trove me partire du pais' (vdB
    1476)
'Par fate de loiauté' (vdB 1476)
(807) 'Par une matinee el mois' – (808) 'Mellis stilla, maris stella' –
    'Domino' (Domino I)
'Parce virgo spes reorum'
'Partus integritas'
'Pastourele vi seeant les un buisson' (RS 605)
'Pater creator omnium'
'Pater noster commiserans'
'Pater noster qui es in celis'
'Pater sancte dictus Lotharius'
'Patrem parit filia' I–IV
'Per dan que d'amor m'aveigne' (Peirol 225)
'Pessamen ai e cossir'
'Pia mater gratie'
'Plaine d'ire et desconfort' (RS 1934)
'Planctus ante nescia'
*'Porta salutis ave'
'Pour mon chief reconforter' (RS 885)
'Povre viellece m'assaut' (RS 390)
'Presul nostri tempori'
'Procurans odium'
'Puer nobis est natus'
'Purgator criminum'
'Pusiolus nobis nascitur'
'Quan vei la lauzeta mover' (PC 7043)
(673) 'Quant de ma dame part' – 'Eius' (O 16)
'Quant li rossignol jolis' (RS 1559)
'Quant voi nee' (RS 534)
'Quanto decet honore'
'Quare fremuerunt gentes'

'Quare fremuerunt gentes' – 'Tenor'
'Quasi non ministerium' – 'Trahunt in precipita' – 'Ve qui gregi' – 'Displicebat ei'
'Que reprobum exterminet'
'Qui de Saba veniunt'
*'Qui seminant in lacrimis'
*'Qui servare puberem'
[(59) 'Qui servare puberem'] – (59) 'Qui servare puberem' – '[Domi]ne' (M 3)
'Qui sub Dione militas'
'Quid frustra consumeris'
'Quid tu vides Ieremia'
*'Quid ultra tibi facere'
'Quisquis cordi et oculi'
*'Quo vadis quo progrederis'
*'Quod promisit ab eterno'
'Quomodo cantabimus'
'Quot vite successibus'
'Recordare, virgo mater'
'Redit etas aurea'
'Rege mentem et ordina'
'Regi regum omnium'
'Regis cuius potentia'
'Regis decus et regine'
'Regum Dei vim patitur'
'Relegata vetustate'
*'Relegentur ab area'
'Renovantur veterum'
'Resurgente Domino'
'Revirescit et florescit'
'Rex et pater omnium'
'Rex et sacerdos prefuit'
'Rex eterne glorie mundo'
'Rois gentis faites ardoir ces Juiis pendre ou escorchier vis' (vdB 1635)
'Roma gaudens iubila'
'Rose nodum reserat'
'Salvatoris hodie'
'Salve sancta parens enixa'
'Salve sancta parens patrie'
'Salve virgo Margaretha

(783) 'Salve virgo rubens rosa' – (784) 'Ave lux luminum' – 'Neuma'
    (Neuma I)
'Salve virgo virginum parens'
'Sancte Nicholai vacemus titulis'
'Scrutator alme cordium'
'Scrutator alme cordium' – '[Tenor]'
'Scysma mendacis Grecie'
*'Sede Syon de pulvere'
'Sederunt principes'
'Sedit angelus' V. 'Crucifixum in carne'
'Seminavit Grecia'
'Serena virginum'
[(69) 'Serena virginum'] – [(69) 'Serena virginum'] – (69) 'Serena vir-
    ginum' – 'Manere' (M 5)
'Seyner mil gracias ti rent' (PC 461.218a)
'Si Deus est animus'
'Si membrana esset celum'
'Si mundus viveret'
'Si quis amat quod amare'
'Sine matre genitus'
'Sol sub nube latuit'
'Sol man dienst singen'
'Sole brevem iani lucem'
'Soli nitorem equori'
'Sonet vox ecclesie sonnet'
*'Stella serena'
*'Stephani sollempnia'
'Superne lux glorie'
'Superne matris gaudia'
'Surrexit de tumulo'
'Sursum corda elevate'
'Suspirat spiritus'
'Syon contio'
'Syon egredere nunc de cubilibus'
'Syon presenti sollempnio'
'Talens m'est pris orendroit' (RS 1845)
'Tant ai amours servies' (RS 711)
'Tant ai d'amours apris et entendu' (RS 2054)
'Thalamus puerpere'– 'Quomodo cantabimus' – 'Tenor'
'Thumas Herier j'ai parle' (RS 1191)

*'Transgressus legem Domini'
'Trine vocis tripudio'
'Turmas arment Christicolas'
'Unques en amer loiaument'
'Unques mes ne fu seurpris du jolif mal d'amoureites mes or le sui oran-
    droit' (vdB 1423)
*'Ut non ponam'
'Vacillantis trutine'
'Ve mundo a scandalis'
'Ve proclamet clericorum'
'Veine pleine de ducur'
'Veneris prosperis'
'Veni creator spiritus'
[(359) 'Veni doctor previe'] – (359) 'Veni doctor previe' – 'Veni sancte
    spiritus' (M 27)
'Veni redemptor gentium'
'Veni sancte spiritus veni lumen'
'Venit Ihesus in propria'
'Ve mundo a scandalis'
'Ver pacis aperit'
'Vera fides geniti'
'Verbum bonum et suave' I
'Verbum patris humanatur'
'Veri floris sub figura'
'Veri solis presentia'
'Veri vitis germine'
'Veris ad imperia'
'Veritas equitas largitas'
*'Veste nuptiali'
'Vide prophetie'
'Viderunt omnes'
'Virga florem germinavit'
'Virga Iesse region'
'Virge glorieuse' (RS 1020)
(810) 'Virginis preconia' – (808) 'Mellis stilla' – 'Domino' (Domino I)
(654) 'Virgo viget melius' – 'Flos filius eius' (O 16)
'Virtus moritur'
'Virtutum thronus frangitur'
'Vitam duxi iocundam sub amore'
*'Vite perdite me legi'
'Wilduang e genaden'

Appendix 2.1 List of Topical and Datable Compositions

In Rama sonat gemitus 1164–1170; On the exile in France of Thomas Beckett, archbishop of Canterbury

Novus miles sequitur 1173; On the death of Thomas Beckett

Dum medium silentium tenerent 1179; Part of a longer prosimetrum beginning 'In domino confido', delivered by the author in Rome, then to the University of Bologna and thence to Reims; author: Gautier de Châtillon

Ver pacis aperit 1176; the prospect of the Coronation of King Philip Augustus of France; author: Gautier de Châtillon

Omnis in lacrimas 1181; Death of Henry I, count of Champagne

Eclypsim patitur 1183; Death of Henry the Younger, son of King Henry II of England

In occasu syderis 1183; Death of Henry the Younger and praise to the future King Richard I of England.

Anglia planctus itera 1186 or 1189; Death of Geoffrey, duke of Brittany (1186) and/or death of his father, King Henry II of England (1189)

Venit Ihesus in propria 1187; Fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, impetus for the Third Crusade; author: Philip the Chancellor

Sol eclypsim patitur 1188 or 1252; Death of Ferdinand Il of Spain, king of León (1188), or death of Ferdinand III, saint, king of León and Castile (1252)

Redit etas aurea 1189 or 1194; Coronation of King Richard I of England, or in celebration of his release (1194) from imprisonment by Emperor Henry VI, which occasioned a second coronation

Pange melos lacrimosum 1190; Death of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa

Divina providentia 1190–1192; During the regency of William of Longchamp, bishop of Ely, under King Richard I of England

Turmas arment Christicolas 1192 or 1193: Death of Albert of Louvain, archbishop of Liege, assassinated at Rheims

*Sede Syon in pulvere 1192–1197; Call to Henry Il, count of Champagne, to deliver the Holy Land from Islamic forces

*Eclypsim passus totiens 1197; Death of theologian Petrus Cantor

*Dic Christi veritas 1198; Conflict between King Philip Augustus and Pope Innocent III over the rejection of Ingeborg of Denmark as queen of France

Iherusalem, Iherusalem 1198; Deaths of Henry 1I, count of Champagne (1197) and his mother Marie, countess of Champagne (1198)

Pater sancte dictus Lotarius 1198; Installation of Pope Innocent Ill; author: Philip the Chancellor

Christus assistens pontiphex 1208; Installation of Peter of Nemours as bishop of Paris; author: Philip the Chancellor (the bishop's nephew)

Anni favor iubilei 1208; Call to the Albigensian crusade

Regi regum omnium 1209; Death of St. William, archbishop of Bourges; canonised 1218, feast added to Notre Dame calendar approximately a decade later

O felix Bituria 1209; Death of St. William, archbishop of Bourges (*c*1218? late 1220s?)

Rex et sacerdos prefuit 1209–1212; Dispute between Pope Innocent III and Emperor Otto IV over land conquests; author: Philip the Chancellor

Alabaustrum frangitur 1223; Death of King Philip Augustus of France; tentative author: Philip the Chancellor

O mors que mordes omnia 1223; Death of King Philip Augustus; tentative author: Philip the Chancellor

Beata nobis gaudia 1223; Accession of King Louis VIII of France (reg. 1223–1226)

Clavus clava retunditur 1233; Recovery of the Holy Nail of St. Denis; probable author: Philip the Chancellor.

De rupta Rupecula 1224; Commemoration of the battle of La Rochelle

Gaude felix Francia 1226 or 1244; Coronation of King Louis IX of France, or in celebration of the anniversary of his coronation

Deduc Syon 1227–1228; installation of Guillaume d'Auvergne as Bishop and Philip the Chancellor's commentary on the event

Mundus a mundicia 1227–1228; installation of Guillaume d'Auvergne as Bishop and Philip the Chancellor's commentary on the event

Veritas equitas 1227–1228; installation of Guillaume d' Auvergne as Bishop and Philip the Chancellor's commentary on the event

Clavus pungens acumine 1233; Recovery of the Holy Nail; probable author: Philip the Chancellor

*Aurelianis civitas 1236; Riot in Orleans between the townspeople and the clergy; probable author: Philip the Chancellor

Scysma mendacis Grecie 1244; Refers to the flight of Pope Innocent IV to France before Emperor Frederick II

Appendix 4.1 Distribution and Function of *Punctus Organi* Within *Conducti cum Caudis* in *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, Fascicle Seven

	Title	*I-Fl*	Transp.	Location (bold = terminal stanza)	*Cauda*
1	Fraude ceca desolato	263–264v	*g*	'generis' (stanza 1)	/
2	Hec est dies triumphalis	264v–266	*g*	'claustro' (stanza 2)	/
3	Deus creator omnium	266–267v		Absent	/
4	Puer nobis est natus	267v–269v	3 × *g*	End of stanza 2, 3, **4**	/
5	Veri vitis germine	269v–270v	*g*	End	/
6	Auctor vite virgine	270v–271v	3 × *g*	End of stanza 1, 2, **3**	/
7	In rosa vernat lilium	271v–272v	2 × *g*	End of stanza 2, **3**	/
8	Iam vetus litera	272v–273v		Absent	/
9	Lene spirat spiritus	273v–274v	4 × *g*	'divinitus' (stanza 1), end of stanza 2, end of stanza **3** (x2)	/
10	*Ista dies celebrari	274v–276	*g*	end	/
11	Condimentum nostre spei	276–277	2 × *d*	End of stanza 2, **3**	/
12	Relegata vetustate	277–278v	3 × *g*	End of stanza 1, 2, 'resurgere' (stanza **3**)	/
13	Pater noster commiserans	278v–280v	5 × *g*	End of stanza 1, 'esse', 'radius' (stanza 2), end of stanza 2, end of stanza **3**	/
14	Resurgente Domino	280v–281		Absent	/
15	Rex eterne glorie mundo	281–282	3 × *d*	End of stanza 1, 'invenitur' (stanza 2), end of stanza **2**	/
16	*Gaude virgo virginum	282v–283v	*g*	End of stanza 3 (of 4)	/
17	Beate virginis	283v–284v	*g*	End	/
18	Ave Maria gratia plena	284v–285	*g*	End	/
19	Fulget in propatulo	285–286		Absent	/
20	Naturas hic per mundum	286–287v	2 × *d*	'exequitur' (stanza 1), end of stanza **2**	/
21	*Relegentur ab area	287v–288v	3 × *d*	'rivulus' (stanza 1), end of stanza 1, end of stanza **2**	/
22	*Transgressus legem Domini	288v–289v		Absent	/
23	*O qui fontem gratie	289v–291		Absent	/
24	*Genitus divinitus	291v–292		Absent	/
25	Renovantur veterum	292–293v		Absent	/
26	Lex honus importabile	293v–295		Absent	/
27	Sole brevem iani lucem	295–295v		Absent	/
28	Dei sapientia	295v–296v	*d*	'frangere' (stanza 1)	/
29	Sine matre genitus	296v–297v	2 × *g*	'paritura' (stanza 1), end of stanza 1, end of stanza **2**	/
30	Rex et pater omnium	297v–298v		Absent	/

	Title	*I-Fl*	Transp.	Location (bold = terminal stanza)	*Cauda*
31	Austro terris influente	299–300v	3 × *g*	End of stanza 1, end of stanza 2, end of stanza **3**	/
32	*Quod promisit ab eterno	300v–301		Absent	/
33	Magnificat anima mea	301v–303v	5 × *d*	' dominum' (stanza 1), end of stanza 1, end of stanza 2, 4, 5, **6**	/
34	De nature fracto iure	303v–304v	2 × *g*	'nature' (stanza 1), end of stanza 2 (of 3)	/
35	Flos de spina procreatur	304v–305v	4 × *g*	End of stanza 1, 3, 'babilonis' (stanza 4), end of stanza **4**	/
36	Novum sibi texuit	306–307	4 × *g*	'lumbare' (stanza 1), end of stanza 2, 'trinitatis' (stanza 3), end of stanza **3**	/
37	Salvatoris hodie	307–307v	2 × *d*	'mundus' (stanza 1), end of stanza **1**	/
38	Ortu regis evanescit	307v–308	2 × *g*	'divitias' (stanza 1), end of stanza **1**	/
39	In terram Christus expuit	308–308v		Absent	/
40	Seminavit Grecia	309–310	4 × *g*	End of stanza 1, 2, 'queritur' (stanza 3), end of stanza **3**	/
41	Sonet vox ecclesie sonet	310–311		Absent	/
42	Hac in die Gedeoni	311–311v		End of stanza 2 (of 3)	/
43	Legem dedit olim Deus	311–312v	*d*	End	/
44	Lux illuxit gratiosa	313–314	2 × *d*	'spetiosus' (stanza 2), end of stanza **2**	/
45	Rose nodum reserat	314–314v		Absent	/
46	Virga Iesse regio	314v–315v	2 × *g*	End of stanza 1, **2**	/
47	Qui de Saba veniunt	315v–316		End	/
48	A deserto veniens	316v		Absent	/
49	Cortex occidit littere	316v–317		Absent	/
50	Nobilitas animi	317–317v		Absent	/
51	Debet se circumspicere	317v–8r		Absent	/
52	Roma gaudens iubila	318–318v		Absent	/
53	Redit etas aurea	318v–9r		Absent	/
54	Rege mentem et ordina	319–319v		Absent	/
55	Heu heu heu quam subditis	319v–320		Absent	/
56	Frater iam prospicias	320–321		Absent	No
57	Quot vite successibus	321–321v		Absent	/
58	Virtutum thronus frangitur	321v–322	*d*	End	/
59	Quot vite successibus	322–322v		Absent	No
60	Eclypsim patitur	322v–323		Absent	/
61	Eterno serviet	323–323v		Absent	/
62	In novas fert animus	323v–324		Absent	/

	Title	*I-Fl*	Transp.	Location (bold = terminal stanza)	*Cauda*
63	Ego reus confiteor	324–325	*g*	End	/
64	Scrutator alme cordium	325–326	*g*	End	/
65	Gaude presul in Domino	326–327		Absent	/
66	Consequens antecedente	327–327v		'antecedente' (stanza 1), end of stanza **1**	
67	Soli nitorem equori	327v–328v	2 × *g*	'laticis' (stanza 1) and end of stanza **1**	/
68	Columbe simplicitas	328v–329		Absent	/
69	Alma redemptoris mater	329–330	*g*	End	/
70	Exultemus socii	330–331		Absent	No
71	Pia mater gratie	331–331v		Absent	/
72	*Celorum porta	331v–332		Absent	/
73	Hac in die rege nato	332–333v	4 × *g*	'Hac' (stanza 1), end of stanza 4, 'nature' (stanza 5), end of stanza **5**	/
74	Nulli beneficium	334–335		Absent	/
75	Manna mentis dat refectionem	335–335v	*g*	End	/
76	Superne lux glorie	335v		Absent	/
77	Deduc Syon uberrimas	336–337	*g*	End	/
78	Monstruosis fluctibus	337–337v	*g*	'fluctuat' (stanza 1), end of stanza **1**	/
79	Regi regum omnium	337v–338v	*g*	End	/
80	Ex oliva Remensium	338v–339v		Absent	/
81	In ripa Ligeris	339v–340v		Absent	/
82	Age penitentiam	340v–341	2 × *d*	'cecideris' (stanza 1), end of stanza **1**	/
83	Gloria in excelsis Deo	341–342v	2 × *g*	End of stanza 1, end of stanza **3**	/
84	Sursum corda elevate	342v–344	2 × *g*	End of stanza 2, end of stanza **6**	/
85	Dum sigillum summi patris	344–346	2 × *g*	'divinitus' (stanza 1), end of stanza 1, end of stanza **2**	/
86	O crux ave spes unica	346–347v	3 × *g*	End of stanza 1, end of stanza 2, end of stanza **3**	/
87	Anni favor iubilei	347v–348v	*g*	End of stanza 2 (of 3)	/
88	*Artium dignitas	349r–349v		Absent	No
89	Gratuletur populus	349v–350		Absent	No
90	*Ut non ponam	350–350v		Absent	/
91	*Heu quo progreditur	350v		Absent	No
92	In occasu syderis	350v–351r		Absent	No
93	Pange melos lacrimosum	351r–351v		Absent	/
94	O varium fortune lubricum	351v		Absent	No
95	Si Deus est animus	352		Absent	/

(*cont.*)

	Title	*I-Fl*	Transp.	Location (bold = terminal stanza)	*Cauda*
96	Ex creata non creatus	352–352v		Absent	No
97	Veneris prosperis	352v		Absent	No
98	Regum Dei vim patitur	352v–353		Absent	/
99	Omni pene curie	353		Absent	No
100	Non habes aditum	353–353v		Absent	No
101	Involutus in erroris	353v–354		Absent	No
102	Luxuriant animi	354r–354v		Absent	/
103	Sol sub nube latuit	354v–355		Absent	/
104	Ver pacis aperit	355r		Absent	No
105	Nove geniture	355		Absent	No
106	Homo per potentiam	355v		Absent	/
107	O levis aurula	355v–356		Absent	/
108	*Vite perdite me legi	356		Absent	No
109	Frater en Iordanus	356–356v		?	No
110	Caput in caudam vertitur	356v–357		Absent	/
111	Centrum capit circulus	357–358	*g*	End of stanza **2**	/
112	Clavus pungens acumine	358–359v	*d*	End of stanza 2 (of 3)	/
113	Luget Rachel iterum	359v–360	*d*	End	/
114	Veni creator spiritus	360–361	*d*	End of stanza 1 (of 2)	/
115	Brevi carne deitas	361–361v		Absent	/
116	*Porta salutis ave	361v–362v		Absent	/
117	Gloria sit soli Deo	362v–363	[*g*]	[End]	/
118	Deus pacis et dilectionis	363		Absent	/
119	Hac in die salutari	363v		Absent	No
120	Ave nobilis venerabilis	363v–364		Absent	No
121	Helysie manubrio	364		Absent	No
122	Regis decus et regine	364v–365	2 × *d*	End of stanza 1, end of stanza **2**	/
123	Beatus servus sapiens	365–366	*d*	End	/
124	*Ave tuos benedic	366–366v		Absent	/
125	Floret hortus virginalis	371r–371v	2 × *d*	'manna' (stanza 1), end of stanza **1**	/
126	*Librum clausum et signatum	371v–372v	*d*	End	/
127	Baculi sollempnia	372v–373		Absent	No
128	Ave maris stella ave	373		Absent	/
129	Circa mundi vesperam	373–373v	*g*	End	/
130	Christi miles Christo commilitat	373v–374v	2 × *g*	End of stanza 3, end of stanza 4 (of 5 ['stanza 5' = 'Bendicamus domino'])	/

Appendix 5.1 Transcription of 'Floret hortus virginalis'. *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1 371r–371v

dit   fruc – tus   e – ter – na – lis

Man

na plu - it gra - ti -

Appendix 5.2 Transcription of 'Luget Rachel iterum'. *I-Fl* Plut. 29.1, 359v–360r

Lu   –   –   –   –   – [Lu–] get

Ra – chel i – te – rum Cu – ius dam – nat u – te – rum

Fi – li – o – rum or – bi – tas Lap –

–   –   –   –   – [Lap–] so ta – ber –

na – cu – lo Quon – dam ple – na po – pu – lo So – la

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I-Rvat Vat. Lat. 919	Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 919
I-Rvat, Vat. Lat. 7620	Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 7620
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I-Tr Vari 42	Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Vari 42
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Burgdorf, Stadtbibliothek, B.XI.8	*CH-Bu* B.XI.8
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Münich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5539	*D-Mbs* clm 5539
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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 8433	*F-Pn* lat. 8433
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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 14810	*F-Pn* lat. 14810
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 14923	*F-Pn* lat. 14923
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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 15163	*F-Pn* lat. 15163
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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds lat. 18571	*F-Pn* lat. 18571
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.f. 13521 ('La Clayette Codex')	*F-Pn* n.a.f. 13521
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