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**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON**

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Department of Music

**The Two-Part *Conductus*:  
Morphology, Dating and Authorship**

by

Jacopo Mazzeo

Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2015



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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The *conductus* repertoire was widely cultivated between c.1160 and the late thirteenth century, and it comprises Latin texts set to both monophony and polyphony. Unlike the *organum* and the motet, the *conductus* does not normally exploit any pre-existing musical or poetic material. This makes the polyphonic share of *conductus* material the first newly composed, coherent repertoire for more than one voice.

This thesis focuses on the two-part *conductus*. It aims at exploring the authorial and historical context in which it was created, analysing and categorising the interaction between its syllabic and melismatic sections, and describing its development over the life span of the corpus.

The *conductus* is introduced and presented within the broader context of music of its time. It is argued that most of the extant testimonies of *conductus* were subject to several stages of reworking, and a multitude of personalities are credited with the creation of the repertoire as a whole. Furthermore, the study discusses some particular cases of contested attribution and proposes new authorial identifications.

The analytical description that follows challenges the current view of the polyphonic *conductus* as a rigid juxtaposition of syllabic *cum littera* and melismatic *sine littera* sections. Such a sharp division does not take into account the complex structure of the syllabic *cum littera* music. The analytical study consequently undertaken describes all melismatic features of the two-voice *conductus*. Two groups of melismas are identified. The first, framing *caudae*, typically covers a structural role. The second, internal *caudae*, interacts actively with all the components of the song: text, meter, rhymes, and meaning of the poem.

The last section of this work examines the evolution of the use of melismas throughout the lifespan of the genre. The study is accomplished by building on the previous analytical investigation, diminishing ambiguities due to the relatively small sample of datable songs. The terminal *cauda* results being the main feature of the repertoire, initially set to all stanzas. The initial *cauda* was instead either set to all stanzas or not used at all. The approach to framing *caudae* becomes more flexible after the end of the twelfth century. Internal *caudae* were instead always used by *conductus* composers.



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## List of Manuscripts

All manuscripts used for this investigation are listed below in alphabetical order (Country – Full Source). Alternative abbreviations or names are given in footnotes to the table. In this thesis all manuscripts are referred to through their *RISM* sigla. However, due to the large use made of the four main Notre Dame sources throughout this work, these are referred to as F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, Ma, the most common accepted abbreviations in *Ars antiqua* studies.

<i>RISM Sigla</i>	Country	Full Source
A-Gu 258	Austria	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 258
A-Gu 409	Austria	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 409
A-Iu 457	Austria	Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 457
A-Wn 883	Austria	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 883
A-W 83	Austria	Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek, 83
B-Br 10747	Belgium	Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1.er, 10747
B-BRs 528	Belgium	Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 528
B-N 104	Belgium	Namur, Musée Archeologique, 104
CZ-Pak N VIII	CzechRep.	Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu: Knihovna metropolitní kapituly, N VIII
CZ-Pu VI.B.24	CzechRep.	Prague, Universitni Knihovna, VI.B.24
CZ-Pu XII.D.8a	CzechRep.	Prague, Universitni Knihovna, XII.D.8a
F-AI 26	France	Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, 26 (olim 9)
F-A 542	France	Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale Livrée Ceccano, 542
F-CECad 3.J.250	France	Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives Départementales, 3.J.250
F-CHRM 341	France	Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 341
F-CO 352	France	Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, 187
F-DOU 274	France	Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 274
F-DOU 90	France	Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 90
F-EV Lat. 2	France	Evreux, Médiathèque d'Evreux (Bibl. Municipale), Latin 2
F-EV Lat. 39	France	Evreux, Médiathèque d'Evreux (Bibl. Municipale), Latin 39
F-G 4413	France	Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, 4413
F-LPsem s.n.	France	Le Puy en Velay, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, s.n.
F-Lm 316	France	Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, 316 (olim 397 and 96)
F-LG 2 (17)	France	Limoges, Bibliothèque Municipale, 2 (17)
F-ME 732bis/20	France	Metz, Bibliothèque-Médiathèque du Pontiffroy 732bis/20
F-Pa 3518	France	Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal, 3518
F-Pa 5198	France	Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal, 5198
F-Pa 526	France	Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal, 526
F-Pm 307	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 307 (olim 356)
F-Pm 942	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 942 (olim 1002)
F-Pm 996	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 996 (olim 902)

<i>RISM Sigla</i>	Country	Full Source
F-Pn NAF 1050	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises 1050
F-Pn NAF 24541	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises 24541
F-Pn NAL 1742	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines 1742
F-Pn Rès D.6115	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rès D.6115
F-Pn fr. 12615	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 12615
F-Pn fr. 146	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 146 <sup>1</sup>
F-Pn fr. 1536	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 1536
F-Pn fr. 15211	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 15211
F-Pn fr. 20050	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 20050 <sup>2</sup>
F-Pn fr. 22543	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 22543 <sup>3</sup>
F-Pn fr. 25408	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 25408
F-Pn fr. 25532	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 25532
F-Pn fr. 844	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 844 <sup>4</sup>
F-Pn fr. 845	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 845
F-Pn fr. 847	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 847
F-Pn it. 559	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italien, 559
F-Pn it. 607	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italien, 607
F-Pn lat. 1093	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 1093
F-Pn lat. 1139	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 1139
F-Pn lat. 1351	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 1351
F-Pn lat. 14767	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 14767
F-Pn lat. 15139	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 15139 <sup>5</sup>
F-Pn lat. 16663	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 16663
F-Pn lat. 3549	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 3549
F-Pn lat. 3719	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 3719
F-Pn lat. 5132	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 5132
F-Pn lat. 673	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 673
F-Pn lat. 8359	France	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, 8359
F-RSm 456	France	Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 456
F-SOM 351	France	Saint Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 351
F-SELh 22	France	Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste, 22
F-SEm 46	France	Sens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 46
F-SDI 42	France	St. Dié, Bibliothèque Municipale, 42
F-TOm 348	France	Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 348
F-T 1471	France	Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1471
D-BAs Theol. 74	Germany	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. 74
D-B Germ. 8° 190	Germany	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Germ. 8° 190

<sup>1</sup> Roman de Fauvel

<sup>2</sup> Chansonnier de St-Germain de Près

<sup>3</sup> Chansonnier la Vallière

<sup>4</sup> Chansonnier du Roi

<sup>5</sup> St Victor Manuscript or *StV*

<i>RISM Sigla</i>	Country	Full Source
D-B Ham. 348	Germany	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 348
D-B Ham. 4° 677	Germany	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 4° 677
D-DS 3471	Germany	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 3471
D-EF Folio 169	Germany	Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Folio 169
D-ERu 323	Germany	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 323
D-FUI C 11	Germany	Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, C 11
D-HEu 2588	Germany	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588
D-KA Aug. Pap. 36	Germany	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Pap. 36
D-MZs II.138	Germany	Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, II.138
D-Mbs cgm. 716	Germany	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm. 716
D-Mbs clm. 13102	Germany	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 13102
D-Mbs clm. 14070a	Germany	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 14070a
D-Mbs clm. 25072	Germany	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 25072
D-Mbs clm. 29775 (14)	Germany	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 29775 (14)
D-Mbs clm. 4660	Germany	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 4660 <sup>6</sup>
D-Mbs clm. 5539	Germany	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 5539
D-Mbs clm. 675	Germany	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 675
D-Mbs clm. 9084	Germany	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 9084
D-Mu cim 100	Germany	Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, cim 100 (olim 2° Cod. ms. 156) <sup>7</sup>
D-MÜsa Mscr. VII, 6115	Germany	Münster, Staatsarchiv, Mscr. VII, 6115
D-Nst Cent. I 71	Germany	Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. I 71
D-SI HB I Asc. 95	Germany	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I Asc. 95 <sup>8</sup>
D-TR 322/1994	Germany	Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 322/1994
D-TR 516/1595	Germany	Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 516/1595 (olim 724)
D-W Guelf. 1099 Helmst.	Germany	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmst. <sup>9</sup>
D-W Guelf. 628 Helmst.	Germany	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. 628 Helmst. <sup>10</sup>
GB-Cccc 481	Great Britain	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 481
GB-Cgc 240/126	Great Britain	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 240/126
GB-Cjec QB 1	Great Britain	Cambridge, Jesus College, QB 1
GB-Csss MS 117*	Great Britain	Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 117*
GB-Cu Ff.i.17	Great Britain	Cambridge, University Library, Ff.i.17
GB-Lbl Add. 15722	Great Britain	London, British Library, Add. 15722
GB-Lbl Add. 16393	Great Britain	London, British Library, Add. 16393
GB-Lbl Add. 27630	Great Britain	London, British Library, Add. 27630
GB-Lbl Add. 36881	Great Britain	London, British Library, Add. 36881
GB-Lbl Add. 4909	Great Britain	London, British Library, Add. 4909
GB-Lbl Arundel 248	Great Britain	London, British Library, Arundel 248
GB-Lbl Burney 357	Great Britain	London, British Library, Burney 357

<sup>6</sup> Codex Buranus

<sup>7</sup> Moosburger Graduale

<sup>8</sup> Stuttgart Cantionale

<sup>9</sup> W<sub>2</sub>

<sup>10</sup> W<sub>1</sub>

<i>RISM Sigla</i>	Country	Full Source
GB-Lbl Cotton Fragm. XXIX	Great Britain	London, British Library, Cotton Fragm. XXIX
GB-Lbl Cotton Nero C.IX	Great Britain	London, British Library, Cotton Nero C.IX
GB-Lbl Cotton Tib. IX	Great Britain	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius IX
GB-Lbl Egerton 2615	Great Britain	London, British Library, Egerton 2615
GB-Lbl Egerton 274	Great Britain	London, British Library, Egerton 274
GB-Lbl Harl. 524	Great Britain	London, British Library, Harley 524
GB-Lbl Royal 12.C.VI	Great Britain	London, British Library, Royal 12.C.VI
GB-Llp 752	Great Britain	London, Lambeth Palace Library, 752
GB-Ob 842	Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, 842
GB-Ob Add. A.44	Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. A.44
GB-Ob Auct. 6 Q 3.17	Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 6 Q 3.17
GB-Ob Canon. Misc. 213	Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 213
GB-Ob Lyell 72	Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 72
GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510	Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl.poet.C510
GB-Ob Wood 591	Great Britain	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 591
GB-WOc Add. 68	Great Britain	Worcester, Dean and Chapter Library, Additional 68
GR-An 917	Greece	National Library of Greece, 917
GR-An 2062	Greece	National Library of Greece, 2062
GR-An 2401	Greece	National Library of Greece, 2401
I-Ac 695	Italy	Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 695
I-BGc D.7.15	Italy	Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica, D.7.15
I-Bca A.24	Italy	Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, A.24
I-Bc Q.11	Italy	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q.11
I-CFm LVI	Italy	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologica Nazionale, LVI
I-CFm LVIII	Italy	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologica Nazionale, LVIII
I-FI Pluteo 29.1	Italy	Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 <sup>11</sup>
I-Ma D 5 inf.	Italy	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 5 inferiore
I-Ma R 71 sup.	Italy	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 71 superiore <sup>12</sup>
I-Rss XIV L3	Italy	Rome, Archivio dei Domenicani di Santa Sabina, XIV L3
I-Rv B83	Italy	Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B83
I-TOD 73	Italy	Todi, Biblioteca Comunale, 73
I-TRE "no n."	Italy	Treviso, Biblioteca Privata Conte Gian Ludovico Sola-Cabiati
I-Tn E.V.20	Italy	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, E.V.20
I-Vnm It. III.28	Italy	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. III.28
I-Vnm It. IX.145	Italy	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IX.145
I-Vnm It. IX.80	Italy	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IX.80
I-VEc 1212	Italy	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 247
L-Ln 29	Luxembourg	Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale, 29
PL-WRu R. 459	Poland	Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Rehdigerianus 459
PL-WRu R. S IV 3a 48	Poland	Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Rehdigerianus S IV 3a 48

<sup>11</sup> F

<sup>12</sup> Chansonnier G

<i>RISM Sigla</i>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Full Source</b>
E-BUIh 9	Spain	Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas, 9 <sup>13</sup>
E-SC s.n.	Spain	Compostela, Biblioteca de la Catedral, s.n. <sup>14</sup>
E-Mn 20486	Spain	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486 <sup>15</sup>
E-Mn 6528	Spain	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 6528
E-PAc s.n.	Spain	Palma de Mallorca, Archivo Capitular, s.n.
E-SAu 226	Spain	Salamanca, Archivo y Biblioteca de la Universidad, 226
E-TO 97	Spain	Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral, 97
S-Uu C 55	Sweden	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 55
CH-BM II.C.2	Switzerland	Beromünster, Stiftskirche St. Michael, Kirchenschatz, Cantatorium, II.C.2
CH-EN 314	Switzerland	Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 1003
CH-MSbk S 231	Switzerland	Mariastein, Benediktinerkloster, S 231
CH-SGs 382	Switzerland	St. Gall Stiftbibliothek, 382
CH-SGs 383	Switzerland	St. Gall Stiftbibliothek, 383
CH-SGs 392	Switzerland	St. Gall Stiftbibliothek, 392
US-NHub Beinecke 712.59	USA	New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 712.59
US-NYcub N-66	USA	New York, Columbia University, Butler Library, N-66
I-Rvat Arch. Seg. Reg. Av. 65	Vatican	Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Av. 65
I-Rvat. Lat. 2854	Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Latino 2854
I-Rvat. Lat. 5325	Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Latino 5325
I-Rvat Reg. Lat. 1490	Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. Latino 1490
I-Rvat Vat. Lat. 3324	Vatican	Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 3324

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<sup>13</sup> Las Huelgas

<sup>14</sup> Codex Calixtinus

<sup>15</sup> Ma



## Declaration of Authorship

I, Jacopo Mazzeo, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Thesis title: ‘**The Two-Part *Conductus*: Morphology, Dating and Authorship**’

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date:



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I am grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council, for awarding me funding for this project, and to the Royal Musical Association and the University of Southampton for their contribution towards research expenses I incurred during my research.

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<sup>1</sup> I really could not have completed this thesis without the help of my mother, my father, and my partner. Their financial and moral support has been crucial in these years, and it is only thanks to them that I had the chance to embark on this venture in the first place, and accomplish it. Among the people that I should thank I also wish to include my sister – who gave me two lovely nephews – my partner’s family, and my dearest friends in Italy (still such even after these years away from home).

## **Introduction: The *Conductus***

Between the twelfth and the thirteenth century Western Europe experienced for the first time the birth of coherent extensive repertoires of polyphonic music. These repertoires have long been considered to have developed in Paris, where the newly established University gave rise to a remarkable social and cultural environment. The three main repertoires generated from such a cultural ferment are: *organum*, *conductus*, and motet.

The *conductus*, when compared to its contemporary cognate genres - *organum* and motet - has not benefited from the same substantial scholarly attention lavished on the other two. Yet its significance for the development of Western Music is critical. The *conductus* was cultivated between c.1160 and 1250, with Latin texts and monophonic or polyphonic music – up to four parts, yet mostly in two. Unlike the *organum* and the motet, it does not normally exploit any pre-existing musical or poetic material (although some exceptions will be discussed in this thesis). This makes the polyphonic portion of the *conductus* corpus the first coherent, newly composed, repertory for more than one voice. This thesis focuses on the *conducti* for two voices; it aims to explore the authorial and historical context in which it was created, to analyse and categorise the interaction between its syllabic and melismatic sections, and to describe its development over its life span.

## Defining and Exploring the Genre

The *conductus* flourished during a period of great artistic vitality in Paris, where music played a major role in a broader cultural achievement. The Notre-Dame school contributed significantly to the development of *organum*, the first attested polyphonic genre. Written evidence of engagement with polyphonic music in Europe comes from theoretical sources compiled as early as the ninth century; these reveal that *organum* was already established as a performative practice.<sup>1</sup>

The *organum* discussed in these treatises is a polyphonic elaboration of responsorial chants for the Mass and the Office. Towards the mid-twelfth century the genre was subject to re-elaborations and experimentations at the school of Notre Dame. These *organa* were collected in the *Magnus liber organi de graduale et de antiphonario pro servitio divino multiplicando*, an anthology of polyphonic settings of plainchant. The *Magnus Liber* is today considered the most important collection of music from the High Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> Its composition was credited to Notre Dame's master Leoninus (fl. 1150s-c.1201) by the later thirteenth-century theorist Anonymous IV, and indeed was originally designed for the use at the Parisian Cathedral.<sup>3</sup>

The *Magnus Liber* was subsequently revised and updated by Perotinus (fl. c.1200), successor of Leoninus at Notre Dame. Several works are credited to Perotinus in contemporary sources; among them also figure several *conducti*, for instance *Salvatoris hodie*.<sup>4</sup> Since the *conductus* was associated with Perotinus and his activity in

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<sup>1</sup> The early treatises *Musica enchiridis* and *Scolica enchiridis* feature *organa* in the so-called Dasian notation. Cfr. "Musica et Scolica enchiridis: les sources," <http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/group/lesmanuscritsduweb/page/musica-et-scolica-enchiridis-les-sources>; Anonymous, *Musica enchiridis and Scolica enchiridis*, Raymond Erickson and Claude V. Palisca ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

<sup>2</sup> On the *Magnus Liber Organi* cfr. William G. Waite, "The Abbreviation of the "Magnus Liber"," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14, no. 2 (1961): 147-58, at; Heinrich Husmann, "The Origin and Destination of the *Magnus Liber Organi*," *Musical Quarterly* XLIX, no. 3 (1963): 311-30, at; Edward H. Roesner, "Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris," (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993); "Who 'Made' the 'Magnus Liber'?", *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 227-66, at; Hans Tischler, "The evolution of the "Magnus Liber Organi"," *The Musical Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (1984): 163-74, at.

<sup>3</sup> Husmann, "The Origin and Destination of the *Magnus Liber Organi*." On the attribution of the *Magnus Liber* to Leoninus cfr. Fritz Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1967), 46. On the figure of Leoninus see instead Craig M. Wright, "Leoninus, Poet and Musician," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 1 (1986): 1-35, at.

<sup>4</sup> Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 46. On the figure of Perotinus see Section 1.2 of this thesis and Hans Tischler, "The Dates of Perotin," *Journal of the American Musicological*

revising the repertoire, it appears as a “new” genre – compared to *organum* – at its peak towards the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth.

The majority of the songs making up this repertoire are monodic, yet the number of polyphonic *conducti* is still relatively large. The very coexistence of the “old” monody and the “new” polyphony in one single genre makes the *conductus* a turning point in the history of Western music. Polyphonic *conductus* propelled Western civilization towards its musical future: newly composed polyphonic material and the correlated changed understanding of original authorship. Monody is the common ground that such an innovative genre shares with its musical past.

Despite the relevance of this repertoire within the context of Western music, scholars have not given yet a definitive hypothesis for the etymology of the term. Generally, the *conductus* is associated with the Latin word *conducere* (to escort, to lead), and thought to indicate a piece performed while carrying the lectionary to the book stand.<sup>5</sup> Recent studies have not argued this hypothesis, nor proposed alternative etymologies for the word.<sup>6</sup> As Gillingham has pointed out:

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*Society* 16 (1963): 240-41, at; “Perotinus Revisited,” in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue et al. (New York: Pendragon, 1966): 803-17, at p; Wulf Arlt, “Denken in Tönen und Strukturen: Komponieren im Kontext Perotins,” *Musik-Konzepte*. 107 (January 2000): *Perotinus Magnus*, no. 107 (2000): 53-100, at; Rudolf Flotzinger, *Perotinus musicus: Wegbereiter abendländischen Komponierens* (Mainz; New York: Schott, 2000); Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, *Perotinus Magnus* (München: Text + Kritik, 2000); Jürg Stenzl, *Perotinus Magnus: und die Musikforschung erschuf den ersten Komponisten - nach ihrem Ebenbilde erschuf sie ihn*, *Perotinus Magnus* (2000); Rudolf Flotzinger, *Von Léonin zu Pérotin: der musikalische Paradigmenwechsel in Paris um 1210* (Lang, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> This hypothesis is discussed in Bryan R. Gillingham, “A New Etiology and Etymology for the Conductus,” *The Musical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (1991): 59-73, at p. 60 and ff. For an earlier attempt to address this issue see Leonard Ellinwood, “The “Conductus,”” *ibid.* 27, no. 2 (1941): 165-204, at.

<sup>6</sup> Frank Harrison, “Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol: A Newly-Discovered Source,” *Acta Musicologica* 37, no. 1/2 (1965): 35-48, at p. 2; Gillingham, “A New Etiology and Etymology for the Conductus.”; Nancy van Deusen, “‘Ductus, Tractus, Conductus’: The Intellectual Context of a Musical Genre,” in *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*, *Brill's studies in intellectual history* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995): 37-53, at p.

Some confusion might have existed at the time of the production of the genre itself; in medieval sources the *conductus* “is substituted almost interchangeably for words such as ‘versus,’ ‘processional,’ and ‘sequence’”.<sup>7</sup>

In this thesis the second-declension “*conducti*” will be used to indicate the plural, instead of the fourth-declension *conductus*. This solution is now extensively used in musicological literature, allowing for an easier distinction between singular and plural.<sup>8</sup>

As the etymology of the word remains dubious, so does the broader context in which the *conductus* was created and performed. The fact that no single concept can describe the function of this repertoire and its particular heterogeneous character certainly does not help in this sense. In fact, *conductus* poems may concern a variety of topics, from the liturgical and para-liturgical to the moralising or the celebratory; songs may also comment on historical events. Festivities (e.g. Christmas, Circumcision, Easter, etc.) and dedications to the Virgin Mary – or to specific saints – are only a few of the themes that may be found in religious *conducti*.

In analytical terms, the main characteristic of the polyphonic *conductus* is the juxtaposition of two discrete sections, the first being syllabic and called *cum littera* (i.e. music “with letters”); the second, melismatic, called *sine littera* (un-texted melisma) or *cauda* (tail). Such flourished sections mostly occur either at the beginning or at the end of the song. Their relation has been generally considered as rather exclusive. This thesis will be analysing in depth the two sections, *cum* and *sine littera*, to study their musical content and show that their interaction is more flexible than it has been claimed so far.

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<sup>7</sup> Gillingham, “A New Etiology and Etymology for the Conductus.”

<sup>8</sup> As Page comments, both declensions are found in medieval sources. Christopher Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, vol. 8, Royal Musical Association Monographs (1997), 1.

## Musical, Historical, and Theoretical Sources

The two-voice *conductus* is recorded in a wealth of sources of various geographical and chronological provenances.<sup>9</sup> The main bulk – 130 works – is found in the seventh fascicle of the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (hereafter F), first analysed by Léopold Delisle in the late nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Delisle inferred the manuscript's French origins by script and illumination style, yet the dating he proposes, between 1285 and 1314, was much later than today's accepted date. Indeed, his dating has been successively questioned several times by scholars, who first proposed the mid-thirteenth century,<sup>11</sup> but based on study of the illumination eventually agreed on the 1240s.<sup>12</sup>

Together with F, three other manuscripts make up the main sources for the Notre-Dame *conductus* (summarised in Table 1). These are Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Guelf. 628 Helmstadt (hereafter W<sub>1</sub>), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Guelf. 1099 Helmstadt (hereafter W<sub>2</sub>), and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 20486 (hereafter Ma).<sup>13</sup> Most of the *conducti* found in these codices are also recorded in F, yet cases of *unica* are not uncommon.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See List of Manuscripts. A few sources that repeatedly appear in this thesis will be indicated through their most common abbreviation or name. For any other source the official *RISM sigla* will be used. In folio references, both *recto* and *verso* are indicated, except cases of page numberings different from foliation.

<sup>10</sup> Léopold Delisle, *Discours prononcé à l'assemblée générale de la Société de l'histoire de France, le 20 mai 1884, par M. Léopold Delisle, président* (Paris: H. Loones, 1884). For facsimile edition and catalogue see Luther Dittmer, "Firenze, Biblioteca mediceo-laurenziana, Pluteo 29, I," (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966). Massimo Masani Ricci, *Codice Pluteo 29.1 della Biblioteca laurenziana di Firenze: storia e catalogo comparato* (Pisa; Sesto Fiorentino: ETS Distribuzione, PDE, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1961), 200.

<sup>12</sup> Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25, no. 1 (1972): 1-18, at p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> A treatment of ownership issues of some of these sources can be found in Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found," *The Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 3 (1987): 380-99, at. On dates and place of compilation see Rudolf Flotzinger, *Beobachtungen zur Notre-Dame-Handschrift W1 und ihrem II* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Kommissionsverlag H. Böhlau Nachf., 1969); Baxter James Houston, "An old St. Andrews music book (Cod. Helmst. 628)," (New York: AMS Press, 1973); Julian Brown, "Notes on the Handwritings and the Marginal Drawings," *Journal of the Plainsong & Medieval Music Society* 4 (1981): 55-58, at; Mark Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43, no. 1 (1990): 1-42, at; Juan Carlos Asensio Palacios, *El Códice de Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 20486*.

**Table 1 - List of the Main Sources for the Notre-Dame *Conductus***

<b>Ms.</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Date</b>
W <sub>1</sub>	Scotland, St Andrews	c.1230
F	France, Paris	c.1245
Ma	Spain	13 <sup>th</sup> century
W <sub>2</sub>	France, probably Paris	13 <sup>th</sup> century

Due to its remarkable aesthetic value and to the abundance of information delivered, F is considered the “central source” for Notre-Dame polyphony. Yet, this does not mean that other geographical areas were peripheral to the production and fruition of this repertoire. Recent studies on the date and provenance of W<sub>1</sub> have brought to scholarly attention the significance of this noteworthy source, suggesting its insular origins opposed to a Parisian one.<sup>15</sup> Much debated was its date of compilation, firstly proposed as late as the fourteenth century, then moved back to the previous century.<sup>16</sup>

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*Polifonías del siglo XIII*, Patrimonio musical español (Madrid: Fundación Caja de Madrid, 1997); Rebecca A. Baltzer, “The Manuscript Makers of W<sub>1</sub>: Further Evidence for an Early Date,” in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. David Butler Cannata, et al. (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008): 103-20, at p. For these sources too a facsimile edition is available, see Luther Dittmer, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript 20486* (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1957); , *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1099 Helmstadiensis (1206)* (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1969); Houston, “An old St. Andrews music book (Cod. Helmst. 628).”; Martin Staehelin, “Die mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift W<sub>1</sub>: vollständige Reproduktion des “Notre Dame”-Manuskripts der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.” (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995). Inventories for W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, and Ma are Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium Organorum Recentioris et Motetorum Vetustissimi Stili* (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964); Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-early 14th Century*, vol. 4:1 (München-Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966).

<sup>14</sup> For instance *Adiuva nos Deus, Feste Ianuaria, In Rama sonat* and *O quotiens volui* in W<sub>1</sub>; *Adest annus iubileus, Salve sancta parens enixa* and *Salve sancta parens patrie* in Ma.

<sup>15</sup> England was first proposed, then scholars agreed on St Andrews instead. Jacques Handschin, “A Monument of English Mediaeval Polyphony: The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 677,” *The Musical Times* 74, no. 1086 (1933): 697-704, at p. 697-704; Otto Heinemann et al., *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel* (Wolfenbüttel: J. Zwissler, 1884); Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W<sub>1</sub>.”

<sup>16</sup> Ludwig, *Repertorium Organorum Recentioris et Motetorum Vetustissimi Stili*, 7; Houston, “An old St. Andrews music book (Cod. Helmst. 628),” v-xiii. Flotzinger proposes c.1265 in Flotzinger, *Beobachtungen zur Notre-Dame-Handschrift W<sub>1</sub> und ihrem 11*, 265-72.

A 1976 article by Edward Roesner addresses this issue but leaves most of the key questions unanswered.<sup>17</sup> Mark Everist, who confirms W<sub>1</sub>'s Scottish origins, proposes a date of compilation as early as the 1230s, a period when "Guillaume Mauvoisin, a Frenchman appointed to be Bishop of St Andrews in 1202, was a prelate with well-documented French sympathies".<sup>18</sup>

The manuscript W<sub>2</sub> is currently held at the same institution as W<sub>1</sub>, yet it shares with its Scottish cognate neither the date nor the place of compilation.<sup>19</sup> It was copied around Paris, within a span of time between 1260 and 1275.<sup>20</sup> Ma is the last of the codices mentioned above and must also be considered a principal source for the Notre Dame school.<sup>21</sup> Some songs recorded there are *unica* or find concordances only with other Spanish manuscripts.<sup>22</sup> The codex was thought to be compiled in Toledo, but it is now believed that it was produced in some Castilian scriptorium other than Toledo, around 1265.<sup>23</sup>

A number of other sources of different chronological and geographical origins record testimonies of the two-voice *conductus* repertoire, beside the four principal manuscripts mentioned above (F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub> and Ma). A distinction between "central" and "peripheral" sources has been used in scholarly studies to categorise them, though there is little literature on the precise distinction between the two concepts.<sup>24</sup> In this thesis the

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<sup>17</sup> Edward H. Roesner, "The Origins of "W1",," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29, no. 3 (1976): 337-80, at.

<sup>18</sup> Mark Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1," *ibid.* 43, no. 1 (1990): 1-42, at p. 32. Everist's theory has also been confirmed by Rebecca Baltzer in Baltzer, "The Manuscript Makers of W1: Further Evidence for an Early Date."

<sup>19</sup> Ethel Thurston, "The Conductus Collections in Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1206: Edition of Music and Text" (PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1954); Peter G. C. van Poucke, "The first fascicles of Wolfenbüttel 677, and Wolfenbüttel 1206: A reconstruction," *Ars musica Denver* 1, no. 2 (1989): 29-37, at.

<sup>20</sup> Baltzer infers the date from the style of its initials in Baltzer, "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript," 17.

<sup>21</sup> For a transcription of its songs see Donald Dale Colton, "The conducti of Ms. Madrid 20486" (Dissertation, 1964).

<sup>22</sup> Juan Carlos Asensio Palacios, "Conductus y motetes," in *La musica en la BNE, 300 anos haciendo historia* (2012): 202-03, at p. 203.

<sup>23</sup> "La notacion del manuscrito Manuscrito Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional mss. 20486 [Ma]," in *Le notazioni della polifonia vocale dei secoli IX-XVII*, ed. Maria Caraci Vela, Daniele Sabaino, and Stefano Aresi (Pisa: ETS, 2007): 121-34, at p.

<sup>24</sup> Ernest H. Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17, no. 3 (1964): 261-87, at; Rudolf Flotzinger, "*Peripherie*" und "*Zentrum*" in der Geschichte der ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts: Bericht über d. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongreß, Berlin 1974 (1980). Modern literature demonstrates awareness of the problem; e.g. Anderson prefers the adjective "related" to

adjective “central” will not indicate a specific geographical place, but rather the repertoire in the version delivered by the main sources, in contrast to “peripheral” sources that mirror instead local traditions. It is indeed possible to frame certain geographical areas characterised by local musical customs, such as England, Gascony, Paris, as well as Northern Spain and the area around Engelberg in today’s Switzerland. This work privileges a focus on the main sources, although all extant sources that record two-voice *conductus* are also included in the discussion.

Over the last decades some remarkable fragments have been added to the above-mentioned major sources in the study of Notre Dame polyphony.<sup>25</sup> One of these fragmentary codices is the manuscript Cambridge, Jesus College QB 1 (hereafter *GB-Cjec* QB 1), which contains seventeen *conducti* in two or three voices.<sup>26</sup> One of its two-part songs, *Novi sideris lumen resplenduit*, is a *unicum*. Although relatively late – the end of the thirteenth century –, *GB-Cjec* QB 1 embodies a remarkable testimony for medieval polyphony in Britain. The manuscript consists of four flyleaves - recording three-part *conductus* and motets - and 33 strips, where we find the two-part *conducti* relevant to this research. The first reconstruction attempted by Bukofzer was included in

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“peripheral” in his Gordon A. Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*. 10 vols. (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986). A wealth of modern scholarly literature has been challenging the acceptance of Notre Dame de Paris as a geographical epicentre of this repertoire. On the *conductus* see specifically Olga Elizabeth Malysko, “The English Conductus Repertory: A Study of Style” (Dissertation, 1989). Specific works on music originated in Britain relevant to this repertoire are Hans Tischler, “English Traits in the Early 13th-Century Motet,” *The Musical Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1944): 458-76, at; Ernest H. Sanders, “Tonal Aspects of 13th-Century English Polyphony,” *Acta Musicologica* 37, no. 1/2 (1965): 19-34, at; Nicola Losseff, *The Best Concord: Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain* (London & New York: Garland Publishing, 1994); Peter M. Lefferts, “Sources of Thirteenth-Century English Polyphony: Catalogue with Descriptions,” *Faculty Publications: School of Music* (2012), at; Helen Deeming, *Songs in British Sources c. 1150 - 1300*, Musica Britannica (London: Stainer and Bell, 2013); “Sources of British Song, c. 1150 - 1300,” DIAMM, <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/resources/sbs/>.

<sup>25</sup> A number of “peripheral” fragments from the rest of Europe (Germany, Spain, Poland) have been discovered and examined in recent literature, cfr. Mirosław Perz, “Organum, conductus i sredniowieczny motet w Polsce. Źródła i problemy,” [Organum, conductus, and medieval motet in Poland. Sources and problems.] *Muzyka: Kwartalnik poświęcony historii i teorii muzyki* 18, no. 4 (1973): 3-11, at; Martin Staehelin, *Conductus-Fragmente aus einer Notre-Dame Handschrift in Frankfurt am Main*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I: Philologisch-Historische Klasse (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987); David Catalunya, “Medieval Polyphony in the Cathedral of Sigüenza: A New Identification of a Musical Example Quoted in the Anonymous Treatise of St Emmeram (1279),” (2014), at.

<sup>26</sup> Gilbert Reaney, “Some Little-Known Sources of Medieval Polyphony in England,” *Musica Disciplina* 15 (1961): 15-26, at; Nicola Losseff, “Insular Sources of Thirteenth-Century Polyphony and Significance of Notre Dame” (Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, King’s College, 1993).

the *RISM*, but results proved inaccurate.<sup>27</sup> This thesis will refer to *GB-Cjec* QB 1 according to the more recent foliation by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson.<sup>28</sup>

Mark Everist highlighted the relevance of two additional fragmentary sources for the study of the repertoire: Metz, Bibliothèque-Médiathèque du Pontiffroy, réserve précieux, 732bis/20 (hereafter *F-ME* 732bis/20) and Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 117 (hereafter *GB-Csss* MS 117).<sup>29</sup>

A later but significant source for the *conductus* is the so-called “St Victor” manuscript (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 15139).<sup>30</sup> The provenance of the manuscript is uncertain, but the catalogue of the Parisian Abbey of St Victor shows it was housed there in 1513.<sup>31</sup> *F-Pn* lat. 15139 contains music for monodic, two- and three-voice *conducti* and three theoretical treatises, two in Latin and one in French, written in the margins of folios 269r-275r. Its music was originally catalogued by Ludwig in his *Repertorium*, while the three treatises were edited by Coussemaker.<sup>32</sup>

Sixteen polyphonic *conducti* are recorded in the manuscript, ten of which are in two voices. All three treatises concern musical rules. The former focusses on two-part counterpoint, and can be considered the earliest treatise on music in the vernacular French; the works in Latin discuss counterpoint on a more generic scale and illustrate rules of notation and modality. Most of the manuscript was copied in the last half of the

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<sup>27</sup> Karlheinz Schlager, *Répertoire international des sources musicales* (Kassel; Basel; Tours: Bärenreiter-Verl, 1978).

<sup>28</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, “Jesus College, Binding Fragments from MS QB 1,” in *Cambridge music manuscripts, 900-1700*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982): 47-51, at p.

<sup>29</sup> Mark Everist, “A New Source for the Polyphonic Conductus: MS 117 in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* (1994): 149-68, at; “Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic “Conductus cum caudis”: The Metz Fragment,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125, no. 2 (2000): 135-63, at.

<sup>30</sup> Published in facsimile in Ethel Thurston, *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris Lat. 15139, Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1959). For an edition of the pieces see Harlan Bruce Hokin, “The Saint Victor Manuscript (Paris lat. 15139): A Performing Edition” (Dissertation, 1991).

<sup>31</sup> François Rabelais, *Catalogue de la bibliotheque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor au seizième siècle* (Paris: J. Techener, 1862). The source for the catalogue is the manuscript *F-Pn* lat. 14767. The most recent study on *F-Pn* lat. 15139 is Jürg Stenzl, “Zu den Conducten in StV,” in *Miscellanea musicae: Rudolf Flotzinger zum 60. Geburtstag., Musicologica austriaca: Jahresschrift der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft* (1999): 315-31, at p.

<sup>32</sup> Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, ed., *Histoire de l'harmonie* (Paris: Didron, 1852); Ludwig, *Repertorium Organorum Recentioris et Motetorum Vetustissimi Stili*. The treatises have no relation to the music delivered by the manuscript. Coussemaker prints the second and third treatises together as one, under the title *Document V*.

thirteenth century. However, other elements such as the writing in the margins – including the treatises – and the texts of the motets next to the *clausulae*, are thought to have been copied either at the very end of the 1200s or at the beginning of the following century.<sup>33</sup> Following Meyer’s studies, which hypothesised the year 1244 as a date for the composition of some *conducti*, Rokseth proposed the 1248 for the remaining songs.<sup>34</sup> Falk successively proposed a much earlier date – the first years of the thirteenth century – for the composition of some *conducti* of *F-Pn* lat. 15139 and for the compilation of the codex itself. Falk also suggested that the original bulk of *F-Pn* lat. 15139 could be even earlier than F and the whole repertory of Notre Dame.<sup>35</sup>

The renowned “Codex buranus” (hereafter *D-Mbs* clm. 4660) records a noteworthy group of thirty-four *conducti*. Since all songs are monodic and notated through adiaستمatic neumes the relevance of the “Codex buranus” for this research might sound dubious, yet it nevertheless represents a crucial source for *conductus* poetry. Musical analysis of this body of music will also benefit from its inclusion in this study, as some of its songs are monodic variants of *conducti* delivered as polyphonies elsewhere.

Certain later sources preserve music in a fully rhythmical notation and have therefore gained particular scholarly interest within the debate on *conductus* rhythm. Among these, the most significant is probably the “Codex de las Huelgas” (hereafter *E-BUIh* 9). It was compiled in 1325 and records music in mensural notation.<sup>36</sup> Further sources of this sort are Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, 3471

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<sup>33</sup> Thurston, *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris Lat. 15139*.

<sup>34</sup> Wilhelm Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik* (Hildesheim; New York: G. Olms, 1906), 332-34; Yvonne Rokseth, *Le contrepoint double vers 1248* (Paris: E. Droz, 1933), 5-13.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Falck, “New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23, no. 2 (1970): 315-26, at.

<sup>36</sup> On the “Las Huelgas” manuscript see Higini Anglès, *El Codex musical de las Huelgas (musica a veus dels segles XIII-XIV), introducció facsímil i transcripció, per Higini Anglès* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1931); Daniel S. Vega Cernuda, “El código de las Huelgas: Estudio de su técnica polifónica,” *Revista de musicología* 1, no. 1-2 (1978), at; Juan Carlos Asensio Palacios, Yolanda Acker, and Dominique Lange, “Codex Las Huelgas,” (2000); Nicolas J. Bell, “The Ordering and Mis-en-page of the Las Huelgas Codex,” *Fuentes musicales en la península ibérica (ca. 1250-ca. 1550)* (2001): 97-108, at; *The Las Huelgas Music Codex: A Companion Study to the Facsimile*, Scriptorium collection (Madrid: Testimonio Compania Editorial, 2003). Asensio Palacios, “La notación del Codice de Las Huelgas.”

(hereafter *D-DS* 3471); Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588 (hereafter *D-HEu* 2588); the “Roman de Fauvel” (hereafter *F-Pn* fr. 146).<sup>37</sup>

## Treatises

Despite the relatively modest use of the word “*conductus*” in medieval literature (especially if compared with its contemporary genres *organum* and motet), an analysis of the repertoire could not be considered complete without an account of theoretical sources. In fact, treatises do not only offer the key to understanding essentially musical features, such as the rules of contemporary counterpoint, they may also deliver substantial historical information. Medieval treatises relevant to the school of Notre Dame have been first discussed by Fritz Reckow in the second half of the past century. Lately Rob Wegman has revised some dating hypotheses and proposed a new interpretation of their chronology.<sup>38</sup> This section will only address the little number of treatises that are of specific relevance to the understanding of the historical context of the two-voice *conductus* corpus.

The first of these is the *De mensurabili musica* by John of Garland.<sup>39</sup> The earliest source for the treatise is *I-Rvat* lat.5325 (12v-30v), a Parisian manuscript copied

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<sup>37</sup> To these, two songs found in F must be added. On *conducti* in mensural notation see Gordon A. Anderson, “The Rhythm of “cum littera” Sections of Polyphonic Conductus in Mensural Sources,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 26, no. 2 (1973): 288-304, at; “The Rhythm of the Monophonic Conductus in the Florence Manuscript as Indicated in Parallel Sources in Mensural Notation,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31, no. 3 (1978): 480-89, at.

<sup>38</sup> Fritz Reckow, “Proprietas und perfectio: Zur Geschichte des Rhythmus, seiner Aufzeichnung und Terminologie im 13. Jahrhundert,” *Acta Musicologica* 39, no. 3-4 (1967): 115-43, at; Rob C. Wegman, “A Brief History of Measurable Notation, c.1200-c.1280,” *All Souls College Seminar Series* (2014). For a catalogue of most relevant theoretical treatises see Joseph Smits van Waesberghe et al., *The Theory of Music from the Carolingian Era up to 1400: Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts* (München: Henle, 1961).

<sup>39</sup> The first edition of the treatise is by Coussemaker, cfr. Johannes De Garlandia, *De musica mensurabili*, ed. Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, vol. 1, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit* (Paris: A. Durand, 1876). For more recent editions see Bob Richard Antley, “The Rhythm of Medieval Music: A Study in the Relationship of Stress and Quantity and a Theory of Reconstruction with a Translation of John of Garland’s *De mensurabili musica*” (Dissertation, 1977); Johannes De Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica (1250-1279)* [Concerning Measured Music], ed. Albert Seay, Stanley H. Birnbaum ed. (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1978); *De mensurabili musica (unpublished)* [Concerning Measurable Music], Rob C. Wegman ed. (2014). For a critical edition see Erich Reimer, *Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1972). On the

in the 1260s.<sup>40</sup> In the past decades it has been suggested that John of Garland was not the original author of the treatise, as his name was associated with the *De mensurabili musica* not earlier than the end of the thirteenth century by Hieronymus de Moravia.<sup>41</sup>

Dating a few years later than the previous work is the anonymous treatise *De mensuris et discantu*, written in the late thirteenth century, probably between the 1270s and 1280s. In its first appearance in scholarly literature it figures as the fourth in a list of seven unattributed treatises. Since then, it has therefore been known as “Anonymous IV’s treatise”.<sup>42</sup> The source for this treatise is the manuscript *GB-Lbl* Royal 12.C.VI (59r-80v), to which it should be added a further fourteenth-century copy (*GB-Lbl* Cotton Tiberius IX, 215r-224r) that was almost totally destroyed in a fire at Ashburnham House in 1731. This manuscript was copied by Samuel Pepusch before that unfortunate event, and that copy is currently known as *GB-Lbl* Add. 4909 (56v-93r).<sup>43</sup>

The last treatise that will be taken into account in this section is the *Ars cantus mensurabilis mensurata per modos iuris* by Franco of Cologne.<sup>44</sup> It is recorded in eight

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figure of John of Garland see William G. Waite, “Johannes de Garlandia, Poet and Musician,” *Speculum* 35 (1960): 179-95, at.

<sup>40</sup> The treatise is also preserved in two other manuscript sources: *B-BRs* 528 (54v-59v) and *F-Pn* lat. 16663 (66v-76v).

<sup>41</sup> Sandra Pinegar, “Textual and Conceptual Relationships among Theoretical Writings on Measurable Music during the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries” (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1991).

<sup>42</sup> Anonymous\_IV, “De mensuris et discantu,” in *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi novam seriem a Gerbertina alteram collegit*, ed. Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker (Paris: A. Durand, 1876): 327-64, at p. Modern editions of the treatise are Luther Dittmer, ed., *Anonymous IV* (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959); Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*; Jeremy Yudkin, “Notre Dame Theory: A Study of Terminology, Including a New Translation of the Music Treatise of Anonymous IV and the Anonymous of St. Emmeram” (PhD Dissertation, Stanford, 1982); , *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, Musicological Studies & Documents (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler Verlag, 1985). On the historical figure of its anonymous author see Hendrik van der Werf, “Anonymous IV as Chronicler,” *Journal of the Musicological Society of Australia* 15, no. 1 (1992): 3-13, at; Nancy van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); John Haines, “Anonymous IV as an Informant on the Craft of Music Writing,” *The Journal of Musicology* 23, no. 3 (2006): 375-425, at; Rob C. Wegman, “The World According to Anonymous IV (unpublished),” (2014).

<sup>43</sup> Notice of this is given in an eighteenth-century work by John Hawkins, who discusses the treatise and its history, cfr. John Hawkins, *A General History Of The Science and Practice Of Music: In Five Volumes* (London: Payne, 1776), 149-50, 76, 84, 221-22, 38-39, 53-54.

<sup>44</sup> For editions of the treatise see Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles ed. (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1974); Anonymous, *Ars cantus*

extant sources and states the principles of mensural notation for the very first time.<sup>45</sup> The *Ars cantus mensurabilis* surely precedes Anonymous IV's work. It was probably written between the 1240s and 1280s, but its precise date remains uncertain.<sup>46</sup> Also disputed is the identification of the figure of Franco himself. In the variant of the later *Tractatus de musica* by Jerome of Moravia delivered in *F-Pn* lat.16663, the author credits the *Ars cantus mensurabilis* to one Johannes of Burgundy. A second source for Jerome's treatise (*I-Rv* B83) seems instead to credit the *Ars cantus mensurabilis* to both Franco and Johannes of Burgundy, who might have simply been Franco's colleague at the University of Paris.<sup>47</sup>

Other than treatises, the following chapters will be taking into account some chronicles. These do not offer much direct information on the *conductus* itself, nevertheless they offer invaluable historical and historiographical details, and help to draw a picture of the people that contributed to its creation.

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*mensurabilis mensurata per modos iuris*, Balensuela, C. Matthew ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); *Ars cantus mensurabilis (unpublished)*, Rob C. Wegman ed. (2014).

<sup>45</sup> Beside *F-Pn* lat.16663 (152v-165v), which is the version compiled by Jerome of Moravia, further thirteenth-century sources are *F-Pn* lat. 11267 (1r-8r) and *F-Pn* lat.16667 (152r-165r). From the fourteenth century we have *GB-Ob* 842 (40r-60r), *F-SDI* 42 (43v-53v). From the early fifteenth century *I-Ma* D 5 inf. (110r-118r), while from the late fifteenth century *I-TRE* "no n." (pp. 3-14). An additional fifteenth-century source records a somewhat different version of the treatise without music examples: *S-Uu* C 55 (20r-43r).

<sup>46</sup> On Franco of Cologne and on dating issues see Hans Jürgen Rieckenberg, "Zur Biographie des Musiktheoretikers Franco von Köln," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 42 (1960), at; Gilbert Reaney, "The Question of Authorship in the Medieval Treatises on Music," *Musica Disciplina* 18 (1964): 7-17, at p. 13; Wolf Frobenius, "Zur Datierung von Francos *Ars cantus mensurabilis*," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 27 (1970): 122-27, at; Michel Huglo, "De Franco de Cologne à Jacques de Liège," *Revue belge de musicologie* xxxiv-xxxv (1980-81): 44-60, at; Max Haas, "Die Musiklehre im 13. Jahrhundert von Johannes de Garlandia bis Franco," in *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, ed. F. Zamminer (Darmstadt: 1984): 91-158, at p; Charles M. Atkinson, "Franco of Cologne on the Rhythm of Organum purum," *Early Music History* ix (1990): 1-26, at.

<sup>47</sup> For more on this issue and on Franco's life see Andrew Hughes, "Franco of Cologne," <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10138>. For more on Jerome of Moravia see Michel Huglo, "Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés," in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Ruhnke (Kassel: 1967): 121-33, at p; Pinegar, "Textual and Conceptual Relationships among Theoretical Writings on Measurable Music during the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries.,"; Christian Meyer, ed., *Jérôme de Moravie: un théoricien de la musique dans le milieu intellectuel parisien de XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1992); Michel Huglo, "La Musica du Fr. Prêcheur Jérôme de Moray," in *Max Lütolf zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. B. Hangartner and U. Fischer (Basel: 1994): 113-16, at p; Laura Weber, "Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth Century Paris: A Translation and Commentary on Jerome of Moravia's "Tractatus de musica"" (PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2009).

## Notation, Modality, and Rhythm

Issues of rhythm have probably been the most debated within scholarly literature on the *conductus*. The lack of direct information on *conductus* in mediaeval treatises led to contrasting speculations on the transcription and the performance of this genre. While most scholars agree that *sine littera* sections of *conductus* must be read according to the rules of modal notation, the *cum littera* passages still offer ample ground for debate. Before any historiographical scrutiny of rhythmic interpretations is undertaken, a brief explanation of the rhythmic modes will be of great advantage to better understanding the repertoire. The rhythmic modes (or “modal notation”) are used in all the principal Notre Dame sources.

Modal notation is based on two main rhythmical values: the *longa* (Latin for “long”; hereafter L) and the *brevis* (Latin for “short”; hereafter B). These two rhythmical categories are found on the score as single notes or in ligature (i.e. aggregates of notes), or simply “neumes”.<sup>48</sup> The L can be of two kinds, according to its proportion with the B: it can either be *imperfecta* (equal to two B), or *perfecta* (equal to three B). “Perfection” and “imperfection” are never intrinsic values; on the contrary, they must be contextually determined. The context is generated through stereotyped rhythmic patterns, called “modes”, where sequences of L and B occur. The extant six normative rhythmic modes are indicated in Table 2.

The sequences of ligatures listed in the column on the right hand side of Table 2 represent the “context”. For instance, a sequence of two-note ligatures introduced by a three-note one would contextualise the first mode, which we know alternates a L *imperfecta* and a B in a characteristic trochee rhythm (long-short). The opposite case, a sequence of two-note ligatures followed by a final three-note neume, would indicate the second mode. This alternates B and L *imperfecta*, giving a distinctive iambic rhythm (short-long).

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<sup>48</sup> Graphically, a “neume” is drawn with a single stroke of the pen; it may refer to a single note or to a group of notes, sung with a single breath. The etymology of the word *neume*, despite originating surely from the Greek, is still disputed. It might come from (νεύμα) *neuma* = sign, (πνεῦμα) *pneuma* = breath, or even (νόμος) *nomos* = melody, melodic formula. On the difference between the concept of “note” and that of “neume” and on its origin see Anne-Marie Bautier-Regnier, “A propos du sens de *neuma* et de *nota* en latin médiéval,” *Revue belge de musicologie* 18 (1964): 1-9, at; Kenneth Levy, “On the Origin of Neumes,” *Early Music History* 7, no. *Early Music History* (1987): 59-90, at.

Table 2 - Rhythmic Modes

	Performative Pattern	Ligature Grouping
<i>Mode 1</i>	LB	3 2 2 ...
<i>Mode 2</i>	BL	2 2 2 ... 3
<i>Mode 3</i>	LBB	1 3 3 ...
<i>Mode 4</i>	BBL	3 3 3 ...
<i>Mode 5</i>	LLL	1 1 1 ...
<i>Mode 6</i>	BBB	2 2 2 with plica or 4 3 3 ...

The following mode has dactylic rhythm (long-short-short), in which a single note introduces a sequence of three-note ligatures. The first note is an L *perfecta*, then two B's follow, and the value of the second B is doubled. The fourth mode is just the opposite of the precedent, giving an anapaestic rhythm (short-short-long). The fifth mode is simply a sequence of single notes, all being L *perfectae* (molossus rhythm, i.e. all longs). The last mode, on the contrary, is a sequence of three-note ligatures, all the notes being B (tribrach rhythm, i.e. all shorts). The smallest unit in each mode is called *ordo*: a melody may employ a potentially endless number of *ordines*.

The previous paragraph shows to what degree this notation is different from modern musical notation. In modal notation, graphemes do not carry unique meaning; they are instead crucially affected by their context. On the contrary, in any modern score the length of a crotchet, or a quaver, has one single and unequivocal rhythmical value regardless of the notational context in which they are found.<sup>49</sup> In modal notation for instance, a three-note ligature might signify any combination of L and B, depending on the contextual mode. If this three-note ligature is found at the beginning of the first mode it means LBL, while if found at the end of the second mode it would stand for a BLB combination, and so on.<sup>50</sup> The following Music Example 1 (compare with Figure 1) shows a clear use of the first mode in a short excerpt from the *conductus Ista dies celebrari*.

<sup>49</sup> Needless to say, in modern scores durations are proportioned to the tempo.

<sup>50</sup> If in the third mode BBL, if in the fourth mode BLL, if in the sixth BBB.

Music Example 1 - *Ista dies celebrari*, Short Melisma on the Last Syllable of *fla-mi-nis*

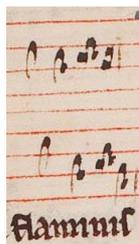


Figure 1 - W1 (169r (160r)), Short Melisma on the Last Syllable of *fla-mi-nis*

In practice, the mode employed in *conducti* is not always as straightforward to detect as in the previous example. This repertoire was collected in anthologies several decades after its composition; it was not consequently designed to be notated through the use of the six modes. Similarly, theoretical treatises are at least a century younger than the repertoire itself, and decades younger than its main sources. Therefore, we should not expect great consistency between theoretical writings and musical sources.

Rhythmic ambiguities are indeed common and are often due to notational limitations, in some cases solved by notators through expedients such as the so-called *fractio* and *extensio modi*. The first of these notational devices is explained by Anonymous IV, while the second is described as its opposite procedure by Willi Apel.<sup>51</sup> An example of *fractio modi* is the removal of a B (quaver) from a first-mode LB pattern, where the L is normally “imperfect” (crotchet), generating a “perfect” L (dotted crotchet). On the contrary, *extensio modi* often occurs through the addition of an upward or downward *plica* to indicate the interpolation of a neighbouring pitch.

“Repeated pitches” may also complicate the reading of the rhythm. Since a ligature is *de facto* a sign drawn through a single stroke of the quill, two consecutive notes at the same pitch would result in an undistinguishable line of ink. Therefore

<sup>51</sup> Willi Apel, *La notazione della musica polifonica: dal X al XVII secolo*, Piero Neonato ed. (Firenze: Sansoni, 1984).

ligatures are broken by repeated pitches even if the intentional rhythm would otherwise connect them.

A further ambiguity, as anticipated in the introduction of this chapter, is the absence of ligatures in the *cum littera* sections of *conducti*. Anonymous IV always distinguished between *cum littera* (Latin for “with letters”) and *sine littera* (“without letters”) passages. These roughly correspond to syllabic and melismatic music; yet, such a sharp division does not take into account the complex structure of the sections “with letters”.

The *sine littera* portions of the music, though of challenging transcription, often present no real trouble in identifying mode and rhythmic values. On the contrary, the *cum littera* portions carry syllabic music, i.e. each syllable is set to one neume only (mostly a single note, more rarely a ligature). This complicates the interpretation of the whole notational system, as it jeopardises the rhythmic context formerly created by ligature patterns.

In order to solve the issue, an array of solutions has been hypothesised by modern scholars. One school interprets *cum littera* passages modally, implying that ligatures have only been broken for the necessities of the syllabic music itself. According to this interpretation, quantitative poetic meter was the key indicator to reconstruct the rhythm for syllabic music of the *conductus*. Long and short vowels of Latin prosody are claimed to indicate L and B notes of the rhythmic modes.<sup>52</sup> Gordon Anderson offers further points to support this theory suggesting that later testimonies of *conducti* in mensural notation would provide evidence for a rhythmical reading of all *cum littera* music.<sup>53</sup>

Ernest Sanders, however, challenges this interpretation. He argues that medieval theorists did not include poetic meter within their discussions of the modal system, but he remains cautious in the complete rejection of this theory.<sup>54</sup> He argues that *conducti* transmitted in later notations in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts might simply be reworkings of the original rhythm and would therefore not offer reliable

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<sup>52</sup> Gordon A. Anderson, “Mode and Change of Mode in Notre-Dame Conductus,” *Acta Musicologica* 40, no. 2/3 (1968): 92-114, at p. 92 - 115.

<sup>53</sup> “The Rhythm of “cum littera” Sections of Polyphonic Conductus in Mensural Sources.”

<sup>54</sup> Ernest H. Sanders, “Conductus and Modal Rhythm,” *ibid.* 38, no. 3 (1985): 439-69, at p. 453.

reading keys for the understanding of the former rhythm.<sup>55</sup> He then proposes that the most rational interpretation is the isochronous declamation of the text, in which each syllable is set to a “perfect” L (dotted crotched). In his opinion, however, a few *conducti* would indeed require a modal reading of their *cum littera* music. These would be those cases in which text has been set to a known *cauda* of *conductus* (also known as *conductus prosulae*).<sup>56</sup> Christopher Page, in his attempt to solve the issue, proposes a careful approach, suggesting that among the wide range of possible interpretations for *cum littera* music, we should include that of unmeasured rhythm.<sup>57</sup>

In sum, although all theories agree on a modal reading on the *sine littera* passages, the interpretation of *cum littera* music is subject to three different scholarly approaches. The first attributes modal rhythm to all syllabic music; on the opposite side stands the unmeasured realisation of *cum littera* sections, while a sort of perpetual fifth-mode-like rhythm represents the mid-way hypothesis.<sup>58</sup>

None of these theories can be discarded, nor certainly proved. In the analysis presented here free-rhythm realisation of *cum littera* music is employed, since it represents the most cautious and therefore most suitable interpretation for the purposes of this work. Some very short passages – here called micro-*caudae* – sometimes interpolate strictly syllabic music; they appear in most cases clearly modal and are interpreted accordingly. The rhythmical reading of some other longer internal melismas is not always so obvious. When transcribing this music all cases must therefore be addressed on a one by one basis.

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<sup>55</sup> This particular issue has been further investigated in Everist, “Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic “Conductus cum caudis”: The Metz Fragment,” 135-63.

<sup>56</sup> As for instance the songs *Veste nuptiali* and *Bulla fulminante*, whose text is set to the final *cauda* of *Dic Christi veritas*. For discussion of the *conductus-prosula* see Thomas B. Payne, “Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula: ‘Motetish’ Works from the School of Notre-Dame,” in *Music in medieval Europe: Studies in honour of Bryan Gillingham* (2007): 220-38, at p; “Monophonic Tropes and Conductus of W1: The Tenth Fascicle (review),” *Notes* 65, no. 3 (2009): 573-75, at; *Motets and Prosulas*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (Middleton, WI: A-R, 2011).

<sup>57</sup> Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, 8.

<sup>58</sup> On this see David Wulstan, “The Earliest Musical Notation,” *Music & Letters* 52, no. 4 (1971): 365-82, at; Leofranc Holford-Strevens and David Wulstan, “Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm,” *ibid.* 81, no. 1 (2000): 170-71, at; Hans Tischler, *The Earliest Polyphonic Art Music: The 150 Two-Part Conductus in the Notre-Dame Manuscripts*. 2 vols. (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2005).

## Overview of Chapters

The research presented in this thesis develops three main discourses, addressing one in each chapter. The examination of genre builds from questions of authorship in Chapter 1, moves on to the structural relationship between syllabic and melismatic music with the relative analytical discussion in the following chapter, and eventually explains the development of the use of melismas throughout the life span of the genre in the last part of this thesis.

The first chapter gives a general background overview of *conductus* authorship from the years of its hypothesised birth – the mid- twelfth century – to its decline. The purpose of this portion of the study is to create links between *conductus* poets and composers, their lives and their cultural background. A comprehensive investigation into *conductus* authorship has never been accomplished, probably due to the inconsistency of contemporary information on *conductus* authors. As a consequence, the relative overall picture appears today still rather blurred. The study of authorship-related issues will be of significant help, both to the understanding of the context of this repertoire and to the fostering of future research on its function.

The comparison of *conductus* composers and *conductus* poets reveals that details regarding the authors of the texts are much more abundant in medieval literature than those concerning composers. Consequently, modern scholarly literature offers relatively more studies on figures of poets such as Philip the Chancellor, Walter of Châtillon, or Peter of Blois, and less on composers. Furthermore, they rarely attempt to link these figures together. The first part of this chapter addresses this issue, putting together information on authors, and proposing some new attributions. The second part moves the focus to the Italian peninsula, building on the information delivered by Salimbene de Adam's chronicles,<sup>59</sup> which gives fascinating details on *conducti* composition outside the broader Notre Dame area of influence.

Consideration of authorship is integrated with an examination of the relationship between the *conductus* and the vernacular repertoire. Some *conducti* that share music with Occitan poems are used as exemplificative case studies. These are Philip the Chancellor's poem *Quisquis cordis et oculi*, which is set to the same music as Bernard

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<sup>59</sup> Giuseppe Scalia, ed., *Cronica*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

de Ventadorn's *Can vei la lauzeta mover*, and Peter of Blois' *Vite perdit me legi*, which shares its tune with Peirol's *Per dan que d'amor m'aveigna*. Elements such as style and structure help to delineate the relationship between the sacred and the profane, by providing evidence of the diffusion of the *conductus* outside the church. Moreover, this investigation challenges the conceptual understanding of the *conductus* as a repertoire of original compositions.<sup>60</sup>

The second chapter moves to the analytical examination of the two-voice *conductus*. It builds upon the scrutiny of 130 *conducti* featured in the central source of the repertoire (F), where these pieces are transmitted together with other contemporary genres such as the *organum* and the motet. After this, the analysis is expanded by including the three remaining principal sources of the repertoire: W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, and Ma.

This primary investigation allows the development of a theory of the two-part repertory's macroscopic structural design. The following step expands the analysis including all the remaining sources: fragments recording a relatively small number of testimonies, late manuscripts, or simply compiled outside the direct influence of Paris. This work re-envision the genre by centring the focus on composers' creativity, evaluating their exploitation of musical techniques and expedients in response to qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the lyrics at their disposal.

The genre has previously been viewed as a rigid alternation of syllabic *cum littera* sections and *sine littera* melismas. Such a sharp division does not, however, take into account the complex structure of the genre. The second chapter centres the discussion on this issue, arguing that the *conductus* features several discrete melismatic sections that can occur at any point of the song. Its structure does not therefore consist of an inflexible juxtaposition of syllabic and melismatic sections.

While a lengthy *cauda* is usually found at key points of the poetic text — usually first and last words of each stanza (called here 'framing *cauda*') — it can also emphasise key words or syllables in the middle of it (called here 'internal *cauda*'). Some cases present short melismatic fragments (micro-*caudae*) that co-exist with the predominating *musica cum littera*. Although, when compared with longer *caudae*, these

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<sup>60</sup> This discussion is the main material of Jacopo Mazzeo, "Interactions between *Conducti* and Troubadour *Contrafacta*: The Cases of *Vite perdit me legi* and *Quisquis cordis et oculi*," in *Music and Culture in the Middle Ages: From Philip Augustus to Charles the Fair (1180-1328)*, ed. Mark Everist and Catherine A. Bradley (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), at p.

passages follow the same logic of rhythmic organization, they seem to have a different function. A *micro-cauda* covers a variety of functions, such as highlighting internal rhymes, consonances, assonances, or interacting with the structure of the poem. Longer melismas interrupt more decisively the natural syllabic flow, consequently covering a different function within the overall design of the song.

This analytical investigation has been developed in several stages and necessitates an introductory explanation. The first step of this study entailed the creation of a database with entries for all extant testimonies of the two-voice *conductus*. The database can be found in the Appendix 2 (p. 261 and ff.). The literature exploited for the compilation of this set of records included the newly developed *conductus* online database to complement Anderson and Falck's catalogues.<sup>61</sup> This resulted in a list of about 150 manuscript sources featuring 219 songs, many of which record one or more variants. Therefore, the dataset features more than 400 testimonies of *conducti* overall. On the database is indicated the title of the *conductus*, together with information concerning its collocation within the manuscript (source and foliation).

As anticipated, the investigation is built on the main sources for the repertoire. First of these is F that, among the total of the 219 analysed, features alone 131 *conducti*. During the study of this corpus of songs it was possible to distinguish the two different kinds of *caudae* – framing and internal – outlined above. These were subsequently used as an analytical basis for the study that then moved to W<sub>1</sub>, Ma, and W<sub>2</sub>, finishing with all remaining extant sources.<sup>62</sup>

The database features quantitative information on various types of melismas: initial or terminal *caudae*, internal and *micro-caudae*, and *punctus organi*, each within a dedicated column. Such information alone, however, is not revealing if not placed in its appropriate context. To remedy this issue the number of stanzas for each song is indicated in an additional column, in order to be able to ascertain the degree of “melismatic richness”. For instance, a song like *Alma redemptoris* (one stanza with seven internal *caudae*), would result a relatively “richer” setting than *Austro terris*

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<sup>61</sup> Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, vol. 33, Musicological Studies (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981); Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*; , *Cantum Pulcriorem Invenire: Conductus Database: <http://catalogue.conductus.ac.uk/>* (2013). For further bibliography see p. 307.

<sup>62</sup> A full list of sources examined for this thesis can be found at p. xiii.

*influyente* (seven internal *caudae* however spread over three stanzas). This analysis clearly shows that the quantity of melismatic sections may have influenced the order in which *conducti* have been copied into the main Notre Dame sources. A series of graphs, primarily intended to complement the reading of Chapters 2 and 3, are also provided to give an idea of the relationship between the quantitative use of each type of *cauda* and the placement of *conducti* within F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub> and Ma.<sup>63</sup> The graphs show that the placement of *conducti* appears to follow an order probably influenced by their melismatic content. For instance, the orders of *conducti* in F and W<sub>1</sub> are comparably similar. Highly melismatic *conducti* are found in the middle, followed by less melismatic or totally syllabic songs towards the end. On the contrary, the first sections of both manuscripts feature *conducti* where the use of melismas is peculiarly heterogeneous. Such a structure also characterises W<sub>2</sub>, where melismatic songs are presented first and syllabic or less flourished *conducti* follow towards the end.

To complement the database, also the texts of *conducti* are reported in the Appendix 1 to this thesis (p. 213 and ff.), highlighting all the syllables set to melismas. Bold and italicised syllables indicate framing *caudae*, while all internal melismas and micro-*caudae* are underlined.

The third and last chapter applies the results of the morphological analysis to the study of the two-voice polyphonic *conductus* development throughout its life span, engaging significantly with chronological issues. The chronological investigation of the *conductus* corpus has previously been viewed as problematic, since its sources are late anthologies of the repertoire, compiled no earlier than the 1230s.<sup>64</sup>

In current scholarship, a date has been hypothesised for only about 5% of the repertoire; recent investigations have focused on the development of the poetic and musical aspects of the genre using that datable sample.<sup>65</sup> Given that these studies are

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<sup>63</sup> See Appendix 3, p. 287 and ff.

<sup>64</sup> For the dating of the manuscripts see: Baltzer, “Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript.”; Mark Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1,” *ibid.* 43 (1990): 1-42, at p. 5 and ff. of this thesis.

<sup>65</sup> Ernest H. Sanders, “Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus,” in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, ed. Luther Dittmer, *Musicological Studies* (Henrville, PA: 1985): 505-30, at p.; Thomas B. Payne, “Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique,” *Early Music* 64 (2001), at p. A first attempt to date the repertoire is Delisle,

based on such a small percentage, there is necessarily a considerable degree of uncertainty in the conclusions drawn. This chapter shows how the juxtaposition of syllabic and melismatic sections behaved in the period between the mid-twelfth century and c.1250. To achieve this, and in order to minimise the degree of uncertainty, it merges the study of datable songs with a systematic and comprehensive examination of the whole corpus.

The comparative study of datable and non-datable *conducti* will suggest that terminal *caudae* are the main feature of the repertoire. Initially, they were appended to all stanzas, but after the end of the twelfth century their use becomes more flexible. Initial *caudae*, however, were originally either set to all stanzas or not used at all. After the end of the twelfth century the use of this feature becomes more flexible, possibly due to a growing interest towards experimentation. Finally, it appears that internal *caudae* were always used by *conductus* composers; short ones, including micro-*caudae* are used over the whole repertoire, while longer ones achieve popularity towards the later stages of the twelfth century.



## 1. Who Wrote the *Conductus*?

Evidence of *conductus* composition and reworking comes from as early as c.1160 to as late as the fourteenth century and from many areas of Europe (today's France, Britain, Italy, Germany and Spain, to name a few). The genre is a heterogeneous collection of pieces of different geographical and chronological origins, and thus no univocal acceptance of music authorship can be accounted. However, when compared to one another, the pieces show striking similarities.<sup>1</sup> How can we draw connections between poets and composers from different geographical regions and even different centuries? What do these authors have in common? Did their poetry and music have the same purpose or function, or the same quality? By what means did the *conductus* travel within Europe from France and the British Isles to the Italian peninsula, and beyond?

Information on *conductus* authorship is confusingly scattered, so that a convincing picture can hardly be painted. To date, around 800 *conducti* are unattributed. Scholars have mainly focused their primary efforts on major authors such as Philip the Chancellor or such composers as Perotinus only. As a consequence, the wider social-historical picture of the genre remains obscure. This chapter attempts to make a connection between all *conducti* poets and composers, describing the contribution of all known authors, and outlining the process of circulation and diffusion of the genre over the period between twelfth and the fourteenth centuries.

The first part of this chapter deals with *conductus* poetry. After a discussion of secure attributions, cases of poems that were not originally written as *conducti* are considered. Next follows a treatment of contested or disputed attributions. Songs and their poets relating to sections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 are summarised in Table 1.7 (p. 47). The second part of this chapter discusses *conductus* composers, starting with the earliest compositions, passing through the 1200s, and ending in the following century. The section concludes by addressing the relationship between the *conductus* and the vernacular Occitan repertoire, using two instances of interaction that involve the

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<sup>1</sup> This is also due to the process of “normalisation” to which they have been subject during the compilation of the major sources of the repertory (F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, Ma). On the concept of the “copyist as an author” see Aidan Conti, “Scribes as Authors, Transmission as Composition: Towards a Science of Copying,” in *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, ed. Slavica Ranković, et al., *Papers in Mediaeval Studies* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012): 267–88, at p.

*conducti Quisquis cordis et oculi* and *Vite perditte me legi* as case studies. All composers are included in this discussion, regardless of their association with polyphony or monody. This decision did not originate from the paucity of extant data on the issue, but rather because such a distinction was not part of composers' mind-set. While monophonic and polyphonic repertoires are theoretically different – and therefore must be treated separately in an analytical study – they are inseparable within the context of medieval authorship.

*Conductus* authors shared a web of knowledge that included classic Latin and patristic literature. Indeed it is not uncommon to find in *conducti* textual borrowing from these repertoires.<sup>2</sup> In addition, newly composed works (both prose and poetry) kept expanding this web. As a consequence, medieval attributions do not necessarily constitute trustworthy evidence for authorship. Multiple authorship, for both text and music, must always be taken into account. The ascription of a song to an author could have been made at any stage of its production, and needless to say, could be false.<sup>3</sup> The composition of words and music was normally accomplished by different persons, and even the voice-parts of a polyphonic *conductus* could be written by different composers. The chapter will present, for instance, some cases where the composition of polyphony was shared among different authors, or where a single text could have more than one melodic setting.

The lack of information about *conductus* poets and composers is not peculiar to this genre, yet comparatively more effort to record names and biographies was made for other contemporaneous repertoires. For instance, Old Occitan music was venerated to such a degree that its composers were described in detailed *razos* and *vidas*,<sup>4</sup> which

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<sup>2</sup> One example of this is the strophe *cum auctoritate*, a compositional device much used in goliardic poetry. Paul Gerhard Schmidt, "The Quotation in Goliardic Poetry: The Feast of Fools and the Goliardic Strophe Cum Auctoritate," in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. Peter Goodman and Oswyn Murray, *Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford-Warburg Studies)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990): 39-55, at p. In the *conductus* it is also common to find "quotations" or more generic references from patristic and Christian, as well as classic Latin literature.

<sup>3</sup> For a more in-depth analysis of these issues see Virginie Elisabeth Greene, *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature* (Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Guillemette Bolens and Lukas Erne, *Medieval and Early Modern Authorship* (Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 2011); Slavica Rankovic and Ingvil Brügger Budal, "Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages" (Toronto, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> The *razo* is an "explanation" of the circumstances that have generated the song that introduces, acting as a sort of preface. The *vida* is instead a brief biography of a *troubadour* or a *trobairitz*.

despite their hagiographical style, deliver crucial information for the understanding of vernacular repertoires between the eleventh and the fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Against this, stands music with Latin texts, and specifically the *conductus* and contemporary genres (*organum* and motet), produced within an environment unfamiliar with the current understanding of musical authorship. Gregorian chant, which, according to legend, was dictated by God to Pope Gregory the Great, dominated clerics' musical lives. The influence of Gregorian chant affected the development of the concept of music authorship and restricted the transmission and preservation of composers' names.

The secular environment of the medieval court, where most troubadour music was created and performed, allowed instead for a more "liberal" approach to the art. Such a difference finds evidence in medieval writings. Occitan *vidas* and *razos* betray a chronicle-like approach, and are designed to record information for the "others". *Ars Antiqua* sources (whether musical or theoretical) instead addressed a different audience, mostly confined within the walls of the church or the university, and chronologically limited to contemporaries. As a consequence, since we can rely on relatively more information about poets than composers, we know much more about the texts of *conducti* than their music. To date, almost a sixth of *conductus* poetry benefits from an attribution, while only a handful of composer names are recorded in medieval sources.<sup>6</sup>

Musicians involved with *conductus* composition wrote melodies for poems of varying sorts. Some may have not been originally intended as *conducti*, as in the case of poems by Godfrey of St Victor, Alain de Lille, and Hermann of St Gall. Several are cases of contested or debated attributions (Hermannus Contractus, Hugh Primas, John of London/John of Howden, Alexander Nequam, Anselm of St Saba), and only a few names of poets have been long associated with the repertoire. These include Peter of Blois, Philip the Chancellor, Walter of Châtillon, and to a certain degree Adam de la Bassée. Some other additional names contributed to the development and diffusion of the *conductus* after the mid- thirteenth century and outside the Notre Dame area: Henricus Pisanus, Bonaiutus de Casentino and Johannes de Perchausen.

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Both are in prose and in Occitan language; sometimes the boundaries between the two genres are difficult to draw.

<sup>5</sup> See Section 1.3 for a more detailed discussion of the relationships between *conductus* and Occitan music.

<sup>6</sup> Around twenty names constitute the list of known *conductus* poets, who wrote circa 140 texts.

## 1.1. *Conductus* Poets

The first part of this section examines authors whose contribution to the genre has been long recognised as fundamental for the constitution of the textual part of the repertoire: Walter of Châtillon, Peter of Blois, Philip the Chancellor, and Adam de la Bassée. Yet, in most cases their contribution to the music is uncertain; nonetheless, Philip the Chancellor and Adam de la Bassée might have been involved in the composition of the music for at least their own poems.<sup>7</sup> The four poets' lives embrace the whole life span of the *conductus*, from the early twelfth to the end of the thirteenth century. Since abundant literature documents their contribution to the repertoire, an in-depth analysis of their involvement is unnecessary. The focus will instead be on the common traits that these names share with the other authors.

The French theologian Walter of Châtillon (also called Walter of Lille, c.1135-c.1190) can be considered one of the first *conductus* poets, and certainly one of the most renowned. Most of the information we have about his life comes from a Latin *vita*, preserved in the manuscript *F-Pn* lat. 8359. Walter studied at the University of Paris, in Reims, and Bologna. He also lived and worked elsewhere in France and, according to the correspondence between him and John of Salisbury, he might have served Henry II of England around 1166.<sup>8</sup>

Towards the end of the 1170s he wrote his epic poem, the *Alexandreis*, for which he is nowadays best known. John of Garland, in *F-Pn* lat.1093 (31r), tells us that he suffered leprosy, which caused his death: "Magister Gualterus ... cum percuteretur a lepra". In addition to the extremely popular *Alexandreis* and a *Tractatus contra Iudeos*, Walter authored a substantial number of *rithmus*.<sup>9</sup> Many of these were supplied with

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<sup>7</sup> On Philip the Chancellor see Thomas B. Payne, "Review: *Homo considera*. La pastorale lyrique de Philippe le Chancelier: une étude des conduits monodiques by Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 23, no. 2 (2014): 252-56, at p. 252.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas B. Payne, "Walter of Châtillon," Oxford University Press, 9 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29872>.

<sup>9</sup> *Rithmus* stands for rhythmic poetry, as opposed to quantitative poetry. Quantitative poetry was popular throughout the Middle Ages, particularly for genres such as epic and didactic poetry. Yet, it is rare to find it in *conductus*, whose texts were almost exclusively written according to rhythmic poetry (*rithmus*). One exception is the *conductus Porta salutis*, which is a distich. *Rithmus* is based on the prose accent of each individual word and takes no account of longs and short syllables. See Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, 8; Dag Ludvig Norberg and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 81 and ff.

music, including both monophonic and polyphonic settings, nearly all of which are extant in sources associated with the school of Notre Dame. Furthermore, it has been recently brought to our attention that the manuscript *D-Mbs* clm. 14070a records music for a small section of Walter's *Alexandreis*. This codex, compiled in Germany in the second half of the fourteenth century, delivers a melody for *O felix mortale genus si semper haberet*, book 10, line 433.<sup>10</sup>

Several *conducti* have been attributed to Walter of Châtillon during the first half of the past century.<sup>11</sup> More recently, several attributions have been contested, and the number of poems ascribable to him reduced drastically;<sup>12</sup> these are reported in Table 1.1. Despite the multitude of musical settings, there is no evidence to suggest that Walter was involved in composition.

**Table 1.1 - Walter of Châtillon**

<b>Conductus</b>	<b>Voices</b>	<b>Principal Music Source</b>
<i>Dum medium silentium tenerent</i>	1	F
<i>Ecce torpet probitas</i>	1	<i>GB-Cu</i> Ff.I.17
<i>Excitatur caritas in Iericho</i>	3	F
<i>Frigescente caritatis</i>	1	<i>GB-Ob</i> Bodl. 79
<i>Licet eger cum egrotis</i>	1	<i>F-EV</i> Lat. 2
<i>Omni pene curie</i>	1 or 2	<i>F-Pn</i> fr. 146; F
<i>Sol sub nube latuit</i>	2	F; W <sub>1</sub>
<i>Ver pacis aperit</i>	2	F

<sup>10</sup> Dominique Gatté, "Vers noté de l'Alexandreïde de Gautier de Châtillon," 13 April 2015, [http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/profiles/blog/show?id=3327296%3ABlogPost%3A79748&xgs=1&xg\\_source=msg\\_share\\_post](http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/profiles/blog/show?id=3327296%3ABlogPost%3A79748&xgs=1&xg_source=msg_share_post).

<sup>11</sup> Karl Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer* (Berlin: Weidmann ; C. Schulzer, 1925); *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon* (Heidelberg, 1929); André Wilmart, "Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charlevielle," in *Revue bénédictine* (1937): 121-69, 322-65, at p.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Poet and His World* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1984); "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi medievali* 3, no. 28 (1987): 563-92, at.

In his *In Domino confido*, a sermon about the law written by Walter of Châtillon in the early 1180s in the form of a prosimetrum, the author mentions four poets; one of these is Peter of Blois (c.1135-c.1211/12).<sup>13</sup> This does not mean that Walter and Peter knew each other; on the contrary, the episode brings to our attention a critical issue that concerns the historical figure of Peter of Blois. Some scholars argue that there were two different but contemporaneous Peters of Blois, both with similar professions and both active in France.<sup>14</sup> According to David Traill, the Peter mentioned by Walter in his *In Domino confido* would be a canonist who was never involved with the *conductus*.<sup>15</sup>

Peter of Blois' poems were certainly known all over Europe, as they are transmitted not only in the four main manuscripts F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, and Ma but also in a variety of other sources. He studied in France, at Chartres, Tours, and Paris, as well as in Italy, at Bologna. Between 1166 and 1168 he was in Palermo, where was tutoring William II of Sicily. Later, he served the archbishops of Rouen, York, Canterbury, and King Henry II, and was archdeacon in Bath and London.<sup>16</sup>

Peter was not only renowned as a poet, but also for his rhetorical and religious treatises, and today he is also known for the rich body of letters that he left. Many of the songs ascribed to him fall into the repertoire of the Notre Dame *conductus* (Table 1.2).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> On Walter's *In Domino confido* see David A. Traill, "Walter of Châtillon's *In Domino confido* (W.3): Where and When Was it First Performed?," *Poesía Latina Medieval* (2005): 851-62, at.

<sup>14</sup> Richard W. Southern, "The Necessity for Two Peter of Blois," in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson, Lesley Smith, and Benedicta Ward (London: Hambledon Press, 1992): 103–18, at p.

<sup>15</sup> Traill, "Walter of Châtillon's *In Domino confido* (W.3): Where and When Was it First Performed?," 858. The issue around the existence of two Peter of Blois has been discussed at length in specialist literature, cfr. Frederic James Edward Raby, *A history of the Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 324; Reto Roberto Bezzola, *La cour d'Angleterre comme centre littéraire sous les rois Angevins (1154-1199)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1963), 41; Dronke, *The Medieval Poet and His World*, 293-94.

<sup>16</sup> John D. Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 17-48.

<sup>17</sup> The table shows widely accepted as well as dubious attributions. It does not include: *Fons preclusus sub torpor*, *In nova fert animus via gressus*, *Non te luisse pudeat*, *Olim sudor Herculis*, *Qui seminat in oculis*, *Vehemens indignation*, *Vitam duxi iocundam sub amore*, which are today attributed to Philip the Chancellor. For more information on his literary production, and on the contested attributions, see Dronke, *The Medieval Poet and His World*; Lena Wahlgren-Smith, *The Letter Collections of Peter of Blois: Studies in the Manuscript Tradition* (Göteborg: Distributors, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1993); Peter of Blois, *Carmina*, Catsren Wollin ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Egbert Türk, *Pierre de Blois: Ambitions et*

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*remords sous les Plantagenêts* (Turhout: Brepols, 2006); Cotts, *Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century*

Table 1.2 - Peter of Blois

<i>Conductus</i>	Voices	Principal Music Source/s
<i>A globo veteri</i>	1	<i>D-Mbs</i> clm. 4660
<i>Dum iuventus floruit</i>	1	<i>D-Mbs</i> clm. 4660
<i>Ex ungue primo teneram</i> (uncertain)	1	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 3719
<i>Quo me vertam nescio</i> (disputed)	1	F
<i>Nulli beneficium</i>	1 or 2	<i>F-Pn</i> fr. 146; F
<i>Qui habet aures audiat</i>	Text only	<i>GB-Ob</i> Add. A .44
<i>Vacillantibus trutine</i>	1	<i>D-Mbs</i> clm. 4660
<i>Veneris prosperis</i> (dubious)	2	F
<i>Vite perditae me legi</i>	1 or 2	<i>D-Mbs</i> clm. 4660; F

His poems focus specifically on moral topics, and his rhetoric places a strong emphasis on ethics. The fact that he was well known during his lifetime, and that his work was well regarded, is confirmed by the conspicuous number of extant *contrafacta* of Peter's *Vite perditae me legi*.<sup>18</sup>

While it is not certain whether Peter of Blois knew Walter of Châtillon's work, we know that Walter had a significant influence on other contemporary authors. One of these is Philip the Chancellor (c.1160/1170–1236), who in certain cases borrowed the opening lines of Walter's works in his own lyrics. For example, the previously mentioned prosimetrum *In Domino confido* might have influenced Philip's *rondeau In Domino confidite*.<sup>19</sup> A further example is *Dum medium silentium componit*; this *conductus* was attributed to Philip by Peter Dronke and resembles Walter's *Dum medium silentium tenerent*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The Latin version is found in F (356r), *D-Mbs* Clm. 4660 (4r-4v). Peirol's *Per dan que d'amor m'aveigna* is recorded in *I-Ma* R 71 sup. (46r-46v), while Hue de St Quentin's *A l'entrant del tanz salvage* is recorded in *F-Pn* fr. 12615 (43r) and *F-Pn* fr. 844 (81v).

<sup>19</sup> This *conductus* is found in F (464r), and its music is yet to be attributed to a composer.

<sup>20</sup> Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," 579; Payne, *Motets and Prosulas*, 176. In the Middle Ages *Dum medium silentium componit* was instead attributed to Walter himself, cfr. "Philip the Chancellor," Oxford University Press, 15 April 2015.

Philip the Chancellor was a French theologian and poet, younger than both Peter of Blois and Walter of Châtillon. He was praised by Henri d'Andeli in his *Dit du Chancelier Philippe*, which contributes enormously to the definition of his historical figure.<sup>21</sup> Philip was made Chancellor at Notre Dame in 1217 and retained the post until his death. Probably the most renowned author of *conducti*, he is not only known for his contribution to this repertoire: Philip is also thought to have been one of the most prolific medieval poets, having written the influential work *Summa de Bono*, as well as a corpus of more than 700 sermons.<sup>22</sup> Unlike his contemporaries Walter of Châtillon and Peter of Blois, he did not experience a formative period abroad, and spent most of his life in France. Numerous studies have focused on the enquiry of his activity as Chancellor at Notre Dame, some contextualising his figure within the broader background of medieval philosophy.<sup>23</sup>

His artistic production has been closely investigated by Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne,<sup>24</sup> while some specific songs have been studied by Thomas Payne.<sup>25</sup> His *conducti* are not only on liturgical or paraliturgical topics, but range from Christology to moral instruction, or the celebration of historical characters. However, another element differentiates him from Walter and Peter: it is thought that he composed at least some of the melodies to which his poems are set and is therefore regarded as one of the principal figures for the school of Notre Dame.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Paul Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," *Romania* 1 (1872): 190-215, at.

<sup>22</sup> Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969).

<sup>23</sup> R. E. Thomas Houser, *The Cardinal Virtues: Aquinas, Albert and Philip the Chancellor* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004); Jamie Anne Spiering, "An Innovative Approach to *Liberum arbitrium* in the Thirteenth Century: Philip the Chancellor, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas" (PhD Dissertation, 2010); Jan Aertsen, *Medieval Philosophy as Transcendental Thought: From Philip the Chancellor (ca. 1225) to Francisco Suárez* (2012).

<sup>24</sup> Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, "Philippe le Chancelier et son oeuvre" (Dissertation, 2008).

<sup>25</sup> Thomas B. Payne, "Aurelianus civitas: Student Unrest in Medieval France and a Conductus by Philip the Chancellor," *Speculum* 75, no. 3 (2000): 589-614, at; "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula: 'Motetish' Works from the School of Notre-Dame."

<sup>26</sup> He has benefited of a number of studies in different scholarly fields that analyse various aspects of his work and propose different attributions; it is therefore advisable to refer to the following bibliography for a list of his poems. Among the works that more concern the study of the *conductus*: Ruth Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs Composed around 1200," *The Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966): 56-70, at; Heinrich Husmann, "Ein Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen auf Texte des Pariser Kanzlers Philipp in einer Dominikanerhandschrift (Rom, Santa Sabina XIV L 3)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24, no. 1 (1967): 1-23, at; Christopher Page, "Angelus ad Virginem: a New Work by Philip the Chancellor?," *Early Music* 11 (1983):

Similarly to Philip, Adam de la Bassée (d.1286) certainly wrote some music, although it is not known whether he wrote any of the tunes his *conducti* were set to. He was a canon of the collegiate church of Saint Pierre in Lille, and a poet and musician associated with the circle of *trouvères* around Arras. His main work, the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum*,<sup>27</sup> is found in the manuscript *F-Lm* 316. The manuscript itself might be in part of Adam's own hand.<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, this source also records 25 *conducti*, all by him. The music of all songs, listed in Table 1.3, is syllabic and monodic. The pieces are, as for the cases of Philip, Walter and Peter, mostly on moral topics; however he also touched on paraliturgical themes.

Although Adam contributed to the repertoire with an abundant body of poems – twenty-five – he remains detached from the three authors outlined above. First, for a simple chronological reason: he lived and worked in a later period, the mid-thirteenth century, by which time the *conductus* was apparently losing its appeal in France, where the motet was increasingly favoured. Second, and no less significantly, his contribution to the corpus is only extant in one single source (*F-Lm* 316), which suggests that this share of work was not known as widely, and was not as influential, as that of his older contemporaries.

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69-70, at; David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and F10: Expanding the Canon," *Filologia mediolatina* 10 (2003): 219-48, at; "A Cluster of Poems by Philip the Chancellor in Carmina Burana 21-36," *Studi medievali* 47, no. 1 (2006): 267, at; "More Poems by Philip the Chancellor," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006): 164-81, at; Anne-Zoé Rillon-Marne, "Convaincre et émouvoir: les conduits monodiques de Philippe le Chancelier, un médium pour la prédication," *La place de la musique dans la culture médiévale* (2007): 99-113, at; *Homo considera: la pastorale lyrique de Philippe le Chancelier: une étude des conduits monodiques*, Studia artistarum (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); "Entre conduits et sermons: variation autour de l'image du Christi clavus chez Philippe le Chancelier," *Revue Mabillon* 19, no. 1 (2014): 99-122, at. The followings are instead generic accounts of his life or work: Norbert Fickermann, "Ein neues Bischofslied Philipps de Grève," in *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters; Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931*, ed. Walter Stach and Hans Walther (Dresden: Buchdr. der Wilhelm und Bertha v. Baensch Stiftung, 1931): 37-44, at p; Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor.,"; Thomas B. Payne, *Poetry, Politics and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School* (1991); David A. Traill, "Philip the Chancellor and the Heresy Inquisition in Northern France, 1235-1236," *Viator* 37, no. 1 (2006): 241-54, at; "Philip the Chancellor and the Third Crusade" (paper presented at the Sixth Conference of the International Medieval Latin Committee, Benevento, 2010).

<sup>27</sup> Adam de la Bassée, *Ludus super Anticlaudianum d'après le manuscrit original conservé à la Bibliothèque municipale de Lille*, Paul Bayart ed. (Tourcoing: Georges Frère, 1930).

<sup>28</sup> For a treatment of this argument see Andrew Hughes, "The "Ludus super Anticlaudianum" of Adam de la Bassée," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23, no. 1 (1970): 1-25, at.

**Table 1.3 - Adam de la Bassée's *Conducti***

*Amor emptus pretio*  
*Ave cuius vera contritio*  
*Ave gemma que lucis copia*  
*Ave pater multarum gentium*  
*Ave presul sancte qui pueros*  
*Ave princeps celestis curie*  
*Ave pugil qui in agonia*  
*Ave radix de cuius stipite*  
*Ave rosa rubens et tenera*  
*Beatus vir qui sapientie*  
*Corrosus affligitur*  
*Fecis avaritie*  
*Felix qui humilium*  
*Homo cur extoleris*  
*Leges sacras passas exilium*  
*Modestos blanditie*  
*Nature exigua*  
*Nobilitas ornata moribus*  
*O costantie dignitas*  
*O felix custodia*  
*Olim in armonia*  
*O quam fallax est mundi gloria*  
*O quam felix qui in consortio*  
*O quam felix qui servit Domino*

*Qui opus accelerat*

### 1.1.1. Pre-Notre Dame Poetic Material in the *Conductus* Repertoire

The *conductus* repertoire is a collection of very heterogeneous songs. Some authors, as the ones briefly discussed above, have actively and directly contributed to the creation of the corpus. The cases that follow are of a different sort. These poets were not active agents in the formation of the repertoire; their contribution was indirect, to some degree “unaware”. Specifically, they were “unaware” providers of lyrics; their texts were only later set to music and included in Notre Dame anthologies. This discussion therefore does not aim to focus on the poems themselves, nor on the authors, who are unrelated to the repertoire, save for a few lyrics. My intention is rather to give a picture of the background material exploited by *conductus* composers, other than the expected biblical or patristic literatures.

A first example of this sort is the poem *Planctus ante nescia*, written by Godfrey of St Victor (c.1125-1194). It seems likely that the poem might have been written towards the middle of the twelfth century, while Godfrey was at the University of Paris (1144-1155).<sup>29</sup> Although there is no evidence to suggest that he wrote the music for it, the widespread dissemination of its version with music over Europe and the existence of two vernacular *contrafacta* seem to suggest a relatively early composition of the tune.<sup>30</sup> A contemporary of Godfrey was the French theologian and poet Alain de Lille (or Alanus ab Insulis, c.1114/28–1202/3), whose *Exceptivam actionem* was similarly known and equally widespread. This is confirmed by the high regard medieval writers

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<sup>29</sup> Peter Dronke, *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe* (Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1992), 464.

<sup>30</sup> Textual sources: *A-Gu* 409 (70v-71r); *CZ-Pu* XII.D.8a (148r-149v) ; *F-Pn* lat. 15163 (229v-230v) ; *F-Pn* lat. 3639 (148v-187r); *F-Pn* lat. 4880 (83v); *GB-Lbl* Add. 36881 (25r); *GB-Ob* Add. A .44 (80v-81r); *GB-Ob* Rawl.poet.C510 (234r(5r)-235r(6r)); *I-Tn* E.V.20 (1r). Musical sources: *D-Mbs* Cgm. 716 (150r); *D-Mbs* clm. 4660 (IVr); *F-AI* 26 (113r-113v); *F-EV* Lat. 2 (3v-4v); *F-EV* Lat. 39 (1v-2r); *F-Pm* 942 (olim 1002, 234r(235r)-237r); *F-ROU* 666 [A 506] (94r-96v). The two *contrafacta* are *Ar ne kuthe ich sorghe non* and *Eyns ne soy ke pleynte fu*, both recorded in the manuscript *GB-Lma* COL/CS/01/001/001 (160v-161r), where the texts are laid out below the melody. The most recent edition is Deeming, *Songs in British Sources c. 1150 - 1300*, n. 22, 92a, 92b. A musical transcription with commentary is also found in Eric John Dobson and Frank Llewellyn Harrison, *Medieval English Songs* (London: Faber, 1979), 238-40, 96-7; John E. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 131-37.

such as Dante Alighieri for instance, held for Alain's works.<sup>31</sup> Some scholars have also drawn a parallel between *Exceptivam actionem* and Dante's Divine Comedy.<sup>32</sup>

*Exceptivam actionem* is a lyric dialogue concerning all seven liberal arts.<sup>33</sup> In three sources the poem is transmitted with monodic music, including F,<sup>34</sup> but there is no evidence to suggest that Alain was the composer of the tune. Nevertheless, the text includes some evidence clearly pointing to Alain's knowledge of music, specifically of the rules that govern the measurement of rhythm (Table 1.4).

**Table 1.4 - *Exceptivam actionem*, Sixth Stanza**

Dum factoris et facture  
Mira fit coniunctio,  
Quis sit modus ligature,  
Quis ordo, que ratio,  
Que sint vincla, que iuncture,  
Qui gumphi, que unio?  
Stupet sui fracto iure  
Musica proportio.

A number of sources transmit the poem only, and four of them ascribe it directly to Alain.<sup>35</sup> The first of these is A-W 83 (15v), which reads "Alani de Insulis Carmen de incarnatione Christi"; then GB-Lbl Add. 15722 (48v-49r) reads instead "Rithmus de incarnatione editus a Magistro Alano septem liberales artes singulis singulos usus opponens"; F-A 542 (1v) describes the quality of the poem with a mention of the author

<sup>31</sup> The degree and the quality of Dante's knowledge of Alain's works is discussed in Ernst Robert Curtius, "Dante und Alanus ab insulis," *Romanische Forschungen* 62 (1950): 28-31, at; Andrea Ciotti, "Alano e Dante," *Convivium* 28 (1960): 257-88, at; Peter Dronke, "Boethius, Alanus and Dante," *Romanische Forschungen* 78 (1966): 119-25, at.

<sup>32</sup> Adolf Portmann and Rudolf Ritsema, *Die Welt Der Farben* (Brill, 1974), 104-05. The passage of the Comedy at issue is *Paradise*, Canto XXXIII, lines 133-139.

<sup>33</sup> In medieval philosophy, the liberal arts were grouped into two sets named the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, both central to university education. The first included three disciplines: grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. The second featured instead four disciplines: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. For more on the topic see David L. Wagner, *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).

<sup>34</sup> The other sources are F (444r); CH-SGs 1397 (frag., p. 21); CH-SGs 382 (pp. 87/86).

<sup>35</sup> The poem is recorded in CH-BESu 416 (11v); CH-Bu B.X.35 (40v); D-B lat. fol. 100 (41v (p. 84)); D-HRD 23 (147r); D-Mbs clm. 12432 (2r); D-SI HB I Asc. 95 (68r); F-Pn NAL 1544 (74v); F-SOM 115 (80v); F-TOm 893 (74v); GB-Ctc R.16.4 (237v); GB-Ob Add. 57 (20r); GB-Ob Add. A .44 (138v).

“Dictamen de incarnatione Verbi secundum septem artes liberales. Alanus”; finally *I-Bca* A.24 (66r) simply records the name *Alanus* in the rubric.

An alternative case, *Adest dies optata socii*, is of particular interest to us: its composition coincides with the birth and diffusion of the *conductus* in France. Furthermore, the circumstances that saw the birth of *Adest dies optata socii* are strikingly clear to us, especially if compared with any other song within this repertoire. The song is recorded in a letter written by its author, Guy of Bazoches (c.1146-1203), to a companion in c.1169-1172.<sup>36</sup> Guy’s letter collection, which contains this poem, also includes an additional song by him, *Anni novi reditus*; this has also recently been identified as a *conductus*.<sup>37</sup>

Guy was a canon of Châlons-sur-Marne, in today’s French region of Champagne-Ardenne, in the second half of the twelfth century. No music for this poem has survived, yet Guy’s own words suggest that *Adest dies optata socii* was supposed to be sung. In fact, the poem ends with the words: “cantilenam dilectis sociis Guido mittit hanc de Basociis”.<sup>38</sup> Yet, although these words confirm that the poem was conceived as a song, they do not prove that Guy himself wrote music for it. We do not know how these texts were set to music as Guy provides no information on this subject.

The setting to music of pre-existent verses was indeed common practice. One such case is *Tribus signis Deo dignis*, a hymn for the Epiphany apparently written by a monk called Herman at St Gall Abbey in c.870. Its text appears as lyric for a monodic *conductus* in *CH-SGs* 382 (14) and in *D-Mu* Cim 100 (245v(244v)-246r(245r)). No manuscript sources record this attribution; yet the piece is ascribed to the monk by French theologian Marguerin de la Bigne.<sup>39</sup>

It was not uncommon for particularly famous poems to be quoted in part or even re-used as a whole to make *conductus*. The process of copying, paraphrasing or simply

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<sup>36</sup> *Liber epistularum Guidonis de Basochis*, Herbert Adolfsson ed., *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1969), 88; Max Harris, *Sacred folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 70-71.

<sup>37</sup> *Liber epistularum Guidonis de Basochis*, 17. I owe the identification of these two poems as *conductus* texts to Lena Wahlgren-Smith, who is planning to discuss the significance of Guy’s text in a forthcoming article.

<sup>38</sup> *To his beloved friends, Guy of Bazoches sends hence a song.*

<sup>39</sup> Magarine de La Bigne, *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*. 27 vols. (1677), 517. A further source that records the text is *A-Gu* 258 (front cover, 2v).

re-working earlier writings represented a fundamental mean to convey information.<sup>40</sup> *Alma redemptoris mater*, for instance, is an eleventh-century antiphon thought to have been written by the German monk Hermannus Contractus (1013-1054, also called Hermann of Reichenau).<sup>41</sup> Its whole poem is set to music to create a two-voice *conductus* found in both F (329r-330r) and Ma (99r-100r). The fame of this poem is confirmed by its mention in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*,<sup>42</sup> as well as by the numerous subsequent musical settings to which it was subject (e.g. Tomás Luis de Victoria and Johannes Ockeghem).

The creative process that characterised “multiple authorship” in the Middle Ages entails therefore not only the re-working of musical material (as for the use of liturgical *tenores* in motets), but also the borrowing of poems.

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<sup>40</sup> While the present acceptance of “author” is connected to the idea of “original authorship”, the medieval understanding of the word *auctor* (author) is closely related to that of *auctoritas* (authority). For more on this see Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

<sup>41</sup> It is also been claimed that the poem was instead written by Adhemar of Le Puy (d.1098), Bishop of Puy-en-Velay. Several scholars make reference to controversy surrounding the attribution of *Alma redemptoris mater* to Hermannus and Le Puy, among them David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 108; Lawrence Gushee, “Hermannus Contractus,” Oxford University Press, 9 April 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12864>; S. Ingram Jeannine and Falconer Keith, “Salve regina,” *ibid.* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24431>. On Hermannus' life and music see also Wilhelm Brambach, ed., *Hermannus contracti musica* (Lipsiae: G. Teubner, 1884); Jacques Handschin, “Zur Biographie des Hermannus Contractus,” *Acta Musicologica* 7 (1935): 158-59, at; Leonard Ellinwood, *Musica Hermannus Contracti: presented from an unedited source and collated with the Vienna ms. no.51 and the editions of Gerbert and Brambach, with parallel English translation* (Rochester, NY: Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, 1936); Richard L. Crocker, “Hermann's Major Sixth,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25, no. 1 (1972): 19-37, at.

<sup>42</sup> Specifically, *Alma redemptoris Mater* is mentioned in “The Prioress' Tale”, cfr. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (The College Bookshelf, 2004), 429.

### 1.1.2. Contested Attributions and Identifications

Within the *conductus* repertoire, a number of songs embodies evidence that could help to define their precise authorial context. Yet, some of these *conducti* have not received a definitive author attribution. The debated case of *Alma redemptoris mater* presented in the previous section represents only the tip of the iceberg of this issue, which the following pages intend to address.

The first case to be discussed here is *Heu mundi vita*. This very long poem (50 stanzas) was attributed to Hugh Primas (Hugh of Orléans, c.1093-c.1160) by Wilhelm Meyer, together with a whole set of twenty-three poems.<sup>43</sup> According to Meyer, eight of these poems featured a sort of “internal signature”, a clue, pointing towards the Latin poet; the rest of the poems found in the source (including *Heu mundi vita*) were consequently ascribed to him. This thesis has been strongly criticised by George Rigg, who claimed that Meyer was too easily persuaded by inferred evidence;<sup>44</sup> nevertheless Meyer’s thesis seems to be confirmed by the words of medieval author Salimbene de Adam, who ascribes *Heu mundi vita* to Hugh in his chronicle.<sup>45</sup> According to the chronicle’s timeframe, the poem was written by the 1160s, yet the music was not necessarily composed in the same period: the text survives in two sources without musical notation,<sup>46</sup> and there is no mention of Hugh’s musical skills in contemporary sources. In the *Chronica* of Richard of Poitiers, written in circa 1171 – but referring to the year 1142, the author gives an account of Hugh’s figure, with details on both his personal and professional life:

In those days there flourished in Paris an academic named Hugh – whom his colleagues nicknamed ‘the Primate’ – wretched of aspect, misshapen of face. He had been imbued with secular literature from his earliest years, and the renown of his name grew radiant in diverse provinces, because of his elegant wit and literary sensibility. Among his colleagues he was most elegant and quick-witted in making verses, as we can see from the ones he composed by way of declamation, making all who heard them laugh aloud, about a poor cloak that a

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<sup>43</sup> Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*.

<sup>44</sup> George Rigg, “Goliath and Other Pseudonyms,” *Studi medievali* 18 (1977): 65-109, at.

<sup>45</sup> Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, Giuseppe Scalia ed. 2 vols., vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 357. Rigg was probably not aware of Salimbene’s *Cronica*.

<sup>46</sup> *D-KA* Aug. Pap. 36 (7v-8r); *D-SI* HB I Asc. 95 (82r-83v).

certain bishop had given him: ‘From Hugh, Primate of Orléans: Hoc indumentum / tibi quis dedit? An fuit emptum?’<sup>47</sup>

As Richard of Poitiers did not have the *conductus* in mind when writing this passage, it is not possible to define if Hugh’s contribution to this repertoire has been more substantial than the single piece *Heu mundi vita*.

The *conductus O qui fontem gratie* presents dissimilar issues as its attribution is controversial. According to the rubric found in *GB-Lbl Cotton Nero C.IX* (f. 226r), the song was written by John of Howden.<sup>48</sup> Several attempts have been made to shed light on the figure of John of Howden (also spelled Hoveden), yet we do not have much information about him. We know he was a poet and clerk of Queen Eleanor of Castile and Henry III.<sup>49</sup> Further documents confirm that he was surely still alive in 1275, covering the same role.<sup>50</sup> We have knowledge of other sources that mention a “John of Howden” as late as 1304-1306, yet they do not reference his appointment at the royal court and might refer to a different person.<sup>51</sup>

First, it was suggested that he might be John, prebendary of Howden in Yorkshire; but since the church was only established in 1266, it seems unlikely that he would derive his name from there. By this time, John was probably already serving the royal family. The minimum residence for prebendaries was three months, and this would have been incompatible with John’s appointment in London during the same years.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Francis Cairns, *The Addition to Richard of Poiter’s Chronica and Hugo Primas of Orleans*, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* (1984).

<sup>48</sup> The rubric reads “Incipit lira extollens virginem gloriosam; Explicit lira magistri Iohannis Houedene”.

<sup>49</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1266-1272*, (London: HMSO, 1971), 189, 338. Rob Wegman hypothesises that he might be identified as the well-known “Anonymous IV” in Wegman, “The World According to Anonymous IV (unpublished)”.

<sup>50</sup> *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, vol. 2 (Burlington, ON: Tanner Ritchie, 2009), 189.

<sup>51</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls 1301-1307*, vol. 4 (London: HMSO, 1971), 259, 337; *Calendar of the Close Rolls 1302-1307*, (Burlington, ON: Tanner Ritchie, 2006), 458, 521.

<sup>52</sup> Josiah Cox Russell, “Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research Special Supplement*, no. 3 (1936), at p. 65-68.

I argue that *O qui fontem gratie*'s author could be identified with John of London instead. John of London was a mathematician, astronomer and poet who flourished about a decade earlier than John of Howden and died in 1275 or 1276.<sup>53</sup>

As mentioned, only one text now part of the *conductus* repertoire is currently attributed to such John, on the basis of a rubric found in the manuscript *GB-Lbl* Cotton Nero C.IX (226r). As evident from the rubric given in footnote 48, *O qui fontem gratie* (poem given in Table 1.5) is also known by the name of *Lira*, and is grouped with some other poems by John of Howden such as *Chytara* and *Viola*. As far as the music is concerned, the source that gives the attribution does not record any melody, and it is likely that the poem, like the other lyrics *Chytara* and *Viola*, was not originally conceived as a song. Nevertheless, the music version must have been fairly popular, as it is found in numerous major and minor sources.<sup>54</sup> Glynn Hesketh believes that the presence of references to the Boethian theory of the “music of the spheres” is a stylistic element that would clearly associate these lyrics with other works by John.<sup>55</sup>

Boethian teachings were in fact common knowledge at this time (especially for musicians), therefore the idea that such a peculiar text was written by the hand of John of London the astronomer, instead of John of Howden, would sound at least equally appropriate. Furthermore, John of London's profession (astronomer) would indeed aptly match the topic of the poem. One last point should support this hypothesis: the author of *O qui fontem gratie* must have been at least 15 or 20 years old at the time of the compilation of *W*<sub>1</sub> (1230s), the earliest manuscript where the song is recorded, thus the figure of John of London (flourished about a decade earlier than Howden) seems a more likely candidate.

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<sup>53</sup> On John of London as a poet see John Bale, *Index Britanniae scriptorum* (Cambridge, UK; Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 1990). Bale's work is however considered unreliable by Hesketh in Glynn Hesketh, *Rosignos* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2006), 4. A first source claims that this John of London died around 1272: Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Chronicon de Lanercost. MCCI-MCCCXLVI. E codice Cottoniano nunc primum typis mandatum*, vol. 65 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1839), 93. A second source claims instead that he passed away shortly before 1276, cfr. Richard Howlett, ed., *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1885), 571. On the identification see also Frederic James Edward Raby and A. J. Taylor, *Poems of John of Howden* (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1939), 270-74; Louise W. Stone, “Jean de Howden: poète anglo-normand du XIIIe siècle,” *Romania* 69 (1947): 469–519, at.

<sup>54</sup> Two-voice music is recorded in *W*<sub>1</sub> (158r (149r)-159v (150v)); *F* (289v-291r); *Ma* (60v-63r). A manuscript delivers the text of *O qui fontem gratie*: *GB-Ob* Rawl.poet.C510 (240r(11r)), with the rubric “Prosa de muneribus datis et dandis quid conferunt”.

<sup>55</sup> Hesketh, *Rosignos*, 8.

Table 1.5 - *O qui fontem gratie*, Second Stanza

*Legem federis*  
Inponis superis,  
Conservans supra:  
Celum numeris  
Mores innumeris  
Et celi sidera.  
Tu celum circulis  
Tu motus regulis  
Stringis erraticos,  
Tu nexus musicos  
Innectis dissonis,  
Ex quibus consonis  
Tonis mellisonis  
Reddis armonias,  
Qui propriis officiis  
Signas erachias.

Whether John of Howden is to be considered the author of *O qui fontem gratie* or not, modern scholars, as well as John's contemporaries, have credited him as one of the most important lyricists of the Middle Ages; as Frederic Raby writes: "England possessed one of the greatest of the medieval poets [John Pecham], and by his side may be placed John of Hoveden".<sup>56</sup>

Raby also mentions a further poet thought to have been involved with *conductus* poetry: Alexander Nequam (1157-1217).<sup>57</sup> Nequam, contrarily to Howden, was not known as a poet, and Raby himself is keen to underline this point: "Both Alexander Neckham and John of Garland were mainly conspicuous as grammarians and teachers. Inspired religious poetry was not lacking in the thirteenth century in England, but it is not to be found in their pages".<sup>58</sup> One song attributed to Nequam is *In te concipitur*, credited to him by Dreves in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*.<sup>59</sup> However, the unreliability of this attribution has been highlighted by Hunt in his extensive monograph on

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<sup>56</sup> Frederic James Edward Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 389.

<sup>57</sup> "Nequam" is the name used by his Latin contemporaries, and to avoid confusion will be used in these pages, unless quoted from elsewhere.

<sup>58</sup> Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, 389.

<sup>59</sup> Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 48 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1886), 269.

Nequam's works.<sup>60</sup> I would espouse Hunt's prudence, as I believe Dreves' claim is not supported by sufficient evidence.

A further song, *Salve mater misericordie*, was ascribed to Nequam by Anderson.<sup>61</sup> In his *Opera Omnia* the stanza 2b of *In te concipitur* is erroneously copied there following the first, and only, stanza of *Salve mater misericordie*. It is then copied again in the right place a few pages later.<sup>62</sup> In Anderson's edition, an apparently incomplete footnote to *Salve mater misericordie* claims that the poem should again be ascribed to Nequam by Dreves in the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, and it would also be discussed in Raby's study mentioned above.<sup>63</sup> The suspect indication of this second stanza as 2b (instead of simply 2), and the incomplete form of the footnote, are clear evidence that this is an involuntary mistake, which probably occurred at the printing stage of Anderson's *Opera Omnia*. Consequently, this attribution must be firmly rejected.

The last of this set of dubious or problematic attribution cases concerns the *rondeau*-like songs *Iam lucis orto sidere* and *Exultet celi curia*. Both pieces share the same melody and part of the textual material (cfr. first stanzas for both in Table 1.6).

**Table 1.6 - *Exultet celi curia/Iam lucis orto sidere*, First Stanzas**

<i>Exultet celi curia, First Stanza</i>	<i>Iam lucis orto sidere, First Stanza</i>
Exultet celi curia, Fulget dies, Plaudat mater ecclesia, Fulget dies, In Iacobi victoria. Fulget dies ista.	Iam lucis orto sidere, Fulget dies, Deum precemur supplices, Fulget dies ista,

<sup>60</sup> Richard William Hunt and Margaret T. Gibson, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217)* (Clarendon Press, 1984), 55.

<sup>61</sup> Gordon A. Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*. 10 vols., vol. 9 (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986), 10.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 130-31.

<sup>63</sup> The pages cited by Anderson are Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, 383; Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 48, 269.

*Iam lucis orto sidere* is found in F (470v) as a monody and similar variants are recorded in a number of French sources.<sup>64</sup> *Exultet celi curia* is instead preserved in the renowned – and much earlier – “Codex Calixtinus” (130r-131r);<sup>65</sup> there, the song is ascribed to a certain “Master Anselm”, according to the rubric: “Benedicamus Sancti Iacobi a magistro Anselmo editum”. This rubric does not offer a clear indication of authorship, since “Master Anselm” may be identified with several candidates, despite none of these being particularly renowned as a poet or a musician. A first would be Saint Anselm of Canterbury (c.1033-1109), the second Anselm of St Saba (d.1148).

Anselm of St Saba was nephew to the Saint, who was very fond of him. On his journey into Italy in 1098, St Anselm stopped at the monastery of Chiusa di San Michele probably to meet his nephew, who was a monk there.<sup>66</sup> In the same year the saint was exiled and moved to Lyon, and there he met “someone who was compiling a book of *Miracles of St James* in honour of the shrine at Compostella”.<sup>67</sup> As a result we find two miracles he is supposed to have performed in *E-SC* s.n. (149r-153v) – evidence that he surely had some influence on the compilation of the codex.<sup>68</sup>

Is he also responsible for the song ascribed to such “Magister Anselm”? Although all the evidence seems to lead to this conclusion, Anselm the nephew is a stronger candidate. In fact, both figures present some elements that point towards Compostela. Contemporary chronicles relate that Anselm of St Saba was particularly keen to make a pilgrimage to Compostela, but he was dissuaded from making the journey. Since he could not reach Compostela, he eventually decided to build a church dedicated to St James (i.e., *Santiago*), which was the first ever dedicated to that saint in England.<sup>69</sup> He was evidently very devoted to St James, and he might have written

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<sup>64</sup> *F-G* 4413 (173v); *F-LPsem* s.n. (48v); *F-Pn* lat. 1351 (33v); *F-SEm* 46 (13r). The same music is also set to further textual variants in other sources from Spain, Britain, and France, cfr. Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, “Concordancias externas y correspondencias internas en el Códice Calixtino,” in *El Códice Calixtino y la música de su tiempo: actas del simposio organizado por la Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza en A Coruña y Santiago de Compostela, 20-23 de septiembre de 1999*, ed. José López-Calo and Carlos Villanueva (A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2001), at p. 450.

<sup>65</sup> Hereafter *E-SC* s.n.

<sup>66</sup> Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (Yale University Press, 1953), 251.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 252-53.

<sup>68</sup> The most recent miracle in the codex can be dated to 1135, cfr. William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Boydell & Brewer, Limited, 2014), 141.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas Arnold, ed., *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896), 289; Edward William Williamson, ed., *The letters of Osbert of*

*Exultet celi curia* to celebrate and mark the inauguration of the church in 1135.<sup>70</sup> The lives of other known homonymous figures of the time (Anselm of Laon, Anselm of Havelberg, and Anselm V Archbishop of Milan) feature no element that could link them either to Compostela or more generally to the cult of St James.<sup>71</sup>

Table 1.7 summarises all attributions discussed in the previous paragraphs, before shifting the focus of the discussion from the text to the music. This section has proposed the identification of “Master Anselm” with Anselm of St Saba, and of *O qui fontem gratie*’s author with John of London. It has also suggested that Hugh Primas’ contribution to the repertoire might be more significant than the single piece certainly ascribable to him (*Heu mundi vita*). On the contrary, any involvement of Alexander Nequam with the *conductus* repertoire has been seriously reconsidered.

**Table 1.7 - Minor Authors of *Conductus***

<b>Poet</b>	<b><i>Conductus</i></b>
Godfrey of St Victor	<i>Planctus ante nescia</i>
Alain de Lille	<i>Exceptivam actionem</i>
Guy of Bazoches	<i>Adest dies optata socii</i>
Guy of Bazoches	<i>Anni novi reditus</i>
Hermann of St Gall	<i>Tribus signis Deo dignis</i>
Hermannus Contractus	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>
Hugh Primas	<i>Heu mundi vita</i>

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*Clare, Prior of Westminster* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 191-200; Ralph Henry Charles Davis, “The Monks of St Edmund 1021-1148,” *History* 40, no. 140 (1955): 227-39, at.  
<sup>70</sup> William Page, “Houses of Benedictine Monks: Abbey of Bury St Edmunds,” *Victoria County History*, 23 January 2015, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/suff/vol2/pp56-72>.

<sup>71</sup> Anselm of Laon was however called “Magister Anselmus” as reported in Damien Van den eynde, “Essai chronologique sur l’oeuvre littéraire de Pierre Lombard,” in *Miscellanea Lombardiana* (Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1957), at p. 53. For more detailed information on him see Michael Lapidge, Gian Carlo Garfagnini, and Claudio Leonardi, “Anselmus Laudunensis,” in *CALMA: Compendium auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi: 500-1500* (SISMEL, 2000): 292-94, at p; Patrizia Stoppacci, “Le «Glossae continuae in Psalmos» di Pietro Lombardo. «Status quaestionis»: studi progressi e prospettive di ricerca” (paper presented at the XLIII Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 8-10 ottobre 2006 2007), 293.

John of London (previously John of Howden) *O qui fontem gratie*

Alexander Nequam *In te concipitur (uncertain)*

Anselm of St Saba *Iam lucis orto sidere*

## 1.2. *Conductus* Composers

It should by now be clear that author attributions might be made on diverse bases: either accepting the veracity of information found in contemporary sources (first of all rubrics, for instance), or through the study of biographies. But how does this work for authorship of the music? Can we imply, whenever a name is attached to a poem, that the author indicated is responsible for both text and music? The short answer is no. It has been suggested that some poets may have been involved in the composition of some music, but there is often no direct evidence to substantiate these claims (as in the case of Philip the Chancellor). As a result, while around a sixth of the total number of extant *conducti* has been attributed to a specific poet, far fewer pieces have been attributed to a composer. Table 1.8 offers a list of *conducti* whose composers will be discussed in this section.

The quantitative discrepancy between text and music attributions raises the question: why were poets' works considered worthy of acknowledgment and that of composers not? There are several possible answers, including the influence of Gregorian chant discussed in the opening of this chapter. As contemporary musical sources offer little information on composers, it is necessary to infer this sort of details from other contemporary literature. Of interest, in this case, are treatises and chronicles. Anonymous IV's treatise gives us the name of the best known composer associated with the school of Notre Dame: Magister Perotinus (fl. c.1200).

Perotinus is renowned as the most important of the musicians involved in the revision and updating of the *Magnus liber organi*, and is mentioned several times in the treatise.<sup>72</sup> He composed seven *conducti*, three of which are mentioned by Anonymous IV:

He [Perotinus] also composed three-part conductus like "Salvatoris hodie" and two-part conductus like the "Dum sigillum summi patris" and even monophonic *conductus* with several others like "Beata viscera," etc.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Cfr. Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

**Table 1.8 - *Conducti* with Composer Attribution**

<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Poet</b>	<b>Composer</b>
<i>Adesse festina</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Perotinus
<i>Beata viscera</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Perotinus
<i>De Stephani roseo sanguine</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Perotinus
<i>Dum sigillum summi patris</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Perotinus
<i>Homo cum mandato spreto</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Perotinus
<i>Salvatoris hodie</i>	?	Perotinus
<i>Vide prophetie</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Perotinus
<i>Centrum capit circulus</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Henricus Pisanus
<i>Christe Deus, Christe meus</i>	Henricus Pisanus	Henricus Pisanus
<i>Crux de te volo conqueri</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Henricus Pisanus
<i>Miser homo cogita</i>	Henricus Pisanus	Henricus Pisanus
<i>Quisquis cordis et oculi</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Henricus Pisanus
<i>Hec medela corporalis</i>	Bonaiutus da Casentino	Bonaiutus da Casentino
<i>Ad cultum tue laudis</i>	Johannes de Perchausen	Johannes de Perchausen
<i>Castis psallamus mentibus</i>	Johannes de Perchausen	Johannes de Perchausen
<i>Mas florentis venustatis</i>	Johannes de Perchausen	Johannes de Perchausen
<i>Flos campi profert lilium</i>	Johannes de Perchausen	Johannes de Perchausen

Three of the remaining four *conducti* attributed to Perotinus (*Adesse festina*, *De Stephani roseo sanguine*, *Homo cum mandato spreto*) are *contrafacta* of his *organa*: *Adiuva me Domine*, *Sederunt principes*, *Viderunt omnes*. The last *conductus*, *Vide prophetie*, exploits the melody from the *organum Viderunt omnes*.<sup>74</sup> These

<sup>74</sup> More on the relation between *Viderunt omnes* and *Vide prophetie* can be found in: Hans Tischler, "New Historical Aspects of the Parisian Organa," *Speculum* 25, no. 1 (1950): 21-35, at; Gordon A. Anderson, "Thirteenth-Century Conductus: Obiter Dicta," *The Musical Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (1972): 349-64, at; Payne, "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula: 'Motetish' Works from the School of Notre-Dame.," *Motets and Prosulas*.

compositions were clearly popular as they are very well disseminated, appearing in numerous different sources.<sup>75</sup>

To Perotinus' name we must add that of Henricus Pisanus (c.1175-1247), mentioned by Italian monk Salimbene de Adam (1221-c.1288) in a relatively lengthy passage of his chronicle.<sup>76</sup> Two further names complete the list of composers: Bonaiutus da Casentino (fl. c.1290-1295/1302) and Johannes de Perchausen (d.1362). These, like Henricus Pisanus, are not directly associated with Notre Dame; yet their contribution to the corpus is remarkable. The next sections of this study will therefore focus mostly on their cases. Five melodies of *conducti* are attributed to the Italian monk Henricus Pisanus, one to Bonaiutus de Casentino and four to fourteenth-century composer Johannes de Perchausen (Table 1.8).

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<sup>75</sup> On Perotinus and his music see Armand Machabey, "A Propos des Quadruples Perotiniens," *Musica Disciplina* 12 (1958): 3-25, at; Tischler, "The Dates of Perotin.," "Perotinus Revisited.," Arlt, "Denken in Tönen und Strukturen: Komponieren im Kontext Perotins.," Flotzinger, *Perotinus musicus: Wegbereiter abendländischen Komponierens*; Metzger and Riehn, *Perotinus Magnus*; Stenzl, *Perotinus Magnus: und die Musikforschung erschuf den ersten Komponisten - nach ihrem Ebenbilde erschuf sie ihn*; Flotzinger, *Von Léonin zu Pérotin: der musikalische Paradigmenwechsel in Paris um 1210*.

<sup>76</sup> de Adam, *Cronica*, 1, 276 and ff.

### 1.2.1. The Early Thirteenth Century and the Role of the Order of Friars Minor

Thirteenth-century sources offer a remarkable wealth of information for studies on authorship, if compared to testimonies from previous centuries. Particularly striking is the *Cronica* compiled by the Italian Franciscan friar Salimbene de Adam.<sup>77</sup> Salimbene's extensive chronicle covers the period from 1168 until 1287: his work is rich in information and autobiographical elements and, before Scalia's 1998 edition, was studied by Oswald Holder-Egger and Bernhard Schmeidler.<sup>78</sup> All that is known about Salimbene comes indeed from his *Cronica*. As far as his relation with music is concerned, we know that his music education started in Lucca (1239-1241), where he studied with the renowned cantor brother Vita, whom we will encounter in the next pages. He then moved to Siena in 1241 and to Pisa two years later.

In Siena he met a brother friar, Henricus Pisanus, one of the few known composers of *conductus*. Although Salimbene gives particularly rich details on his brother's physical appearance and skills, he does not reveal much about Henricus' past life. Henricus was probably much older than Salimbene, possibly born in the last quarter of the twelfth century, as he died a natural death in 1247.

The name of a Henricus is also mentioned in other sources, although none of them gives specific details. The appendix of the *Ecclesiae Pisanae Historiae* mentions a Franciscan *presbiter Henricus* in reference to a long debate he had with the archbishop of Pisa Vitale. According to this source, at that time (1228) Henricus was rector of the Holy Trinity Church.<sup>79</sup>

If this is the same Henricus as the one mentioned by Salimbene – they were both Franciscans – this passage would confirm that he was much older than Salimbene. A

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Oswald Holder-Egger and Bernhard Schmeidler, eds., *Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam Ordinis minorum* (Hannover; Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1905).

<sup>79</sup> *Guifredus miseratione Divina [...]. Universitati vestrae praesenti volumus intimari rescripto, quod nos dilectis filiis custodi et fratribus Ordinis Fratrum Minorum vacantem Ecclesiam Sanctae Trinitatis Pisanae, sitam in loco qui dicitur supra Castellum, quam Presbiter Henricus Rector olim ipsius in nostris manibus liberaliter resignavit cum domibus, horto et pertinentiis suis ibidem positus duximus conferendam, ut ibi habitent et Domino famulentur juxta eorum observantias regulares; salvo jure venerabilis Patris Archiepiscopi Pisani et aliorum habentium jus in ipsa et salvis etiam privilegiis ab Apostolica Sede Fratribus eisdem concessis.* Antonio Felice Mattei, *Ecclesiae Pisanae Historia*. 2 vols. (Typographia Leonardi Venturini, 1768), Vol. 1, Appendix Monumentorum, 101.

further source suggests an early date of birth: one *Henrico, comite, subdiacono pisano canonico* is mentioned as a witness of a commercial act of the archbishop of Pisa, dated *anno dominice MCCVI, indicione nona, tertio ydus ianuarii* (11<sup>th</sup> January 1206).<sup>80</sup> This identification does not contradict Salimbene's words; in fact he introduces Henricus saying that, at the time they met (1241), he had already spent many years with the patriarch of Antioch Alberto Roberti da Reggio (fl. c.1215) who, according to Salimbene, was in Brescia in 1222:

And the patriarch of Antioch died in Lyon, Alberto Roberti da Reggio, who used to be bishop of Brescia ... For many years, with the patriarch of Antioch there lived a brother Enrico from Pisa, who was of the Order of the Friars Minor, who often told me and the other brothers a lot of good things about this patriarch.<sup>81</sup>

Salimbene gives a meticulous description of Henricus, and says he was his *custos* (religious superior) and teacher of music:

This brother Henry of Pisa was a handsome man, though of moderate stature, generous, courteous, liberal and energetic; he knew how to converse well with all men, condescending and conforming to the character of each individual, having the favour of his brethren and of laymen, something that is given to few. He was also an impressive preacher and gracious towards the clergy and the people. He also knew how to write, how to make miniatures (which some call making illuminations, because the book is illuminated by the miniature paint), to write music, to make up most beautiful and delightful songs, both modulated, that is [*cantus*] *fractus*, as well as [*cantus*] *firmus*. He was an eminent singer. His voice was full and sonorous so that it filled the whole choir. His upper register was fine, very high and clear, sweet, gentle and delightful beyond measure. He

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<sup>80</sup> Archivio della Mensa Arcivescovile di Pisa, Registro n. 1, Fascicoli I, II, III (45v-46r). I am grateful to Federico Famoos Paolini who provided me with this information, taken from his thesis: Federico Famoos Paolini, "Atti della mensa arcivescovile di Pisa negli anni 1204-1245 al tempo degli arcivescovi Ubaldo Lanfranchi e Vitale" (Dissertation, Università degli Studi di Pisa, 1978).

<sup>81</sup> *Et patriarcha Antiochenus obiit apud Lugdunum, qui fuit de Robertis de Regio; et tempore magni terremotus erat episcopus Brixienensis ... Porro cum patriarcha Antiocheno multis annis stetit frater Henricus Pisanus, qui fuit ex Ordine fratrum Minorum, qui multa bona de predicto patriarcha michi et aliis fratribus referebat frequenter.* de Adam, *Cronica*, 1, 271, 76.

was my *custos* at Siena and my teacher of singing in the time of Pope Gregory IX.<sup>82</sup>

It is of course known that friars were singing in choirs, thus his words *totum repleret chorum* do not add much to our knowledge, besides details on the quality of Henricus' voice. Yet, when Salimbene compares Henricus to another fellow friar, brother Vita from Lucca, the chronicler reveals some invaluable evidence on performance practice: "Vox eius [of Vita] magis pertinebat ad cameram quam ad chorum".<sup>83</sup> These few words suggest that private performances were common, and that friars were not only performing in choirs (as during the service or for the hours). Those words do not explicitly prove that Vita was used to perform privately on his own or in small ensembles, yet they strongly point at this direction. Furthermore, Salimbene says that he was a particularly skilled singer, and for this reason employed by the Archbishop of Ravenna.<sup>84</sup> Salimbene says that Vita had:

... a delicate, subtle voice, very pleasant to listen to. Nobody, not even the most austere, did not enjoy listening to him. He sang in the presence of bishops, archbishops, cardinals and the pope, who delighted in his singing. If someone would have spoken while brother Vita sang, immediately one would recall the words from Eccl. 32: *Don't disturb the music*. And likewise, if a lark or nightingale was singing in some bush or hedge, he would stop as soon as brother Vita would sing; and he would listen attentively and not move from the branch he was sitting on. Afterwards he would resume his (own) song, and thus, alternating between them, their delightful and sweet voices resounded.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> *Iste frater Henricus Pisanus fuit pulcher homo, mediocris tamen stature, largus, curialis, liberalis et alacer; cum omnibus bene conversari sciebat condescendendo et conformando se moribus singulorum, fratrum suorum gratiam habens et secularium, quod paucorum est. Item sollemnis predicator et graciosus clero et populo fuit. Item sciebat scribere, miniare (quod aliqui illuminare dicunt, pro eo quod ex minio, liber illuminatur), notare, cantus pulcherrimos et delectabiles invenire, tam modulatos, id est fractos, quam firmos. Sollemnis cantor fuit. Habebat vocem grossam et sonoram, ita ut totum repleret chorum. Quillam vero habebat subtilem, altissimam et acutam, dulcem, suavem et delectabilem supra modum. Meus custos fuit in Senensi custodia et meus magister in cantu tempore Gregorii pape noni. Ibid., 276.*

Translation by Lena Wahlgren-Smith.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 280.

<sup>84</sup> *Item hunc fratrem Vitam dominus Phylippus archiepiscopus Ravennas assumpsit, ut esset de familia sua...assumpsit autem eum, tum quia de contrata sua erat, tum quia frater Minor, tum etiam optime cantare et dictare sciebat. Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Vocem habebat gracilem sive subtilem et delectabilem ad audiendum. Non erat aliquis adeo severus, qui non eum libenter audiret. Coram episcopis, archiepiscopis, cardinahbus et papa*

Brother Vita was good friend with Henricus, and they also wrote music together. These two figures must have been particularly influential with their music if the cardinal of the Roman curia, Thomas from Capua, asked Henricus to compose a tune for his sequence *Virgo parens gaudeat*, to which Vita added a second voice.<sup>86</sup> It was apparently quite common for two voices to be composed by different musicians since Salimbene says that “each time ... [Vita] found some monodic melody by brother Enrico, he gladly composed a second line to it”.<sup>87</sup> However, Henricus not only composed monodies; on the contrary, according to Salimbene, Henricus wrote text and polyphonic music for *Miser homo cogita facta Creatoris*: “Item in illa cantilenam fecit, litteram cum triplici cantu, scilicet: Miser homo cogita facta creatoris”.<sup>88</sup> Other than this, there are certainly a number of songs for which Henricus wrote newly composed music; it is fascinating to imagine him and his fellow brother Vita performing monody and polyphony, even *conducti*, before the cardinal Thomas from Capua, in the years around 1220-1230. Among other songs that saw the involvement of Henricus we find *Crux de te volo conqueri*, whose poem was written by Philip the Chancellor. Salimbene says:

Also, in that other text, which is also by the Chancellor, he made a song, namely: *Crux de te volo conqueri* and *Virgo, tibi respondeo* and *Centrum capit circulus* and *Quisquis cordis et oculi*.<sup>89</sup>

In this passage Salimbene mentions four incipits, which correspond to three poems. In fact the second incipit, *Virgo tibi respondeo*, is the fifth stanza of *Crux de te volo conqueri* itself. This incongruity suggests that Salimbene had not necessarily seen or heard Henricus’s music, and that he might have acquired the information from an indirect source, most likely Rome, Archivio dei Dominicani di Santa Sabina XIV L3,

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*cantabat, et libenter audiebatur ab eis. Si quis loqueretur, cum frater Vita cantaret, statim Ecclesiastici verbum resonabat ibidem, Eccli. XXXII: Non impedias musicam. Item si quando cantabat philomena sive lisignolus in rubo vel sepe, cedebat isti, si cantare volebat, et ascultabat eum diligenter nec movebatur de loco, et postmodum resumebat cantum suum, et sic alternatim cantando voces delectabiles et suaves resonabant ab eis. Ibid., 278-79. Translation by Lena Wahlgren-Smith.*

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> *Semper enim, quando inveniebat aliquem fratris Henrici simplicem cantum, libenter ibidem faciebat secundarium cantum. Ibid. Translation by Lena Wahlgren-Smith.*

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>89</sup> *Item in illa alia littera, que est cancellarii similiter, cantum fecit [Henricus], scilicet: Crux de te volo conqueri, et Virgo, tibi respondeo, et centrum capit circulus, et Quisquis cordis et oculi. Ibid.*

which strikingly records many of the songs mentioned by Salimbene.<sup>90</sup> This Italian manuscript was compiled in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century for the use of Dominican monks. It contains eight compositions in mensural notation whose texts are all credited to Philip the Chancellor, together with a calendar, a hymnary, a breviary, a processional, chants for the Proper of the Mass, eleven proses, offices, Marian responsories and Magnificat antiphons. Seven of Philip's works are monodic *conducti*, while the eighth is *Homo quam sit pura*, a *conductus*-motet.<sup>91</sup>

In *I-Rss XIV L3 Crux de te volo conqueri* is split into two parts; the song is first presented at folio 140v and interrupted at folio 143, it starts again at folio 146v with the *Virgo tibi respondeo* stanza. I do not agree with Husmann when he claims that the music found in *I-Rss XIV L3* is not that composed by Henricus.<sup>92</sup> The most striking clue to argue against Husmann comes from the history of Santa Sabina itself. In 1219 pope Honorius III gave custody of Santa Sabina to St Dominic and his newly-born monastic order, now known as the Dominicans, so that could become their headquarter. Three years earlier, in 1216, Thomas from Capua (known also as Thomas Episcopus) was elected Cardinal Priest of Santa Sabina; a title that he held until his death in circa 1240. This Thomas is the same cardinal who hosted performances of Brother Vita, and who personally asked Henricus to write music for one of his poems, *Virgo parens gaudeat*. This element strongly suggests that Henricus was in direct contact with the Santa Sabina Basilica. Therefore, *I-Rss XIV L3* is indeed likely to contain Henricus' melodies, and was probably known to the Cardinal Priest of Santa Sabina himself.

Nevertheless, Philip's authorship of *Crux de te volo conqueri* (at least of its poem) is recorded on a rubric attached to the song on the manuscript *A-Wn 883* (79v), which reads "Ob memoriam Crucifixi scribo hanc disputationem quam composuit Cancellarius Philippus inter matrem ipsius crucifixi et crucem. Unde primo loquitur

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<sup>90</sup> Hereafter *I-Rss XIV L3*. This manuscript was probably compiled in France in the mid-thirteenth century, and very soon travelled to Santa Sabina.

<sup>91</sup> For more on this source see Gisbert Sölch, "Cod. XIV L3 saec. XIII des dominikanischen Ordensarchivs in Rom ein neuer Zeuge fröhdominikanischer Liturgieentwicklung," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* LIV (1940): 165-81, at; Husmann, "Ein Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen auf Texte des Pariser Kanzlers Philipp in einer Dominikanerhandschrift (Rom, Santa Sabina XIV L 3)."

<sup>92</sup> I have discussed this issue in length in my recent paper given at the Medieval & Renaissance Conference in Brussels Jacopo Mazzeo, "The *Cronica* by Salimbene de Adam: An Insight into the Dissemination of the *Conductus* Repertoire," *Medieval & Renaissance Music Conference* (2015); Husmann, "Ein Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen auf Texte des Pariser Kanzlers Philipp in einer Dominikanerhandschrift (Rom, Santa Sabina XIV L 3)," 13.

mater ad crucem”. Despite this, two of the many sources in which *Crux de te volo conqueri* is preserved ascribe the poetry to different authors – to Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) in *F-TOm* 348, and to Jacopone da Todi (c1230-1306) in *I-BGc* D.7.15.

The attribution to Bernard is also plausible because the significant oeuvre of Marian poetry he left to posterity is consistent with the subject of this song,<sup>93</sup> while there is strong evidence that Jacopone da Todi was not the author of the poem. First, at the time that Salimbene met Henricus – and attributed the song to him – in c.1240, Jacopone would have been too young (ten or thirteen) to have been able to precede Henricus’s composing of the song. Second, the poem’s wide dissemination and the large number of extant sources suggest that it was already well known all over Europe in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>94</sup> Whoever was the author of the poem (most likely Philip the Chancellor), it is quite possible that both Jacopone da Todi and Henricus did compose a musical setting of it,<sup>95</sup> and that these melodies would have been independently produced.

The last of the incipits mentioned in the passage above is *Quisquis cordis et oculi*, another of the five *conducti* associated with Henricus. *Quisquis cordis et oculi* is of problematic attribution; its text is again ascribed to Philip the Chancellor, and shares the same melodic material with the well-known Occitan song *Can vei la lauzeta mover*, attributed to the troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn (c.1130-c.1190) in *F-Pn* fr. 22543. Three additional extant *contrafacta* of this melodic material are: the jeux partis *Amis qui est li mieus vaillant*, *Plain d’ire et desconfort*, *Li cuers si vait de l’oil plaignant* (again

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<sup>93</sup> The song deals with the topic of the dialogue between the Virgin Mary and the Cross. Information about St Bernard’s Mariology can be found in: Charles Clémencet, “La mariologie de Saint Bernard” (Dissertation, Imprimerie de l’Ecole Professionnelle de Sacuny, 1909); Aubron Pierre Bernard Bernard, *L’oeuvre mariale de Saint Bernard* (Juvisy: Editions du Cerf, 1935); Ailbhe S. Ó Loididh, *A Bernardine Mariology* (Mount Melleray, 1941); Jacob Restruck, *The Mariology of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in the Sermons: Super Missus Est* (1990).

<sup>94</sup> Together with the sources already mentioned, the song is delivered with music for one voice in *F* (439r-439v); *I-Rss* XIV L3. Text only sources are: *D-B* Hamilton 348 and 4° 677; *F-CHRM* 341; *D-ERu* 323; *D-Mbs* clm. 25072 and clm. 675; *D-Nst* Cent. I, 71; *F-Pm* 996; *F-Pn* it. 559, it. 607, lat. 673, *Rès* D.6115, *NAL* 1742; *A-Wn* Cod. 883; *PL-WRu* R. 459 and Rehdig. S IV 3a 48.

<sup>95</sup> Unfortunately *I-BGc* D.7.15 is very poorly documented and there is little information available for consultation. However, a reproduction of the manuscript is now housed at the Biblioteca Civica in Verona (*I-VEc* 1212). This paper manuscript was copied in 1772, it consists of 296 folios and it is titled *Il canzoniere di Fra Jacopone da Todi* (Songbook by Jacopone da Todi). For more information see G. Biadego, *Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti della biblioteca comunale di Verona* (Verona, 1892), 36.

by Philip the Chancellor) and *Seyner mil gracias ti rent*.<sup>96</sup> As for the case of *Crux de te volo conqueri*, this poem may have been subject to several musical settings, considering the wide dissemination of the poem without music.<sup>97</sup>

Likewise, Salimbene claims that Henricus composed music for the *conductus Centrum capit circulus*,<sup>98</sup> recorded in F (357r-358r) with music, as well as without melody in a further Parisian source and a Czech manuscript.<sup>99</sup> In his description, Salimbene is precise about who composed melodies and who wrote poems; we can assume he had a fair understanding of compositional practice, not only because he was musically literate and describes Henricus as his “teacher of music”, but also from the following passage, where it may be inferred that he could properly write music:

And since, when ... [Henricus] was *custos* and lay ill in bed of the infirmary in the monastery of Siena and was not able to write music, he called me, I was the first who noted down that song, while he was singing.<sup>100</sup>

Salimbene recounts how he was able to write music, as instructed by Henricus, who that time was incapable of working. In this passage Salimbene is referring to the song he just mentioned a few lines before: *Homo quam sit pura*, known to us as a motet (*Homo quam sit pura/Latus*). The passage above reveals significant information: It tells us that Henricus’ melodies were not only transmitted orally; on the contrary, Henricus was accustomed to write down his music, or at least part of it.

Before addressing this wider issue, there are other *conducti*, or songs carrying Henricus’s signature, which should be mentioned. Salimbene’s reference to a piece called *Christe Deus, Christe meus* (Christ God, My Christ, Christ king and Lord) has

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<sup>96</sup> Meghan Quinlan has provided a full description of each of the *contrafacta* of this melody in Meghan Quinlan, “A Melody Lodged in the Heart: Contextualising Can vei la lauzeta mover and its Contrafacts” (Mmus Dissertation, Oxford, 2012). I thank Elizabeth Eva Leach for drawing my attention to this work. Quinlan considers the attribution of *Quisquis cordis et oculi* to Walter Map to be unlikely, disagreeing with Lawrence Brooke, “Introduction,” in *De nugis curialium*, ed. Montague Rhodes James, Christopher Nugent, and Lawrence Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1983), at p. xiii.

<sup>97</sup> For the ease of consultation, considering the very long list of sources, cfr. *Cantum Pulcriorem Invenire Conductus Database*. A more in-depth discussion on *Quisquis cordis et oculi* and the issues around its attribution is made in Section 1.3.

<sup>98</sup> de Adam, *Cronica*, 1, 277.

<sup>99</sup> *F-Pa* 526 (183v); *CZ-Pak N VIII* (38v).

<sup>100</sup> *Et quia, cum esset custos et in conventu Senesi in infirmitorio iaceret infirmus in lecto et notare non posset, vocavit me, fui primus qui, eo cantante, notavi illum cantum.* de Adam, *Cronica*, 1, 277. Translation by Lena Walgren-Smith.

been already quoted; the piece does not survive in any extant source but whose words and music are both attributed to Henricus.<sup>101</sup> Salimbene was keen to specify that Henricus’s inspiration for the melody was an Italian folk tune that he heard a servant singing at the cathedral in Pisa: “Ad vocem cuiusdam pedissequae que per maiorem ecclesiam Pisanam ibat cantando: E s' tu no cure de me, e' no curarò de te”.<sup>102</sup> This was quite possibly a refrain song, as the poetic lines included in Salimbene’s writings would not make sense as an opening sentence: “And if you won’t care about me, I won’t care about you”.<sup>103</sup>

**Table 1.9 - *E s' tu no cure de me/Christe Deus, Christe meus***

E s' tu no cure de me,	Criste Deus, Christe meus,	8p
E' no curarò de te	Christe rex et Domine!	7pp

Although the episode reported by Salimbene has as strong anecdotal tone, it should not surprise, as occurrences of music borrowing have been encountered before. This passage confirms that the sacred and the secular worlds were not as detached from each other as is often thought. This is one of the reasons why Salimbene’s chronicle is so crucial for the understanding of this repertoire, and specifically to gaining an insight of the wider cultural environment that influenced its generative process.

The *Cronica* also reveals connections between apparently separated geographical areas. This source challenges our understanding of Paris, and its surroundings, as the epicentre of *conductus* production. The *conductus*, in the thirteenth century, is a significantly widespread repertoire, whose corpus of poems received multiple music settings. The information inferable from *Cronica* goes even further: Salimbene might implicitly suggest that the Franciscan order played a role in the production, enlargement and circulation of the repertoire. In view of this, the inclusion of one poem by St Bonaventure (1221-1274) in this repertoire might sound less

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 276.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>103</sup> Table 1.9 offer a comparison between the servant’s refrain and Henricus’ *contrafactum*.

accidental; Bonaventure was Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans) between 1257 and 1274.<sup>104</sup>

The poem, *O crux frutex salvificus*, has been transmitted with several variants. One of these, preserved just with its text in *D-KA* Aug. Pap. 36 (42r), credits the poem to Bonaventure in the rubric “Sequitur planctus Boneventure de Christo”. Other German manuscripts offer some stimulating details. In *D-Mbs* clm. 13102 (179r-188r, 189r), each line of the poem is used as a rubric for some chapters of his *Breviloquium*.<sup>105</sup> In *D-Mbs* clm. 9084 (52v-53v) each line of the poem is instead used as the incipit for a completely new stanza, and the stanzas themselves act as sort of glosses. The rubric explains the concept behind the poem “tituli ligni vite cum expositione articulate”. Only one manuscript among numerous textual sources records a melody for the lyrics.<sup>106</sup> If St Bonaventure contributed to the expansion of the repertoire, his predecessor may have contributed to its dissemination in Italy and specifically among the Franciscans.

Haymo of Faversham (c.1180-1244) was Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor some time before Bonaventure, in the years between 1240 and 1243.<sup>107</sup> Born in Kent, Haymo studied at the University of Paris and entered the Order around 1224. He lectured both in France (Tours and Paris, where, like Henricus in Pisa, he was *custos*) as well as Italy (Bologna and Padua), and was also active in Oxford in 1232.<sup>108</sup> Although we know that many learned people of the time likely spent a period of study in Paris, Haymo’s case is striking. He could have been responsible for the transmission of texts, as he could have brought with him some “new” poems from England and France. In fact, by the time Haymo made his vows (1224), and became minister (1240), most of the Notre Dame *conducti* had already been written.<sup>109</sup> Sources that link the Franciscan environment and the *conductus* in Britain are not unknown; one instance is the

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<sup>104</sup> Heriberto Holzapfel, *Manuale historiae ordinis fratrum minorum* Gallo Haselbeck ed. (Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1909), 30.

<sup>105</sup> For an up-to-date edition of this work see Bonaventura, *Breviloquium*, Marianne Schlosser ed. (Freiburg: Johannes, 2002).

<sup>106</sup> The music source is *E-PAc* s.n. (63v-66r). Textual sources other than those already mentioned are: *B-N* 104 (76v); *F-Pm* 996 (olim 902, 125r (CXXIIr)-126r (CXXIIIr)); *F-RSm* 456 (237r); *I-VEc* 1212 (p. 259); *GB-Lbl* Add. 16393 (299r).

<sup>107</sup> Holzapfel, *Manuale historiae ordinis fratrum minorum* 25.

<sup>108</sup> H. C. Maxwell Lyte, ed., *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III. Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 4 vols., vol. 2 (London: Mackie and co. ld., 1903), 469.

<sup>109</sup> For instance Philip the Chancellor, who has been credited of numerous *conducti*, died in 1236; also, among all songs that received hypotheses of a compositional date, no one has been written later than 1230s.

manuscript *GB-Cgc* 240/126. This small codex is a collection of texts some of which by Richard of St Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux and St Augustine and was probably completed by the late thirteenth or the early fourteenth century.<sup>110</sup> One of the few musical features of this manuscript are the *conductus Omnis caro peccaverat* (by Walter Map, pp. 12-13), and a “prosa” dedicated to St Francis *Absit nobis gloriari*. The song carries the rubric “Hec prosa de beato Francisco et concordat in nota cum prosa sequenti”; along with other contents of the manuscript, this might suggest a Franciscan origin.<sup>111</sup>

If the Franciscan order has to be considered a significant mean of transmission of “Notre Dame” repertoires, then Henricus Pisanus needs to be regarded as a noteworthy figure within this process. Although extant music by him is virtually absent, it is possible that he might have composed a substantial amount of music (*conducti*, *sequentiae* and possibly motets). He was surely influenced by the Notre Dame style, and also he used to write down his music (see p. 58). Yet, if he recorded his music, where has this music gone? It may, of course, be in most part lost. Yet, at least some of Henricus’ production may still be extant. The manuscript *I-TOD* 73 records two of the songs ascribed to him in Salimbene’s chronicle.

One of them is *Natus, passus Dominus resurrexit hodie* (19r-20v); the chronicler says Henricus composed both its text and melody. The second song is the hymn *Iesse virgam humidavit*, found on the manuscript at folio 17v.

Salimbene’s narration of Henricus’ death (*De obitu fratris Henrici Pisani*) offers further hints to suggest the possible survival of some of his production.<sup>112</sup> The chronicler says that, when in 1247 Henricus was made Provincial Minister of Romania, he invited Salimbene to go and visit him, accompanied by any fellow he wished.<sup>113</sup> Sadly, Henricus died in Corinth the same year, before Salimbene had the opportunity to accept the invitation.

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<sup>110</sup> Cfr. Mantagu Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1907), 289-92.

<sup>111</sup> Cfr. Deeming, *Songs in British Sources c. 1150 - 1300*, 80-81, 194.

<sup>112</sup> de Adam, *Cronica*, 1, 280-81.

<sup>113</sup> *Hic factus fuit minister in Grecia, que est provintia Romanie, et michi obediens litteram dedit, per quam possem, si michi placeret, ire ad eum et esse de provintia sua, cum quocumque socio voluissem*. Ibid., 281. In this case the name “Romania” identifies a state of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, set up after the Fourth Crusade.

Within his narration of events, Salimbene says that Henricus promised to donate him his Bible, together with a number of other books in his possession: “Furthermore he promised to give me a Bible and many other books”.<sup>114</sup> Salimbene’s words convey sorrow at the loss of his friend, and at the same time highlight the relevance that those books had for the monks. He mentions the “treasure” again, saying that it will be shared among the monks in Corinth:

He predicted the future when, heard by the friars at the Chapter, he said: “Let’s now share the deceased friars’ books, yet it could be that we will be sharing ours shortly”. And it came true that they had to share his books during the same Chapter.<sup>115</sup>

Henricus’ “treasure” would have certainly included books with music. Regrettably, it is unknown to what convent Salimbene is referring to when he mentions Henricus’ death in Corinth. Nevertheless, it is unquestionable that the convent does not exist anymore: it might have been converted into a mosque during the Ottoman reign in the fifteenth century, or more likely destroyed by the devastating earthquake that hit most of the city of Corinth in 1858.

Although no extant evidence prove that Henricus’ music found its way to Greece, some late Byzantine codices now housed at the National Library in Athens hints at Western-Eastern cross-influences. For instance the early 16<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript Athens, National Library of Greece 917 records terms such as *organum* and *tenor*. The 14<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript with call number 2062, compiled at the Gymnasium of Thessaloniki, attributes one of its songs to a ‘Frankish’ (Western) composer. A further fifteenth-century codex (Athens, National Library of Greece 2401, olim 456) from the Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres records instead a Byzantine setting of a possible monophonic Western *Kyrie eleison* and an attribution of a song to a certain ‘Chaviares from the West’.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> *Insuper et promisit michi Bibliam se daturum et alios libros multos*. Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> *Prophetavit autem, sive futura predixit, audientibus fratribus qui in capitulo erant, dicens: «Nunc dividimus libros decedentium fratrum, sed poterit esse quod usque ad breve tempus dividuntur et nostri». Revera ita factum fuit, quia in eodem capitulo fuerunt libri sui divisi*. Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> The linkage between Salimbene’s *Cronica* and the dissemination of the “Notre Dame” repertoire towards the Near East is discussed more in detail in the conference paper Mazzeo, “The *Cronica* by Salimbene de Adam: An Insight into the Dissemination of the *Conductus* Repertoire”.

The passage on the death of Henricus Pisanus marks the end of any recorded information on a generation that lived and flourished within the period 1160-1250, generally associated with the birth and development of the Parisian *conductus*. Beyond the first half of the thirteenth century we find scarce and sporadic information on the corpus – especially within French and insular sources, which confirms that composers were losing interest towards the *conductus*, favouring other contemporary genres, such as the motet.

### 1.2.2. The *Conductus* in Italy after 1250

While the Notre Dame area demonstrates a decreasing interest towards the *conductus* in the period that follows c.1250, the Italian peninsula shows the opposite trend. For instance, we find evidence of this in the episode narrated by Salimbene; there the cardinal Thomas from Capua asks Henricus Pisanus and his fellow brother Vita to compose some music for him (see quote p. 55). Furthermore, we find traces of the presence of Notre Dame-style music in Rome as late as the second half of the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century. Pope Boniface VIII owned quite a remarkable library, which was inventoried several times between 1295 and 1339.<sup>117</sup> Strikingly, the inventory compiled in 1311 records a manuscript, now lost, which featured Notre Dame polyphony, and specifically *conductus*:<sup>118</sup>

Also, one book of conducti, proses, and motets, notated in organal style, with many staves and notes, beginning in the first page with *viderunt*, and ending in the penultimate page with *glorie laus*. It has a wood board binding without cover or clasps.<sup>119</sup>

Peter Jeffery highlights that all the Notre Dame collections of W<sub>1</sub>, F and W<sub>2</sub> similarly open with the organal setting of *Viderunt Omnes*, and that F itself features the song *Exultemus sobrie* (f. 468, which – in fact – ends with the words *glorie laus*).<sup>120</sup> In her 1987 article, Rebecca Baltzer discusses in detail the possible content of this now-lost manuscript, and enumerates the Pope's connections with Paris, in order to justify his curiosity towards Notre Dame's music.<sup>121</sup> Such an interest is undeniable; the Roman curia's musical taste was certainly influenced by Notre Dame. The means by which it

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<sup>117</sup> The inventories are reported in Franz Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae romanorum pontificum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1890). Studies on the library include "Zur Geschichte des Schatzes, der Bibliothek und des Archivs der Päpste in 14. Jahrhundert," in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* (1885), at p; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "La Biblioteca Papale nel Duecento e nel Trecento," in *La biblioteca dei pontefici dall'età antica all'alto Medioevo*, ed. Marco Buonocore (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010): 73-108, at p.

<sup>118</sup> The 1311 inventory is recorded in the manuscript *I-Rvat Arch. Seg. Reg. Av. 65 (452-538)*; it lists 645 manuscripts, some 200 more than those listed in the 1295 inventory.

<sup>119</sup> *Item unum librum de conductis et prosis et motetis, notatum ad modum organi cum multis lineis et notis, qui incipit in primo folio: viderunt, et finit in penultimo: glorie laus, et est in tabulis ligneis sine copertura et clausoriis.* Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae romanorum pontificum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis*, 29.

<sup>120</sup> Peter Jeffery, "Notre Dame Polyphony in the Library of Pope Boniface VIII," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 1 (1979): 118-24, at p. 119.

<sup>121</sup> Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found."

travelled from Paris to Rome were, as previously suggested, people (such as Haymo of Faversham), as well as personal experiences and connections (as claimed by Baltzer). Yet, how can Boniface VIII further our understanding of *conductus* authorship in the late thirteenth century?

New compositions of the late thirteenth century, which originated under the influence of the papal court, show traits that can be clearly traced back to the Notre Dame *conductus*. The manuscript *I-Rvat. Lat. 2854* was registered in the inventory of the papal library in 1311, a few pages after the lost source mentioned above, under the name *Diversiloquium Bonaiuti*:

Also, a small book of different discourses and matters by Bonaiutus de Casentino, with some poetry and some prose, compiled for his master Boniface. It starts in the second folio with *sed quam vitanda*, and ends in the penultimate folio with *super petram*, and has a red leather cover.<sup>122</sup>

The source at issue was compiled between 1292 and 1299 by copyist Giovanni de Romaniola.<sup>123</sup> It represents a heterogeneous assortment of works composed between 1292 and 1297 by Bonaiutus de Casentino, chaplain of pope Boniface VIII around the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>124</sup>

Among the poems found in the *Diversiloquium*, two address Accursino da Pistoia (personal physician to the Pope), and capture particular attention as they concern the illness of the Boniface VIII and are accompanied by musical notation (Figure

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<sup>122</sup> *Item unum opusculum diversarum locutionem et materiarum Bonaiuti de Casentino, nunc metrica nunc prosaice, ad dominum Bonifacium directum, quod incipit in secundo folio: sed quam vitanda, et finit in penultimo: super petram, et habet copertorium de corio rubeo.* Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae romanorum pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis*, 39. For a thorough treatment of the *Diversiloquium* see Marco Petoletti, "Il *Diversiloquium* di Bonaiuto da Casentino, Poeta di Curia ai Tempi di Bonifacio VIII," *Aevum* 75, no. 2 (Maggio-Agosto) (2001): 381-448, at p. 400.

<sup>123</sup> Enzo Petrucci, "Bonaiuto da Casentino," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1969); Thomas Haye, *Päpste und Poeten: die mittelalterliche Kurie als Objekt und Förderer panegyrischer Dichtung* (Walter De Gruyter, 2009), 232-43; Paravicini Bagliani, "La Biblioteca Papale nel Duecento e nel Trecento," 18.

<sup>124</sup> The works were composed between the years 1293 and 1296, according to Bryan R. Gillingham, "Conductus as Analgesic," *Canadian University Music Review/Revue de musique des universités canadiennes* 14 (1994): 49-59, at p. 50. Bonaiutus died in 1295, according to Petoletti, "Il *Diversiloquium* di Bonaiuto da Casentino, Poeta di Curia ai Tempi di Bonifacio VIII," 395. He died around 1302 instead, according to Petrucci, "Bonaiuto da Casentino."

1.1).<sup>125</sup> In the manuscript, the song *Hec medela corporalis* is indicated as a sequence, yet first Leonard Ellinwood and then Brian Gillingham support the hypothesis that the song is in fact a *conductus*. Gillingham seems to agree with Ellinwood's suggestion that *Hec medela* is an example of the style of a form of *conductus* common in Italy in the fourteenth century, which led to the development of the Italian Trecento secular music.<sup>126</sup> Gillingham also gives an assessment of the quality of the song, and infers that it must be a "dilettante conductus, at the least "influenced" by secular song forms, and old-fashioned for its time".<sup>127</sup> *Hec medela* is indeed "old-fashioned" if the point of comparison is the *conductus* that spread over France and the British Isles over a century earlier, and that was by now losing appeal in these countries. However, it is unmistakable evidence of a continuous line that connects that tradition with the Italian peninsula in the late thirteenth century.



Figure 1.1 - I-Vat lat. 2854 (19v-20r), *Hec medela corporalis*

<sup>125</sup> The two songs are found in ff. 20r-22v, the first is the *conductus Hec medela corporalis*, the second is the hymn *Sanguis demptus et retemptus*. The circumstances that concern the composition of *Hec medela corporalis* are thoroughly discussed in Gillingham, "Conductus as Analgesic.", which also offers a transcription of the piece.

<sup>126</sup> Leonard Ellinwood, "The Fourteenth Century in Italy," in *New Oxford History of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986): 42-44, at p; Gillingham, "Conductus as Analgesic," 52. In fact, we have seen in the discussion on Salimbene's chronicle that "sequence" was a broadly used term in thirteenth-century Italy.

<sup>127</sup> "Conductus as Analgesic," 53.

### 1.2.3. Evidence from the Fourteenth Century: Johannes de Perchausen

The life of the *conductus* does not end with the thirteenth century. The genre was kept alive in several parts of Europe; beside France, it spread over Italy (as just discussed), the British Isles, as well as the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>128</sup> The *conductus* also developed in central Europe, as confirmed by the content of the codex *D-Mu Cim 100*, compiled in Moosburg (near modern-day Munich) in the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>129</sup> The relevance of this source lies mainly in the sizable number of *unica* that it transmits, which can help our understanding of the development of the repertoire in the fourteenth century. Among a total of 34 monodic *conducti*, the manuscript features some songs composed by Johannes de Perchausen (also known as Johannes Decanus, fl. c.1350 - 1362).<sup>130</sup> Little is known of his biography; nevertheless, we know that he was appointed dean of the Moosburg church in 1359, a position that explains why he is also identified as Johannes Decanus. A later addition to *D-Mu Cim 100*, found towards the end of the 29<sup>th</sup> fascicle, is introduced by a preface written by Johannes himself, which reveals interesting information about the compilation of the codex and his own contribution to it:

I, John, with the surname de Perchausen, dean of the Moosburg church, before I was raised into the deanship, [was] the first in the Moosburg church translating the usual chant into musical notation. And ... also the first in this church writing

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<sup>128</sup> On the *conductus* in Britain between the thirteenth and the fourteenth century see Malyshko, "The English Conductus Repertory: A Study of Style." On Spain cfr. David Catalunya, "(Title TBC)" (PhD Dissertation, University of Würzburg, forthcoming).

<sup>129</sup> The manuscript is also known as the "Moosburger Graduale". For detailed information on the codex see Hans Spanke, "Das Moosburger Graduale," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 50 (1930): 582-95, at; Walther Lipphardt, "Weihnachtslieder aus dem Moosburger Cationale von 1360," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 117, no. 3 (1955), at; Franz A. Stein, "Das Moosburger Graduale" (Dissertation, Universität Freiburg im Breisgau, 1956); Walter Waidosch, *Das Moosburger Graduale von 1360* (Vlotho: AG Musik, Szene, Spiel OWL, 2000). For a facsimile edition see: , *Moosburger Graduale, München Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 156: Faksimile mit einer Einleitung und Registern*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Bayerische Musikgeschichte (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1996).

<sup>130</sup> Four are *conducti*: *Ad cultum tue laudis* (242r(241r)-242v(241v)); *Castis psallamus mentibus* (232r(231r)-232v(231v)); *Mos florentis venustatis* (232v(231v)); *Flos campi profert lilium* (241v(240v)-242r(241r)). A fifth is the *Benedicamus* trope *Florizet vox dulcisonans* (249v-250r). The codex records other *unica* that were probably written around the same decades as those of Johannes.

musical books, and, having been written, donating them to this church for the conservation and augmentation of the divine worship.<sup>131</sup>

These words clearly point towards a mainly oral transmission of music; this passage in fact highlights that Johannes was responsible for notating some music, the *usualem cantum*, which was not previously available on parchment at that church. Johannes was undoubtedly an active musician: not only did he copy already existing music for his fellow singers, but he also composed and wrote down his own tunes. In fact, as suggested by David Hiley, he was probably the copyist who took care of the music in *D-Mu Cim 100*.<sup>132</sup> A further paragraph of the preface mentioned above is specifically dedicated to his own compositions:

The following songs, formerly often sung from antiquity also in major churches with the schoolboys' bishop, along with a few modern [songs] and also with some of my own [songs], which formerly, when I had been the rector of the schoolboys, I composed for the praise of the Lord's Nativity and of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>133</sup>

This note gives two important details: the first concerns the date of composition of Johannes' own songs. He says he wrote them when he was *rector scholarium*, not long before he was appointed dean at Moosburg church (1359). The second concerns the repertoire he was copying on the manuscript, and in particular his distinction between antique and modern songs. This issue has recently been investigated by Brewer, who attempted to assign each of the songs included in the manuscript to its relative category. "Antique" and "modern" then, according to Brewer, would correspond to circa thirteenth-century or fourteenth-century sources respectively.<sup>134</sup> Beside the

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<sup>131</sup> *Ego Johannes cognomine de Perchausen, Decanus ecclesie Mosburgensis, antequam in decanum essem assumptus, primus in ecclesia Mosburgensi usualem cantum in musicam transferens. Et ... canonicorum ecclesie Mospurgensi felicis recordacionis, eciam primus in hac ecclesia libros musicales conscribens, et conscriptus huic ecclesie largiens pro conservacione et augmento divini cultus.* The translation, with minor changes, is taken from Charles E. Brewer, "The songs of Johannes Decanus," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 20, no. 1 (2011): 31-49, at p. 34.

<sup>132</sup> *Moosburger Graduale, München Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Cod. ms. 156: Faksimile mit einer Einleitung und Registern, XI-XVII.*

<sup>133</sup> *Infra scriptas canciones, olim ab antiquiis eciam in maioribus ecclesiis cum scolarium Episcopo decantatas, paucis modernis, eciam aliquibus propriis, quas olim, cum Rector fuissem Scolariū, pro laude nativitatis domini et beate virginis composui.* Translation from "The songs of Johannes Decanus," 34.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

categorisation of the songs, what is of more interest to us is that the passage above confirms a specific linkage with the old tradition of Notre Dame;<sup>135</sup> Johannes was not only copying music indiscriminately from other sources, he was consciously recording old music to preserve it and possibly to make it available for posterity.

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<sup>135</sup> The quote also recalls a passage from Anonymous IV's treatise, where he mentions some "ancient *conducti*". The passage is discussed later at p. 151.

### 1.3. Generic Interplay: *Quisquis cordis et oculi*, *Vite perdit me legi* and Occitan *Contrafacta*

The previous sections indicated that one single poem of *conductus* could be subject to multiple musical settings, as well as textual reworking. However, such a particular understanding of the concept of authorship, unfamiliar to contemporary practice, did not concern only texts but music as well. In fact, cases of music borrowing were relatively common; these could cross the boundaries of the sole Latin repertoire and involve also vernacular genres, such as the Occitan and French secular monody. Songs that exploit music borrowed from elsewhere were known in the Middle Ages as *contrafacta*; the *conductus* repertoire shares music with circa 70 poems written in vernacular languages such as French, English, Anglo-Norman, German, Occitan, and Portugues-Galician. *Contrafacere* was at the centre of medieval creativity. In the middle ages this term did not mean the mere substitution of a new set of words for an existing tune, but had more active connotations.

The artist of the *contrafactum* was more than an idle recycler: he was rather a new author. The school of Notre Dame itself developed most of its repertoire following a creative process that involved the re-working of pre-existent material, and in doing so, set a trend that strongly influenced the future development of Western music culture.<sup>136</sup> The process of re-creating, re-inventing, re-using musical material is the mirror of a culture that relied predominantly on oral transmission. As far as these processes are concerned, the *contrafactum* embodies a remarkable mirror of cultural interactions between the sacred and the secular environments. One particular example of this are the *conducti Quisquis cordis et oculi* and *Vite perdit me legi* and their Occitan *contrafacta*. This case study will be used to illustrate the interaction between the *conductus* and the Occitan repertoire.

The present understanding of music authorship, which coincides with that of “intellectual property”, might suggest centring on the question “who wrote the music first?”; yet, we should also ask ourselves “how” the various versions differ from each other, and to what degree. The focus on the “how” may not provide author attributions;

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<sup>136</sup> For an examination of the common compositional practice of music borrowing in the centuries following the Middle Ages see Honey Meconi, *Early Musical Borrowing* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

but it will help define the nature of such cultural crossover. Imitation grounds the structure of medieval creative process to such a degree that “plagiarism” was often seen more as a cunning expedient than simple theft.<sup>137</sup>

The first tune considered here was used for the *conductus Quisquis cordis et oculi*, whose poem is by Philip the Chancellor. It is also set to the well-known Occitan song *Can vei la lauzeta mover*, by the troubadour Bernard de Ventadorn. The second melody sets to music Peter of Blois’ *Vite perdit me legi* and Peirol’s *Per dan que d’amor m’aveigna*.<sup>138</sup> Other poems sharing the same music are listed in the tables that follow (Table 1.10 and 1.11). According to the extant sources, the two tunes mentioned above are the only cases of interaction between the Latin repertoire of *conducti* and the Occitan corpus of the troubadours.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> The troubadour Arnaut Daniel was involved in a famous episode. The *razo* for his song *Anc ieu non l'aic mas elha m'a* tells that Richard I the Lionheart engaged him and another poet in a challenge. The two musicians were given ten days to compose a song, the best song was to win. According to the *razo*, Arnaut spied on his opponent in order to copy his song; at the end of the tenth day he offered to sing first. Obviously his opponent could not repeat the same song, and consequently lost the challenge. For the full text of the *razo* see Guido Favati, ed., *Le biografie trovadoriche; testi provenzali dei secc. XIII e XIV* (Bologna: Libreria antiquaria Palmaverde, 1961), 211. On “plagiarism” in the Middle Ages cfr. Morris Bishop, *The Middle Ages* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1970), 256. Edward Grant, *The Foundations of Modern Science in the Middle Ages: Their Religious, Institutional, and Intellectual Contexts* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 13.

<sup>138</sup> This *conductus* is recorded as monody in *D-Mbs* clm. 4660 (4r-4v), and in two-voice polyphony in *F* (356r).

<sup>139</sup> For the sake of completeness there are two further *contrafacta* whose vernacular versions are French-Occitan hybrids: *A l'entrada del tens clar* which is found in *F-Pn* fr. 20050, and shares the same music with the *conductus Veris ad imperia*, and *Gent menais del cais* which is a *contrafactum* of *Veritas equitas largitas* and it is featured in two other Parisian sources – both are anonymous (*F-Pn* fr. 12615, and *F-Pn* fr. 844). These hybrids will not be included in this discussion.

Table 1.10 - *Quisquis cordis et oculi* and its *Contrafacta*

Title	Poem Attribution	Music Attribution	Language
<i>Can vei la lauzeta mover</i>	Bernard de Ventadorn	Bernard de Ventadorn	Occitan
<i>Seyner mil gracias ti rent</i>	?	?	Occitan
<i>Quisquis cordis et oculi</i>	Philip the Chancellor	Philip the Chancellor, Henricus Pisanus	Latin
<i>Amis qui est li mieus vaillant</i>			French
<i>Plain d'ire et desconfort</i>			French
<i>Li cuers si vait de l'oïl plaignant</i>	Philip the Chancellor	?	French

Table 1.11 - *Vite perdit me legi* and its *Contrafacta*

Title	Poem Attribution	Music Attribution	Language
<i>A l'entrant del tans salvage</i>	Hue de S. Quentin	Hue de S. Quentin	French
<i>Vite perdit me legi</i>	Peter of Blois	?	Latin
<i>Per dan que d'amor m'aveigna</i>	Peirol	Peirol	Occitan

On the contrary, cases of interaction between the Latin and the French repertoires were much more common, as the tables above clearly suggest. At least fifty such cases can be counted within the whole *conductus* repertoire. The divergence is therefore mirrored in scholarly studies; Hans Tischler's thorough examination of the relationship between *conducti* and vernacular songs represents clear sign of such a

discrepancy.<sup>140</sup> This recent work mostly sheds light on northern-French and partly German repertoires, and the lack of focus on other vernacular traditions is self-evident. Explanations for such a solid interaction between *conducti* composers and *trouvères* can probably be put down to geographical movement, which also explains the paucity of Occitan *contrafacta*.

*Can vei la lauzeta mover* appears in several studies, where it is generally considered as the original manifestation of this tune, among the long list of songs that share the same music.<sup>141</sup> Despite issues of authorship, of more interest here is the relationship between the repertoires, their interaction, and the way counterfeiting affected different musical cultures.

*Can vei la lauzeta mover* is attributed to the troubadour Bernard de Ventadorn (c.1130-c.1190) in several sources, among them *F-Pn* fr. 22543 and *F-Pn* fr. 844. Four further songs complete the list of *contrafacta*: the French *Amis qui est li mieus vaillant*, *Plain d'ire et desconfort*, *Li cuers si vait de l'oil plaignant*, and the Occitan *Seyner mil gracias ti rent*.<sup>142</sup> The poem of the Latin *contrafactum* *Quisquis cordis et oculi* has been attributed to several authors. While its ascription to Walter Map in the manuscript *GB-Cccc* 481 is unlikely,<sup>143</sup> it can be safely attributed, as previously mentioned, to Philip the Chancellor (according with Salimbene de Adam, who also credits the music to Henricus Pisanus).<sup>144</sup>

The attribution of *Quisquis cordis et oculi*'s music as delivered in F is complicated.<sup>145</sup> The passage in which Salimbene credits the music to Henricus is ambiguous (p. 55). Yet it is not unrealistic that Henricus' music could have travelled to Paris in time to be recorded in F. On the other hand it is also possible that Henricus simply wrote different music that does not survive in any extant source. At the time when Salimbene met Henricus, around 1240s, the poem was widely disseminated across

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<sup>140</sup> Hans Tischler, *Conductus and Contrafacta*, Musicological Studies (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2001).

<sup>141</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 88-93; Quinlan, "A Melody Lodged in the Heart: Contextualising *Can vei la lauzeta mover* and its *Contrafacts*."

<sup>142</sup> *Li cuers si vait de l'oil plaignant* is attributed to Philip the Chancellor in *F-Pn* fr. 20050.

<sup>143</sup> Walter Map, *De nugis curialium* [Courtiers' trifles], Montague Rhodes James, Christopher Nugent, and Lawrence Brooke ed. (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1983).

<sup>144</sup> de Adam, *Cronica*, 1, 277.

<sup>145</sup> For a discussion of *Quisquis cordis et oculi*'s authorship see p.56.

Europe, and was probably subjected to several music settings. The text is in fact preserved without music by 27 sources, compiled across Europe (Switzerland, Czech Republic, Germany, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Poland).<sup>146</sup> The music, on the other hand, is only recorded in manuscripts compiled in French regions,<sup>147</sup> with the exception of *I-Rss XIV L3*, which is of Italian origin yet also records the same music found in the French sources.<sup>148</sup> Although it is possible that Salimbene used *I-Rss XIV L3* (or a related source) as a reference, this would have happened at a later stage in the compilation of the chronicle.<sup>149</sup>

*Quisquis cordis et oculi* is a strophic *conductus*; its seven stanzas are recorded in almost all sources. Among musical sources the only exception is F, which presents the first stanza only and no room is left on the page for the remaining six stanzas (Figure 1.2). Within F this is not an exception; in several other cases only the first stanza of strophic *conducti* is recorded.<sup>150</sup> This suggests that a complementary manuscript of poems was available at Notre Dame, featuring the full lyrics. Furthermore, the existence of a collection of texts without music would explain the wide circulation of some lyrics as poems rather than as songs.

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<sup>146</sup> Find a complete list in Appendix 2.

<sup>147</sup> F (437v); *GB-Lbl Egerton 274* (24v-25r); *F-Pn lat. 8433* (46r).

<sup>148</sup> For a bibliography on the manuscript cfr. Sölch, “Cod. XIV L3 saec. XIII des dominikanischen Ordensarchivs in Rom ein neuer Zeuge frühdominikanischer Liturgieentwicklung.”; Husmann, “Ein Faszikel Notre-Dame-Kompositionen auf Texte des Pariser Kanzlers Philipp in einer Dominikanerhandschrift (Rom, Santa Sabina XIV L 3).”

<sup>149</sup> According to Sölch the manuscript was compiled after the reform of the Dominican liturgy conducted by Humbert of Romans in 1256, when Henricus was already dead. Cfr. Sölch, “Cod. XIV L3 saec. XIII des dominikanischen Ordensarchivs in Rom ein neuer Zeuge frühdominikanischer Liturgieentwicklung,” 165-81.

<sup>150</sup> For instance the song *Homo considera* (that shortly follows *Quisquis cordis et oculi* in F at folios 438r-438v). *Homo considera* also has French *contrafacta*: *De Yesse Naistra*, *F-Pn NAF 1050* (266r-266v); *L'autrier m'iere leves*, *F-Pn fr. 20050* (91v), both anonymous; and *Je chant comme desves* by Jacques de Hesdin, *F-Pa 5198* (239r-240r); *F-Pn fr. 845* (116v-117r); *F-Pn fr. 847* (120v-121r); *F-Pn NAF 1050* (162v-163r).

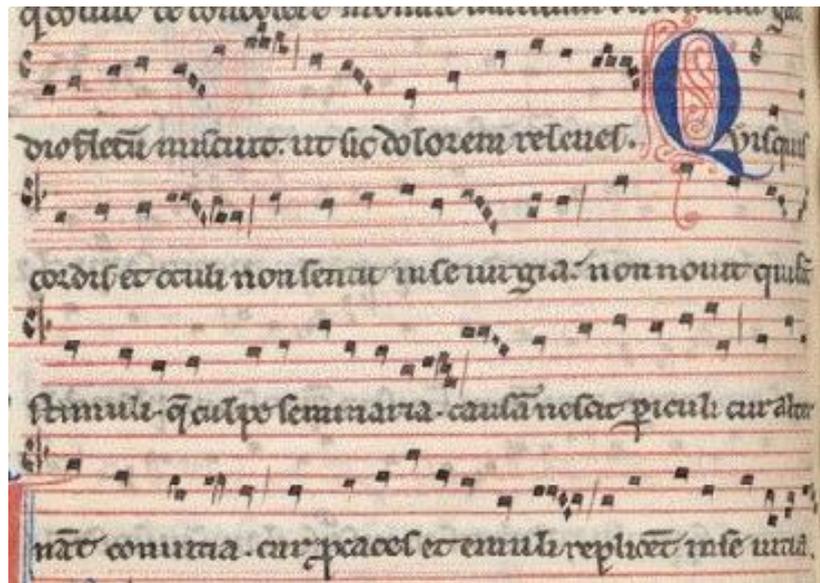


Figure 1.2 - F (437v), *Quisquis cordis et oculi*

This poem can only be dated between the 1180s and 1236, as it is credited to Philip the Chancellor (c.1160-1236), while the text of its *contrafactum* *Can vei la lauzeta mover* was probably written earlier, around the mid-twelfth century.<sup>151</sup> Consequently, the period during which the melody could have been written overlaps by about two decades (c.1180s-1190s), leaving no chance to state which of the two poems was first to be set to the music they share in the extant sources. The wide dissemination of *Quisquis cordis et oculi* as a poem, and of *Can vei la lauzeta mover* as a song, should not simply lead to the conclusion that Bernard preceded Philip – or Henricus – writing the tune. Furthermore, it is not impossible that the music could have existed beforehand.

The sources for *Quisquis cordis et oculi*'s several *contrafacta* reveal processes of melody adaptation. The analysis of the discrepancies between the variants of *Can vei la lauzeta mover* shows that the *lectio* of *F-Pn* fr. 844 is more linked to *Quisquis cordis et oculi* than to other testimonies of the Occitan song itself featured in *F-Pn* fr. 22543 and in *I-Ma* R 71 sup. In general, musical incongruities between variants of both songs are generally more quantitative (e.g. embellishments in place of a single note) than qualitative (different pitches), and sometimes highlight choices due to language needs, as the comparison of the first lines of *Can vei la lauzeta mover* and *Quisquis cordis et oculi* demonstrates (Music Example 1.1):

<sup>151</sup> Bernard de Ventadorn was born between 1130 and 1147, and he probably died in the 1190s.

F-Pn f. 844  
8  
Quan vei l'a-lo-e-te mo-ver de joi ses a-les-con-tre al-rai

F-Pn f. 22543  
8  
Can vei la lau-ze-ta mo-ver-de joi sas a-las con-tra.l rai

F  
8  
Quis-quis cor-dis et o-cu-li non sen-tit in se iur-gi-a

Music Example 1.1 - *Quisquis cordis et oculi/Can vei la lauzeta mover*, First Two Lines

While *F-Pn* fr. 22543 shows a melisma on the last two syllables of the line (*mover*), *F* and *F-Pn* fr. 844 start embellishing from the antepenultimate syllables: respectively *-te mover* and *oculi*. The choices of both *F-Pn* fr. 22543 and *F* are justified, since the melisma starts on the last stressed syllable of the line (respectively *mo-* and *o-*). On the contrary *F-Pn* fr. 22543 highlights the weak syllable *-te*, a choice that would not find explanation unless we hypothesise a link between *F-Pn* fr. 844 and *F*'s *lectio*. The closer relationship between *F* and *F-Pn* fr. 844 is repeated on the fourth line of the songs.

F-Pn f. 844  
8  
per la dou-cor qu'el cor li vai he-tan granz en-vi-de m'en pren

F-Pn f. 22543  
8  
per la dos-sor-c'al cor li vay ai las tal en-ve-ya m'en-ve

F  
8  
que cul-pe se-mi-na-ri-a cau-sam ne-scit pe-ri-cu-li

Music Example 1.2 - *Quisquis cordis et oculi/Can vei la lauzeta mover*, Fourth and Fifth Lines

There, both the two codices present syllabic music over the entire line, while *F-Pn* fr. 22543 delivers an embellished passage on the fourth syllable *-sor*. Similarly, *F* and *F-Pn* fr. 844 start the following line (Music Example 1.2) with a four-note melisma on the syllables *he!* and *cau-*, and proceed with syllabic music. In *F-Pn* fr. 22543 this passage seems inverted, as the line ends with a melisma on the penultimate syllable *m'en-*. One last example is found in the seventh line (Music Example 1.3), on the

penultimate and anti-penultimate syllables: *F-Pn* fr. 22543 proceeds with an interval of an upper second, while *F* and *F-Pn* fr. 844 both begin a third down.

Music Example 1.3 - *Quisquis cordis et oculi/Can vei la lauzeta mover*, Seventh Lines

The second case-study involves the Occitan poem *Per dan que d'amor m'avegna*, written by the troubadour Peirol, and the Latin *Vite perdit me legi* by Peter of Blois.<sup>152</sup> Peirol's birth date is considered to be around 1160,<sup>153</sup> and it is assumed that he composed most of his works between 1185<sup>154</sup> and 1221 or 1222, after which date he appears to have been in Italy.<sup>155</sup> The Latin author, Peter of Blois, appears to have been a few decades older, since he lived between 1135 and 1211.<sup>156</sup> As for the previous case, the two authors still share a period of activity towards the turn of the thirteenth century (c.1175-1210), which makes it impossible to infer which of the two poems was first set to the extant melody.

The date of the manuscript is of no help in dating the composition. Most of the featured songs of both *I-Ma* R 71 sup and *F* are considered to have been composed much earlier than the actual compilation of the codices, specifically in the twelfth century.<sup>157</sup> *D-Mbs* clm. 4660 (also known as the "Codex Buranus") is the oldest

<sup>152</sup> *Vite perdit me legi* is a two-voice *conductus* recorded in *F* (356r), but a monodic version is also found in *D-Mbs* clm. 4660 (4r-4v). *Per dan que d'amor m'avegna* is recorded in *I-Ma* R 71 sup (46r-46v).

<sup>153</sup> Samuel N. Rosenberg, ed., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouveres: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (Taylor & Francis, 1997), 135.

<sup>154</sup> Shortly before the Third Crusade, about which he composed the *tenso Quant Amors trobèt partit*.

<sup>155</sup> Rosenberg, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouveres: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies*.

<sup>156</sup> Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*. 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1965).

<sup>157</sup> *I-Ma* R 71 sup – where we find the attribution of the Occitan song to Peirol – was copied within the last 30 years of the thirteenth century, while *F* was copied towards the 1240s.

Concerning the date of *F* see Baltzer, "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date

manuscript among the group taken into consideration for this study and also contains a repertory originating during the late twelfth century,<sup>158</sup> but it is different from the previous sources as it delivers adiaSTEMATIC neumes rather than squared staved neumes.

It is clear, then, that biographical information and data inferred from the sources are of little or no benefit to the dating of the melody. Yet, they help the description of how the repertoires influenced each other, and the process of circulation of this music. Between 1209 and 1229 the cruel Albigensian crusade replaced a period of relative quiet in France, and it may be considered the main event that saw northern and southern French cultures interacting and influencing each other. In particular, the city of Toulouse can be reckoned as the crossroad of this network. In a 1997 article, Elizabeth Aubrey pointed out that the southern – Occitan – culture affected northern France more than *vice versa*, finding evidence from the production and geographical dissemination of *troubadour* and *trouvère* sources.<sup>159</sup> The fact that most of the main Occitan sources have been copied in non-Occitan regions, while manuscripts with French lyrics have been mainly produced within the area in which they actually originated, proves her claim.

Aubrey's statement may be accurate in that she focussed on the vernacular repertoire only, but as far as the relation of the Occitan culture with Latin productions is concerned, we must be more cautious in positing which tradition might have affected the other. *Per dan que d'amor* is one of the 18 songs by Peirol that survives with music. The only source containing musical information for this vernacular testimony is *I-Ma R 71 sup* (46r-46v). As previously mentioned, two *contrafacta* of this song exist with French or Latin verses. Besides Peter of Blois' *conductus Vite perdit me legi*, we find a French variant: *A l'entrant del tans salvage* by the *trouvère* Hue de Saint-Quentin.<sup>160</sup> While the abundant number of text-only sources of *Quisquis cordis et oculi* led us to the hypothesis that it might have originally circulated as a poem, the consistent and large

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of the Florence Manuscript," 17; Everist, "Reception and Recomposition in the Polyphonic "Conductus cum caudis": The Metz Fragment," 146. On the date of *I-Ma R 71 sup* cfr. Francesco Carapezza, *Il canzoniere occitano G (Ambrosiano R 71 sup.)* (Napoli: Liguori, 2004), 11.

<sup>158</sup> It dates from around 1230.

<sup>159</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey, "The Dialectic Between Occitania and France in the Thirteenth Century," *Early Music History* 16 (1997), at p. 1-53.

<sup>160</sup> Sources for this song are *F-Pn fr. 844* (81v); *F-Pn fr. 15211* (43r). For the sake of consistency, the discussion will focus solely on the comparative study of the Occitan and the Latin songs.

number of music sources for this second case suggests that both *Vite perditte me legi* and *Per dan que d'amor* might instead have always been intended as songs.

Since each source presents a different *mise en page*, a look at how the songs have been graphically designed in these manuscripts might help the comparative description of the variants. In *I-Ma R 71 sup* the first two stanzas of *Per dan que d'amor* are set to music, then the rest are text only (Figure 1.3 and Figure 1.4). Considering that this song is musically strophic, this particular setting looks quite unconventional: within this repertoire – and specifically this manuscript –<sup>161</sup> we would expect music to appear only once, only for the first stanza. The copyist's purpose was possibly to highlight the *coblas dobla*, the poetic peculiarity of the song,<sup>162</sup> instead of any music characteristics.

Compared to *Per dan que d'amor*, the French *contrafactum* shows a more conventional setting; the first stanza alone is set to music, while the rest of the poem is without melody. *Vite perditte me legi* interestingly delivers two different musical variants of the same song: the counterfeited music material is shared between the tenor of a polyphonic version and a monody. F, compared to the other sources, records the first stanza only. It seems to imply, as in the previous case of *Quisquis cordis et oculi*, that the whole poem was easily accessible somewhere else.

On the contrary, the monody found in *D-Mbs clm. 4660* not only displays the whole poem, but it has been completely notated with staffless neumes. Yet, this should not surprise us, and does not devalue the hypothesis that the song might have circulated first as a poem. In fact, such idiosyncrasies are typical of the whole manuscript. More than one piece with testimonies in both F and *D-Mbs clm. 4660* presents analogous relationships. For instance the *conducti: Ave nobilis, O varium fortune* and, to some degree, *Procurans odium*.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Giulio Bertoni, *Il canzoniere provenzale della Biblioteca Ambrosiana R. 71. sup*, Gedruckt für die Gesellschaft für romanische literatur (Dresden: Max Niemeyer, 1912), ix.

<sup>162</sup> *Coblas dobla* literally means “double stanza”, i.e. rimes changing every two stanzas. For more detailed description of this poetical form see Frank M. Chambers, *An Introduction to Old Provençal Versification* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1985), 22-24. On the manuscript page the opening notes for the third stanza are also sketched, and immediately below them the remaining part of the poem (stanzas 3 to 7) is given with no music, implying that the music is strophic, and must be repeated.

<sup>163</sup> Although it is not possible to fully develop this matter in this chapter, in all the above mentioned cases *D-Mbs clm. 4660* delivers all the stanzas that constitute the poems, with the

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pertinent monodic music, as it does for *Vite Perdite*. The F versions carry the first stanzas only, set in polyphony. Music and rhyme structures are remarkably similar as well.

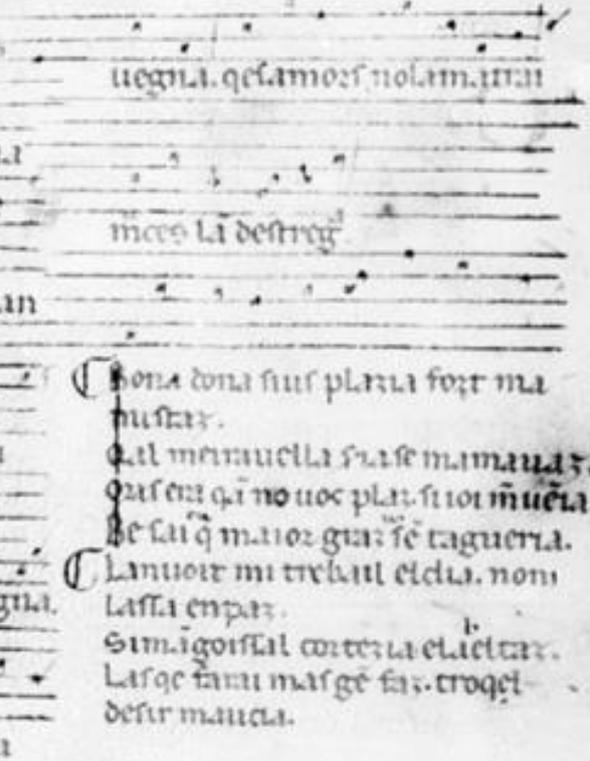
<p>         Sil diuinam qom fai.          Rom auégues atener.          Pehò mòs cors ues acis.          Ves lei on qelsa.          Se fin amors iog' ella.          Tal qes loig' d' son paus.          Peri part la cors del ris.          Don anc boi no toinet chui.          No creax qem pogues lai.          Retener nulz p'adis.          Tam ai assis mon uoler.          En mi dolz amia.          Ae senes lei si poria.          Regus. ultre iois plazer.          Chan son oi mais por tener.          Ves mi donz ta uia.          Ae u sai ben qella uolria.          Et audir emi uerzer.       </p>	 <p>         m. n. nom deigna meguna          lon entrefeg. de lei nò ai qeia          o seil ni prò tegna. del mal qeu          tui. po sila p'eria. qe d' mil so       </p>
<p>         idem.       </p> <p> <b>P</b> fidam qe d' amor m. uegna          nol. xrenu. qe iois echa nom an          tegna. tan ouuini. esin sui          entales mal. nola' qem de uegna.          Car cil onon cor' esta. uer ca       </p>	 <p>         uegna. qe amor' nol am. itai          mces la destreg'          bona dona sius plaria foiz ma          nistaz.          qal meiuella siuse m. amauaz.          qus em q' no uoc plar. si ioi m' uela.          se lai q' maior gra' se taguena.          Lanuoir mi trehul elcia. non          lassa en par.          Sim. i gois lai cor' teza elictaz.          Las qe fami mas ge' far. troqel          desir maucia.       </p>

Figure 1.3 - *I-Ma R 71 sup (49r)*



Figure 1.4 - I-Ma R 71 sup (49v)

When it comes to the prosody, Peirol's poem (for which the first stanza is given in Table 1.12) has an *ababbaba* rhyme scheme, and on the whole it represents a clear example of *coblas doblas*, as anticipated. Specifically, in the first two stanzas the rhymed syllables are *-igna* and *-ai*, whilst in the third and fourth stanzas *-ia* and *-atz*. Finally in the last three stanzas *-atge* and *-es* alternate each other.

Table 1.12 - *Per dan que d'amor m'aveigna*, First Stanza

Rhymes	Music	Poem	Translation
a	<b>A</b>	<i>Per dan que d'amor m'aveigna</i>	<i>Although hurt may come to me from love</i>
b		<i>Non laissarai</i>	<i>I shall not cease</i>
a	<b>A</b>	<i>Que joi e chan no manteigna</i>	<i>to uphold joy and song</i>
b		<i>Tan cant viurai</i>	<i>as long as I shall live</i>
b	<b>B</b>	<i>E si.m sui en tal esmai</i>	<i>and yet I am in such trouble</i>
a		<i>Non sai que.m deveigna,</i>	<i>that I know not what may happen to me</i>
b	<b>B'</b>	<i>Quar cill, on mos cors m'atrai,</i>	<i>for I see that she to whom my heart attracts me</i>
a		<i>Vei qu'amar no.m deigna.</i>	<i>does not deign to love me</i>

The *conductus*' rhyme scheme is far less self-evident than its vernacular parallel, and it is subjected to divergent scholarly interpretations. On the one hand Anderson suggests a ten-line stanza reading;<sup>245</sup> on the other hand Hendrik Van der Werf, whose main concern is the Occitan variant, gives *Vite Perdite* an eight-line stanza interpretation that is clearly influenced by his analysis of *Per dan que d'amor*.<sup>246</sup> As a consequence, we face two different, although both possible, stanza readings of the same song: one in ten lines, another one in eight lines (cfr. Table 1.13).

Such a discrepancy is due to poetical and musical features. The main poetic difference lies in the rhyme scheme. *Vite perdit me legi* displays an internal rhyme in the first line (*vite perdit / me legi*) and in the third line (*minus licite / dum fregi*) that does not correspondingly appear in *Per dan que d'amor*.

<sup>245</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, 27-29.

<sup>246</sup> Hendrik van der Werf, ed., *The Extant Troubadour Melodies* (Rochester, New York, 1984), 269\*-72\*.

Table 1.13 - *Vite perditē me legi*, Different Readings

Anderson's Reading	Syllables	Rhymes	Music	Van der Werf's Reading	Syllables	Rhymes	Music
<i>Vite perditē</i>	5	a	a	<i>Vite perditē / me legi</i>	8	a	ab
<i>Me legi</i>	3	b	b				
<i>Subdideram</i>	4	c	c	<i>Subdideram</i>	4	b	c
<i>Minus licite</i>	5	a	a'	<i>Minus licite / dum fregi</i>	8	a	a'b'
<i>Dum fregi,</i>	3	b	b'				
<i>Quod voveram,</i>	4	c	c'	<i>Quod voveram,</i>	4	b	c'
<i>Sed ad vite vesperam</i>	7	c	d	<i>Sed ad vite vesperam</i>	7	b	d
<i>Corrigendum legi,</i>	6	b	e	<i>Corrigendum legi,</i>	6	a	e
<i>Quicquid ante perperam</i>	7	c	d'	<i>Quicquid ante perperam</i>	7	b	d'
<i>Puerilis egi</i>	6	b	e'	<i>Puerilis egi</i>	6	a	e'

*Vite perditē / me legi* can be either read as a single line, rhyming *minus licite / dum fregi*, or split into two different lines, as they will still match (in both rhyme and number of syllables) their own following verses. On the contrary *Per dan que d'amor* does not show any internal rhyme that could allow us to split the lines accordingly. Furthermore, such splitting would corrupt the whole *coblas doblas* structure. As a consequence, a reading that takes into account both the Occitan and the Latin poems would likely opt for eight-line stanzas, as van der Werf does,<sup>247</sup> whilst the obvious reading that follows the sole analysis of the Latin *contrafactum* would suggest ten lines instead. Further evidence of such a discrepancy comes from some notational characteristics. The examination of *Vite perditē me legi*'s variant in F reveals a graphical division between the words *perditē* and *me legi* (Figure 1.5).

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., 269\*-72\*.



Figure 1.5 - F (356r), *Vite perditte me legi*

The vertical stroke separates the two sections in both the upper part and the tenor. Whatever we consider this stroke – a breath, a rest or just a *silbenstrich* –<sup>248</sup> it highlights the importance of the rhyme between *perditte* and *licite*, giving them a graphical recognition. According to this *silbenstrich*, we can reasonably separate the two lines at this point.<sup>249</sup> The second part of the stanza is not symmetrical to the first. The lines *sed a vite / vesperam* and *quicquid ante / perperam* should not be split, despite containing an internal consonance between *vite* and *ante*; furthermore, the manuscript does not show any graphical division following these words.

In musical terms, the tune is made of a regular sequence of ten five-to-seven *neume*-phrases, which would fit the ten-line stanza interpretation of the poem. Yet,

<sup>248</sup> The concept of *Silbenstrich*, a vertical stroke drawn through part of the staff to indicate a change of syllable, was first introduced in: Ludwig, *Repertorium Organorum Recentioris et Motetorum Vetustissimi Stili*, Vol. 1, 49. This represents a mere graphical aid for the reader, and carries no specific rhythmic value.

<sup>249</sup> As in Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 5, 27-29.

Aubrey suggests that the tune has an ABA'B' CDC'D' structure, where again each letter corresponds to a line of the poems, according to the eight-line stanza reading, which best matches the Occitan text.<sup>250</sup> These two musical interpretations clearly mirror different understandings arising from the study of the same tune in either its Latin version or its Occitan *contrafactum*. In view of these elements we can hypothesise that the tune fits the Latin poem better than its Occitan variant. In fact, its melodic structure (ten equally-long segments) seems purposely composed to fit a ten-line stanza poem (*Vite perditte me legi*), rather than a shorter one (*Per dan que d'amor*).

However, according to Aubrey, a melodic discrepancy between the sources would instead suggest Peirol's original authorship.<sup>251</sup> The starting note of *Per dan que d'amor* is *c*, while in all of the other *contrafacta* the melody starts on *g*. Since the music is strophic, and in all versions the stanza ends on *g*, the interval between these two notes will be a lower fifth in *Per dan que d'amor*, not uncommon in troubadour music,<sup>252</sup> and would instead make a unison in all the other versions. As this *g-c* gap is featured in the troubadour version only, but in none of the other *contrafacta* (neither in *A l'entrant del tans salvage*, nor in *Vite perditte me legi*), Aubrey is perhaps applying here, to some degree, the *lectio difficilior*. It is true that Peirol's melodies often show even wider jumps between the end of a stanza and the following reprise of its music,<sup>253</sup> yet the unison is by far the most common interval. If we are willing to agree that the composer of F's *Vite perditte me legi* is borrowing the melody from Peirol to build a polyphonic setting, we should accept that he has deliberately changed the pitch of the very first note with the purpose to simplify this passage, while at the same time several other jumps of a fifth throughout the tune are not subjected to any sort of modification. This option is highly unlikely; it is instead more probable that the version of the music set to *Vite perditte me legi* is older than that of *Per dan que d'amor*. However, the absence of any clear evidence to support either of the two possibilities impedes the delineation of any chronological antecedence.

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<sup>250</sup> Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, 164.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, 166-68.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, 166, 225-26.

<sup>253</sup> Upper fifths in *Mout m'entremis de chantar voluntiers* and *D'un sonet vau pensan*, upper sixths in *Ben dei chantar puois amors m'o enseigna* and *M'entencion ai tot' en un vers mesa*. Some other songs present a jump of an upper third (*Camjat ai mon consirier* and *Mainta gens mi malrazona*); some others an upper second (*Atressi co.l signes fai* and *Si be.m sui loing et entre gent estraigna*), or octave (*Nuills hom no s'auci tan gen*).

## 1.4. Conclusion

Since poets and composers from most areas of the Christian Europe contributed to the birth, expansion, and development of the *conductus*, no univocal understanding of the concept of authorship is possible. Yet, “multiple authorship” does not only mean that this rich repertoire was created by people from all over Europe. On a practical level, it means that extant testimonies of the songs themselves represent only some of the several overlapping layers of musical, and sometimes textual, reworking.

For the purpose of this study, examples of single author attributions are of crucial importance, as they may help to describe the vibrant picture of *conductus* authorship. Some contributors have consciously considered themselves composers of *conductus*. Yet it has been suggested that the repertoire drew heavily on pre-existent material, all part of that “web of knowledge” shared by most literates of the time.

The discussion built on some poets, active within the mid-twelfth century, who certainly experienced the very birth of the corpus. These are, for instance, Godfrey of St Victor, who was at the University of Paris around 1144-1155, or even Guy of Bazoches, canon of Châlons-sur-Marne in the second half of the twelfth century. This section highlighted that the *conductus* generated within a multifaceted and complex cultural background, introducing the concept of “multiple authorship”.

The theory of “multiple authorship” is addressed further through the discussion of contested attributions and author identification. New names have been associated with the *conductus*; furthermore, it has been suggested that some minor authors’ impact on the repertoire might have been more significant than previously thought. For instance, it has been proposed that Hugh Primas might have written more than one single song (*O qui fontem gratie*). Within the same discussion, it has been revealed the attribution of *Salve mater misericordie* to Alexander Nequam made by Anderson is incorrect,<sup>254</sup> and this brings into question his proposed authorship of *In te concipitur*. As far as identifications are concerned, it has been suggested that the author of *O qui fontem gratie* may be identified with John of London, astronomer and poet, instead of John of Howden as suggested in previous studies. Furthermore, the “Master Anselm” accounted

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<sup>254</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, 9, 10.

in *E-SC* s.n. as author of *Iam lucis orto sidere* has been suggested to be Anselm of St Saba, English monk founder of the first church dedicated to St James in England.

The second part of this chapter shifts the focus from words to notes, to deal with *conductus* composers. As for the previous section, well-known names are only briefly mentioned (Perotinus, in this case), in order to centre the study on less discussed figures instead. First of these names is Henricus Pisanus, who was a crucial figure for the diffusion of the repertoire not only in Italy, but to the Near East as well. Some of the texts he wrote music for likely circulated as poems only, and were subject to several – but all plausible – music settings, unknown to each other.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century the *conductus* was losing appeal in northern Europe, yet such a trend seems not to have affected Italy. In relation to this, I discussed one case of *conductus* composition attested at the Roman curia in the 1290s: the goliardic-like song *Hec medela corporalis* composed by Bonaiutus de Casentino.

To close this section it is given some evidence of *conductus* composition from as late as the fourteenth-century Germany. This testimony confirms remarkable continuity in the dissemination and expansion of the repertoire. Johannes de Perchausen, dean of the Moosburg Church in the mid-fourteenth century, compiled a manuscript – the so-called “Moosburger Graduale” (*D-Mu Cim 100*) – including some of his compositions together with certain “ancient” *conducti*.

The last part of the chapter examines the interplay between the *conductus* repertoire and contemporaneous vernacular genres, through the use of two cases of *contrafacta*. The comparison of the music variants shows processes of adaptation of the melody. Any statement on musical antecedence remains speculative, as extant evidence does not suffice to make any definitive claim. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that the tune shared between *Vite per dite me legi* and *Per dan que d’amor* seems to fit the Latin poem better.

The majority of all extant *conducti*, a bulk of about 800 songs, remains today outside any debate on music authorship. Despite this, it is now possible to picture better the figure of a *conductus* composer. Authors travelled frequently, and the *conductus* (together with other contemporaneous genres) travelled with them: from France and the British Isles to Italy, Spain and Germany, possibly reaching as far as the Christian East.

Travelling had indeed a crucial influence on this repertoire. Some poems were reaching disparate parts of Europe and were set to music several times. Texts could be amended, reused, re-worked; music could be borrowed or simply re-invented on the spot. “Multiple authorship”, in its broader sense, must therefore be seriously taken into consideration in the analysis of the *conductus*.



## 2. *Conductus* Morphology: Syllabic and Melismatic Music

### 2.1. Typologies of *Caudae*: Framing *Caudae* and Internal *Caudae*

The *conductus cum caudis*, as explained by medieval theorists, has been viewed as an alternation of two discrete sections, one syllabic with text, for which we use the Latin locution *cum littera* (texted), and a second melismatic *sine littera* one (with no words), often referred to as *cauda* (tail).<sup>1</sup> Cadential figures in the form of patterns of descending *currentes* frequently occur at the conclusion of *sine littera* sections. These figures are called by medieval and later theorists “*punctus organi*”.

Because the *conductus* has always been considered as a rigid alternation of closed units, for my research I have been interested in deepening the *cum littera/sine littera* duality, and I have been questioning whether this relationship is as rigid as it is considered to be. A *cauda* is usually placed at key-points of the poetic text – i.e. usually first and last words of each stanza, delineating when each stanza begins and ends. Regardless of the poem, whatever word is at the end of a melismatic *conductus*, there will be a *cauda*. The length is variable, from a few *ordines* to many phrases.

One of the problems we face is the scant theoretical material on the *conductus*, but even so, what information there is relates directly to the issue of *caudae*. A point of departure is the late thirteenth century treatise *De mensurabili musica* by John of Garland:

And we must know these figures are sometimes without text and sometimes with text; without text as in the cauda of conductus, with text as in motets.<sup>2</sup>

And similarly Anonymous IV:

And it should be noted that some figures occur without words [*sine littera*] and some with words [*cum littera*]. Figures without words are joined together as

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<sup>1</sup> As in Anonymous IV’s treatise, cfr. Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Et sciendum, quod huiusmodi figurae aliquando ponuntur sine littera, aliquando cum littera; sine littera ut in caudis vel conductis, cum littera ut in motellis.* De Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica* (1250-1279), 5.

much as they can be, or could be; figures with words are sometimes joined together, and sometimes not.<sup>3</sup>

Medieval theorists acknowledge the existence of melismatic sections, but they seem not to give any detailed information on the morphology of the *conductus*, i.e. where the melismas are set within the composition. However, one passage of Anonymous IV's treatise might be of some help in answering this question. He mentions specific songs and specifies whether they have *caudae* or not, so consequently, we can infer Anonymous IV's understanding of the concept of *cauda* in *conductus*, and the way he differentiates melismatic and syllabic *conducti*:

The third volume is of triple *conducti* that have *caudae* like “Salvatoris hodie” and “Relegentur ab area” and similar ones, in which are contained the *puncta finalia organi* at the end of the verses and in some not, and a good composer of polyphony is expected to know these perfectly. And there is another volume of double *conducti* that have *caudae* like the ancient “Ave Maria” in *duplum* and “Pater Noster commiserans” or “Hac in die rege nato,” in which are contained the names of several *conducti*, and similar things. And there is a fifth volume of quadruple, triple and duple [*conducti*] without *caudae*, which used to be much used by minor singers, and similar things.<sup>4</sup>

Despite its vague description of the *conductus* repertory, this passage delivers a number of rather remarkable details. Particularly striking is the use of the plural *caudae*, which might refer to the fact that many *caudae* can be found within one single *conductus*.<sup>5</sup> This does not concern melismas at the end or at the beginning of the

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<sup>3</sup> Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 73. *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, quos bonus organista perfecte scire tenetur. Est et aliud volumen de duplicibus conductis habentibus caudas 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. Est et quintum volumen de quadruplicibus et triplicibus et duplicibus sine caudis, quod solebat esse multum in usu inter minores cantores, et similia.* Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 82. The interpretation of the original Latin text presents not little issues, as evident from the discussion of the “*caudae*” passage just outlined. A further example is the rendering of the word “organist”, which Yudkin translates as “composer” but that in the thirteenth century had a much broader acception (e.g. “singer”).

<sup>5</sup> This is, however, only one possible reading of the passage under examination. I am grateful to Helen Deeming for pointing out that the plural *caudae* might – in this case – generically refer to

*conductus* only, as the word *cauda* would suggest, on the contrary they can be set at any point of the song.<sup>6</sup> The first two songs mentioned in the passage above, *Salvatoris hodie* and *Relegentur ab area*, are particularly useful to demonstrate this point. Their first stanzas are set to three voices and are recorded in F at folios 201r-203r, while the rest of their text is set to two-voice polyphony at folios 307r-307v and folios 287v-288v respectively. In the passage quoted above Anonymous IV is however clearly referring to their three-part section only (...*conductis triplicibus*...). These both deliver lengthy final *caudae*, but also feature numerous internal melismas that fragment the *cum littera* into smaller sections, which confirms that the concept of *cauda* goes beyond what its literal translation means.<sup>7</sup> However significant that passage might be for the understanding of the genre, no medieval treatises relevant to this repertory present a description of compositional practices, being written about one century after the earliest *conducti*.<sup>8</sup> The quote delineates an *a posteriori* description of the repertoire, particularly useful to us for the understanding of the development of the *conductus* over the twelfth and thirteenth century.

In order to describe the use of *caudae* in *conducti* I approached the investigation of the repertoire's morphology. I therefore studied the macrostructure of all two-voice *conducti*, and specifically the compositional approach to melismas. The first stage of this research concerned the study of *conducti* featured in "central" sources, i.e. the four main manuscripts that were either of Parisian compilation or copied under the influence of the school of Notre Dame: F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub> and Ma.<sup>9</sup> In order to give a thorough account of the "central" repertory the analysis focussed on the 130 two-part *conducti* featured in the seventh fascicle of F: this manuscript contains *unica* as well as most of the *conducti* featured in the other sources. The analysis of the two-voice *conducti* of F reveals that, in

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the number of melismas found across multiple *conducti* and not necessarily within one single piece.

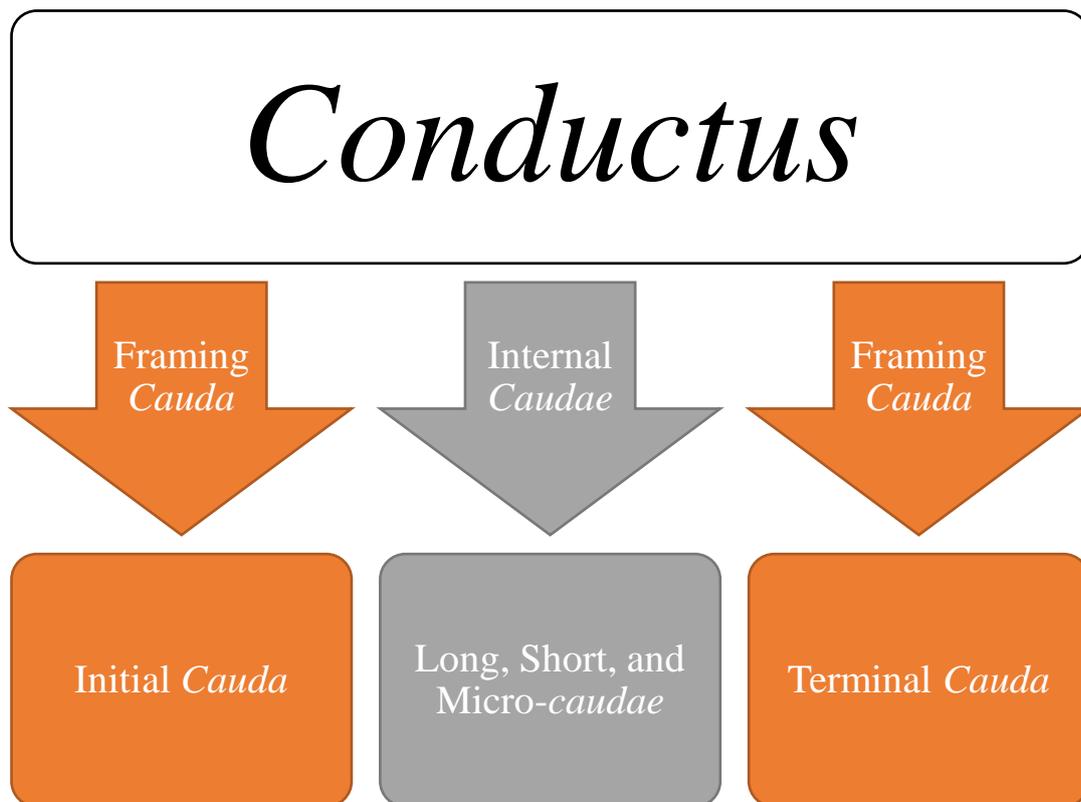
<sup>6</sup> Medieval theoretical sources do not explicitly account for length and position of *caudae* within the piece. Therefore, such details must be inferred from the analysis of the repertoire.

<sup>7</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the use of the word *cauda* see Chapter 3.

<sup>8</sup> Garland's treatise is dated no earlier than 1260, while Anonymous IV is thought being producing his treatise towards the end of the thirteenth century. Concerning Garland's dating see De Garlandia, *De mensurabili musica (1250-1279)*; Wegman, "A Brief History of Measurable Notation, c.1200-c.1280". For both Garland and Anonymous IV see: Reckow, "Proprietas und perfectio: Zur Geschichte des Rhythmus, seiner Aufzeichnung und Terminologie im 13. Jahrhundert."

<sup>9</sup> The problematic issue of "central and peripheral" *conductus* repertoires is discussed in the Introduction to this thesis.

addition to longer *caudae* at beginning and end of stanzas, around 70% of the two-part melismatic pieces feature smaller embellishments, which will be referred to as “internal *caudae*”. Although such structurally important melismas have received little attention by modern scholars when describing flourished *conducti*, an analysis of these sections will show that internal *caudae* have a vital structural function in the *conductus*, which, once understood, could influence our notions of how to transcribe these works. In order to clarify the function of all *caudae*, in the forthcoming analysis I will divide them into three types, which I used for my study (Figure 2.1).



**Figure 2.1 - Melismatic *Conductus*: Representative Structure of a Typical Stanza**

“Framing *caudae*” are placed at key-points of the poetic text – i.e. first and last words of each stanza. Therefore, according to their position, these will be referred to as “initial” or “terminal” *caudae*. Their function lies in emphasising the opening and ending of the stanzas, basically turning points, according to the common musicological acceptance of the term. Regardless of the poem, whatever word is at the end of the piece, there will be a *cauda*. The framing *caudae* tend to be quite long when compared to the internal *caudae*, and because of their placement, often have a more structural and

architectural function.<sup>10</sup> Internal *caudae* are instead variable in length, from few *ordines* to many phrases. It is in the second group – internal *caudae* – where we see the composer as poetic interpreter, as these melismas are strategically placed to interact actively with the text, its structure and meaning.

Internal *caudae* can emphasise the metrical structure of the poem, underline rhymes or symmetries, counterbalance music between two sections connected in some way, highlight consonances and assonances, or even underscore syllables and words repetitions.<sup>11</sup> Some very short internal *caudae* (hereafter referred to as micro-*caudae*) are often used to highlight linkages between parts of the text, e.g. through rhymes or assonances. These micro-*caudae* are short enough so they do not interrupt the textual flow. They always count at least two separate neumes and rarely exceed six perfections in length.

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<sup>10</sup> Although the framing *caudae* are frequently long, there is a number of initial *caudae* of less than ten perfections (e.g. *O qui fontem gratie*, F (289v); *Rex et Pater omnium*, F (297v)); initial *caudae* of six perfections or less are only a handful (*Rose nodum reserat*, F, 314r; *A deserto veniens*, F (316v); *Eclipsim patitur*, F (322v); *Homo per potentia*, F (355v); *O levis arula*, F (355v)).

<sup>11</sup> In this thesis, the term “internal *cauda*” may refer to melismas of any length.

### 2.1.1. The cases of *In rosa vernat lilium* and *Ista dies celebrari*

In general, we need to be familiar with poetic structure, meaning of the text, and setting (*cum* or *sine littera*) of all *conducti* in order to understand their organization. The *conductus In rosa vernat lilium* will now be used to illustrate the various functions of *caudae*. Table 2.1 gives the text of the piece with its translation.<sup>12</sup> In this and all following tables framing *caudae* are in bold and italicised; internal *caudae* are instead underlined. No remarkable discrepancies appear among the several sources that record this *conductus*.<sup>13</sup>

Table 2.1 - *In rosa vernat lilium*

Syllables	Text	Translation
8pp	<b><i>In</i></b> rosa vernat lilium,	From the rose springs a lily
7p	<u>Flos</u> in <u>flore</u> flo <u>rescit</u>	A flower flourishing within a flower
8pp	Dum nata parit filium;	When a daughter bears a son.
7p	In tenebris lu <u>cescit</u>	In the darkness shines
6pp	Lux sine tenebris;	A light without darkness;
6pp	In carnis latebris	In the hiding places of the flesh
7p	Vera dies di <u>escit</u>	The true day dawns.
8pp	<b><i>Ex</i></b> luna solis emicat	From the moon shines the sun's
7p	Radius elu <u>cescens</u> ;	Bright ray;
8pp	Mundanis solem indicat	The moon, never decreasing,
7p	Luna nunquam de <u>cre</u> scens;	Shows the sun to the world;
8pp	<u>Hic</u> sol dum lune iungitur,	When this sun is joined to the moon,
8pp	Neuter eclipsim patitur,	Neither suffers an eclipse,
7p	Sed est plusquam ni <u>tescens</u>	But each shines greater than ever.

<sup>12</sup> All translations from Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*.

<sup>13</sup> F (271v-272v), W<sub>1</sub> (125r (116r)-126r (117r)), Ma (52v-54v), as well as in *GB-Ob* Auct. 6 Q 3.17 (1r) and Add. A. 44 (130r).

8pp	<i>In</i> hiemali tempore	In winter's season
7p	Ver vernat ultra morem;	Spring blossoms out of season;
8pp	Dignum de digno corpore	From a worthy body
7p	Mater fudit <u>o</u> do <u>r</u> em.	The mother sheds a fragrance meet;
6pp	<u>O</u> veris premium:	o reward of spring!
6pp	Hiemis tedium	Winter's tedium
7p	Ad verum fugit <i>fl</i> o <u>r</u> em.	Flees before the true flower.

*In rosa vernat lilium* is divided into 3 stanzas: the first one and the last one are metrically identical (8pp-7p-8pp-7p-6pp-6pp-7p), while the middle one differs slightly (8pp-7p-8pp-7p-8pp-8pp-7p). We might expect consistency in the placement of *caudae*, but such an expectation is not satisfied by the composer. Within this piece framing *cauda* placement is quite regular; they are set to the first and last accented syllables of each stanza. On the contrary internal *caudae* do not only work as mere structural pillars, they actively interact with the poem.

Music Example 2.1 gives a transcription of the three short *caudae* on the first, third and last syllables of the second line of the *conductus*. One of them, set to *flore*, represents an ideal example of a micro-*cauda*: it is only three perfections long, has no rests and does not interrupt the textual flow.

The image shows a musical score for two voices: Duplum and Tenor. The first system shows the Tenor voice with the lyrics "Flos in flo - - re". A bracket above the notes for "flo" indicates a micro-cauda. The second system shows the Duplum voice with the lyrics "flo - re - scit". A bracket above the notes for "re" indicates a micro-cauda. The music is in G major (one flat) and 8/8 time. The Duplum part starts with a measure rest of 6 measures.

Music Example 2.1 - *In rosa vernat lilium*, Second Line

Exploiting these *caudae*, the composer plays with consonances between the words *flos/flore/florescit* (syllables *flos-flo-scit*). Furthermore, the syllable *flo-* is a reference to the last *cauda* of the piece (set to the word *florem*), which links the beginning and the end. Stanzas 2 and 3, despite their metrical discrepancies, present a symmetrical *cauda* setting. Both show an internal *cauda* on the penultimate syllable of the fourth line (on the words *decrescens* and *odorem*) that works as a sort of terminal *cauda* of the first part of the stanza, and on the first syllable of the fifth line (*Hic* and *O*), which as a consequence works as a melisma for the opening of the second part. In this way the composer links two stanzas originally characterised by different metrical structure.

Further musical features links the stanzas of the piece. The word *elucescens* (second stanza) is consonant with *ex, decrescens, nitescens* (second stanza), and alliterates with *florescit*, and *diescit* (both first stanza). Such syllabic resemblances are evidenced through the setting of internal *caudae*. In stanza three flourished words assonate with each other thanks to the common vowel *o* (*odorem, o, florem*). Among other *o*-words enclosed in this stanza, the composer decides perhaps to emphasise the word *odorem* for its strong connections with the topic of the song, being more textually evocative of spring. With this example we can get an idea of one of the most common functions of *caudae* in the two-part *conductus* repertoire, underlining assonances and consonances.

What *In rosa vernat lilium* brings out is the difference between framing and internal *caudae*. As we have seen, *caudae* placed at the beginning and at the end of the stanza have often a purely architectural function. They open and close the piece. Internal *caudae* have different – and often multiple – functions. In this case, some mirror the structural purpose of framing *caudae*: as these enclose whole stanzas, some internal *caudae* enclose smaller sections of the piece. Simultaneously, other emphasise key vowels and consonants.

Composed for the Christmas season, *Ista Dies Celebrari*<sup>14</sup> represents one of the most fascinating achievements of the school of Notre Dame. The poem is divided into seven stanzas: tercets for stanzas one, two and six, quatrains for stanzas three, five and

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<sup>14</sup> This piece is recorded in W<sub>1</sub> (168v (159v)–169v (160v)), F (274v-275v), Ma (56r-57v), *GB-Ob* Wood 591 (3r (IVr)-3v (IVv)).

seven, while the central fourth stanza is made of six lines. All the lines are of eight syllables, except for the last of the tercets, which is of seven syllables. Stanzas four and five are more irregular, since all their lines are of four syllables except for the last of stanza five, which is again of seven syllables.

Table 2.2 - *Ista dies celebrari*

Tenor	Syllables	Text	Translation
a	8p	Ista dies celebrari	<i>This day deserves to be celebrated</i>
	8p	Promeretur et amari	<i>And loved</i>
	7pp	Festa super omnia.	<i>As a feast day above all others.</i>
a	8p	Totus mundus elaboret,	<i>Let the whole world strive,</i>
	8p	Ut extollat et honoret	<i>To extoll and praise</i>
	7pp	Christi natalitia.	<i>The birthday of Christ.</i>
b	8pp	Puer natus de virgine,	<i>A boy born from a virgin,</i>
	8pp	Virtute sancti flaminis,	<i>By the power of the Holy Spirit,</i>
	8pp	Sacri fontis aspergine	<i>By sprinkling from the holy source,</i>
	8pp	Purgavit culpam hominis.	<i>He cleansed the sin of man.</i>
c	4p	Memoremus	<i>Let us commemorate</i>
	4p	Et amemus	<i>And love</i>
	4pp	Magnalia	<i>The miracles</i>
	4p	Pii Dei,	<i>Of our Holy God</i>
	4p	Summa spei	<i>The greatest constancy</i>
	4pp	Constantia.	<i>Of hope</i>
c'	4p	Sit introrsum	<i>Let there be inside us</i>
	4p	cor severum,	<i>A severe heart</i>
	4p	Cor sincerum,	<i>A sincere heart,</i>

	7pp	<u>Cor</u> sine contagio.	<i>A heart without stain.</i>
d	8p	Sermo Dei conform <u>etur</u> ,	<i>Let the words of God be imitated</i>
	8p	Nec a corde sequestr <u>etur</u>	<i>And let not the attestation of the mouth</i>
	7pp	Oris attestatio.	<i>Be separated from the heart.</i>
b'	8pp	Voce purgari pectoris	<i>With the voice of a breast purified</i>
	8pp	De sorde fedi corpor <u>is</u> ,	<i>From the filth of a sordid body,</i>
	8pp	Regni carentis termino	<i>Let us praise the Lord</i>
	8pp	<i>Benedicamus <b>Domino</b>.</i>	<i>Of the kingdom without end!</i>

The macrostructure of this *conductus* is characterised by the presence of strophic tenors, each recurring twice (see *Tenor* column in Table 2.2). The tenor scheme is: a-a-b-c-c'-d-b, however repetitions often record variants, furthermore framing *caudae* seem to follow the repetition less faithfully.

Relatively long *caudae* are placed as expected at the end of each stanza (bold and italic in Table 2.2). In the tercets they are on *omnia*, *natalitia* and *attestatio*; in the quatrains on *hominis*, *contagio* and *Domino*; in the sestet on *constantia*. In most stanzas the *cauda* is on the last syllable of the line; however, in stanzas three and seven (the most elaborate quatrains), the final melisma occurs on the antepenultimate syllable, leaving space for a concluding *punctus organi*.<sup>15</sup> All the remaining melismas are very small, most of them are clear examples of micro-*caudae*.

Let's examine the piece *Ista dies celebrari* in more detail, starting from the first stanza. This tercet has a *cauda* on the last vowel (*a* of the word *Omnia*), and also has two smaller melismas: a relatively lengthy micro-*cauda* on the syllable *-ri* (*celebrari*) and a shorter one on the penultimate syllable of the second line on the syllable *-ma*

<sup>15</sup> For a detailed analysis of issues that concern the *punctus organi* see Section 2.4.

(word *amari*). One might wonder why the micro-*cauda* is set to the seventh syllable on *-ma-*, rather than to the eighth and last syllable of the line on *-ri*.

A reasonable answer could be that the line is paroxytonic, consequently the melisma would simply underline the last accent. But then the previous melisma (*celebrari*) would no more be justified, as set to the last syllable rather than on the last accented syllable of the line. A more likely explanation relates to other metrical characteristics. Indeed, breaking the line of poetry on the seventh syllable (rather than on the eighth), the micro-*cauda* affects the regular rhythm of the *cum littera* and gives life to a 7+1 syllable-line. Such fluctuation between seven and eight syllables, such an ambiguity in the meter of the poem, creates a flexible interpretation of the prosody. The middle line acts as a sort of connector between the first line, of eight syllables, and the third one, of seven.

The following stanza presents the same tenor *a* of the preceding stanza, with little variations that accompany the final *cauda*. This reveals a difference between internal and final *caudae* (that will also be confirmed in the analysis of the next stanzas). Indeed, in a song where musical patterns are strophically repeated, an internal *cauda* presents no variations in the tenor, as it happens throughout the rest of the *cum littera* section. On the contrary, the final *cauda* (with its different function) may present variations in length, pitches and rhythm. Compared to the previous stanza, both framing *caudae* and internal *caudae* are proportionally in the same place, and of the same length; this time on *elaboret*, *honoret*, and *natalitia*.

Duplum

Tenor

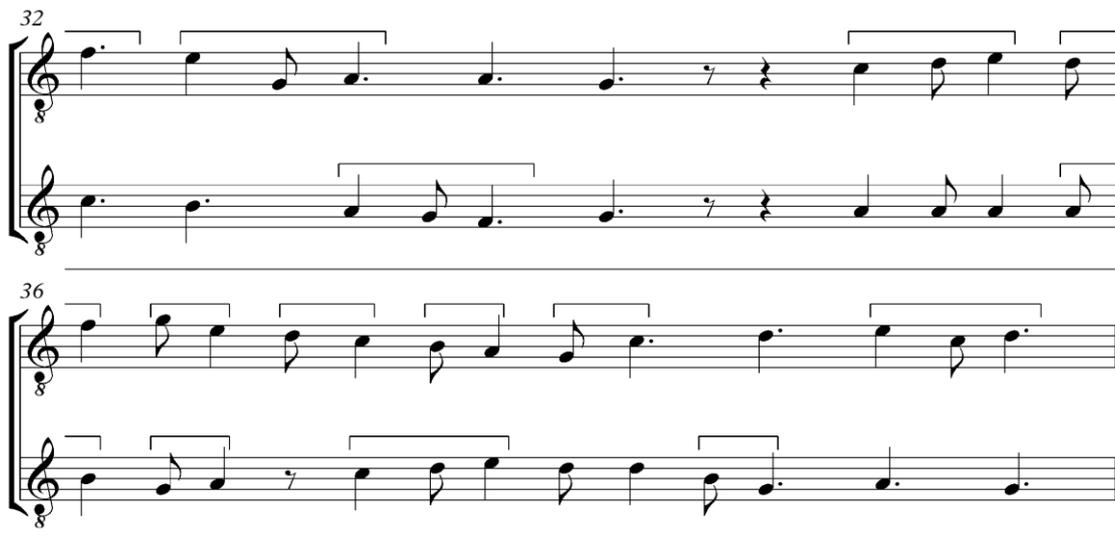
6 Me - mo - re - mus et a - me - mus Ma -

8 gna - li - - - a Pi-i De-i sum-ma

13 spe - i con- stan - ti - a

19 Sit in - tror - sum cor se - ve-rum cor

25 sin-ce-rum cor si - ne con-ta - gi - o



Music Example 2.2 - *Ista dies celebrari*, Stanzas 4 and 5<sup>16</sup>

Stanzas 4 and 5, however apparently different, show similar characteristics. The tenor (*c* and *c'*) is almost identical – as far as the *cum littera* sections is concerned, after which we find some variations surrounding the final *caudae*. *Magnalia* has an internal consonance with the word *constantia*, where the larger *cauda* is set. The *caudae* on *magnalia* and *constantia* clearly divide the stanza into two sections of equal syllabic length. In the fifth stanza the music (tenor *c'*) we previously found on *magna-* (tenor *c*) is omitted (Music Example 2.2), thus we can consider the micro-*cauda* on *cor* placed proportionally in the position as the one on *magnalia*. An additional micro-*cauda* on the repetition of *cor* supplies further music to compensate the lack of syllables in the second line of the stanza, plus it underscores the assonance with the final *cauda* on the vowel *o*.

Let's now move to stanza 6. The line-lengths of this tercet return to the former regularity (8-8-7), but this time new music is introduced; in other words, there are no similarities to any other tenor passage within the piece.

<sup>16</sup> In this and all following music examples small note-heads indicate *plicae*.

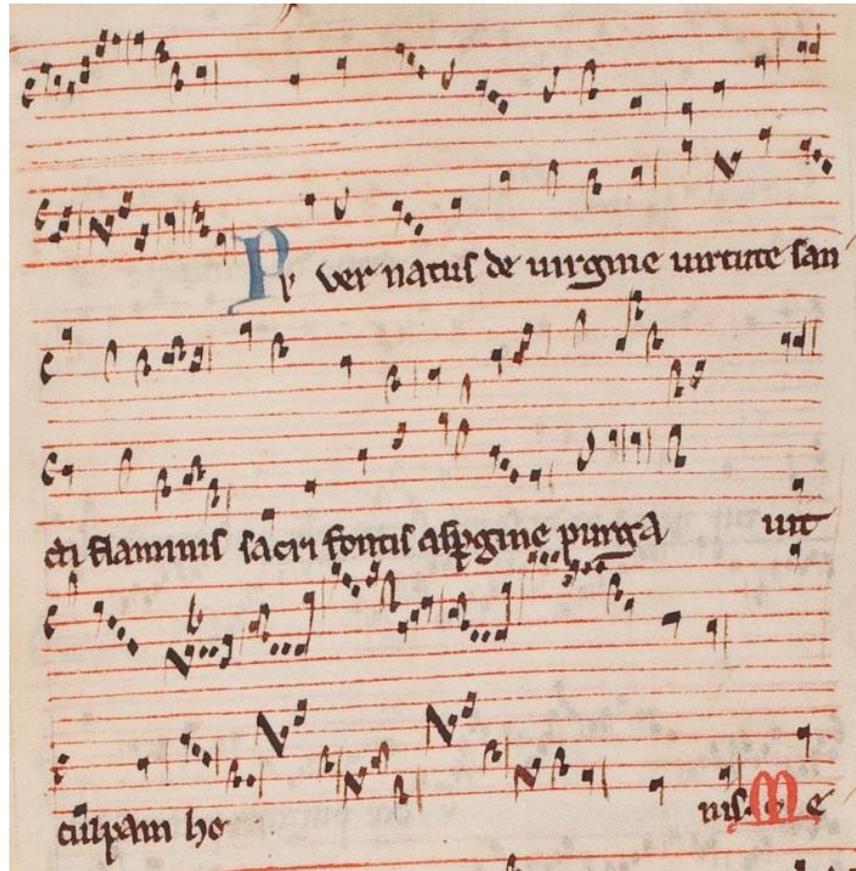


Figure 2.2 - W<sub>1</sub> (169r), *Ista dies celebrari*, Stanza 3

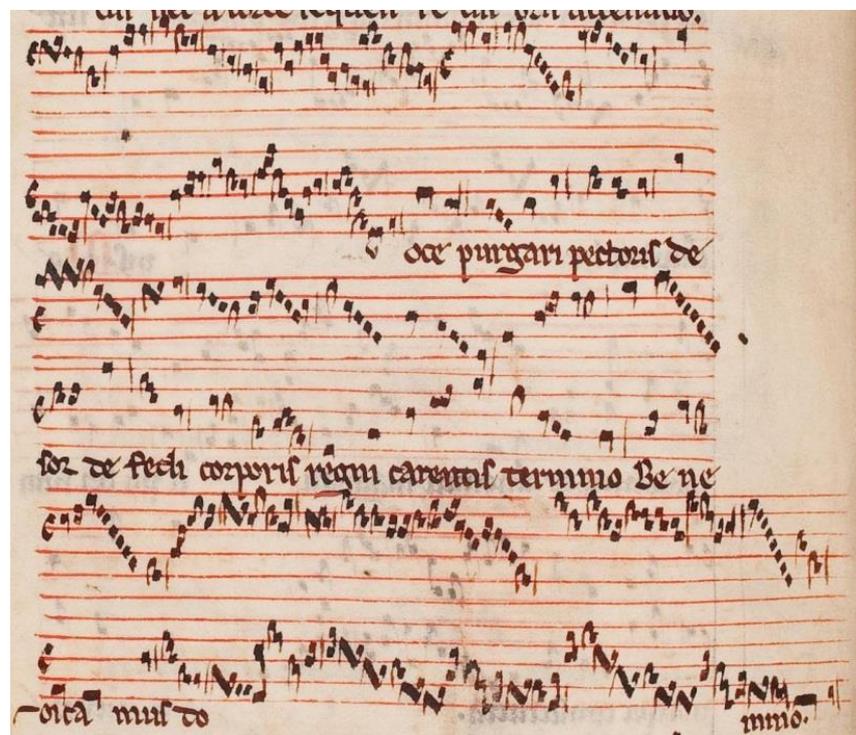


Figure 2.3 - W<sub>1</sub> (169v), *Ista dies celebrari*, Stanza 7

Moving on to stanzas 3 and 7, their internal *caudae* fulfil a different function. As with the last few stanzas, here the tenor (indicated by *b* and *b'* in Table 2.2) is repeated, although differences in the music – consistent from source to source – occur near the end. The micro-*caudae* on the syllable *-nis* (*flaminis* and *corporis*, second line in the both stanzas) subtly highlight a very distant rhyme. In addition, these micro-*caudae* mark the end of the first clause of their respective stanzas.

In the second part of the stanzas the internal *caudae* do not interact with textual features, but rather counterbalance quantity of music. The composer adds two embellishments on the first word of the last lines (*purgavit* and *benedicamus*). These melismas have similar tenor, but dissimilar melodic richness. The first is a standard micro-*cauda*, the second presents a sequence of *currentes* that leads the piece to its ending climax, the terminal *cauda* on *Domino*.

To summarise: so far we have found several different functions undertaken by *caudae*. On the one hand framing *caudae* have mostly a purely structural function. On the other hand, internal *caudae* – of any length – may cover one or more roles; they can reflect the metrical structure of the poem, underline rhymes, counterbalance music between two sections in some way connected, highlight consonances and assonances, underline syllable or word repetitions. Internal *caudae* often engage much more actively with the poem, and in some way transcend the mere ornamentation role of the music, which is characteristic of longer framing. Besides aesthetic discriminations, the presence of melismas at key points of the song (such as rhymes or consonances) might have had the practical use to aid the memory.

The musical profile of the internal *cauda* also contrasts with the framing *cauda*. These framing *caudae* are usually quite long, they decorate the external boundaries of the piece, and they are detached from the syllabic musical stream by being in a new, differently designed and more complex style. A good example is the terminal *cauda* found on the *Benedicamus Domino* (*Ista dies celebrari*, stanza 7). That *cauda* would cover around 12% of the whole duration of the *conductus*. By contrast, an internal *cauda* is significantly shorter. It does not interrupt the textual flow in the same way,



example of this matter is the flourish on the word *magnalia*, fourth stanza, third line (cfr. Music Example 2.2). At first glance, we could consider the *cauda* as starting from the *a* in the tenor and the *e* (first note of the ligature) in the upper voice. On the other hand, looking at the music upon *magna-*, we might say that the pattern “three-note ligature plus two-note ligature” is already part of the melisma, which might lead us to say that the *cauda* begins on *ma-*, on the interval of the unison. In this specific case the measured section seems to start on *ma-*, given the presence of the two *silbenstriche*, clearly marking the end of the syllabic section on the previous word *amemus*.

### 2.1.2. Peculiarities of Framing *Caudae* and Internal *Caudae*

In some cases *caudae* can, as previously mentioned, transcend a merely musical function, and gloss or comment on the meaning of the song, or even enrich the song with brand new meaning. *Sursum corda elevate* is partly based on the *Sanctus* and the *Agnus Dei* of the Mass, and survives as a two-voice *conductus* in multiple sources.<sup>18</sup> It also survives as a three-part *conductus* in one fragmentary source only, *F-ME 732bis/20* (1r). The length of the *caudae*, which increases progressively throughout the song, might be seen as leading to a climax that reflects the advice stated in the first line of the poem: *sursum corda elevate* (lift up your hearts). The song begins with a much flourished first line. Then, despite the hesitation on *dominum* in the third line of the first stanza, it presents progressively lengthy internal *caudae*, and ends eventually with the longest melisma on the final word *pacem*.

*Fraude ceca desolato* is a further *conductus* preserved in most sources as a two-voice song, and in one source only as a monody.<sup>19</sup> In the polyphonic version the length of the *caudae* increases proportionally towards the end, from 20 to 118 perfections. In the last stanza the internal *caudae* on *ingenitus* and *celitus* accentuate the rhyme. Moreover, the *cauda* on *ingenitus* covers a second function; it closes the first part of the stanza, mirroring the *cauda* on *semita* in the previous stanza. The melisma on *ingenitus* has then two purposes, while *celitus* just one. This is mirrored in their length: the first one, of 18 perfections, is more than twice longer than the second one, of just seven perfections. *Fraude ceca desolato* shows to what degree internal *caudae* are significant to emphasise relationships among parts of the text.

Although internal *caudae* can be used to musically enrich the meaning of the text, framing *caudae* occasionally also offer such a musical gloss. Though these *caudae* typically assume a structural framing function, there are several examples in which they highlight striking numerical relationships. For instance *Transgressus legem Domini*,

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<sup>18</sup> F (342v-344r); W<sub>1</sub> (172r (163r)-173v (164v)); W<sub>2</sub> (107v-110v); Ma (94r-96v); *E-BUlh* 9 (150v-151v); *GB-WOc* Add. 68 (xxxv, 4v: frag.); *US-NYcub* N-66 (Ar: frag.).

<sup>19</sup> Two-voice music in: F (263r-264v); W<sub>1</sub> ((127v)118v - (129r)120r); W<sub>2</sub> (119r-122v); Ma (25r-27v); *GB-Ob* Auct. 6 Q 3.17 (α ext.-int.b; 2 ext.-int. b; 7 ext. b; 8 ext. b: frag.). Monody in *CH-BM* II.C.2 (66v-67r). *D-FUL* Hs. C 11 (331v); *D-Sl* HB I Asc. 95 (73r: ruled for 1pt) are text only.

which is found as a two-voice and three-voice *conductus*,<sup>20</sup> shows a proportional relationship among framing *caudae*. Initial and terminal *caudae* in the second stanza are twice as long as the ones in the first stanza, as shown in Table 2.3.

**Table 2.3 - *Transgressus legem Domini* (Framing *Caudae* Length)**

	<b>Initial <i>Cauda</i></b>	<b>Terminal <i>Cauda</i></b>
<i>First Stanza</i>	15 perfections	47 perfections
<i>Second Stanza</i>	30 perfection	94 perfections

Another two-voice *conductus*, *Ortu Regis Evanescit*,<sup>21</sup> is representative of one of the most remarkable means to enrich *musica cum littera*, the chain of assonances and consonances. Two *caudae* on *or-* (*ortu*) and *ro-* (*rosa*) gloss the vowel *o* at the opening of the two main sections of the first stanza (see Table 2.4). The long *cauda* on *-lu-* (*soluta*) represents the closure of the stanza, while *-um* (*convallium*) underlines its assonance with the vowel *u*. The pattern of *caudae* on repetitions of vowels is especially clear in the second stanza. There the vowel *e* is marked through a flourishings set to *hec, que* and *te-* (*tenet*; at the beginnings of the first, second and third line respectively), while melismas on the “*os*” of the words *sanctiore, vilegio, vitio, and rore* (at the ends of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh line respectively) all highlight the vowel *o*. In the last stanza, the vowel *i* is first highlighted on the syllables *-vi-* (*divitias*, second line) then on *-ti-* (*delitias*, fourth line); followed by a switch to the vowel *a* in *-la-* (*gratulatur*, fifth line) and *a-* (*alias*, last line).

<sup>20</sup> F (214r-214v (stanza 1, 3pt); 288v-289v (stanzas 2-3, 2pt)); W1 (101v(92v)-102r(93r) stanza 1, 3pt; 102r(93v)-103v(94v) stanzas 2-3, 2pt); *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (90r-90v); *D-HEu* 2588 (4r-6v, 3pt); W<sub>2</sub> (116r-119r, 2pt); Ma (110v-111v, 2pt).

<sup>21</sup> F (216r-217v (stanzas 1-2, 3pt) 307v-308r (stanza 3, 2pt)); W<sub>1</sub> (126r(117r)-127v(118v)); W<sub>2</sub> (101v-104v); Ma (81r-83r); *GB-Lbl* Add. 27630 (15v(34), 2<sup>nd</sup> stanza only); *GB-Llp* 752 (B-Bv, fragm.).

Table 2.4 - *Ortu regis evanescit*

*Ortu* regis evanescit  
Legis nubes involuta,  
Vera dies elucescit  
Umbra noctis dissoluta;  
Rosa produxit liliū  
Et honorem convallium  
Castitate non *soluta*.

*Hec* est rosa venustatis,  
Que producto celi flore  
Tenet decus castitatis  
Et in partu sanctiore  
Exultat pri vilegio  
Nullo delusa vitiō,  
Celi perfusa *rore*.

Veris hyems eternalis  
Elargitur divitias,  
Cedit rigor hyemalis  
Et in floris delitias  
Se resolvi gratulatur,  
Gaudet quidem et miratur  
Florem non visum *alias*.

The four-stanza *conductus Legem dedit olim deus*<sup>22</sup> (Table 2.5) represents a further example of the exploitation of *caudae* with the purpose of highlighting chains of assonances.

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<sup>22</sup> F (312r-312v); W<sub>1</sub> (162v (153v)-163r (154r)); CH-SGs 383 (135-138).

Table 2.5 - *Legem dedit olim Deus*

**1**

Legem dedit olim Deus,  
ut peccatum temperaret,  
Servum misit Eliseus,  
ut defunctum suscitaret.

**2**

***Incurvatur*** Eliseus  
Et defunctus suscitatur,  
Incarnatur homo Deus  
Et peccatum terminatur.

**3**

Immutantur nato rege  
Lex et legis opera,  
Et intrante nova lege  
Excluduntur vetera.

**4**

Est pro lege litterali  
Spiritualis gratia  
Et pro morte temporali  
Eternalis *gloria*.

The musical profile of the first pair of stanzas appears rather different from the last two stanzas of the song. Stanzas one and two, with rhyme scheme *abab-acac*, have three *caudae* each and in general deliver quite flourished music. On the contrary stanza three has no *caudae* at all and the last stanza only a terminal melisma. The rhyme scheme is also different as the two stanzas do not share any rhyming syllable (*dedefgg*). The musical design of the first two stanzas clearly shows the composer's intention to highlight similarities, flourishing the penultimate syllables of second and fourth lines in both stanzas, *-ra* (*temperaret*), *-ta* (*suscitaret*), *-ta* (*suscitatur*) and *-na* (*terminatur*), which assonate with each other (Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.5). The *caudae* on *temperaret* and *suscitatur* also mark the ends of clauses in their own respective stanzas.

.ccc. xij.

**L**egem dedit olim deus ut peccatum tem  
 pera  
 ret. servum misit helysseus ut de  
 functum suscita  
 ret. In curia  
 tur helysseus. et defunctus suscitatur.  
 incarnatur homo deus. et peccatum

Figure 2.4 - F (312r), *Legem dedit olim Deus*



Figure 2.5 - F (312v), *Legem dedit olim Deus* (ctd)

The musical design is not the only feature that differentiates the two sections of the song. Although the rhyme scheme is fairly consistent within all stanzas (alternate rhyme), the author of the poem exploits quite a peculiar rhyme technique in the first two. Moving from stanza one to stanza two he changes the rhyming syllables of lines 2 and 4 (from *-ret* to *-tur*), however applies a chiasmic structure to lines 1 and 3 simply inverting the words *Deus* and *Eliseus*. Such a compositional device is however not exploited in the final two stanzas. On the one hand this may simply reflect a deliberate authorial choice. On the other hand it could suggest that the latter two sections of the song (the first two stanzas making sense on their own), may have been written and set to music at a later stage.

A sizable number of internal melismas have the function to highlight a sequence of consonances in *Ego reus confiteor*.<sup>23</sup> The phoneme “d” is highlighted with flourishes on *de-*, *ad-*, *quod*, and *sed* (words *Deo*, *addictus*, *quod*, *sed*), while the “s-sound” is underlined with melismas on *san-*, *se-*, *sed*, and *sup-* (words *sanctisque*, *sepe*, *sed*, *supplicio*). *Luget Rachel iterum*<sup>24</sup> records only one internal cauda on *la-* (*lapso*), which throws into relief the “l-sound” already found on both initial *caudae* on *luget* and *lan-* (*languent*). In the *conductus Scrutator alme cordium*, where *caudae* are consistently set

<sup>23</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 222). F (324r-325r); W<sub>1</sub> (147v (138v)-148v (139v)); Ma (87r-89r); F-ME 732bis/20 (2r-2v, 3pt, frag.).

<sup>24</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 233). F (359v-360r).

to all final syllables of lines, the composer adds further internal melismas on *cum* (Table 2.6), in order to rhyme the syllable *-um* found on lines 1, 3, 6, and 7.

Table 2.6 - *Scrutator alme cordium*

*Scrutator alme cordium*,  
Lumen verum de lumine,  
Redemptor et fidelium,  
Homo factum pro homine,  
Cum lacrimarum flumine  
Tuum peto presidium,  
Ne intres in iudicium  
Cum servo tuo, *Domine*.

Such a technique is taken to extremes in the last stanza of *Salvatoris hodie*,<sup>25</sup> where the whole word *mundus* is set to a melisma before it is entirely repeated within the word *immundus* later in the stanza as a terminal *cauda*. Similarly a micro-*cauda* is set to the whole word *hec* in the first stanza of *Hec est dies triumphalis*,<sup>26</sup> recalling the longer initial *cauda* of the stanza (Table 2.7). In the following two stanzas two different chains of consonances and assonances intersect with each other. The first one sets off with the very short initial cauda on *du-* (*duce*), and continues with *-tur* (*infunditur*), *clau-* (*clauastro*), *cum*, and *-sur-* (*consurgere*); the second starts with both *hec* in the first stanza, involves again the melismas on *clau-* (*clauastro*) and *cum*, and eventually moves to *cor-* (*corde*) in the last stanza.

<sup>25</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 248). F (201r-202v (stanzas 1-2, 3pt); 307r-307v (stanza 3, 2 pt)); W<sub>1</sub> (95r(86r)-96r(87r) stanzas 1-2, 3pt; 96r(87r)-96v(87v) stanza 3, 2pt); Ma (111v-113r); W<sub>2</sub> (31r-33r); *F-T* 1471 (Ar-Av, text only, ruled for two voices); *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (86v-87v).

<sup>26</sup> W<sub>1</sub> (133r (124r)-134r (125r)); Ma (40r-42r); F (264v-266r).

Table 2.7 - *Hec est dies triumphalis*

*1*

*Hec* est dies triumphalis,  
Mundo grata perduto,  
Dans solamen nostris malis,  
Hoste iugo subdito.  
Hec est Deo specialis  
Tanto nitens merito,  
Quod peccati fit finalis  
Mali malo *irrito*.

*2*

*Duce* fraudis demolito,  
Terris pax indicitur  
Et ex hausto aconito,  
Salus egris redditur,  
Morte mortis morsu trito,  
Vite spes infunditur,  
Claustro pestis inanito,  
Nefas omne *pellitur*.

*3*

*Cum* nos Christus fecundare  
Tanto vellet federe,  
Et se morti gratis dare  
Pro reorum *scelere*.  
Iure decet hunc laudare  
Et ei consurgere,  
Pascha novum celebrare  
Corde, voce, *opere*.

*Puer nobis est natus*, whose text is given in Table 2.8, reveals a similar design.<sup>27</sup> The composer stresses many occurrences of voiceless-dental-stop sound on *-it* (*procedit*), *et*, *-vit*, *-tatis* (*veritatis*), *-it* (*consuluit*), *-tu-* (*periture*). Micro-*caudae* are crucial to link the first stanza to the second: the micro-*cauda* on *qui* alliterates with the initial *cauda* on *quos*, while the two micro-*caudae* (and the longer internal *cauda*) on *et* – second stanza – recall the medium-sized internal *cauda* on *et* in the first stanza, partially exploiting the same melodic material (Music Example 2.5 and Music Example 2.6).

Music Example 2.5 - *Puer nobis est natus*, Internal *Cauda* on *et*, First Stanza

Music Example 2.6 - *Puer nobis est natus*, Two Micro-*Caudae* on *et*, Second Stanza

The characteristic use of micro-*caudae* in *Puer nobis est natus* is not an isolated case. The similar exploitation of micro-*caudae* in a sizeable amount of *conducti* seems to suggest that this type of melisma played a major role in the process of melodically linking similar sounds.

<sup>27</sup> F (267v-269v); W<sub>1</sub> (152r (143r)-154r (145r)); Ma (27v-30v); *GB-Ob* Auct. 6 Q 3.17 (3r, frag.); *GB-Ob* Rawl.poet.C510 (236r(7r)); *D-HEu* 2588 (1r, frag.); *D-MŪu* 382 (Back Flyleaf, frag.).

Table 2.8 - *Puer nobis est natus*

*1*

*Puer* nobis est natus,  
Dum Deus humanatus;  
Non carnis, sed reatus  
Onus est dedignatus;  
Qui genitus  
Divinitus  
Et Patri coequalis,  
Dum nascitur,  
Exceditur  
Lex partus naturalis;  
Nam incarnari sustinens  
De virgine procedit,  
Et deitatem retinens  
A Patre non recedit.

*2*

*Quos* Adam deformavit,  
Nos Christus reformavit,  
Qui celos inclinavit  
Et tenebras calcavit,  
Nam pristinae  
Caligine  
Demersos vetustatis  
Nos extulit  
Et retulit  
Ad lucem veritatis:  
Nascens mundo consuluit  
Et plebi periture,  
Et humanam preposuit  
Angelice nature.

The two-voice *conductus Gaude Virgo Virginum* is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and recorded in all four main sources.<sup>28</sup> It shows a remarkable focus on the syllable *tu* (Table 2.9). The repeated use of the vocative *tu* in the third stanza brings the poem to the peak of its devotional fervour; the composer decides to design music accordingly. An introductory 14-perfection-long *tu* is set to the first syllable of the stanza, the following repetitions (respectively first word of the third, fifth and sixth lines) are highlighted by micro-*caudae* of four to five perfections each. The composer spots the

<sup>28</sup> F (282v-283v) ; W<sub>1</sub> (136v (127v)-137v (128v)); W<sub>2</sub> (99r-101v) ; Ma (37r-38r).

same syllable once again in the second line of the following stanza: he highlights the word *tuti* and the consonance *te* at the beginning of the line.

Table 2.9 - *Gaude Virgo Virginum*

**1**

***Gaude***, virgo virginum,  
Ex qua lumen luminum  
Ortum terris splenduit  
Et diluit nubis mortalis nebulas  
Et desiccavit maculas  
Radicesque criminum.

**2**

Salve, salus hominum,  
Cecis lucem,  
Mundo ducem,  
Celo paris *Dom*inum.

**3**

***Tu*** thalamus  
Splendoris etherei,  
Tu balsamus  
Saporis nectarei,  
Tu dulcoris,  
Tu pudoris  
Flosculus *virgine*i.

**4**

***In*** Egypto constituti,  
Te ducente sumus tuti,  
Ut saluti, restituti,  
Morbo sani pristino,  
Benedicamus *Dom*ino.

One last example of exploitation of micro-*caudae* for word-correspondence is found in the first stanza of the *conductus Seminavit Grecia*.<sup>29</sup> The author of the poem repeats the word *quod* four times, three of which are highlighted by melismas of various lengths: the first is a micro-*cauda*, while the second and third are proportionally longer internal *caudae*. No musical material is shared between the three occurrences.

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<sup>29</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 250). F (309r-310r); W<sub>1</sub> (164v (155v)-166r (157r)).

## 2.2. Differences between *Cauda* and *Musica sine littera*

In the previous discussion of *Ista dies celebrari* cases of uncertain distinction between syllabic *cum littera* and melismatic music were found to be not uncommon, and this was seen to be replicated throughout the two-voice *conductus* repertory. Some cases, where the use of embellishments is particularly widespread over the whole song, raise a question: are *cauda* and *sine littera* simply two overlapping concepts? Indeed, the association of these two notions is due to our rigid understanding of the genre. In practice the terms *sine littera* and *cauda* tend to set the focus on two different ways of viewing melismatic music.

Philosophically speaking, the first highlights the relation between music and text, the expression “*sine littera*” means in fact that the music flows without the presence of words. On the contrary, *cauda* can be considered merely a musical term; it may refer to a melisma, regardless of its relation to the poem. As a consequence, *musica sine littera* will always embody a *cauda*, yet a *cauda* would not always be entirely “without words”. An obvious instance of such *caudae* “with words” is the long list of melismas over the words *Benedicamus Domino*, which will be discussed in paragraph 2.3.

In *Deus creator omnium*, a two-voice *conductus* in F, W<sub>1</sub>, and Ma,<sup>30</sup> the poet describes God in the act of creating life and the Garden of Eden. The composer seems to take the poem’s words *fecit quecumque voluit* (he made whatsoever he wished) literally, and designs the whole song “as he wishes”, in such a way that boundaries between *cum* and *sine littera* are blurred. Most of the *cum littera* music appears considerably elaborate right from the very beginning of the song, but starting from the fourth line of the first stanza melismas run all over the following lines. From that point onwards, besides a few syllables carrying single notes in both *tenor* and *duplum*, the music runs mostly melodically until the end of the stanza (Figure 2.6). At this stage, the *conductus* reverts to a conventional layout, with clear distinctions between syllabic *musica cum littera* and melismatic *musica sine littera*. Yet, it goes back to that peculiar melismatic design after the fourth line.

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<sup>30</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 220). F (266r-267v); W<sub>1</sub> (131v (122v)-132v (123v)); Ma (32v-35r).

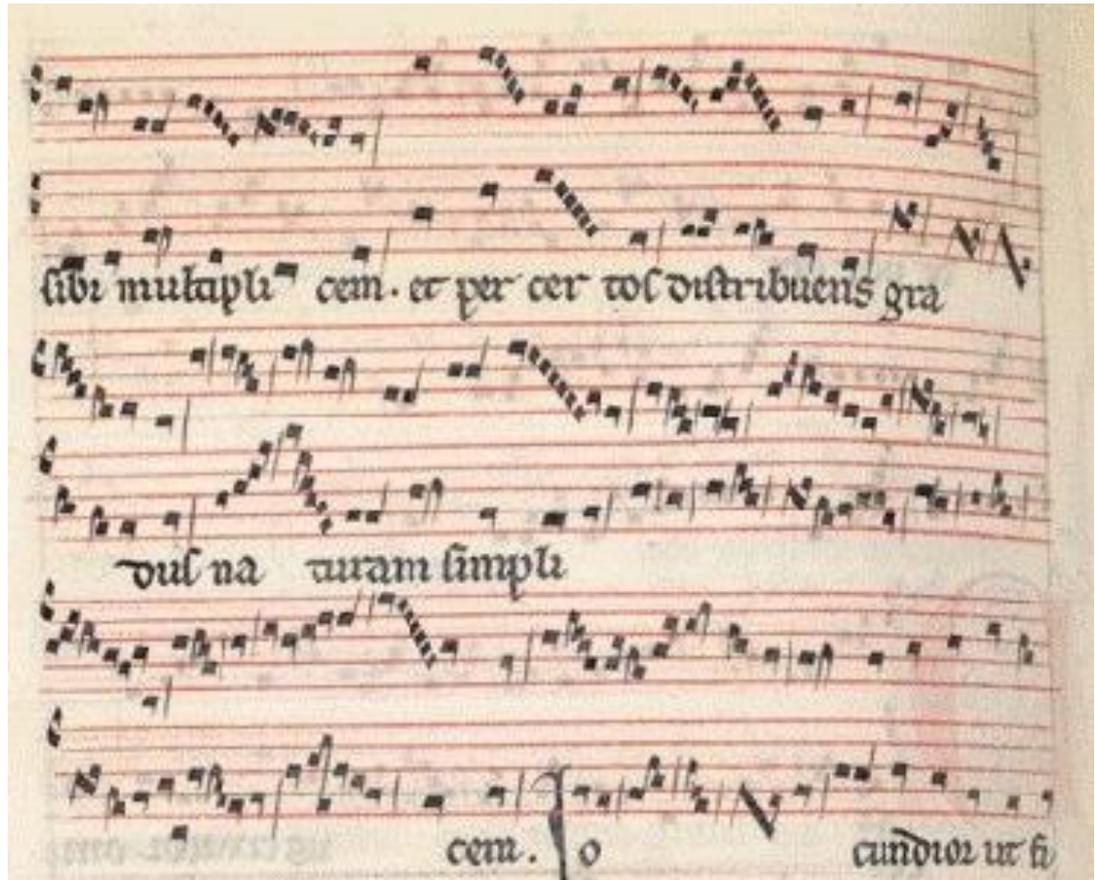


Figure 2.6 - F (266v), *Deus creator omnium*, End of First Stanza

*Puer nobis est natus* follows the previous song in the manuscript F,<sup>31</sup> and curiously presents similar features. Melismatic music, despite some syllabic interruptions, runs over the words *procedit et* (first stanza), *reformavit qui celos inclinavit et* (second stanza, Figure 2.7), *veritatis nascens mundo consuluit et plebe periture* (second stanza), and *-gatur in terris conversatur* (third stanza), after which point the *conductus* shifts to remarkably plain syllabic music, until its end on the *cauda* set to *nunciatur*.

<sup>31</sup> See footnote 27.



Figure 2.7 - F (268r), *Puer nobis est natus*

The case of *Sine matre genitus* appears even more striking in its surprising strong contrast between first and second part of the song. *Caudae* of any length are indeed found at any point of the *conductus*, yet *cum littera* sections are clearly separated from internal *caudae*, as far as the first stanza and first part of the second stanza are concerned (Figure 2.8). Towards the middle of the second stanza flourished music finds its way over words, so that boundaries between melismatic and syllabic music disappear once again (Figure 2.9).



Figure 2.8 - F (296v), *Sine matre genitus*, First Stanza



Figure 2.9 - F (297v), *Sine matre genitus*, Second Stanza

A further similar example is the *cum littera* section in the first stanza of *Iam vetus littera*,<sup>32</sup> where the words appear literally overwhelmed by melismatic music. The composer spreads two long melismas over the whole second part of the stanza, above the words *servabant gentium patent* and *et lex sequacibus quid confert tedium* (Figure 2.10).

The *conducti Deus creator omnium*, *Puer nobis est natus* and *Iam vetus littera* show sporadic instances of unclear separation between melismatic and syllabic music. Further examples include *Condimentum nostre spei*, *Resurgente Domino*, and *Rex eterne glorie mundo*.<sup>33</sup> The passage “with words” at the beginning of the second stanza of *Condimentum nostre spei* (Figure 2.11) is clearly not meant to interrupt the flow of melismatic music, which runs nearly consistently from *hec* to *clausos*.

<sup>32</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 229). F (272v-273v); Ma (47r-48v); W<sub>1</sub> (151r (142r)-152r (143r)); GB-Csss 117\* (1r, frag.); GB-Ob Auct. 6 Q 3.17 (1r-1v, frag.).

<sup>33</sup> *Condimentum nostre spei*: full texts in Appendix 1 (p. 217); F (276r-277r); W<sub>1</sub> (123r (114r)-124r (115r)); Ma (45r-47r); GB-Ob Auct. 6 Q 3.17 (2r-2v, frag.). *Resurgente Domino*: full texts in Appendix 1 (p. 247); F (280v-281r); W<sub>1</sub> (143v (134v)-144r (135r)); Ma (48v-49v). *Rex eterne glorie mundo*: F (281r-282r); W<sub>1</sub> (148v (139v)-149v (140v)); Ma (58r-59r); GB-Ob Auct. 6 Q 3.17 (4v, frag.)



Figure 2.10 - F (273r), *Iam vetus littera*



Figure 2.11 - F (276r), *Condimentum nostre spei*

Even more strikingly, *Resurgente Domino* presents a lengthy and rich melismatic passage that spreads over the whole final stanza (Figure 2.12), from *mors* to *vincitur*, with only a short completely syllabic section over *et vincendo vinci-*.

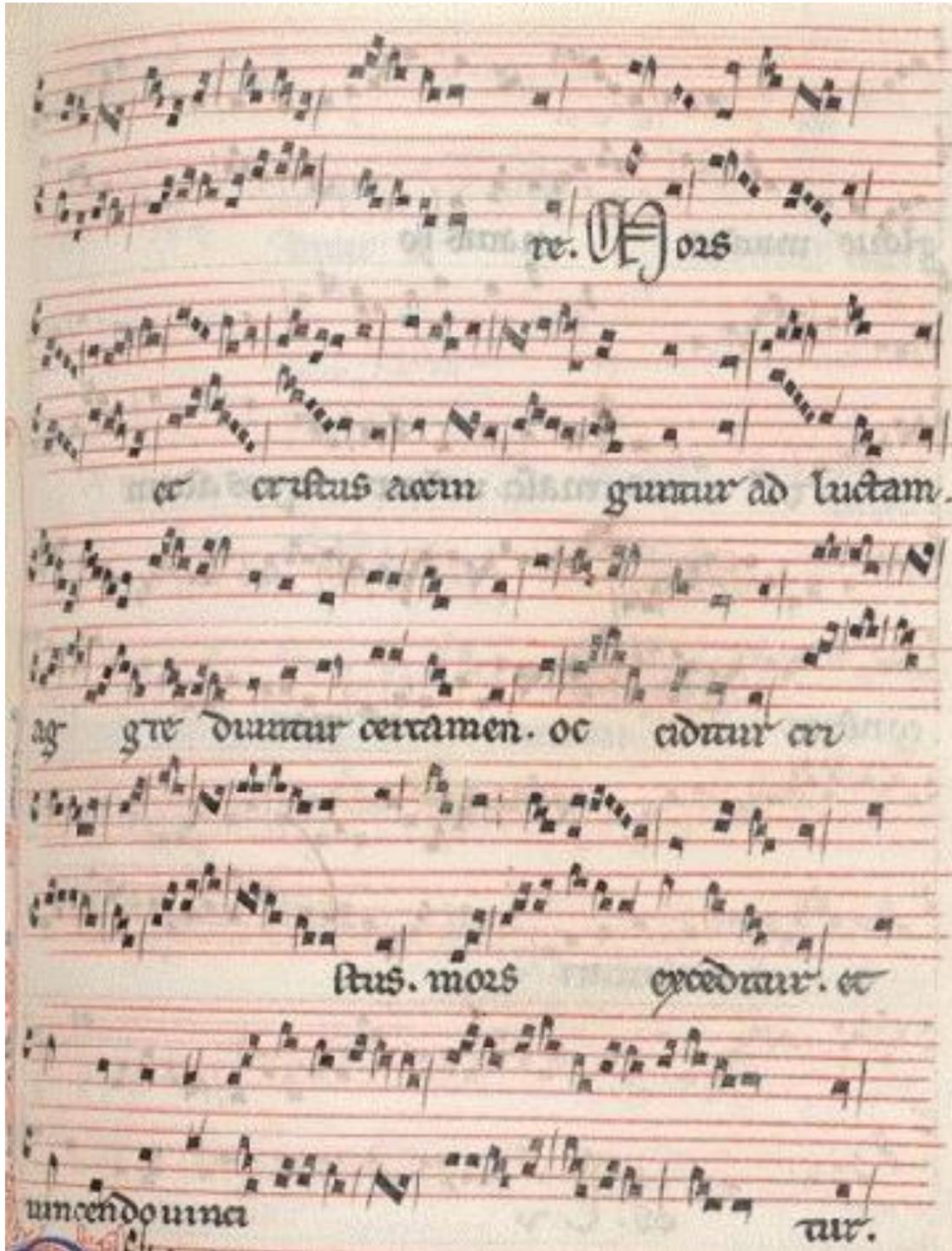


Figure 2.12 - F (281r), *Resurgente Domino*

*Rex eterne glorie mundo* not surprisingly recalls the design just described for *Resurgente Domino*. Its second stanza is generically melismatic, with no clearly determined syllabic segments (Figure 2.13 and Figure 2.14).

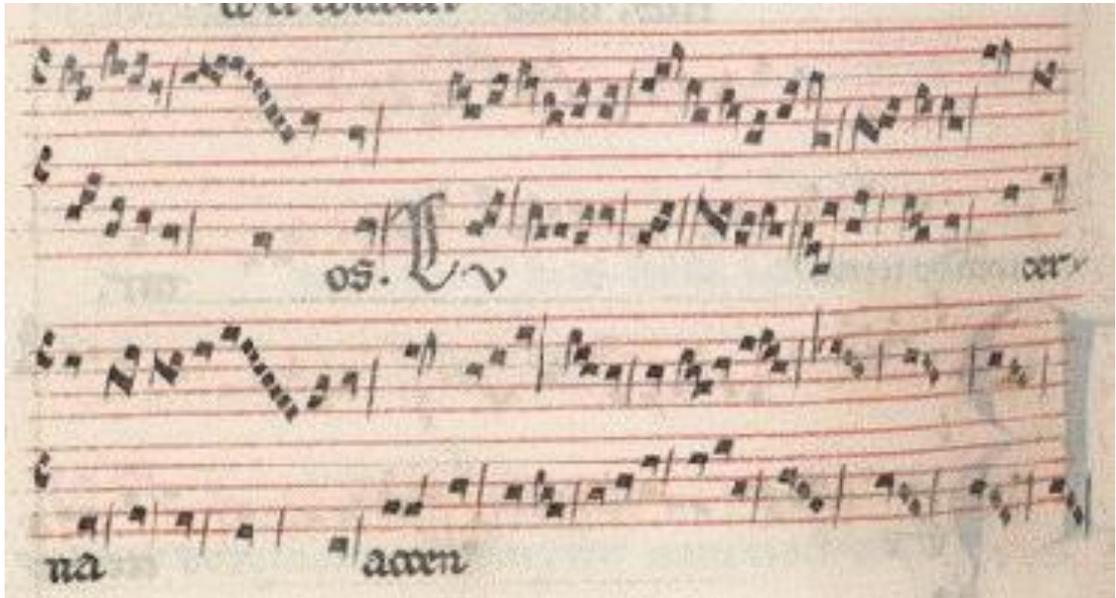


Figure 2.13 - F (281r), *Rex eterne glorie mundo*

There are four further pieces where no real syllabic *cum littera* can be identified: *Lene spirat spiritus*, *Dum sigillum summi patris*, *Porta salutis ave* and *Celorum porta*.<sup>34</sup> The peculiarly short texts of *Celorum porta* and *Porta salutis ave* are rare – thus not representative of the whole repertoire, and to many degrees these pieces are unique indeed; however their musical design seems consistent with the features previously discussed.<sup>35</sup> Both have essentially no syllabic music, and only a very few passages come close to the *cum littera* sections seen above.

<sup>34</sup> Full texts of *Lene spirat spiritus*, *Porta salutis ave* and *Celorum porta* in Appendix 1 (pp. 232, 242, 215). Text for *Dum sigillum summi patris* in Table 2.10. *Lene spirat spiritus*: F (273v-274v); W<sub>1</sub> (138v (129v)-139v (130v)); Ma (49v-51r). *Dum sigillum summi patris*: F (344r-346r); E-Bulh 9 (143r-144v); GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI (107v). *Celorum porta*: F (331v-332r). For *Porta salutis ave* see *Cantum Pulcriorem Invenire Conductus Database*.

<sup>35</sup> Exception is made for Flindell's studies on change of mode, and the subsequent quarrel with Anderson on the song *Celorum porta*. Cfr. Edwin Frederick Flindell, "Syllabic Notation and Change of Mode," *Acta Musicologica* 39, no. 1/2 (1967): 21-34, at p. 32; Gordon A. Anderson, "Mode and Change of Mode in Notre-Dame Conductus," *ibid.* 40, no. 2/3 (1968): 92-114, at p. 107; Edwin Frederick Flindell, "Puncta equivoca and Rhythmic Poetry: A Reply to G. Anderson (I)," *ibid.* 42, no. 3/4 (1970): 238-48, at p. 247.



Figure 2.14 - F (281v), *Rex eterne glorie mundo*

In *Porta salutis ave* only the words *vhe quia tollis* (last line) articulate syllabic music in both bottom and upper part, anticipating the final *cauda*. Similarly in *Celorum porta*, just the words *tua nos clementia* are set to syllabic music. The only extant record of this song, in F, shows rather clear erasures where the music for those words is given (Figure 2.15). As this *conductus* is a *unicum* it is not possible to compare this version with other testimonies in order to verify whether the erasure constitutes a deliberate amendment of the upper voice. However the hypothesis that an original version of the song envisaged some more flourished *cum littera* for this passage as well should not be excluded.



Figure 2.15 - F (332r), *Celorum porta*

Neither *Dum sigillum summi patris* nor *Lene spirat spiritus* reaches the extreme levels of ornamentation found in the two previous *conducti*. However, once again most of the music of both pieces is flourished, and the syllabic *cum littera* plays a minor role. In *Dum sigillum summi patris* syllabic music is consistently set to any repetition of the noun *sigillum* (seal), and the verb *fecundare* (to fecundate). In the first stanza we find syllabic music on *sigillum summi*, *sigillo summe*, and *nec sigillum ... sigillum deitatis detrimentum*; in the second stanza on *ex contactu fecundatur*, and *que dant vires fecundandi*. On the contrary the composer tends to mark the verbs *signare* (to mark) and *osculare* (to kiss) with extensive melismatic music (melismatic sections underlined in Table 2.10).

Table 2.10 - *Dum sigillum summi patris*

*1*

*Dum* sigillum summi patris  
Signatum divinitus,  
In sigillo summe matris  
Signatur humanitus,  
Nec sigillum castitatis  
In puella frangitur,  
Nec sigillum deitatis  
Detrimentum patitur.

*2*

*Dum* humanam osculatur  
Naturam divinitas,  
Ex contactu fecundatur  
Intacta virginitas;  
Mira virtus osculandi,  
Miranda sunt oscula,  
Que dant vires fecundandi  
Sine carnis copula.

Lastly, *Lene spirat spiritus* presents no extensive syllabic sections whatsoever. Some proper *cum littera* is timidly sketched over the words *spirat spiritus* that follow the initial *cauda*, as well as in the subsequent stanza on *rore pretermisso* and *nobis parit*.

### 2.3. *Benedicamus Domino*

The presence of richly flourished music over whole words – rather than just one syllable, is not limited to the “main body” of the *conductus* only. Some *conducti* place a melisma over the words *Benedicamus Domino*, which in most cases works as a closing formula. Almost thirty *conducti* have some sort of relationship with the *Benedicamus Domino* chant-formula. Since at least the eighth and ninth centuries the *Benedicamus Domino* formula was sung several times during the day as a concluding versicle for the office hours.

As Anne Robertson points out, the presence of the *Benedicamus Domino* in the *conductus* might constitute evidence of the derivation of the *conductus* itself from the liturgical environment.<sup>36</sup> Within that environment, the creation *ex novo* of new melodies for the words *Benedicamus Domino* was pursued by musicians who were already accustomed to the repertory and that could therefore exploit stereotyped formulas.<sup>37</sup> If applied to *conductus*, such a practice would really challenge our understanding of it as a genre that does not exploit previously existent material.

However the relationship between *Benedicamus Domino* and *conductus* is far from being homogenous, and in fact concerns the whole genre, from monodies to multiple-voice polyphony. Furthermore it must be stressed that the use of *Benedicamus Domino* formula transcends the central repertoire and spreads over peripheral and later witnesses to *conducti*.

Most of the above mentioned *conducti* project newly composed melismas spread over the words *Benedicamus Domino* (Let us bless the Lord),<sup>38</sup> which embodies the final *cauda* of the song; in most cases their design simply recalls to some degree the chant format of the *Benedicamus Domino*. Yet, some other songs help to connect even further the *conductus* with the *Benedicamus Domino* chant-formula as some *Benedicamus Domino caudae* are indeed chant-derived.

Do these songs indicate that the exploitation of pre-existent material in the *conductus* was a much more common process than it is commonly believed? This might

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<sup>36</sup> Anne Walters Robertson, “Benedicamus Domino: The Unwritten Tradition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41, no. 1 (1988): 1-62, at p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>38</sup> Newly composed, as we have no extant records of them.

have certainly been the case as long as *Benedicamus Domino caudae* are concerned. It is not impossible that the music material for the *Benedicamus Domino* was borrowed in most or all cases. Indeed, borrowings are hard to detect as no comprehensive modern catalogue of *Benedicamus Domino* settings exist; on the contrary, several studies list relatively few *Benedicamus Domino* melodies.<sup>39</sup>

The middle ages themselves did not transmit catalogues or anthologies of the corpus, showing apparently no interest in a categorisation of the genre, which possibly leads to the conclusion that the transmission of *Benedicamus Domino* melodies was mainly oral.<sup>40</sup> Consequently new melodies would have been based on stereotyped formulas, in the *conductus* as well as in chant. This might have been true in those cases where *Benedicamus Domino caudae* can be detached from the main bulk of the *conductus*, as they are not syntactically required as part of the poem, or their music is clearly not integral part of the composition.<sup>41</sup>

The existence of *conducti* that exploit pre-existent *Benedicamus Domino* melodies not only represents clear evidence of their connection with plainchant, it also represents a point of interaction between all the genres of the school of Notre Dame, since the exploitation of extant *Benedicamus Domino* melodies is common practice in the *conductus* as well as in both *organum* and motet.<sup>42</sup>

*Beatis nos adhibe* is a three-part motet copied among the three-voice *conducti* in F that uses a *Benedicamus Domino* chant as a tenor. Despite its motet design, the single non-metrical sustained notes of the tenor recall more the *organum* style.<sup>43</sup> Further examples of this sort of linkage are *Deus creator omnium*,<sup>44</sup> and *Leniter ex merito*,<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th-early 14th Century*, 4:1; Barbara Barclay, "The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untrope *Benedicamus Domino* Settings" (Dissertation, University of California, 1977); Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino: The Unwritten Tradition."; Andrew Hughes, "Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology," (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Annie Dennery, "Le chant grégorien: Un chant formulaire, centonisé et structurel—Les avatars du *Benedicamus Domino*," *Modus: Revista do Instituto Gregoriano de Lisboa* 6 (2002): 19-31, at.

<sup>40</sup> Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino: The Unwritten Tradition," 9.

<sup>41</sup> See later in this chapter.

<sup>42</sup> Eugene Lee, "Benedicamus Domino: Coherent Relationships Between Plainsong and Organum Duplum," *In Theory Only* 6, no. 5 (1982): 17-48, at.

<sup>43</sup> Mark Everist, *Discovering Song: Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry and Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

<sup>44</sup> See footnote 30.

where the final *caudae* on *Benedicamus Domino* are in both cases chant derived. Although the musical material for the final *cauda* on *Benedicamus Domino* of *Deus creator omnium* is borrowed from an existent chant, it is coherently imbedded in the rest of the song so that it is not separable from it. Contrarily, the final *Benedicamus Domino* melisma of the latter is clearly separable from the main body of the song because it is not metrically connected with the poem.

Further evidence for its separability comes from the relative abundance of testimonies of the song that do not record the *Benedicamus Domino cauda* itself,<sup>46</sup> a detail that would suggest its *Benedicamus Domino* version being only a variant to the original version of the song without it. Nevertheless, *Leniter ex merito* offers evidence of the heterogeneous treatment of the *Benedicamus Domino* in the *conductus* repertoire. It shares the same music for the *cauda* with another *conductus*, *Naturas Deus Regulis*,<sup>47</sup> which presents contrasting exploitation of that musical material. In this case the *cauda* is not separable from the main bulk of the *conductus*, and the fact that all its extant sources record the *cauda* would support this hypothesis.<sup>48</sup> Yet, because of the irregular structure of the song, it is plausible that the *Benedicamus Domino*, together with the last lines of the *conductus*, were added on a later stage (Table 2.11).

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<sup>45</sup> F (224v-225r); W<sub>1</sub> (16r(12r)-16v(12v) and 81v(74v)-84r(75r)); *GB-Cjec* QB 1 (1Av, fragm.); *GB-Ob* Rawl.poet.C510 (243v(14v)-244r(15r)).

<sup>46</sup> W<sub>1</sub> records both versions, with and without the *cauda* (16r(12r)-16v(12v); 81v(74v)-84r(75r)), while F (224v-225r) records only the version without the *Benedicamus Domino*.

<sup>47</sup> F (211v-213v, stanzas 1-2, 3pt; 286v-287v, stanza 3, 2pt); W<sub>1</sub> (98v(89v)-100r(91r), stanzas 1-2, 3pt; 100v(91v)-101r(92r), stanza 3, 2pt); W<sub>2</sub> (96r-99r); Ma (107r-109v); *D-MŪu* 382 (back flyleaf).

<sup>48</sup> F (211v-213v (stanzas 1-2, 3pt); 286v-287v (stanza 3, 2pt)); W<sub>1</sub> (98v(89v)-100r(91r) stanzas 1-2, 3pt; 100v(91v)-101r(92r) stanza 3, 2pt); W<sub>2</sub> (96r-99r); Ma (107r-109v).

Table 2.11 - *Naturas Deus regulis*

<i>Naturas Deus regulis</i>	<i>Carnem</i> sumens ex virgine	<i>Pauper</i> mundum ingreditur,
Certis astringi statuit,	Triplex pandit misterium:	Qui rebus preest omnibus,
Et a prescriptis formulis	Mortalis est ex homine,	Et abiectus egreditur
Nullo conatu potuit	Quod clausum manet ostium,	Potens pre terre regibus,
Ultra naturam progredi	<u>Quando</u> partus egreditur;	<u>Se</u> ipsum <u>exinaniens</u> ,
Vel per se citra regredi;	Spiritualis ostenditur	Suo patri obediens
Sed his ligari vinculis	<u>Quod</u> sine patris semine,	<u>Humilitur</u> exsequitur,
Ipsorum auctor noluit,	Quod non habet initium,	<u>Ut</u> sic par sit humilibus,
Qui retrahit et tribuit	Eternum tenes solium;	Insinuans hominibus;
Naturis, quod vult, singulis,	<u>Sub</u> divo sine tegmine	<u>Quod porta celi clauditur</u> ,
Sic ergo nostris seculis	Non egens medicamine	Et infernus exponitur,
<u>Mortalis</u> nasci voluit,	Ducit virgo filium,	Superbe resistentibus,
<u>Quod</u> eternus apparuit.	Quia salus est omnium.	Se extra se querentibus
		<i>Quos</i> ab Egypti cophino
		<u>Deus</u> potentialiter
		Redemit <u>et</u> humiliter;
		<u>Pro</u> servitutis termino
		<b><i>Benedicamus Domino.</i></b>

The relationship between *conductus* and motet becomes more evident with the *conductus Iherusalem accipitur*, a two-voice *unicum* in four stanzas recorded in *F-Pn* lat. 15139 (274r-275v). There the final melisma on *Benedicamus Domino* is based on two *clausulae* featured in the same source,<sup>49</sup> an element that leads Falck to claim that “entire repertories, peripheral in relation to Notre Dame, are not necessarily later ones”.<sup>50</sup> The first part of the *cauda* exploits the *clausula* on *Eius* (291r, source of motet *Quant ma dame part*), while the second half is based on the *clausula* on *Fiat* (290v, source of lost motet *Chies soutis*). Similarly, the *Benedicamus Domino cauda* at the end of the *conductus Columbe simplicitas* borrows music from the two-voice *conductus*-motet *Sederunt principes*,<sup>51</sup> precisely the music set to the syllable *-ne* of *Domine*. Because of the absence of the *Benedicamus Domino cauda* in one of the two

<sup>49</sup> Manfred Bukofzer, “Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula,” *Annales Musicologiques* 1 (1953): 65-103, at p. 83.

<sup>50</sup> Falck, “New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript,” 326.

<sup>51</sup> The *conductus*-motet shares characteristics with both genres: the upper voices share the same text but the tenor moves is a plainchant excerpt, in most cases copied in parts rather than in score.

testimonies of the *conductus*,<sup>52</sup> it has been suggested that the *Benedicamus Domino* might represent an optional feature of the song.<sup>53</sup>

One last example of genres crossover is the peculiar case of *Serena virginum*.<sup>54</sup> Based on four consecutive two-part *clausulae* on *Manere* this song is in fact another *conductus*-motet; however not all of its sources deliver the tenor.<sup>55</sup> The high inconsistency of the versions transmitted makes this song an interesting case for the examination of musical borrowing within this repertory. Its richest four-voice version is in F (235r-237v), where the three top parts are presented with a typical *conductus* outline in score, with text under the *motetus* voice only, while the *manere* tenor is copied at the end in part. W<sub>1</sub> (13r (9r)-15r (11r)) records instead the three top parts only, in score with text under the *motetus* voice. *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (92r-93r) records a different three-voice version, featuring the lower three parts notated in score with text underneath the tenor.

A couple of sources transmit two-voice versions, once again different from each other. Ma (119v-122r) delivers *motetus* and *triplum* only, while *E-SAu* 226 (101r) records tenor and *motetus* with voices copied one after each other. Only one monophonic version survives – *motetus* voice, in *A-Gu* 409 (72v). Yet, sources inconsistency is not the only point of interest for the analysis of this song; in fact, as far as the *Benedicamus Domino* formula is concerned, it is striking to note that it is set to syllabic music, whereas all other *Benedicamus Domino* in *conductus* are melismatic.

Within the *conductus* repertoire, the music over the word *Benedicamus* usually works as an introduction for the *cauda*. It may be set to syllabic as well as to a more flourished “discant-style” music, then leading to the actual *cauda* over the syllable *do-* of *domino*. A clear example of such a design is the *conductus* *Ista dies celebrari*.<sup>56</sup> After a much flourished penultimate line, the music over *Benedicamus* introduces the *cauda*

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<sup>52</sup> F (328v-329r) with *Benedicamus Domino*; *E-BUlh* 9 (137r-138r) without *Benedicamus Domino*). The music material of the *Benedicamus Domino* of *Columbe simplicitas* is also used in *Qui servare puberem*, a two-voice *conductus* recorded also as monody and three-voice polyphony. F (381v-382r), 3pt; W<sub>1</sub> (115r (106r)-115v (106v)), 2pt; Ma (128r-128v) 2pt; *E-SAu* 226 (101r) 1pt; *D-BWolf* s.s. (6v, fragm.) 1pt.

<sup>53</sup> Bukofzer, “Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula,” 77.

<sup>54</sup> F (235r-237v); W<sub>1</sub> (13r (9r)-15r (11r)); Ma (119v-122r); *A-Gu* 409 (72v); *E-SAu* 226 (101r); *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (74r-76v, textless; 92r-93v).

<sup>55</sup> Everist, *Discovering Song: Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetry and Music*.

<sup>56</sup> See paragraph 2.1.1.

with two descending sets of currentes. The final melisma eventually starts with the syllable *do-* and ends over *-mino*. *Gloria sit soli Deo*<sup>57</sup> presents a slight variation to this scheme, since the *Benedicamus* is totally syllabic, similarly to *Relegata vetustate*,<sup>58</sup> which introduces the *cauda* on *do-* with purely syllabic material. *Columbe simplicitas* offers instead a very elaborate example: its music becomes flourished towards the end of *Benedicamus*, and the actual melisma is spread evenly over the entire word *Domino*.

One last point to address concerns the separability of the *Benedicamus Domino*. We have anticipated earlier in this paragraph that some *Benedicamus Domino caudae* can be easily separated from the main body of the song without affecting meter or music. This means that such *caudae* were either composed in a second stage or just purposely designed to be “separable”.

In line with Robertson’s suggestion of a liturgical function for *conducti* with *Benedicamus Domino*,<sup>59</sup> we may infer that the purpose of such optionally separable *Benedicamus Domino* formulae was to allow the performance of those *conducti* in an environment other than the liturgy. However, it is not possible to account this as a justification for the presence of all *Benedicamus Domino* in the *conductus* repertoire, since the number of separable ones is comparable to that of non-separable ones, and the two groups would have had different purposes.

In addition to the example of *Columbe simplicitas* previously outlined, the *conducti Iherusalem accipitur*<sup>60</sup> and *Brevi carne deitas*<sup>61</sup> present excellent instances of *Benedicamus Domino* separability. In *Iherusalem accipitur* the *Benedicamus Domino* formula rhymes with the preceding line, yet it is not syntactically required (Table 2.12).<sup>62</sup> Exceptionally, the separability of the *Benedicamus Domino* in *Brevi carne deitas* is inferable on musical terms: the formula is preceded by a long ending *cauda*

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<sup>57</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 226). F (362v-363r).

<sup>58</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 246). F (277r-278v); W<sub>1</sub> (150r (141r)-151r (142r)); Ma (30v-32v); CH-MSbk S 231 (1r).

<sup>59</sup> Robertson, “Benedicamus Domino: The Unwritten Tradition,” 1.

<sup>60</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 229). F-Pn lat. 15139 (274r-275v).

<sup>61</sup> Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 214). F (361r-361v).

<sup>62</sup> *Iherusalem accipitur* presents an instance of *Benedicamus Domino* variant, as the author uses the vocative *Domine* in place of the ablative *Domino*. Cases of variants are not unusual yet appear to be all part of the same phenomenon. In this case, for instance, the use of the vocative is justified as it rhymes with the previous line. Helen Deeming has kindly evidenced that the final *e* has been clearly written over an erasure, which would suggest the variant *Domine* has been preferred to *Domino* at a later stage.

that, together with the final *punctus organi*, would suggest that a former stage of the song did not feature a *Benedicamus Domino* melisma.

**Table 2.12 - *Iherusalem accipitur*, Fourth Stanza**

Maria, pacis visio,  
Nam pacem veram vidimus  
In sue terre medio,  
Quam fundavit altissimus  
In cuius pacis nomine.  
Benedicamus Domine.

In *Relegata vetustate*<sup>63</sup> the *Benedicamus Domino* formula clearly represents integral part of the song. Despite its metrically unequal poem, the *Benedicamus Domino* line is in this case required by syntax (Table 2.13). *Gloria sit soli Deo* presents instead a much more regular poem;<sup>64</sup> in this case the *Benedicamus Domino* is not only required for syntactical reasons, but also because it rhymes with its previous line (Table 2.14).

**Table 2.13 - *Relegata vetustate*, Third Stanza**

**Vere** lucis matutino,  
Non legali sed divino,  
Agno decet resurgere.  
Corde, ore et opere;  
Sic, Benedicamus **Domino**.

**Table 2.14 - *Gloria sit soli Deo***

**Gloria** sit soli Deo,  
Laus, honor unigenito,  
Qui donet nobis omnibus  
Pro nostris vitam precibus,  
Ut cuncti mortis termino  
Benedicamus **Domino**.

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<sup>63</sup> See footnote 58.

<sup>64</sup> See footnote 57.

## 2.4. The *Punctus Organi*

The previous paragraphs offered a prospect of the melismatic landscape of the *conductus* repertoire. We found that the variety of *conductus* melismas is far from being only limited to the generic term *cauda*: embellishments of various length and function occur throughout the pieces. Furthermore, some of them have closer relationships with the chant repertoire. One point that really connects all these melismas is the relative paucity of contemporary theoretical background; theoretical sources tend to disregard the explanation of how different sections of the song are put together, and focus more on rhythmical issues.

As a consequence, theorists have little influence on our understanding of *cum* and *sine littera*, melismatic and syllabic passages, cadential figures, etc, which must be described according to the analytical study of the repertory itself. Yet, the *punctus organi* is nevertheless mentioned by contemporary theorists in more than one instance; nonetheless, this further melismatic feature has curiously been neglected in scholarly studies.<sup>65</sup> The *punctus organi* is widely used in *conductus*, and represents a remarkable connection with the Aquitanian *versus*, a legacy outlined in 1969 by Sarah Fuller:

The patent resemblance in text, musical style, and liturgical association suggest a direct line of descent from polyphonic Aquitanian *versus* to polyphonic Parisian *conductus*.<sup>66</sup>

Such a legacy is unmistakably manifest in several pieces afferent to the St Martial tradition, where the use of patterns of descending *currentes* as closing formulas of lines or stanzas is particularly common. The song *Veri solis radius* offers more than

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<sup>65</sup> With the exception of Mark Everist, “Tails of the Unexpected: the “*Punctus organi*” and the “*Conductus cum caudis*”,” *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (2010): 161-95, at p. 174. Everist mentions the De Lafage Anonymous as a first account of the *punctus organi*, then moves to the Vatican *Organum* Treatise (which will be discussed in this paragraph), and the *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* by Franco of Cologne, to finish then with Anonymous IV. Editions of Franco’s treatise are of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*; Anonymous, *Ars cantus mensurabilis mensurata per modos iuris*. Edition and translation of the Vatican *Organum* treatise can be found in Irving Godt and Benito Rivera, “The Vatican *Organum* Treatise: A Colour Reproduction, Transcription, and Translation,” in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981) In Memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, ed. Irving; Godt and Hans Tischler (1984): 264-345, at p. 319. For the De Lafage Anonymous Treatise see Albert Seay, ed., *An Anonymous Treatise From St. Martial*, vol. 5, *Annales Musicologiques* (Paris, 1957).

<sup>66</sup> Sarah Ann Fuller, “Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries” (PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969), 3.

one of such cases. At folio 149r in the manuscript *F-Pn* lat. 3549, the melisma on *hominis* ends with a pattern of descending currentes (Figure 2.16) that resembles the design of the *punctus organi*.<sup>67</sup>

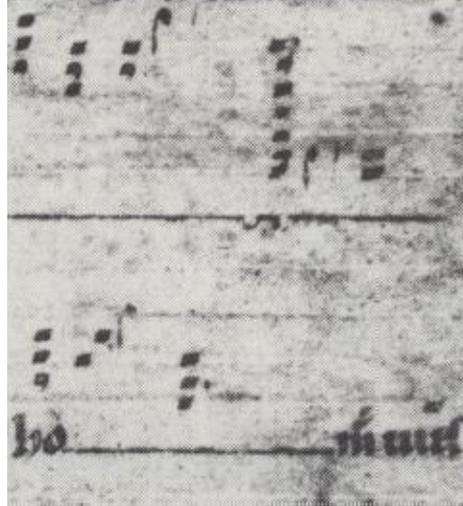


Figure 2.16 - *F-Pn* Lat. 3549 (149r), *Veri solis radius*

Later on in the song, the same cadential figure is proposed again, set this time to the word *arboris* (150r, Figure 2.17). In both cases the two voices start on an octave and finish on a unison.

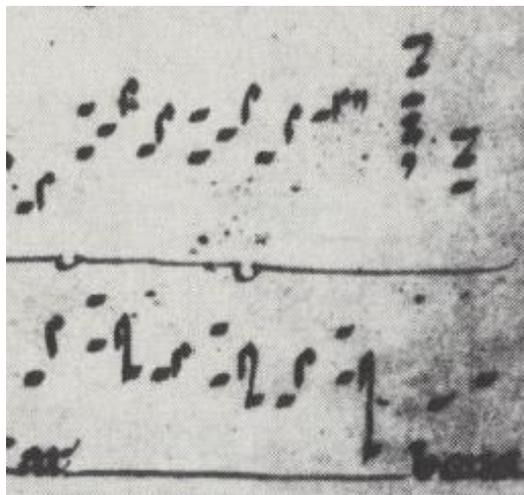


Figure 2.17 - *F-Pn* Lat. 3549 (150r), *Veri solis radius*

Recently, Mark Everist shed more light on the *punctus organi* in the *conductus* repertoire, outlining more in detail its design, theoretical background, and context.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> See later in the paragraph for detailed characteristics of the formula.

<sup>68</sup> Everist, “Tails of the Unexpected: the “Punctus organi” and the “Conductus cum caudis”.”

Everist finds in one of the rules given in the Vatican *Organum* Treatise the definitive contemporary evidence of the existence of this specific cadential figure.<sup>69</sup> The Vatican *Organum* Treatise gives 31 rules, each one subdivided into further sub-instructions. The eighteenth rule discusses the *punctus organi*:

If the chant ascends by a second and the organum begins at the octave, let the organum descend by a seventh, and it will arrive at the unison.<sup>70</sup>

Everist claims that only the first of the sub-instructions given under the eighteenth rule concerns melismatic figures found in *conductus*, while all the others are only found in the Aquitanian *versus*.<sup>71</sup> As outlined in the Vatican *Organum* Treatise, in order to perform a *punctus organi* the two voices need to start from an octave and close to unison via a major second. The *currentes* in the upper voice cover a seventh while the tenor sings a long sustained note. As we can easily infer, this is the same formula that we found in the Aquitanian song *Veri solis radius*. As Everist claims, some optional variants may occur,<sup>72</sup> however these do not alter the intrinsic structure of the *punctus organi*.

The most striking issue that concerns the *punctus organi* surely concerns the high degree of discrepancy between the sources. All other features remain more or less consistent within the main sources of the repertoire, and a very few differences in the delivery of the music can be described as remarkable. On the contrary the *punctus organi* seems to represent the only inconsistent feature. Omissions of known *puncti organi* occur not only in some peripheral or late sources, but also in most of the central ones, namely F, W<sub>2</sub> and Ma. Wherever discrepancies arise, W<sub>1</sub> is the most faithful source to this extent. A first solution to this issue would confirm W<sub>1</sub>'s chronological antecedence as opposed to other Notre Dame sources, as W<sub>1</sub> would possibly deliver *conducti* in their older design.<sup>73</sup> Towards the end of the thirteenth century, when

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>70</sup> *Si cantus ascenderit duas voces et organum incipiat in dupla, descendat organum 7 voces et erit cum cantu.* Godt and Rivera, "The Vatican Organum Treatise: A Colour Reproduction, Transcription, and Translation," 319.

<sup>71</sup> Everist, "Tails of the Unexpected: the "Punctus organi" and the "Conductus cum caudis"," 175.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>73</sup> Assuming that, being linked to the older polyphony of St Martial, the *punctus organi* represents indeed an early practice in the Notre Dame *conductus*. Everist, "A New Source for the Polyphonic Conductus: MS 117 in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge," 165.

Anonymous IV writes his treatise, the *punctus organi* seems to have become an optional feature:

And with this some add punctum puri organi after what we have discussed above for a more noble ending ..., and put them as embellishment before a longa rest, as in the custom in organum purum ...<sup>74</sup>

This would explain why this feature is found with less regularity in late sources. On these bases, it is therefore plausible that the *punctus organi* was more widely performed than the surviving sources themselves record, and that it was typically improvised *in situ* by more skilled singers. The fact that a *punctus organi* was still in use centuries later would provide evidence for this.<sup>75</sup> The *punctus organi* is mentioned as late as the fifteenth century, in Tinctoris' *Tractatus de punctis*, where a cadential formula is indicated in the score through the symbol that nowadays denotes a *cadenza*:

The dot of the general pause is a sign placed in the middle of a semicircle open towards the bottom, by which it must be generally paused by every part of a piece at those notes above which it is set ... and this dot is commonly called an "organ point".<sup>76</sup>

However, all the testimonies of *conducti* that do not transmit their final *punctus organi*, appear to be on the contrary remarkably consistent in the delivery of the rest of the song, including *puncti organi* set as closure of stanzas, or within the main body of the piece. If such final *puncti organi* were not recorded because they were difficult to perform – or simply for a matter of style, why are all other *puncti organi* of the song consistently recorded instead?

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<sup>74</sup> *Et cum talibus quidam addunt punctum puri organi post praedicta loco nobilioris finis, ..., et ea ponunt ante longam pausationem florificando, prout mos est in puro organo ...* Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 84.

<sup>75</sup> Charles Warren, "Punctus Organi and Cantus Coronatus in the Music of Dufay," in *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6-7, 1974* (New York: Brooklyn College Music Department: Allan W. Atlas, 1974): 128-43, at p.

<sup>76</sup> *Punctus more generalis est signum in medio semicirculi ab inferiori parte aperti positum, quo in illis notis supra quas constituitur ab omni parte cantus generaliter est morandum ... et hic punctus vulgariter punctus organi vocatur.* Johannes Tinctoris, "De punctis," *Early Music Theory*, <http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/depunctis/#>.

*Conducti* such as *Hec est dies triumphalis*, *Lene spirat spiritus*, *Naturas Deus regulis* and *Veri vitis germine* record more than one *punctus organi* each.<sup>77</sup> The three-stanza *conductus Hec est dies triumphalis* presents several melismatic figures that can be related to the *punctus organi*. However, it has only two *puncti organi* showing the characteristics described in the Vatican *Organum* Treatise, one at the end of the first section of stanza 3, and a second one at the end of the song. These are identical and are both found in W<sub>1</sub>. On the contrary the final *punctus organi* is not recorded in the two testimonies of the *conductus* featured in Ma and F. Figure 2.18 and Figure 2.19 show the two *puncti organi* as preserved in F and W<sub>1</sub> respectively.



Figure 2.18 - F (265v), *Hec est dies triumphalis*



Figure 2.19 - W<sub>1</sub> (134r (125r)), *Hec est dies triumphali*, Final *punctus organi*

<sup>77</sup> *Hec est dies triumphalis*: see footnote 26. *Lene spirat spiritus*: see footnote 34. *Naturas Deus regulis*: see footnote 47 and Table 2.11. *Veri vitis germine*: full text in Appendix 1 (p. 254). Sources for *Veri vitis germine*: F (269v-270v); W<sub>1</sub> (135r (126r)-136v (127v)); Ma (35r-37r); *GB-Ob* Rawl.poet.C510 (240v(11v)).

As far as F is concerned, we can exclude the possibility that the final *punctus organi* was not copied for practical reasons, since plenty of room separates the end of the song and the beginning of the following *conductus* on the page (Figure 2.20). Nevertheless we cannot give same reason for Ma, as it shows the opposite situation. The scribe who copied the music miscalculated the room needed for the final *cauda*, eventually ending beyond the limits of the ruled stave (Figure 2.21).



Figure 2.20 - F (266r), *Hec est dies triumphalis*



Figure 2.21 - Ma (42r), *Hac est dies triumphalis*

Consequently, although the lack of room on the page might have not been the case for F, we cannot exclude this option *a priori* for the case of Ma. Since the two *puncti organi* of the song are, as anticipated, absolutely identical; it is not unlikely that the scribe only avoided redundancy, being confident that a singer would have known what sort of “cadence” he needed to sing at the end of the song, even where this was not explicitly indicated on the parchment. It is not impossible that such an omission implied the necessity to perform a varied improvised version.

Omissions in F, Ma and W<sub>2</sub> are not scribal mistakes, and *puncti organi* were not omitted because they were hard to perform, as in most cases the final cadence is merely repeating a *punctus organi* found several times elsewhere throughout the song. A

plausible hypothesis is that scribes knew they could rely on exceptional singers that would have improvised a final embellished *punctus organi*,<sup>78</sup> maybe based on cadential figures previously encountered performing the song. The following passage taken from Anonymous IV's treatise, although liable to divergent interpretations, seems to suggest that a musician needed to know how to perform a suitable *punctus organi* whether it was written on the parchment or not:

The third volume is of triple conducti that have caudae like *Salvatoris hodie* and *Relegentur ab area* and similar ones, in which are contained the puncti organi at the end of the verses and in some not, and a good composer of organum is expected to know these perfectly.<sup>79</sup>

The passage above also suggests that the *punctus organi* represented a fairly important feature of the *conductus*, since it is the only morphological detail mentioned in the treatises – if exception is made for the *cauda*, pointed out earlier in the first line of the passage. In fact, we previously claimed that the *punctus organi* recalls some patterns found in the Aquitanian repertoire, or even in the *organum*.<sup>80</sup> Yet, in addition to Everist's claim of the uniqueness of the *punctus organi* in the *conductus* repertoire,<sup>81</sup> the presence of descending *currentes* is far from being limited to the *punctus organi*. Further configurations involving descending *currentes* over a sustained note may be found within the repertory.

*Novum sibi textuit* is a highly melismatic two-voice *conductus*,<sup>82</sup> with throughcomposed music that runs over three isometric stanzas. Two *puncti organi* are found at the end of both stanza 2 and 3, but some more patterns of descending *currentes*

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<sup>78</sup> Whoever could afford the compilation of manuscripts such as F or Ma, could also afford exceptional singers.

<sup>79</sup> Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, 73. *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, quos bonus organista perfecte scire tenetur.* Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 82.

<sup>80</sup> Everist, "Tails of the Unexpected: the 'Punctus organi' and the 'Conductus cum caudis'," 171. Everist gives examples of *puncti organi* chosen among the repertory of two-part *organa* in F, from the edition "Les organa à deux voix du manuscrit de Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1," (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 2003).

<sup>81</sup> "[...] 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". Everist, "Tails of the Unexpected: the 'Punctus organi' and the 'Conductus cum caudis,'" 173.

<sup>82</sup> F (306r-307r); W<sub>1</sub> (163r (154r)-164v (155v)); CH-SGs 383 (165-169); CH-Zz C.58 (148r); F-T 1471 (114v).

decorate the body of the song. It is striking to note that these are all based on the same configuration (compare Figure 2.22 and Figure 2.23), and that the internal *currentes* patterns differ from the final one in just a few cases.

The first of these configurations occurs after a flourished neume at the end of the second line, over the word *lumbare*. The figure, where the *currentes* run over a sustained note, starts with an octave, covers a span of a seventh, and eventually ends on unison (G-G). The first stanza remarkably ends without any *punctus organi*; however, the composer decides to close the initial *cauda* of the following stanza with an exact replica of the figure just discussed.

A further *currentes* pattern follows shortly after, over the word *cura*. This represents a variant to the previous figure, as it starts on the same notes (F-f) but ends on the octave D-d. The initial figure is used again as closure of the second stanza, and again towards the fourth line of the last stanza, over the word *trinitatis*. Shortly after a more peculiar pattern is introduced, at the end of the word *dignitatis*; this differs enormously from any standard or varied *punctus organi*.

Descending *currentes* are set to the *tenor* part covering a span of an octave, while embellished accompaniment is found in the *duplum*. The figure does not interrupt the music stream; it starts on an octave and falls on the interval B-e set to the following syllable. The final *punctus organi* is a further repetition of the main configuration (Figure 2.22).

*Deus creator omnium* offers similar examples;<sup>83</sup> *puncti organi* are found both at the end of its stanzas as well as within them. Figure 2.24 shows three identical *puncti organi*, two over the words *simplicem* (second and third systems), and one over *querens* (bottom of the folio).

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<sup>83</sup> See footnote 30.



Figure 2.22 - W<sub>1</sub> (163r(154r)), *Novum sibi textuit*



Figure 2.23 - F (307r), *Novum sibi textuit*

Moreover, there are further *currentes* patterns, running over a span of a fifth or a sixth (*per certos* and *distribuens*, top of Figure 2.24). Similarly the following folio (Figure 2.25) displays *currentes* patterns not only within the *cum littera* section (penultimate system, *matrem virginem*), but also closing a stanza (*temporis*, second system).

sibi multiplicem. et per se tot distribuens gra  
 dul naturam simpli  
 cem. o cundior ut fi  
 eret ex diversis concordia fa ctus homo in ru  
 eret ad hec fuit officia. quem per  
 ditum querens humani corporis xpi ctus assump

Figure 2.24 - F (266v), *Deus creator omnium*

sic habitum licet in fine tempo  
 ris.  
 pus secuntur aquile pulli lan  
 betel san gunem triumphat ag  
 men fragile. currens post matrem uirginem.  
 nos igitur regnanti sine termino cui omne ge

Figure 2.25 - F (267r), *Deus creator omnium*

Together with particularly embellished *cum littera* sections, the exploitation of *currentes* patterns gives *conducti* the chance to reach peaks of extremely elaborate beauty. *Celorum porta* represents one of such cases.<sup>84</sup> This *unicum*, recorded in F at folios 331v-332r, is one of the most intriguing and fascinating pieces of the repertoire. Melismatic music spreads over the whole song to such a degree that it makes impossible to approach the morphological design of the *conductus* exploiting any extant analytical tool. The final *punctus organi* itself is exceptionally elaborate (Figure 2.26), a shorter version of it lies at the end of the first line, which is decorated by several other *currentes* patterns of different quality.

*Porta salutis ave*, with its short poem, represents probably the most similar case. *Lene spirat spiritus* and *Dum sigillum summi patri* are also comparable,<sup>85</sup> despite their more regular and relatively long poem. The cases of *Novi sibi textuit*, *Deus creator omnium*, *Celorum porta*, and the others outlined above constitute evidence that the *punctus organi* constitute common feature in the *conductus* as any other pattern of descending *currentes*.<sup>86</sup> Both embody a linkage between the *conductus* and the polyphony of St Martial; the *punctus organi* however, achieved a degree of prominence within the compositions of the school of Notre Dame that can hardly be overrated.

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<sup>84</sup> See footnote 34.

<sup>85</sup> See footnote 34.

<sup>86</sup> Everist, "Tails of the Unexpected: the "Punctus organi" and the "Conductus cum caudis"," 174.



Figure 2.26 - F (331v), *Celorum porta*

## 2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has broken up the two-voice *conductus* and analysed many of its parts. The complex structure of the *conductus* does not find extensive treatment in contemporary treatises, especially when compared to contemporary genres such as *organum* and motet. Medieval treatises only account for two sections in the *conductus*, with or without words (*cum* and *sine littera*). Brief account is made for terms that refer specifically to melismatic music: tail (*cauda*), as well as cadential figures called *punctus organi*. This study found that boundaries between syllabic and melismatic music appear more blurred compared to the rigid interpretation given by modern musicological literature. Consequently this chapter proposes to group *caudae* into two categories, the first concerning those set to first and last words of stanzas (framing *caudae*), the second all other *caudae* found within the poem (internal *caudae*).

Framing and internal *caudae* differ from one another mostly in terms of the function – or functions – they tend to cover, although length also plays a major role. Generally, framing *caudae* are typically concerned with the structure of the song, while internal *caudae* often interact actively with text, meter, rhymes, and meaning of the poem as well. In terms of length, framing *caudae* can stretch considerably, while one may find internal *caudae* as little as two or three perfections of length. For the peculiarity of such melismas, which are often placed within *cum littera* music, we use the term *micro-caudae*.

Internal *caudae* become analytically relevant as they transcend the mere structural function, which was earlier assumed representative of all melismas in *conducti*. Moreover, the presence of such short melismas represents a challenge in transcribing *cum littera* music: in these cases they suddenly switch from rhythmically uncertain syllabic music to melismatic modal patterns.<sup>87</sup>

However, proper *musica sine littera* does not represent the only occurrence of melismatic music in this repertoire. A sizable number of *conducti* shows melismas spread over several syllables or even entire words, in this way challenging extraordinarily our understanding of the *sine littera* as a unique embellished section of *conducti*. According to this, the concept of melismatic music should not be always

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<sup>87</sup> For a discussion on the rhythmic interpretation of the *cum littera* see the section Notation, Modality, and Rhythm, p. 14 and ff.

associated with that of the *sine littera*. One instance of such “*cum littera*” melisma concerns *Benedicamus Domino* formulae found in some twenty *conducti*. The exploitation of *Benedicamus Domino* formulae not only links the *conductus* to *organum* and the motet, it also bears evidences of its liturgical roots. The use of the *Benedicamus Domino* appears quite heterogeneous; it mostly concerns newly composed terminal *caudae*, but cases of exploitation of extant *Benedicamus Domino* chants are found as well.

Yet, the *Benedicamus Domino* is not the only witness to the *conductus*' origins. The *punctus organi* is a melismatic pattern of descending *currentes* that strongly links the *conductus* of Notre Dame to the earlier music tradition of St Martial. It generally works as a sort of “cadence” at the end of final *caudae*, but it can occasionally be found at any point of the song. When it occurs more than once within a single song, little or no variations characterise the occurrences. Some similar “*currentes* patterns” make the link between Notre Dame *conductus* and Aquitanian *versus* even stronger, and confirm the high degree of influence that neighbour traditions had on this School.

Modern literature focuses heavily on theoretical sources, which brought to the understanding of the *conductus* repertoire as a consistent genre. Theoretical sources represent in fact the *a posteriori* conceptualisation and normalisation of terms such as *cauda*, *cum* and *sine littera*, or *punctus organi*. Such theoretical boundaries reject any flexible understanding of the *conductus*. This chapter focuses on the morphological examination of the repertoire itself to challenge such an understanding, and proposes to look at the *conductus* as a more heterogeneous repertory of songs grouped under one generic term.

### 3. Dating

#### 3.1. Introduction to Datable *Conducti*

The previous chapter showed that the interplay between syllabic *cum littera* sections and melismatic *caudae* is not as rigid as it might first appear. Exchanges between the two occur on a regular basis. Syllabic and melismatic passages interact with each other in a very flexible fashion. *Conducti* with *cum littera* sections that can be identified as strictly syllabic represent only a small percentage compared to the whole repertoire. In this chapter I will show how such juxtaposition of *cum* and *sine littera* passages behaved in two-part *conductus* during the life span of the genre (c.1160-1250), in order to describe how composers of *conducti* have approached the use of melismas.

The study of the evolution of the genre is rather hard to achieve. In most cases, to suggest a date for a song is an impossible task, primarily because the main sources of the Notre Dame repertoire of *conductus* (F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, Ma) are generally considered as late anthologies of the corpus, compiled no earlier than 1230s. In this sense then, it must be stressed that we can only build our investigation on sources that are almost one hundred years younger than the repertoire they preserve. Indeed, there are no sources copied at the same time as the music was composed, neither fragmentary nor minor ones. Within manuscripts pieces seem to be recorded with no distinction between early or late compositions. A further research obstacle is that even musical and poetic styles of *conducti* composed in chronological proximity might still be confusingly diverse, according to factors such as function, for instance, or simply the authors' personal touch. The reader should bear in mind these points when approaching the conclusions of the chapter, which should be understood as a guideline, rather than a definitive answer.

Despite these issues, in the late nineteenth century dates were hypothesised for some songs, and these represent the starting point for any research that involves issues about chronology in the *conductus*.<sup>1</sup> Building on this and more recent studies<sup>2</sup> in order

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<sup>1</sup> Delisle, *Discours prononcé à l'assemblée générale de la Société de l'histoire de France, le 20 mai 1884, par M. Léopold Delisle, président.*

<sup>2</sup> Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs Composed around 1200."; Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus."; Eberlein Roland, "Ars antiqua: Harmonik und Datierung," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 43, no. 1 (1986): 1-16, at; Gillingham, "Conductus as Analgesic."; Payne, "Aurelianis civitas: Student Unrest in Medieval France and a

to ascertain a chronological development of the *conductus*, it is first necessary to separate all datable songs from the rest of the repertoire. Once this task is accomplished it is possible to propose a date for just a very limited group of *conducti*. This group constitutes less than 10% of the whole corpus. In the case of two-voice songs, which are the subject of this work, the percentage reduces to five.

Most of these songs are found in the main Notre-Dame manuscripts, F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub> and Ma.<sup>3</sup> Further sources considered relevant for the repertoire and that likewise record datable *conducti* are St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek (hereafter *CH-SGs*) 383, *E-BULh* 9, and Cambridge, Jesus College (hereafter *GB-Cjec*) QB 1.<sup>4</sup> By the early thirteenth century the repertoire of the school of Notre Dame had spread over most of Europe. It is no coincidence that the above mentioned sources were all compiled during that century; either in France, in Spain, in the British Isles or in Switzerland. The only chronological exception is *E-BULh* 9 (c.1325), which was completed later and transmits music in square mensural notation.<sup>5</sup> The earliest extant source of the corpus is the Scottish codex W<sub>1</sub>, compiled in St Andrews in the 1230s.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 3.1 - List of Sources with Two-Part Datable *Conducti***

<b>Ms.</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Date</b>
W <sub>1</sub>	Scotland, St Andrews	1230s
F	France, Paris	c.1245
<i>CH-SGs</i> 383	Western Switzerland, likely the Cathedral of Lausanne	Before 1250
Ma	Spain, Toledo	13 <sup>th</sup> century
W <sub>2</sub>	France, probably Paris	13 <sup>th</sup> century
<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 15139	France	Mid-13 <sup>th</sup>
<i>GB-Cjec</i> QB 1	England, possibly Bury St Edmunds	Late 13 <sup>th</sup>
<i>E-BULh</i> 9	Spain, Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas	Completed c.1325

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Conductus by Philip the Chancellor.”; “Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique.”

<sup>3</sup> See Table 3.1 for a detailed list of the main relevant sources.

<sup>4</sup> The unica featured in *F-Pn* lat. 15139 were not included in any previous study of *conducti* chronology, and similarly are not included in this investigation.

<sup>5</sup> While the other codices are in square Notre Dame notation.

<sup>6</sup> Everist, “From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origins of W1.”

But on what basis have these songs been dated? Generally, as we attempt to date a song, or a group of songs, we focus on the direct source first and analyse rubrics or inscriptions. Then we move to indirect sources – in the case of the repertoire at issue, theoretical treatises. As far as the *conductus* is concerned, it has been previously mentioned that we only benefit from late manuscripts, which carry little or no information on authorship. Consequently direct sources are of very little aid in this sense. Unfortunately, the genre suffers a remarkable underrepresentation in medieval treatises, so that indirect sources add little more to the scarce information obtained from the musical testimonies. On the other hand, some texts of *conducti* carry remarkably precise references to historical events or characters. These references may sometimes appear straightforwardly explicit, while more often are hidden behind obscure metaphors.<sup>7</sup>

Such information, which we can refer to as the “passive data content” of the song, represents the key means of dating this repertoire. Yet, this will give reasonable chronological information concerning the poem only, since music and text could have been written either simultaneously or many years apart.<sup>8</sup> As far as this group of songs with datable text is concerned, it is likely that those poems were set to music immediately or shortly after they were written. Most of them have celebrative purposes, and in order to satisfy such an aim, it is likely that they were both written and set to music within a short period of time from the event they were indeed celebrating.

A century later than the first pioneering attempt to date the corpus by Léopold Delisle,<sup>9</sup> Ernest Sanders published a study about the chronology of the surviving repertoire.<sup>10</sup> This work examines the polyphonic datable songs, focussing on issues of modality. As main results, the article claims that *caudae* written in the first mode were common in songs composed before the end of the twelfth century. After the turn of the

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<sup>7</sup> Cases of metaphorical references to personalities are not uncommon in the High Middle Ages; rather striking is for instance the *senhal*, a figure of speech used by troubadours as a pseudonym to secretly address the woman they loved in their poems. On the *senhal* cfr. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 212-27.

<sup>8</sup> For a broader treatment of this issue see section 1.2.1 and 1.2.2, pp. 51 and ff.

<sup>9</sup> Delisle, *Discours prononcé à l'assemblée générale de la Société de l'histoire de France, le 20 mai 1884, par M. Léopold Delisle, président*. As anticipated, he first presented dates for the repertory, his dating hypothesis constitute the basis of all the modern scholars' suppositions.

<sup>10</sup> Sanders, “Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus.”

century, musical textures became more complex, as in other Notre Dame genres (*organa tripla, quadrupla, and clausulae*). In the author's opinion, the second mode appears more or less in the same period, since *O felix bituria* (dated 1209) is the first datable *conductus* with *caudae* containing second-mode rhythm. Finally, the second mode originated as result of experimentations with the third mode.<sup>11</sup>

The last part of the study concerns two three-part *conducti*, *Crucifigat omnes* and *Novus miles sequitur* (dated 1188 and 1173 respectively). Sanders argues against Delisle's early dating. He suggests that they were written later (in the first decades of the thirteenth century) and that the composition of three-part *conducti* was not common until the 1200s.<sup>12</sup> More recently Thomas Payne investigated the issue further, and published a more exhaustive study, completing Sanders' work, through the discussion of datable monodies.<sup>13</sup> This more recent article mainly draws conclusions on the evolution of poetic rather than musical forms. However, the article also features a relatively short musical-focused analysis, where the author compares monodies and polyphonies.<sup>14</sup> The author also shows that through-composed *conducti* became increasingly more common after the end of the twelfth century.<sup>15</sup> Concerning poetry, six- and ten-syllable paroxytones appear to be peculiar to the earliest *conducti*. Later, songs featuring strophes disposed into paired versicles, which Payne calls "sequence form", move essentially towards uniformity after the turn of the twelfth century. In the two decades either side of 1200, the *conductus* became "a sophisticated compositional entity unto itself".<sup>16</sup>

These are crucial studies for the understanding of the *conductus* repertoire, and they need to be taken into account. Nevertheless, the destructive and merciless action of history has left only a small sample of datable songs, which in itself is not sufficient evidence to apply the outcomes of its study to the corpus as a whole. The *conductus* repertoire overall counts for more than 860 songs, including monodies, two, three, and four-part works, and sources that preserve the texts alone. Given that datable songs cover no more than 10% of the corpus, we must expect that there is a considerable

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 512.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 512-20.

<sup>13</sup> Payne, "Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique."

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

degree of uncertainty in the conclusions drawn owing to the neglect of the remaining 90%. Such idiosyncratic misrepresentation constitutes a selection bias, a concept that is aptly explained in the following passage:

A selection bias is a distortion of the effect measured; it results from procedures used to select subjects that lead to an effect estimate among subjects included in the study different from the estimate obtainable from the entire population theoretically targeted for study.<sup>17</sup>

In the study of datable *conducti* we have no control of the “procedures to select subjects”, as we can only rely on certain songs whose texts provide some datable information. In this sense, such songs are selected among the entire *conductus* repertory (i.e. the “entire population”). Despite this issue I believe we can still aim to minimise the effects of such self-selection bias. A thorough study of the musical design of *conducti* throughout its life span might gain reliability if a comparison with the whole repertory is accomplished. This methodology represents the main improvement proposed by my study, which thus differentiates itself from any previous approach to the matter. A further point that needs to be stressed is the treatment of datable syllabic songs (Table 3.2). These are not included in the investigation, or to be more precise, they have been studied aside. The inclusion of syllabic *conducti* in the analysis that concerns melismas has high probability to corrupt the results. Indeed, we must bear in mind that they need to be considered a sort of genre *per se*, according to Anonymous IV:

And there is another volume of double *conducti* that have *caudae* like the ancient “Ave Maria” in *duplum* and “Pater noster commiserans” or “Hac in die rege nato,” in which are contained the names of several *conducti*, and similar things ... And there is a fifth volume of quadruple, triple and duple [*conducti*] without *caudae*, which used to be much used by minor singers, and similar things.<sup>18</sup>

Anonymous IV clearly distinguishes *conducti* with or without *caudae*, but he never implies that the first represents the evolution of the second. On the contrary, these words suggest that the syllabic repertoire might have just characterised a separate category, designed for less skilled or simply junior singers (*in usu inter minores*

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<sup>17</sup> Kenneth J. Rothman, *Modern Epidemiology* (Boston: Little Brown, 1986), 83.

<sup>18</sup> Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, 73.

*cantores*). The passage above gives further interesting chronological details hidden behind the adjective *antiquum*, which is complementing the *conductus Ave Maria*. Despite the fact that “ancient” might sound a rather undefined quality, the inclusion of “antique songs” in the repertory does not only confirm that *conducti* were indeed composed over a long span of time, it also tells us that by the second half of the thirteenth century musicians could distinguish several chronological layers of *conducti* composition. *Ave Maria* would definitely belong to the first of them, while all other cited *conducti* would instead belong to more recent ones. It seems indeed reasonable to suggest that *antiquum*, at the time Anonymous IV was a student at Notre Dame, might have referred to *conducti* composed during the first part of the life-span of the genre. The repertoire counts around seven different songs whose incipit corresponds to *Ave Maria*; however Anonymous IV says that this is a two-voice melismatic (*habentibus caudas*) *conductus*, which limits the possibilities to the song *Ave Maria gratia plena* only, recorded in F (284v-285r).<sup>19</sup> This identification gains further reliability if the song *Pater noster commiserans* – also mentioned within the passage – is taken into account, as the two *conducti* are copied next to each other on W<sub>1</sub>.<sup>20</sup>

With all this in mind, the chapter moves to the complete list of all two-part melismatic datable *conducti* (Table 3.2) and to a more detailed account of the methodology. To give a reliable chronological description of composers’ use of melismas in the *conductus* the comparative analysis of datable and un-datable songs is here considered a vital step in the process. Therefore, the study of datable songs is integrated with a systematic and comprehensive examination of the whole – un-datable – corpus in order to minimise the degree of uncertainty represented by the self-selection bias discussed earlier.

This analysis offers significant information on the use of *caudae* within the period c.1160-1250. The scrutiny of terminal *caudae* probably shows the most remarkable result. First some general rule is necessary: any melismatic two-voice *conductus* requires at least one terminal *cauda*. 90% of the two-voice melismatic *conducti* presents a *cauda* at the end of each stanza (which means that there is a perfect correspondence of number of terminal *caudae* and number of stanzas), while the

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<sup>19</sup> Also in W<sub>1</sub> (145r (136r)-145v (136v)); W<sub>2</sub> (114v-115v); Ma (59v-60r); *D-HEu* 2588 (2r-2v); *CH-MSbk* S 231 (Ar-Av).

<sup>20</sup> Between ff. 145r (136r)-147v (138v).

remaining 10% still presents terminal *caudae* but not necessarily one each stanza. This is mirrored in our sample of datable melismatic songs. All of them have at least one terminal *cauda*: 90% of those *conducti* presents a melisma at the end of each stanza, while for 10% of them this does not happen (Table 3.3). Despite the sample of datable *conducti* discussed in this chapter being relatively small in comparison to the repertoire as a whole, such similar proportions cannot be considered a matter of chance. Therefore, as far as the study of melismatic sections is concerned, we can reasonably describe the small batch of datable *conducti* as fairly representative of the whole corpus. *Regi regum omnium* is the only *conductus* within this set of songs that does not present a regular proportion of *caudae* per stanza, and it is dated 1209. Consequently, we can suppose that the rigid presence of a *cauda* at the end of every single stanza represents a rule that consolidated since the earliest compositions in the twelfth century and possibly became more flexible after the turn of the century.

**Table 3.2 - Two-Voice Datable *Conducti***

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Syllabic/Melismatic</b>
<i>Novus miles sequitur</i>	1170 or 1173	Melismatic
<i>Ex oliva Remensium</i>	1179	Melismatic
<i>Ver pacis aperit</i>	1179	Syllabic
<i>In occasu syderis</i>	1183	Syllabic
<i>Eclipsim patitur</i>	1183 or 1186	Melismatic
<i>O quotiens volui</i>	1187	Melismatic
<i>Crucifigat omnes</i>	1189-1191	Syllabic
<i>Quod promisit ab eterno</i>	Before 1189-1191	Melismatic
<i>Pange melos lacrimosum</i>	1190	Melismatic
<i>Redit etas aurea</i>	1194	Melismatic
<i>Dic Christi veritas</i>	1198	Melismatic
<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (II)</i>	Before c.1200	Melismatic
<i>O crux ave spes unica</i>	1209	Melismatic
<i>Anni favor iubilei</i>	1209	Melismatic

<i>Regi regum omnium</i>	1209	Melismatic
<i>Adest annus iubileus</i>	1209	Melismatic
<i>Clavus pungens acumine</i>	1233	Melismatic

**Table 3.3 - Terminal Caudae in Datable Conducti**

**Datable Conducti**

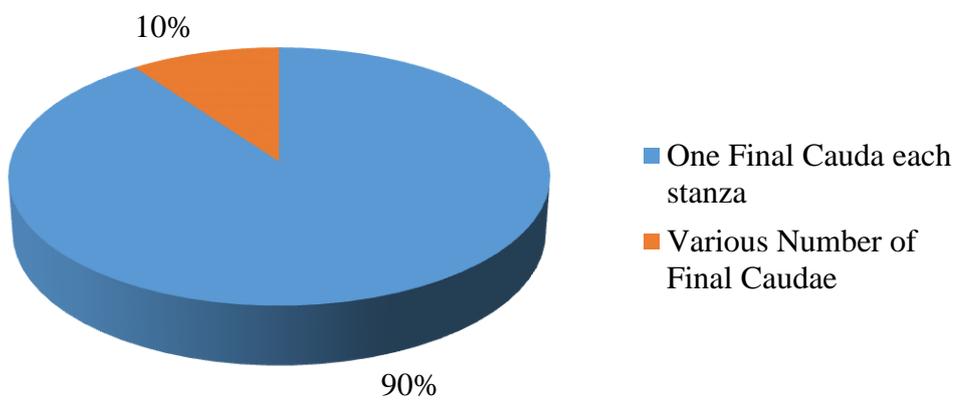
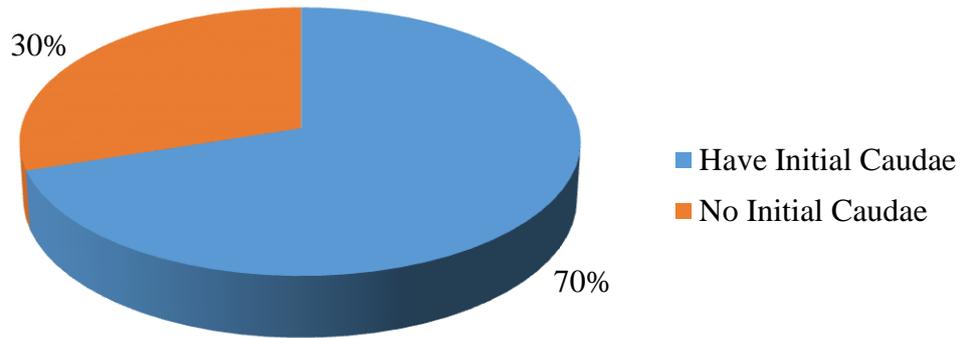


Table 3.4 - Initial *Caudae* in Datable *Conducti*

**Datable *Conducti***



The second category investigated here features *caudae* at the beginning of *conducti*, or of their stanzas (initial *caudae*). If we consider once again the whole repertoire, we notice that initial *caudae* are not a regular feature of melismatic *conducti*, since overall they are found less frequently than terminal *caudae*. Also, more than half of *conducti* have no regular proportion between number of initial *caudae* and stanzas, and around 30% do not contain initial *caudae* at all (Table 3.4).

Once again these proportions are mirrored in the small sample of datable songs, which reveals again that two discrete periods of *conducti* composition can be reckoned, separated roughly by the turn from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. A direct proportion “one *cauda* per stanza” is still more consistently found in the twelfth century.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, all of the early pieces have either one initial *cauda* per stanza or no initial *caudae* at all.<sup>22</sup> On the contrary, odd proportions of *caudae* per stanzas are only

<sup>21</sup> *Ave Maria gratia plena (II); Dic Christi veritas; Eclipsim patitur; Ex oliva Remensium.*

<sup>22</sup> *Adest annus iubileus; Novus miles sequitur; Redit etas aurea; Pange melos lacrimosum.*

found in the thirteenth century.<sup>23</sup> To sum up: initial *caudae* were probably never supposed to be set to all stanzas. Nevertheless, whenever they appear, they are more likely to be consistently set to all stanzas before 1200, whereas in the following century, they were subject to more flexible treatment.

Moving on to the next group of melismas, internal *caudae* differ from initial and terminal *caudae* not only in terms of morphology and function, but as discussed in the previous chapter, also in terms of chronology. Internal melismas appear in this list of datable *conducti* quite early with *Ex oliva Remensium* (1179), but they seem to become more frequent in the following century. Also, there are in general, more cases of short internal *caudae* than lengthy ones before the end of the twelfth century. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the longer internal melismas represent a quantitative evolution of shorter melismas. Nevertheless, it is possible that short internal *caudae* spread throughout *cum littera* sections since the earliest *conducti*, while longer phrase-breaking internal *caudae* become more common later. To explain this it will be useful to take F into account, and see if the main source for Notre Dame music can be of any aid to date these two very peculiar features.

Firstly, the majority of the two-part *conducti* that have long internal *caudae* are generally regularly proportioned in terms of both initial and terminal *caudae*, which according to previous conclusions would suggest a stage in between the early and the mature style, more or less towards the end of the twelfth century. Consequently this seems to confirm that the longer internal *cauda* might have become more common slightly later (which does not mean, however, that it was unknown before). Secondly, the majority of the *conducti* that have short internal *caudae* still consistently display one terminal *cauda* per stanza, but on the other hand no – or an odd amount of – initial *caudae*. Such a heterogeneity does not recall any specific chronological period among the ones that we previously discussed, thus suggesting that the feature would have always been characteristic of the genre.

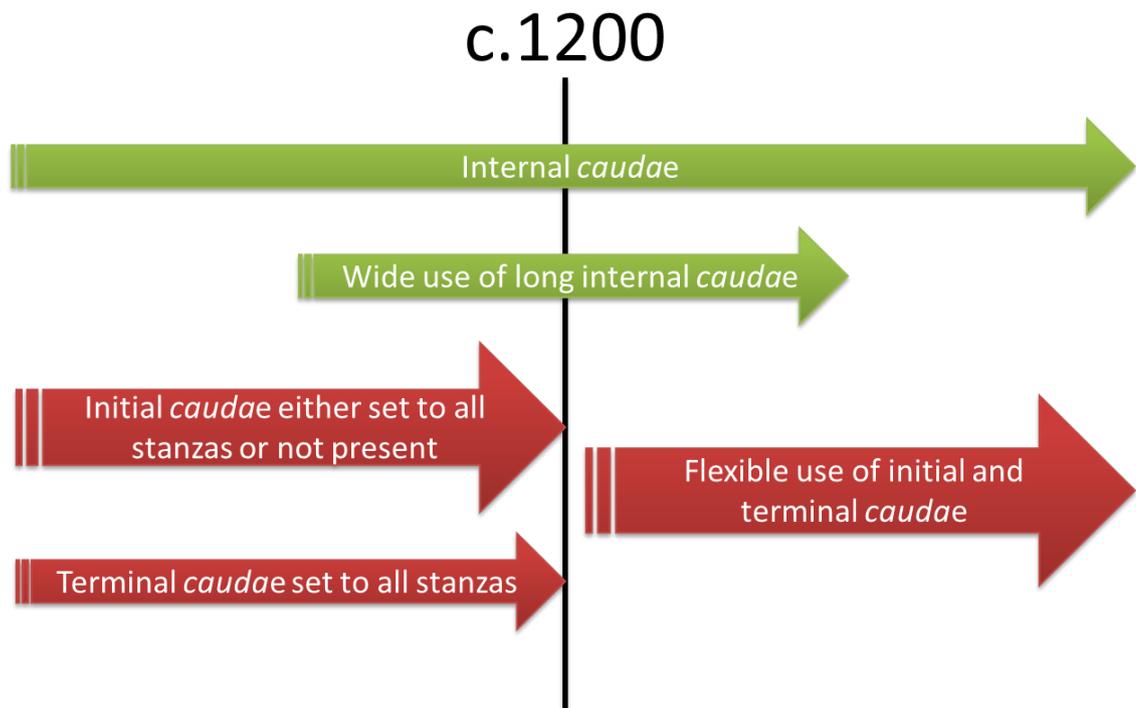
The comparative study of datable and non-datable *conducti* brings out that terminal *caudae* are the main feature of the repertoire. Initially they were set to all stanzas; after the end of the twelfth century their use becomes more flexible. Initial

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<sup>23</sup> *Anni favor iubilei*, with only two initial *caudae* within three stanzas. The three-stanza *conductus Nulli beneficium* has one initial *cauda* only, but its dating, 1182, has been contested (see p. 174).

*caudae* were either set to all stanzas or not used at all; after the end of the twelfth century even the use of this feature becomes more flexible. Internal *caudae* were always used by *conducti* composers. However, short ones are used over the whole repertoire, while longer ones achieve popularity towards a later stage of the twelfth century. Table 3.5 gives a schematic and synthetic account of the proposed changed compositional approach to the use of *caudae* in the two-voice *conductus* over the life-span of the genre.

Table 3.5 - Use of *Caudae* in the Period c.1160-1250<sup>24</sup>



It is probable that the first appearance of a lengthy melismatic section in the two-part *conductus* occurred at the end of the song. Both the sample of datable *conducti* and the entire repertoire itself provide sufficient evidence to support this theory. The terminal *cauda* is the most prominent of all the melismas, additionally in most cases its number is proportioned to the amount of stanzas that form the song. This explains the medieval oxymoronic use of the term “*cauda*” (Latin for tail) to describe melismas placed at any point of the composition, rather than just at the end, as a tail. Such an incongruity is also self-explained in Anonymous IV’s treatise. He uses the noun “*cauda*” as a generic descriptor of polyphonic settings of *conductus* melismas in a period – late

<sup>24</sup> The left of the chart is c.1150-1200 and the right is c.1200-1250.

thirteenth century – when the genre has fully evolved, was highly disseminated, and widely adopted, along with its descriptive vocabulary.

Tertium volumen est de conductis triplicibus caudas habentibus sicut Salvatoris hodie et Relegentur ab area et similia...<sup>25</sup>

Indeed, both *conducti* mentioned by Anonymous IV have several framing and internal *caudae*. The medieval theorist extrapolates the word “*cauda*” from its literal meaning, thus accepting the connotation it has in the specific context of the school of Notre Dame. Between the twelfth and the thirteenth century then, the word *cauda* was subjected to a semantic broadening process, technically called “generalisation”. This occurs when a range of meanings of a word increases so that the word can be used in more contexts than were appropriate before the change, as for the English word “cupboard”, originally referring to a table upon which cups or vessels were placed, while later meant a generic storage cabinet. A further example is given by Steinmetz:

The word *business*, ... originally meant ‘the state of being busy, careworn, or anxious,’ and was broadened to encompass all kinds of work or occupations.<sup>26</sup>

The instances outlined above recall our case of generalisation, since the “generalised” word – whether *business*, *cupboard* or *tail* – broaden its literal meaning over the course of its usage. It would seem logical, therefore, that at an early stage of the evolution of the genre the word “*cauda*” did refer solely to a “melisma at the end of a *conductus*”. However, as the application of *caudae* in *conductus* composition changed and enlarged, the term came to be synonymous with the melismas themselves, rather than their position within the piece. This widened the term’s semantic field to include any melismatic section of any length in any position of the *conductus* compositions. Anonymous IV’s use of the plural *caudae* implies that, by this stage, *conducti* could have more than one “tail”, framing the composition, or even embellishing its inside.

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<sup>25</sup> Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 82. *The third volume is of triple conducti that have caudae like “Salvatoris hodie” and “Relegentur ab area” and similar ones.* Yudkin, *The Music Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation*, 73.

<sup>26</sup> Sol Steinmetz, *Semantic Antics: How and Why Words Change meaning* (2008), viii.

### 3.2. Multiple Dating and Music Borrowing

The list of *conducti* for which a date of composition has been hypothesised is long, although it covers only about 10% of the entire repertoire.<sup>27</sup> Table 3.2 gives a list of the two-voice melismatic datable *conducti*. Generally, these songs have one main feature in common: they are topical *conducti*, which means their texts carry datable information. Therefore, dates hypothesised for the conception of texts can be regarded as reasonably accurate.

As anticipated, the same cannot be said *a priori* for the composition of their music. However, the fact itself that topical songs act as commentaries of historical events may help to solve this issue. In a medieval world where music represents a crucial medium in which to deliver information, the composition of a song right after a historical event occurred allowed for the prompt circulation of news. We can therefore consider likely that the topical *conducti* at issue were written and composed within a relatively short time after the event they were commenting on.

However, this does not overcome any doubt with dating issues, given the high subjectivity of some hypotheses. To this regard some *conducti* have received multiple datings, as for the cases of *Eclipsim patitur*, *In occasu syderis*, and *Crucifigat omnes*.

Table 3.6 gives a list of historical events relevant to the discussion around the Parisian *conductus* and its chronology. This can be used as a quick reference and will make the discussion that follows easier to understand.

The first of the *conducti* that received divergent dating hypothesis is *Eclipsim patitur* (Table 3.7). This is only one of the *conducti* dedicated to the English Royal family before 1200. According to Payne, this strophic piece was written in 1183 to commemorate the death of Henry the Younger (1155 – 1183), son of Henry II King of England (1133 – 1189).<sup>28</sup> However, Anderson had proposed the date of 1186 according with the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*,<sup>29</sup> claiming the song was written in honour of

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<sup>27</sup> See Appendix 3, p. 283 and ff., for a schematic full list of datable *conducti*.

<sup>28</sup> Payne, “Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique,” 141.

<sup>29</sup> Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 21 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1895), 173.

Henry's brother Geoffrey II Duke of Brittany (1158 – 1186).<sup>30</sup> This second hypothesis is also supported by Traill, who sees “little doubt that this information is correct” when he ascribes the poem to Philip the Chancellor.<sup>31</sup> Despite this, the first hypothesis seems more easily acceptable, as it would give reason to the words *de via mittitur in sedem patrie* (is sent from the way and enters his motherland) in the first stanza. In fact, his body was eventually buried according to his will in Rouen Cathedral.

**Table 3.6 - Two-Voice Datable *Conducti* Events, Timeline (c.1160-1250)**

1163	• First cornerstone laid for the construction of Notre-Dame de Paris.
1170	• Death of Thomas Beckett (canonised 1173)
1179	• Coronation of King Philip Augustus of France
1138	• Death of Henry the Younger, son of King Henry II of England
1187	• Saladin recaptures Jerusalem
1189	• Coronation of Richard I the Lionheart • Third Crusade
1190	• Death of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa
1191	• Defeat of Philip Augustus at Acre, and retreat
1192	• Treaty between Richard I and Saladin, end of Third Crusade
1194	• Release of Richard I from imprisonment by Emperor Henry VI
1198	• Conflict between King Philip Augustus and Pope Innocent III • Installation of Pope Innocent III
1202	• Fourth Crusade (end 1204)
1209	• Albigensian Crusade starts (end 1229) • Death of St William Archbishop of Bourges
1215	• Fourth Lateran Council
1224	• Battle of La Rochelle
1226	• Coronation of King Louis IX of France
1244	• Flight of Pope Innocent IV to France before Emperor Frederick II

<sup>30</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 4, 8.

<sup>31</sup> Traill, “More Poems by Philip the Chancellor,” 173-74.

However, the second hypothesis is also possible; Geoffrey took part himself, alongside his brother Henry the Younger, in the 1183 revolt against his father Henry II. He eventually died in 1186 either in a tournament, or as a result of acute chest pain.<sup>32</sup> The poem gives no other clue to help decide who the song is dedicated to, however if it was actually written in 1186 the use of the “eclipse” metaphor (first lines) would be justified by the still vivid memory of the real eclipse, which occurred in May 1185.<sup>33</sup>

Geoffrey was not widely mourned by his contemporaries, at least not as much as his brother Henry the Younger. In fact, only a few cases of contemporary poetic homage to him are known, while laments for Henry the Younger are more abundant.<sup>34</sup> The *conductus* exists in a two-part version only, copied in F (322v-323r, one stanza only, but with room for at least a second one), and in W<sub>1</sub> (110r (101r), with all four stanzas).

The prosody is remarkably regular, with stanzas composed of eight six-syllable proparoxytonic lines, apart from the first, which consists of eleven lines. The three-line surplus may suggest a refrain reading,<sup>35</sup> and strengthens the expression of sorrow that characterises the song: *Mors sortis aspere / Cunctis equa / Non novit parcere* (death, in his harsh lot, treating all men equally, knows not how to spare). The long internal *cauda* on *mors* not only alliterates the micro-*cauda* on *mundi*, but it introduces the closing tercet as well.

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<sup>32</sup> The first possibility, of his death in a tournament, is supported in Roger of Hoveden’s *Chronica*, while the second in the *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, in a chronicle by the French royal clerk Rigord. The editions of the chronicles suggested below can all be found online at [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org) : Guillaume Rigord, *Oeuvres*, H. François Delaborde ed. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882); Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, William Stubbs ed. 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1964).

<sup>33</sup> *Eclipsim patitur, splendor mlitie, solis extinguitur, radius hodie* (The splendour of the warring host suffers an eclipse, for today the sun’s ray is extinguished). Full text in Appendix 1 (p. 221). The previous recorded eclipse occurred as far back as in March 1140. For reference see the “Anglo Saxon Chronicles”: Michael James Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (New York: Routledge, 1998). The chronicles give also account of a further solar eclipse on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1191 and of an annular eclipse of the moon occurred around midnight on 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1200. This would also explain the proliferation of eclipse-metaphors in the repertoire: e.g. *Veri solis presentia* (undated), *Eclipsim passus* (1197), and *Sol eclipsim patitur* (1188 or 1252).

<sup>34</sup> The contemporary vernacular repertoire constitutes proof of it. The troubadour Bertran de Born, who took part in the 1186 revolt with the two brothers, wrote *Mon chan fenis ad dol et ab maltraire* for Henry the Younger, and *A totz dic qe ja mais non voil* for his sibling Geoffrey. Another *planh* dedicated to Henry the Younger, *Si tuit li dol e.l plor e.l marrimen*, was thought to be Bertran’s as well, however it is today attributed to Rigaut de Berbezill. William Doremus Paden, Tilde Sankovitch, and Patricia H. Stäblein, eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born* (University of California Press, 1986), 346.

<sup>35</sup> Mary Channen Caldwell, “Singing, Dancing, and Rejoicing in the Round: Latin Sacred Songs with Refrains, circa 1000-1582” (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2013), 290.

Table 3.7 - *Eclipsim patitur*

*Eclipsim patitur*  
Splendor militie,  
Solis extinguitur  
Radius hodie,  
Lux mundi labitur,  
Dum flos Britannie  
De via mittitur  
In sedem patrie.  
Mors sortis aspere,  
Cunctis equa,  
Non novit parcere.

This song embodies the early style of the *conductus* as the stanza is regularly surrounded by framing *caudae*. The initial melisma is still quite short, whilst the final one is visibly longer. The only long internal *cauda* has a structural function, opening the refrain, and is comparable in terms of length to the initial *cauda*. The internal texture is quite intricate, displaying several melismas with patterns of *currentes* (Figure 3.1). The presence of two micro-*caudae* is notable. One of these, consisting of five perfections, is set to the syllable *sol* of the word *solis*, clearly in the first rhythmic mode. The tiny melisma on *mundi*, however, is just three-perfections long.



Figure 3.1 - W<sub>1</sub> (110r(101r)). *Currentes* on *radius*, *hodie*, and *sedem*.

The syllabic-stanzaic song *In occasu syderis* has been the subject of the same discussion about dating as *Eclipsim patitur*. Anderson proposes two possible dates:

1183 and 1189.<sup>36</sup> On the one hand, the year 1189 would refer to the death of Henry II – and thus to Richard I the Lionheart’s coronation, implied by the words *casu repentino novus surgens lucifer ortu matutino* (in a sudden change, a new light arising will give, at morn’s sunrise).<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, the earlier date, 1183, refers once again to the death of Henry the Younger, Henry II’s son, and has been proposed by Payne.<sup>38</sup> This last option is more convincing, for the main reason that the words *iuvenis etate* (of a young age) are more appropriate to describe a 26-year-old Henry the Younger in 1183, rather than a 32-year-old one in 1189.<sup>39</sup>

The text of the piece is preserved in full (three stanzas) in *GB-Ob*, Rawlinson poet. C510 (238r (9r)), while a two-part musical setting is found in *W*<sub>1</sub> (117r (108r)), also with the full text, and in *F* (350v-351r) with one stanza only. The music is predominantly neumatic, with frequent three-up-to-four-note ligatures on each syllable. There are some remarkable, recurrent melodic patterns, presenting only slight variations in order to match the counterpoint (Music Example 3.1). Voices frequently end in unison and the music becomes more elaborate towards the end of the song.

Music Example 3.1 - *In occasu syderis*. Details of the Words *syderis, angliā, and suscipe*

A further *conductus* that has been subject to multiple attempts at dating, *Crucifigat omnes*, is one of the most intriguing. This is not only because of its wide dissemination in a large number of sources,<sup>40</sup> but also because it involves contrafactures

<sup>36</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 4, 12.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Payne, “Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique,” 141.

<sup>39</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 4, 13. This hypothesis is also supported in Trill, “Philip the Chancellor and the Third Crusade.”

<sup>40</sup> It is preserved in various formats including text only, monodic, and two- and three-part polyphonic settings. The two-voice version is found in *W*<sub>2</sub> (138v-139v) and *E-BULh* 9 (97r-97v); the three-voice polyphonic variant is instead recorded in *W*<sub>1</sub> (78v (71v)-79r (72r)), *W*<sub>2</sub> (46v), *GB-Cjec* QB 1 (1Cr-1Cv), and *F* (231v-232r); as a monody is only found in *D-Sl* HB I Asc. 95 (31r). Two sources record the text only: *D-Mbs* clm. 4660 (13r) and *GB-Ob* Rawl.poet.C510 (242v(13v)-243r(14r)).

that make the philological reconstruction of its lyrics difficult. Placing this song on a chronological *continuum* that extends from circa 1160 to 1250 is problematic.

Anderson, in agreement with Schumann's edition of the *Carmina Burana*, suggests that the poetic text laments the fall of Jerusalem taken by Saladin in 1187,<sup>41</sup> an event that led to the Third Crusade in 1189. Anderson sees the metaphorical interpretation of Jerusalem – as a symbolic cross Christ has to bear – as a reasonable reading.<sup>42</sup> By contrast, Sanders claims that the *conductus* was composed between 1219 and 1220, underlining the fact that *Crucifigat omnes* might feature metaphorical references to the Fifth Crusade instead.<sup>43</sup> In Sanders's opinion the words *plorat Moysen faticere* would sound "quite enigmatic" if referring to the Third Crusade, and would instead concern Frederick II's stalling in the decision to assume military leadership and leave for the Fifth Crusade.<sup>44</sup>

This debate is probably a result of the fact that some events that characterised the call for the Third Crusade are to some degree similar to those of the Fifth. Fredrick I Redbeard never arrived in the Holy Land as he died *en route* in 1190 near Seleucia (Turkey), and very little of his army actually joined the conflict. Furthermore, Philip Augustus never reached Jerusalem either, he returned to France in 1191 after the siege of Acre. Both arguments are valid, and unfortunately the *conductus* offers no further element to help dating its composition. Nonetheless, the music itself is not strictly relevant to this debate as *Crucifigat omnes* is substantially strophic and composed in conventional syllabic counterpoint. However, it is noteworthy that *Crucifigat omnes* borrows musical material from another *conductus*.<sup>45</sup> Specifically, it sets the poem to the final *cauda* of *Quod promisit ab eterno*, not an uncommon procedure within this repertoire.<sup>46</sup> This melismatic through-composed piece survives in a two-voice version

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<sup>41</sup> Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, eds., *Carmina burana*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1930), 99. See for instance the words *sepulchrum gens evertit extera violente* (and in violence an alien people has overthrown the Holy Sepulchre). Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 1, 33.

<sup>42</sup> Despite this, the testimony of the song recorded in GB-Ob Rawl.poet.C510 (242v(13v)-243r(14r)) interprets the song literally, and delivers a rubric that reads *de effectu crucifixionis Jesu Christi*.

<sup>43</sup> Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," 514.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 515.

<sup>45</sup> For extensive treatment of this topic see Payne, "Philip the Chancellor and the Conductus Prosula: 'Motetish' Works from the School of Notre-Dame.," *Motets and Prosulas*.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. the cases of *Anima iugi*, *Bulla fulminante*, and *Minor natu filius* that exploits the melody of *caudae* from *Relegentur ab area*, *Dic Christi veritas*, and *Austro terris influente* respectively.

and as a monody.<sup>47</sup> Considering the relationship between the two songs, if Anderson's theory that *Crucifigat omnes* was set to music between 1189-1191 is true, then its musical source *Quod promisit ab eterno* must have been an earlier piece, written in the previous two decades.

Two further episodes were relevant to the borrowing of musical material within the *conductus* repertoire.<sup>48</sup> The first involves the poem *Mundum renovavit* found as a marginal next to *Crucifigat omnes* in W<sub>1</sub> (78v(71v)), and therefore supposed to have had its same polyphonic musical setting. The second poem, *Curritur ad vocem*, is similarly found following strophe three of *Crucifigat omnes* in *D-Mbs* clm. 4660 (13r), and it was designed to be set to monodic music. The testimony of the song found with neumatic music in *D-Sl* HB I Asc. 95 (30v) confirms this hypothesis.

Both these two *conducti* borrow music from *Quod promisit ab eterno*. Neither of the two poems should be intended as part of *Crucifigat omnes* (although they might have been performed consecutively), since they clearly resemble a completely different piece of work in terms of topic and tone. Also, neither of them concerns the crusades: on the contrary *Mundum renovavit* is a poem of Marian theme, while *Curritur ad vocem* sets up an argument against corruption. The remarkable melismatic layout of *Quod promisit ab eterno*, in both its *cum et sine littera* sections (as evident from the text below), leads to intriguing questions about the rhythmic interpretation of the repertoire.

The final *punctus organi* also stimulates engaging questions when the sources are compared. A *punctus organi* is recorded in W<sub>1</sub> only (Figure 3.3), while the scribes of F (Figure 3.2) and W<sub>2</sub> do not provide any indication for a cadence on descending currentes. Finally, the copyist of Ma seems to leave some room for a *punctus organi*, which is however left blank (Figure 3.4). The absence of this single *punctus organi* in F, W<sub>2</sub>, and Ma is unlikely to reflect local musical practices, as other similar configurations are found in all sources of the song.<sup>49</sup> For instance, all variants of *Quod promisit ab eterno* feature a cadential pattern over the word *argumentum* (third stanza) that closely resembles the *punctus organi* found in W<sub>1</sub>.

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<sup>47</sup> Ma (76v-78r); W<sub>1</sub> (139v (130v)-140v (131v)); W<sub>2</sub> (111r-112v); *E-BULh* 9 (132r-134r); F (300v-301r). *D-Sl* HB I Asc. 95 (32v) delivers just the third stanza in its monodic version.

<sup>48</sup> Janet Knapp, "Which Came First, the Chicken or the Egg?: Some Reflections on the Relationship between Conductus and Trope," in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, ed. Lewis; Roesner Lockwood, Edward (1990): 16-25, at p.

<sup>49</sup> This issue is addressed in Section 2.4.

Table 3.8 - *Quod promisit ab eterno*

1

*Quod* promisit ab eterno,  
Die solvit hodierno,  
Verbum mittens de superno,  
Pater in Idumeam.

2

Levis nubes et vitalis,  
Munda caro virginalis,  
Nobis pluens spiritualis  
Roris plenitudinem.

3

Olim fuit argumentum,  
Verbi signans indumentum,  
Nubes ferens adiumentum  
Lucis et umbraculi.



Figure 3.2 - F (130r)

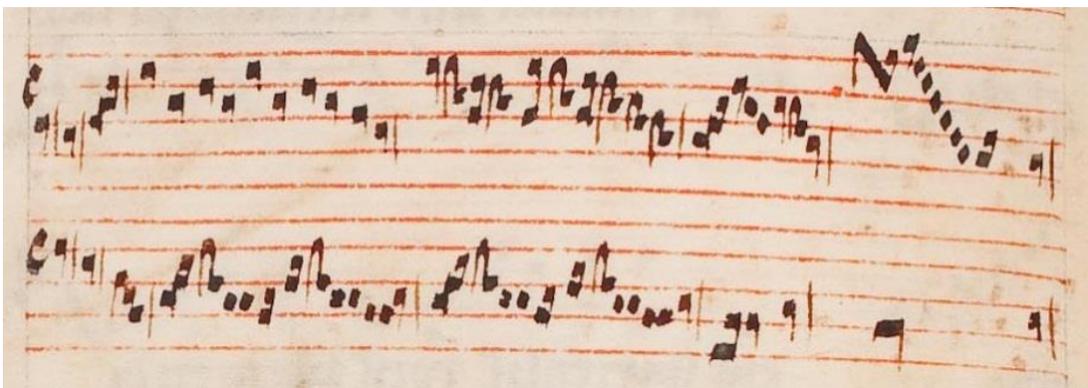


Figure 3.3 - W<sub>1</sub> (140v(131v))



Figure 3.4 - Ma (78r)

Just like the previous case, *Dic Christi veritas* (Table 3.9) presents similar issues of music borrowing. This *conductus* was probably fairly widespread in Europe in the thirteenth century: its various sources were copied in several areas of the western medieval world, including France, England, Spain, Italy, Switzerland and Germany.<sup>50</sup> The final *cauda* of this melismatic two-part *conductus* attributed to Philip the Chancellor provides music for the syllabic *conducti Bulla fulminante* and *Veste nuptiali*.

*Dic Christi veritas* is dated 1198;<sup>51</sup> that year Pope Innocent III declared the annulment of Philip Augustus's marriage to Agnes of Merania, thus officially starting a conflict with the French king, who was forced to capitulate and accept his former wife, Ingeborg of Denmark (also known as Isambour), as his spouse in 1213.

The song is recorded in several sources and in differing forms. A two-part version of the first stanza is preserved in Ma only (114r-115r), but a further incomplete French source (*F-T* 1471, folio 113v) contains the same text, ruled for two voices, but without notation. The version in the manuscript Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (hereafter *D-B*) Cod. lat. 312, folio 5v, provides an additional stanza and author attribution to Philip the Chancellor in its rubric.

In purely musical terms, the *caudae* in *Dic Christi veritas* are extraordinarily regular; internal melismas clearly work as lines of demarcation between the three sections of the stanza, each one made of four lines. The textual incipit of the *conductus*-

<sup>50</sup> Monodic version in: *E-SAu* 226 (100v), CH-EN 1003 (114v), *D-Mbs* clm. 4660 (54r-54v), *D-Sl* HB I Asc. 95 (33v). Three-voice version in: *D-F* Fragm.lat.VI.41 (Ar-Av), *W*<sub>1</sub> (73r(66r)-73v(66v)), *F* (203r-204r), *W*<sub>2</sub> (33r-34v), *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2615 (88v-89r).

<sup>51</sup> Payne, "Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," 142.

*prosula Bulla fulminante* is taken from the end of the first stanza of *Dic Christi veritas*. It is also often found in sources following *Dic Christi veritas* itself on the page,<sup>52</sup> possibly intended to be sung by a chorus after the soloist performance of the genitrix *conductus*. The fact that the two songs are often recorded together would suggest a chronological precedence of *Dic Christi veritas*, despite Payne's prudence in this regard.<sup>53</sup>

**Table 3.9 - *Dic Christi veritas***

*Dic*, Christi veritas,  
 Dic, cara raritas,  
 Dic, rara caritas,  
 Ubi nunc habitas?  
Aut in valle visionis,  
 Aut in throno Pharaonis,  
 Aut in alto cum Nerone,  
 Aut in antro cum Theone?  
Vel in fiscelia scirpea  
 Cum Moÿse plorante?  
 Vel in domo Romulea  
 Cum bulla fulminante?

*Bulla fulminante* has been subject to numerous attempts at dating, the first one by Meyer, who proposed 1219-1222.<sup>54</sup> Reasons for a late dating would come from the words *itur et recurritur ad curiam* (running back and forth to the curia), which would refer to Philip the Chancellor's journeys to Rome around that time.<sup>55</sup> On the contrary Vollmann proposes circa 1200.<sup>56</sup> In this case I would remain cautious and suggest only a date after 1198 (i.e. after *Dic Christi veritas*), considering the plausibility of Meyer's hypothesis. Contrary to *Bulla fulminante*, not much literature exists on the last of *Dic*

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<sup>52</sup> *GB-Lbl* Egerton 274 (38v-39r), *D-Mbs* clm. 4660 (54r), *D-Sl* HB I Asc. 95 (33v). Text only sources: F (204r), *CZ-Pak* N VIII (37v). Knapp, "Which Came First, the Chicken or the Egg?: Some Reflections on the Relationship between *Conductus* and *Trope*."; Payne, *Motets and Prosulas*, xvi-xviii.

<sup>53</sup> *Motets and Prosulas*, xxix, note 55.

<sup>54</sup> Meyer, "Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe," 195-96, 98-99.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Peter Diemer, Dorothea Diemer, and Benedikt Konrad Vollmann, *Carmina Burana: Texte und Übersetzungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987).

*Christi Veritas' prosulae – Veste nuptiali* – probably also due to the comparatively few sources in which it is recorded.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> F (450v) is the only musical source. Its poem is delivered in *CZ-Pak N VIII* (37v).

### 3.3. Celebrative *Conducti*

Further celebrative *conducti* were composed to mourn or commemorate the memory of eminent personalities of the time, such as Philip Augustus, or Richard I Lionheart. Among them, of great interest to this study is *Novus miles sequitur*, the earliest datable polyphonic *conductus*. The song's text concerns in this case the figure of Thomas of Canterbury, as the words *novus miles sequitur viam novi regis...Thomas* (A new soldier follows the path of a new King...Thomas) would suggest. It was either composed to mourn his death in 1170, or to celebrate his canonisation three years later.

It survives in two- and three-voice versions: the former in Ma (139r-139v) and *E-BULh* 9 (101v) – both of which record the first stanza only – and the latter in F (230r-230v) – where all three stanzas of the text are preserved. It is musically strophic, and each stanza follows the scheme: 7pp-6p-7pp-6p-7pp-7pp-6p-7pp-7pp-6p. There are no melismas in any of these three separate copies, but there is evidence to suggest that a terminal *cauda* might have been extant at some point in the two-part version. In *E-BULh* 9 the scribe clearly left room for a final *cauda* on the syllable “en” (of “orientem”, the last word of the first stanza).

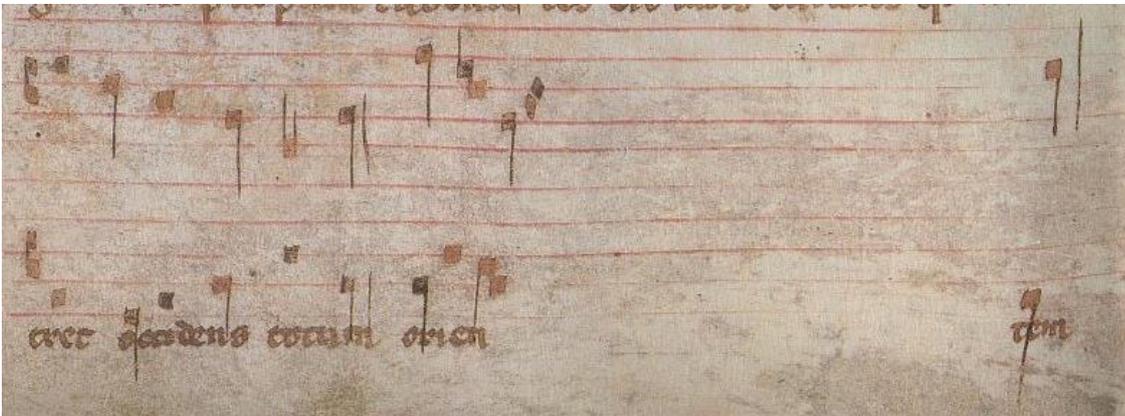


Figure 3.5 - *E-BULh* 9 (101v)

The final note may have been written earlier to mark the end of the piece on the page, but no other pieces in this manuscript show such a practice, and so, this is unlikely. Neither is there evidence of any practice of scribal omission of some *caudae* for aesthetic purposes. The possibility that the copyist was making use of a source, to some degree incomplete, is a more credible theory.

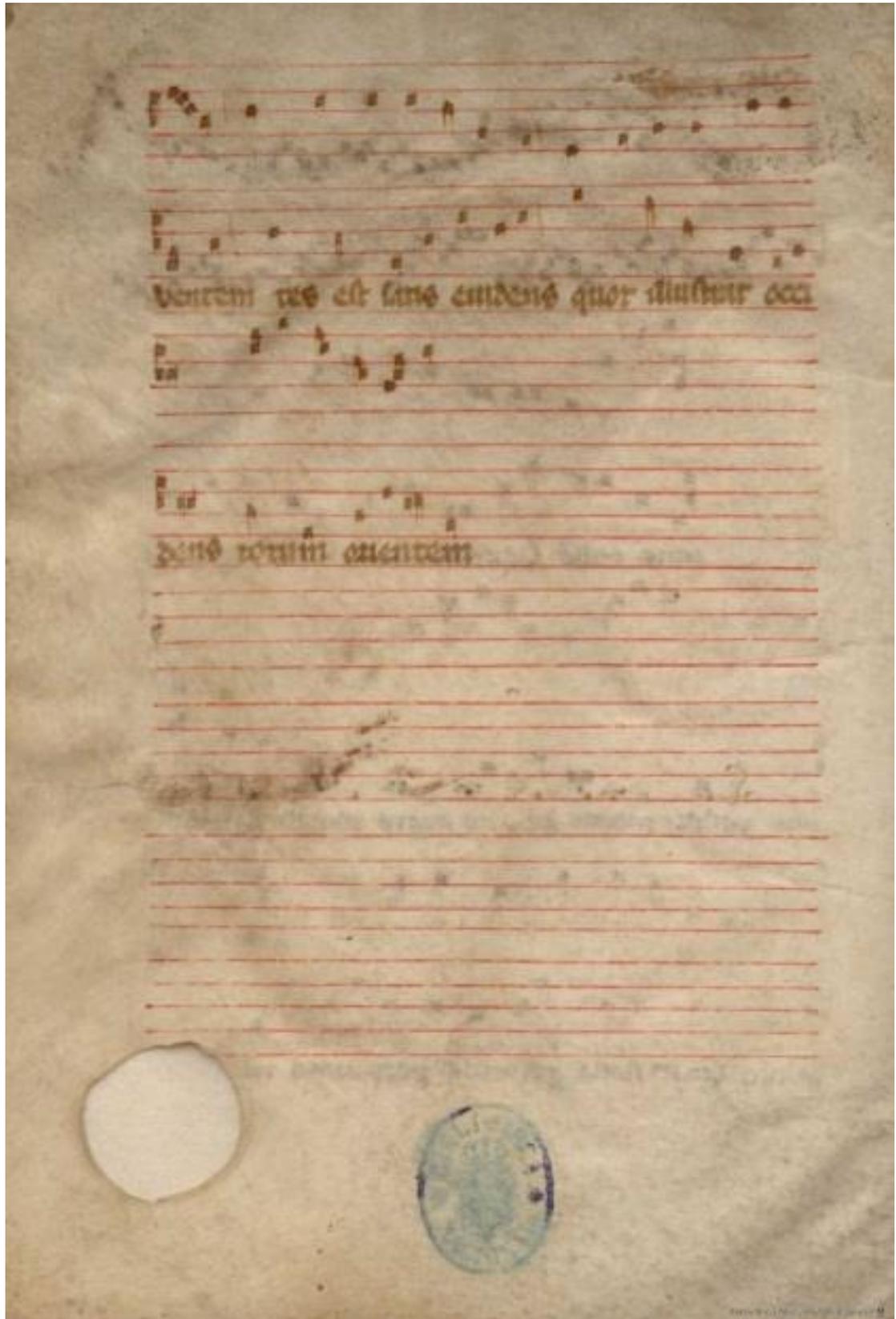


Figure 3.6 - Ma (139v)

As far the version in Ma is concerned, the end of the song coincides with the end of the written content of the manuscript. Consequently, it is not possible to tell whether

the blank space was meant to be filled with a melisma, further stanzas, or even further songs.

From the same period would come another *conductus*, *Nulli beneficium*, whose dating was first proposed by Handschin in 1932. This dating was however later rejected by both Sanders and Payne as his suggestion was not supported by strong evidence.<sup>58</sup> For the sake of thoroughness I will report the Handschin's relevant passage below:

I was struck by a great stylistic likeness between 'Redit aetas aurea' and 'Nulli beneficium,' [...]. The latter text contains an earnest admonition, and even a severe censure, against a young dignitary of the Church, whose past was not exactly ecclesiastical. I asked a connoisseur of English civilisation (Prof. Bernhard Fehr, of Zurich) whether he could give me names for the thing. [...] Among the names quoted by Prof. Fehr there was one which fitted exactly, that of Geoffrey, the natural son of Henry II., who, having been nominated as Bishop of Lincoln in 1173, entered on his See in 1175 and left this post in 1182. The passage 'Virtute, non sanguine decet niti' occurs in this text ('upon virtue, not upon blood thou must rely')-it suits the son of a king exactly.<sup>59</sup>

Sanders' arguments for rejection are indeed understandable; neither the "great stylistic likeness", nor the main argument explained in the passage above constitute solid bases for dating. Also, its musical design would not fit with the general characteristics of the early *conductus* outlined previously. In fact, according to the suggestions made in the first pages of this chapter, we would expect a perfect correspondence of terminal *caudae* per stanzas from such an early piece. On the contrary here a terminal *cauda* is only set to one of the three stanzas. I agree with Sanders and Payne's rejection of this dating; since the text does not offer additional clues to propose a valid alternative theory, I do not include this song in my list of datable *conducti*.

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<sup>58</sup> Jacques Handschin, "A Monument of English Mediæval Polyphony. The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 677 (Helmst. 628)," *The Musical Times* 73, no. 1072 (1932): 510-13, at p. 512; Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," 521; Payne, "Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," 143.

<sup>59</sup> Handschin, "A Monument of English Mediæval Polyphony. The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 677 (Helmst. 628)," 512.

The attempt to date *Ex oliva Remensium* is considerably less questionable than the previous case. This polyphonic and melismatic song is the first of a little group of *conducti* that concern the figure of Philip Augustus (1165-1223).<sup>60</sup> *Ex oliva Remensium* refers specifically to the coronation of the French king in 1179.<sup>61</sup> It survives in three *codices*: F (338v-339v), W<sub>1</sub> (114r(105r)-114v(105v)), and Ma (85v-87r), each one transmitting all three stanzas of the poem. Through-composed and highly melismatic, it represents a unique contribution to the music of its time. No other datable *conductus* composed before the end of the twelfth century offers such a high concentration of melismatic music. The exceptionally regular placement of its *caudae* makes this song a remarkable early example of this repertoire, and complicates the study of its chronology considerably.

**Table 3.10 - *Ex oliva Remensium***

**1**  
*Ex oliva Remensium*  
Fons sacri manat olei,  
Quod oleastro gentium  
Reddit olivam *fidei*.

**2**  
*Fons* alias exaruit,  
Sed aqua viva profluit  
De fonte *caritatis*.

**3**  
*Sola* Remensis civitas  
Implet, quod docet caritas  
Et tempus *egestatis*.

Each stanza opens and ends with extended framing *caudae*. The two rather elaborate and unusually lengthy micro-*caudae* on *quod* and *fons* found in the first stanza are the most exceptional musical feature of the song. These two micro-*caudae* (Music Example 3.2), present a sort of voice exchange, a dialogue between upper voice and tenor. Such a design is also visible in the longer internal *caudae* that regularly introduce the last line of each stanza, on *reddit*, *de*, and *et*.

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<sup>60</sup> Together with *Dic Christi veritas* – just discussed – and *Ver pacis aperit, Nemo sane spreverit*, and *Mundus vergens*, which will all be treated in depth shortly later in the chapter.

<sup>61</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 3, 13.

Music Example 3.2 - *Ex oliva Remensium*, *Micro-Caudae* on *fons* and *quod*

*Ver pacis aperit* is the earliest two-part syllabic datable *conductus*, and it is also dedicated to Philip Augustus, written in 1179 for his coronation.<sup>62</sup> All its sources transmit the whole poem (*GB-Ob* Add. A.44, f. 64r and *F-SOM* 351, ff. 19v-20r), which comprises of five stanzas of eight proparoxytonic six-syllable lines each. A further text-only source provides stanzas 1, 3 and 4 (*I-Rvat* Vat. Lat. 3324). Among the musical sources, F transmits the first two stanzas (355r), while *CH-SGs* 383 (173) the first three. Although syllabic, *Ver pacis aperit* features eight proportional musical phrases marked by *Silbenstriche* (Figure 3.7). In the tenor, two phrases are alternated in the form ABAB, and then new material (CDEF), closes the stanza with no repetition, bringing the music towards the final cadence on the fifth *g-D*.

<sup>62</sup> Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the 12th and 13th Centuries: The Coronation of French Kings," *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953): 9-53, at p. 20 and ff. Karl Strecker, who studied its poetic sources in 1925, attributed this song to Walter of Châtillon in Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer*.



Figure 3.7 - F (355r), *Ver pacis aperit*.

The debate around the dating of the three-voice *conductus* *Nemo sane spreverit* (Table 3.11) might offer useful methodological insights for later discussions.<sup>63</sup> To date this piece scholars relied on the popular contemporary anecdote, which claimed that the French King Philip Augustus was blind in one eye.<sup>64</sup> The second line of the poem reads indeed *me monolocom* (me one-eyed), and the anecdote is stressed again in the third stanza with the words *me cecorum faciet regem regio* (*the region will make me King of the blind*). Here, the song is clearly playing with the medieval proverb “inter caecos

<sup>63</sup> Similarly debated, and once again involving the figure of Philip Augustus and possibly Richard I Lionheart, is the date for the only datable four-part *conductus*, *Mundus vergens*, which however will not be discussed in depth here. Anderson proposes several dates for its composition, but also claims that a twelfth century origin is more likely for this piece. He first hypothesises that the text may refer to the conflict between Philip and Richard I (1192-1199); a further possible theme is the rebellion of Richard the Lionheart and John Lackland against their father Henry II, which Philip himself joined in the years 1186-1188. Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 2, 22.

<sup>64</sup> Delisle, *Discours prononcé à l'assemblée générale de la Société de l'histoire de France, le 20 mai 1884, par M. Léopold Delisle, président*, 108.

unoculus rex est” (among the blind, the one-eyed man is king).<sup>65</sup> The song conveys an optimistic feeling; Polyphemus was indeed the most renowned among the giants (second stanza).

Table 3.11 – *Nemo sane spreverit*

**1**

Nemo sane spreverit  
 Me monoculum,  
 Cum die suffecerit  
 Unicum  
 Lucis speculum,  
 Solum enim exerit  
 Solis oculum

**2**

Unum lumen nituit  
 In Phorcidibus,  
 Luscus Romam domuit,  
 Hannibal,  
 Terror hostibus,  
 Polyphemus claruit  
 In gigantibus

**3**

Rectum ubi deviet,  
 Nunc perspicio;  
 Casus hic addiciet,  
 Quod maior  
 Sim Machario,  
 Me cecorum faciet  
 Regem regio.

Delisle suggests the date of Philip’s death, 1223, as a plausible year for this composition, on the contrary Anderson suggests that the song was written during the time between the Battle of Buvines (1214) and the death of the King itself.<sup>66</sup> There is no historical evidence to suggest when, or even if, the French king actually lost the sight of

<sup>65</sup> *Thesaurus proverbiorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 2 (Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 1996), 30. The proverb, however, has ancient origins, cfr. Michael Apostolius, *Collectio paroemiarum*, Ernst von Leutsch and Friedrich Wilhelm Schneidewin ed. 2 vols., vol. 2, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1851), Section 7, n. 23.

<sup>66</sup> Delisle, *Discours prononcé à l’assemblée générale de la Société de l’histoire de France, le 20 mai 1884, par M. Léopold Delisle, président*, 111; Jacques Handschin, “Conductus-Spicilegien,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 9, no. 2 (1952): 101-19, at p. 108; Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 2, 15.

one eye.<sup>67</sup> As a consequence, since Sanders' work on datable *conducti*, both these hypotheses have been rejected.<sup>68</sup> Despite all this, whether the claim of Philip's blindness is historically correct or not is of no interest to our purpose. In fact, this myth might have been already circulating as early as at the time of the composition of this *conductus*. We know for sure that it was taken for granted in the fourteenth century, when Giovanni Boccaccio, writing his Decameron, refers to Philip as "re Filippo il Bornio" (in Italian, "*bornio*" means "cross-eyed").<sup>69</sup>

Moving on to Philip's contemporary English King Richard I Lionheart, we find the *conductus Redit etas aurea*.<sup>70</sup> The style of its first pair of stanzas reflects that of the early stage of the genre, with a final *cauda* at the end of each; quite syllabic music characterise the *cum littera* section. However, the semi-melismatic style of the music for stanzas 3 and 4, and the cadences on fifths, octaves and especially thirds (in contrast to the first half of the piece, where unisons and fifth are much more common), might constitute evidence that this section was a later addition to the song. The existence of a monodic *contrafactum* in a fourteenth-century French manuscript, also preserving the first stanza only, would corroborate this supposition.<sup>71</sup>

Although Payne supports Anderson's theory that Richard I is the subject of the poetry, he suggests the different date of 1194 for this composition – the end of the king's imprisonment.<sup>72</sup> At least two clear pieces of evidence in the poem favour Payne's hypothesis. In the first stanza, the passage *nec est locus sceleri, scelus datur funeri, scandala fugantur* (and now there is no room for crime, for crime has been given a burial, and all offences are banished) would indeed refer to Richard's release. The second is found in the third stanza, and simply refers to Richard's mature age (*maturus*

<sup>67</sup> Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France, 1180-1223* (London; New York: Longman, 1998), 45. Yet, Bradbury does discuss relatively recent works that on the contrary support the myth: Jonathan Simon Christopher Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 114; Antony Bridge, *Richard the Lionheart* (New York: M. Evans, 1990), 63.

<sup>68</sup> Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," 521.

<sup>69</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Ugo Foscolo ed. (Milan: G. Reina, 1849), 43.

<sup>70</sup> W<sub>1</sub> (110v (101v), stanzas 1-4); F (318v-319r, stanzas 1, 3 and 4 only as the copyist did not write the text for stanza 2); *GB-Ob* Rawl.poet.C510. Strophic music in pairs of stanzas.

<sup>71</sup> The *contrafactum* is *Floret fex favellea* and it is recorded in *F-Pn* fr. 146, f. 4v. The melodic line, borrowed from the original tenor, is not consistently faithful to it. Slight variations due to the different prosody occur towards the end. The ending melisma is noticeably shorter than the final *cauda* of *Redit etas aurea*.

<sup>72</sup> Payne, "Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," 149. Richard I Lionheart was captured by the Henry VI in the previous year.

etate), by the time of his release.<sup>73</sup> The last datable *conducti* that refer to historical characters are *Pange melos lacrimosum*, and *Regi regum omnium* (Table 3.12 and Table 3.13).

There seems to be no dispute about the date of the former (Table 3.12), composed over the year 1190, lamentin the sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire Frederick I Redbeard who drowned in the River Calycadnus, located in today’s Turkey.<sup>74</sup> The text-only witness of the *conductus* found in the Oxford Rawlinson manuscript (239r (10r)), confirms this song as a lament, through a rubric complementing the poem that reads *planctus cuiusdam*.

The image shows a musical score for the first stanza of 'Pange melos lacrimosum'. It consists of four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The staves are labeled on the left as W<sub>1</sub> Duplum, F Duplum, W<sub>1</sub> Tenor, and F Tenor. The lyrics are written below the staves: 'Pan-ge me- los\_\_ la - cri- mo - sum la - cri\_ mans e - le - gi - a'. The W<sub>1</sub> Duplum and F Duplum staves show distinct melodic lines, while the W<sub>1</sub> Tenor and F Tenor staves show very similar, almost identical, melodic lines. There are some bracketed markings above the notes in the upper staves, possibly indicating phrasing or performance instructions.

Music Example 3.3 - *Pange melos lacrimosum*, First Stanza

Contrary to the relatively straightforward dating of the text just outlined, the study of the music presents some issues. The two extant musical witnesses of this song transmit a high number of variants, rather an uncommon feature within the main manuscripts that deliver the *conductus* repertoire.<sup>75</sup> This would suggest that the musical material was re-worked at some stage by either one of the traditions transmitted in W<sub>1</sub> and F. As it is clear from the comparative transcription of *Pange melos*’ first two lines in Music Example 3.3, the tenors do not substantially differ from each other, yet on the contrary the upper voices show rather distinct melodies.

<sup>73</sup> In 1194 Richard was 38.

<sup>74</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 4, 61; Payne, “Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique,” 142.

<sup>75</sup> The musical sources for this *conductus* are recorded in W<sub>1</sub> (119r (110r)-119v (110v)), and F (351r-351v).

The rest of the song behaves similarly to Music Example 3.3; interestingly however, short passages seem to present no remarkable variants, for instance over the words *tempus venit planctuosum*, and *regnet dolor*- till the end (compare Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9).

Table 3.12 – *Pange melos lacrimosum*

*1*

Pange melos lacrimosum,  
Lacrimans elegia,  
Tempus venit planctuosum,  
Tempus fraudans gaudia,  
Ad eclipsim nox memoris  
Obliquat spectacula,  
Regnat dolor, nam doloris  
Causa stat in specula

*2*

Rheni sidus in occasus  
Latium precipitat,  
Stella cadit, stelle casus  
Terras umbra limitat,  
Latet vere Latialis  
Plaga timens oculum,  
Nox est culpe socialis  
Crimen querit angulum

*3*

Omnis tellus admiretur  
Triste nubis pallium,  
Sed sub nocte lamentetur  
Rheni supercilium,  
Omnis virtus fundat fletus,  
Pallas plorat Nestorem,  
Vatem plangat vatum cetus  
Lugeat Mars Hectorem

*4*

O quam probans argumentum,  
Que sit mundi falsitas,  
Quid sit mundus, per eventum  
Syllogizat veritas,  
Ioculatur in iacturis  
Constans inconstantia,  
Mors tremendi princeps iuris  
Regnat sine gratia

**I**  
Ange melof lacrimofum lacrimant elegia temp uenit  
planctiofom temp uifitandant gaudia ad eripfom uox  
meris obliquat fpectacula regnet dolor nam doloris et

causa fite in fpecu

Figure 3.8 - W<sub>1</sub> (119r(110r)-119v(110v)), *Pange melos lacrimosum*



Figure 3.9 - F (351r-351v), *Pange melos lacrimosum*

What is it that caused such variants between two sources that generally transmit *conducti* melodies consistently? Which is the closer version to the archetype of the song? The comparison between the two final melismas reveals that the notes do not only correspond in terms of absolute pitch, but in their figurative representation on the score as well (i.e., choice of ligatures or choice of *plicae*). This would lead to the conclusion that the variants may only be due to a lacking source copy for one of the two manuscripts; the scribe of one of the two sources had to “fill in” gaps of absent music found in the manuscript he was copying from.

Furthermore, a closer look to Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9 reveals two scribal errors on the pages of W<sub>1</sub>. The first is a dittography, and occurs at the turn of the page, where the word *causa* is repeated twice, the first time abbreviated and followed by an unnecessary *Silbenstrich*, while the second resembles the configuration found in F. A further variant is the omission of the ending syllable of the *conductus* (*la*). While omissions are fairly common throughout the repertoire, we find very few cases of dittography, and the combination of the two errors is particularly rare event, which other sources, now lost, might however have explained.

The presence of identical passages excludes the possibility that the testimonies represent two distinct polyphonic versions of a former monodic melody. Yet, it must be stressed that the upper voice has many more variants than the lower voice, which is furthermore clearly constructed as a stand-alone melody.<sup>76</sup> In view of this, one can infer that the version delivered in W<sub>1</sub> represents the most recent extant reworking of the music setting for the poem *Pange melos lacrimosum*.

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<sup>76</sup> The structure of *Pange melos lacrimosum*'s tenor is *abcd-abcd'-efgh-e'fij* + *cauda*; each letter roughly corresponds to the music for four syllables (compare Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9, but also *Ver pacis aperit*, p. 176). Issues around the relationship between polyphonic *conducti* reduced to monodies and *vice versa* are not the focus of this work, however would constitute fertile ground for future investigations on this repertoire.

Table 3.13 - *Regi regum omnium*

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
<b>Regi</b> regum omnium	<b>Presul</b> venerabilis	<b>Vita</b> iusti gloriosa
Grates ago gratie,	Et dignus memoria,	ut mors esset pretiosa
Qui Bituricensium	Pius, castus, humilis,	Apud Deum meruit,
Providit ecclesie	Disponens per omnia	Et qui sibi viluit,
Pastorem egregium,	Sequi Christum,	A datore gratiarum
Qui pavit egregie	Mundum istum	Cum fine miseriarum
Gregem oberrantium	Fugit et celestia	Gloriam obtinuit
A via iustitie.	Concupivit	Et decorem induit.
	Et ambivit	
	Sobrie mens sobria.	

Contrary to *Pange melos lacrimosum*, the musical design of *Regi regum omnium* is more markedly melismatic. It has been suggested that the text concerns the death of St William, Archbishop of Bourges, which occurred on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January 1209.<sup>77</sup> The piece is only preserved in F (337v-338v), and consists of three dissimilar stanzas. In this song, stanzas outnumber terminal *caudae*. Although this is unusual behaviour (unheard of before the end of the twelfth century), it is possible to find such cases among *conducti* composed in the thirteenth century, when the use of *caudae* becomes more flexible.<sup>78</sup> The length of the melismas in *Regi regum omnium* increases proportionally towards the end of the piece; the first four *caudae* are of 15-to-20 perfections, while the melismas in the last stanza are about double this size (compare Figure 3.10 and Figure 3.11).

<sup>77</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 5, 14; Payne, “Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique,” 142.

<sup>78</sup> Compare for instance the low ratio of *caudae* per stanza of *Regi regum omnium* with the highly flourished outline of the nearly coeval *Anni favor iubilei* (p. 188).



Figure 3.10 - F (337v). First *Cauda* on *Regi*.



Figure 3.11 - F (338v). Last *Cauda* on *induit*.

### 3.4. Crusades and Relics

The crusades were relatively common themes in the music of the Middle Ages, and some musicians wrote of their direct experience of the facts.<sup>79</sup> The genre of the *conductus* was no exception: a relatively large group of *conducti* on this theme embodies a fascinating, yet challenging, source of information to date the repertory.<sup>80</sup>

Of particular interest is the vocabulary of these songs, for instance the characteristic use of the word *iubileus* (jubilee). The modern acceptance of this word came about in the year 1300 by decision of Pope Boniface VIII. In his bull *Antiquorum fida relatio* Boniface VIII declares that he grants remissions and indulgences for sins, which would be obtained by visiting Rome.<sup>81</sup> It is certain that this is the first Jubilee in a modern sense of which we have any record, but it is also assured that practices of *redemptiones* were already common as far back as the eighth century, and that the concept of indulgence was already strongly connected to that of the pilgrimage to Rome well before the first official jubilee in 1300.<sup>82</sup>

The plenary indulgence was granted for the first time to the crusaders in 1095 by Pope Urban II, and was later extended to their wives, funders, preachers, and finally to

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<sup>79</sup> These songs pertain in most part to the vernacular repertoire. On this topic see Stefano Asperti, *Carlo I d'Angiò e i trovatori. Componenti 'provenzali' e angioine nella tradizione manoscritta della lirica trobadorica* (Ravenna: Longo, 1995); Ruth Harvey and J. Gillingham, "Le Troubadour Giraut de Borneil et la troisième croisade," *Rivista di Studi Testuali* 5 (2003): 51-72, at; Linda Paterson, "Occitan Literature and the Holy Land," in *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (Woodbridge, 2003): 83-99, at p; David Boyle, *Troubadour's Song: The Capture, Imprisonment and Ransom of Richard the Lionheart* (New York: Walker & Co., 2005); Linda Paterson, "James the Conqueror, the Holy Land and the Troubadours," *Cultura Neolatina* 71 (2011): 211-87, at; "Une perspective aquitaine des croisades? Le témoignage des troubadours," in *L'Aquitaine des littératures médiévales (XIe - XIIIe siècle)*, ed. Jean-Yves Casanova and Valérie Fasseur (Paris: 2011): 181-99, at p.

<sup>80</sup> The following pages will be discussing the polyphonic *conducti* *Adest annus Iubileus*, *O crux ave spes unica*, and *Anni favor Iubilei*. Some monodic *conducti* on the same topic have also been dated, yet will not be discussed in this chapter: *Nunc angelorum Gloria*, *Sede Syon de pulvere* and *Venit Ihesus in propria*.

<sup>81</sup> Bonifacius VIII, *Antiquorum habet fida relatio: bolla di proclamazione del giubileo, per la remissione dei peccati, Roma, 22 febbraio 1300* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2000).

<sup>82</sup> The Council of Trebur (895) established that some acts of charity, such as donations and alms, could be assigned by the confessor as practices of penance to atone for the sins committed. Cfr. Auguste Boudinhon, "Penitential Redemptions," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911).

those who fought against heretics and enemies of the Church in general.<sup>83</sup> However, before the bull *Antiquorum fida relatio* of 1300, poetical references to the jubilee were likely to imply a pure biblical understanding of the word, in either a literal or metaphorical sense. In the year of the biblical jubilee slaves and prisoners would be freed and debts would be forgiven.<sup>84</sup>

During the Second Crusade (1145-1149), under the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux's writings, the concept of *iubileus* becomes closer to the one that we find in the *conductus* repertory. In his letters, Bernard talks about an *annus remissionis*, or even *annus vere iubileus*.<sup>85</sup> In his call for the crusade in 1146, directed more to the clergy and the lay people rather than the sovereigns, Bernard equates the recapture of the Holy Land to the biblical jubilee year of the Old Testament, thus giving to the crusade a sort of expiatory moral acceptance.<sup>86</sup> Whether this was the first time the concept was used for crusading propaganda or not, it is likely that the term would have carried those associations for the next generation of crusaders.

The only two-voice *conductus* that has been dated according to its relation to the crusades is *Anni favor iubilei*. The song seems to be referring to the call to crusade against the Albigensians in 1209 – a war that continued until 1229, when the Treaty of Paris was signed. Anderson favours the earlier years of the conflict rather than later, while Payne proposes instead the year just before the beginning of the crusade itself – 1208.<sup>87</sup> A closer look at the text of the song reveals which of the two hypotheses is to be preferred. In fact, there is an appeal to a specific person enclosed in the first four lines

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<sup>83</sup> Ane L. Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c. 1095-1216*, History of Warfare (Brill, 2014), 80.

<sup>84</sup> Cfr. Leviticus 25:8-13.

<sup>85</sup> Bruno Scott James and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, eds., *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1998), 435 (letter 363). For further reading see also Rudolf Hiestand, "Annus vere iubileus. Zur Konzeption des Kreuzzuges bei Bernhard von Clairvaux," *Cistercienser Chronik* 105 (1998): 191-98, at.

<sup>86</sup> This acceptance of the term must not be confused with a further understanding of *iubileus* found in the *conductus* repertory. This is not related to the crusades and simply metaphorically refers to the redemption of the Jews. The songs *Condimentum nostre spei* and *In hoc die Dei* are clear examples of this use. See for instance in *Condimentum nostre spei* the words *noster vivat spiritus fruens pace iubilei...Iudeorum populous se gentili copularet* (our spirit might live, enjoying the peace of a jubilee...the Jewish nation might become reconciliated to the Gentiles).

<sup>87</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 5, 17. Payne, "Datable "Notre Dame" Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique," 142.

of the third stanza (Table 3.13).<sup>88</sup> It is true, as Anderson asserts, that those lines recall the parable of the “prodigal son” (Luke 15:11-32).<sup>89</sup> However, it seems that the author of the poem went further, metaphorically referring to Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse (1156-1222).<sup>90</sup> The Count of Toulouse had a dispute with the papal legate Pierre de Castelnau, who was sent by Pope Innocent III to address Raymond’s allowance for the practice of Catharism. The assassination of the papal legate on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1208 led to Raymond’s excommunication, which was lifted when Raymond humbled himself before the Pope in 1209.<sup>91</sup> It is this very episode that the author of *Anni favor iubilei* might be referring to, as a consequence we can propose the late 1209 as a suitable date for the composition of the song.

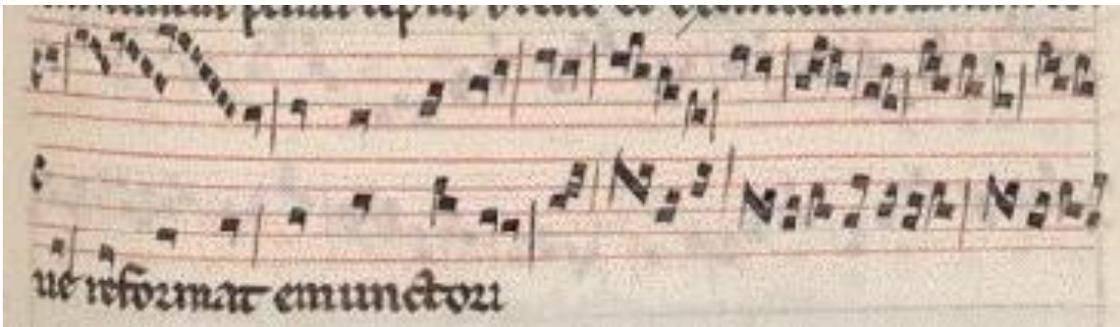


Figure 3.12 - F (348r). Patterns of *Currentes* on *reformat*, end of the Second Stanza.



Figure 3.13 - F (348v). Agglomerate of *Currentes* Patterns, Third Stanza.

<sup>88</sup> The third stanza translates: *Return to Christ’s embrace, o son, for so long wasteful; raise up the standard of the cross and drive out the Albigenses.*

<sup>89</sup> Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 5, 17. Indeed, the Prodigal son parable recurs quite frequently within the repertoire, cfr. for instance *Beati nos adhibe*.

<sup>90</sup> I am extremely grateful to Lena Wahlgren-Smith for assistance with events in 1208-09.

<sup>91</sup> Jonathan Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (Faber & Faber, 2011), 181.

Table 3.14 - *Anni favor iubilei*

(F)	(GB-Cjec QB 1)
<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Anni favor <u>iubilei</u> penarum laxat debitum, <u>Post</u> peccatorum vomitum Et cessandi propositum Currant passim omnes rei, Pro mercede regnum Dei Levi patet <u>expositum</u> .	Anni favor <u>iubilei</u> pe[narum] laxat debitum, <u>Post</u> peccatorum vomitu[m] Et] cessandi propositum Currant passim omnes rei, Pro mercede regnum Dei Levi patet <u>expositum</u> .
<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<u>Stilla</u> mellis totum Eve Dulcoravit absynthium, <u>o</u> penarum compendium, <u>o</u> dulce purgatorium, Tantas penas tempus breve Et extinctum lumen leve Reformat emunctorium.	<u>Stilla</u> mellis totum Eve Dulcoravit absynthium, <u>o</u> penarum compendium, [o] dulce purgatorium, Tantas penas tempus breve Et extinctum lum[en] leve Reformat emunctorium.
<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
<u>Ad</u> amplexus redi Christi, Fili tam diu prodige, Crucis vexillum erige Et Albigeos abige, Totum uno redemisti, <u>Qui vix</u> granum intulisti, Messem in grano <u>collige</u> .	<u>Ad</u> amplexus [re]di Christi, Fili tam diu prodige, Crucis vexillum erige [Et] Albigeos abi[ge], Totum uno redemisti, <u>Qui [vix]</u> granum [intu]listi, Messem in grano <u>colle</u> ge.

The poem of *Anni favor iubilei* is rather irregular. The first two stanzas alternate lines of eight paroxytonic syllables with proparoxytonic ones, following the scheme: 8p-8pp-8pp-8pp-8p-8p-8pp; while the last stanza is composed of seven eight-paroxytonic-syllable lines. The musical style is highly melismatic, becoming more complex and elaborate towards the end. Short internal *caudae* are, in some cases, spread over more than one syllable, or even word. Although the fragmentary source shows several lacunae, the comparison of the testimonies of this piece show no major discrepancies.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>92</sup> The sources are F (347v-349r); *GB-Cjec* QB 1 (Gr-Hr). Concerning the second manuscript, refer to the foliation found in Leech-Wilkinson, “Jesus College, Binding Fragments from MS QB 1.” In *GB-Cjec* QB 1, lacunas are found for instance over the words *penarum* and *vomitum*

The *conductus* is undoubtedly representative of the developments of the genre after the turn of the twelfth century, with several *caudae*, and their apparent indiscriminate placement within the piece. Longer *caudae* are clearly modal, and in two out of three cases terminal *caudae* culminate with *puncti organi*, of which high concentration within the song makes the absence of a final *punctus organi* rather an anomalous feature. In fact, musical patterns similar to *puncti organi* are present throughout the whole piece, and sometimes introduce final *caudae* (e.g. *reformat*, end of the second stanza, Figure 3.12). Towards the final part of the song, the confluence of such patterns becomes particularly noteworthy and makes the rhythm problematic to decode (Figure 3.13).

A further *conductus* that seems to exploit the crusades' acceptance of the jubilee is *Adest annus iubileus*. This piece seems similar in both prosody and music style to the previous song, yet in this case no dates of composition have been hypothesised. The poem contains no strong references that would allow a clear identification to any historical figure or event. On the other hand, it surely refers to a crusade; the first stanza (Table 3.15) makes clear use of the same understanding of jubilee found in *Anni favour iubilei*, described unmistakably through the words *et mundatur homo reus ab antique crimine* (and the sinful man is cleansed from his original sin).

As both the poem's language and the musical design seem to resemble that of *Anni favour iubilei* (for instance its several melismas enriching the internal portions of the text), I would be inclined to suggest a proximal date of composition (c.1209). I believe it is unlikely that this piece was composed at a later stage of the Albigensian Crusade (which ended in 1229): the presence of terminal *caudae* that clearly demarcate the end of each stanza, all followed by *puncti organi*, is not a common feature of late *conductus* composition.

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*et* (first stanza) and *qui vix* (last stanza), which should all carry short internal melismas (to compare the two readings of the text see Table 3.14).

Table 3.15 - *Adest annus iubileus*

*1*

Adest annus iubileus,  
Annus in quo nobis Deus  
Nascitur de virgine,  
Visitatur Idumeus  
et mundatur homo reus  
Ab antiquo *crimine*.

*2*

Celum cepit inclinari,  
Globo splendens sublimari,  
Terram replens lumine;  
Terra cepit elevari,  
Luna surgens ut de mari  
Suo stet in *ordine*.

*3*

Fornicatrix accusatur,  
Terra sancta consignatur  
Dextre Dei digito,  
Accusata liberatur,  
Dum Maria fecundatur  
Spiritu *paraclito*.

*O crux ave spes unica* might also contain a reference to the crusades, as its final stanza once again features the same “*iubileus* formula” found in the previous songs (Table 3.16). *O crux ave spes unica* could therefore refer again to the crusade against the Albigensians, and consequently be composed in its early years (c.1209).<sup>93</sup>

*O crux ave spes unica* resembles the design of the previous song also in musical terms, with terminal *caudae* at the end of each stanza, *puncti organi* closing all of them, and abundant internal melismas. This element would confirm that the *conductus* was composed in the first years of the thirteenth century.

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<sup>93</sup> Anderson’s interpretation of the text is again allegorical, and focusses on Biblical references. Cfr. Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, 12.

Table 3.16 - *O crux ave spes unica*

*1*

*O* crux, ave, spes unica,  
Signum mitibus mite;  
In Paradisi cronica  
Te signat arbor vite,  
Ligna Abrahamite,  
Iacob manus cancellans,  
Thau in liminari,  
Serpens in palo pari,  
Moyses orando *bell*ans.

*2*

*Ecce*, crucem Domini  
Demon cedat numini,  
Fuge pars adversa,  
Perversa, eversa hoc signo!  
Gigas fati gemini  
Militavit homini,  
Collegit dispersa,  
Diversa conversa *in ligno*.

*3*

*Ergo* per signum crucis,  
Per signum summi ducis,  
Per ducem summe lucis  
Libera nos, Deus.  
Sit nobis crux tutamen,  
Lorica, pax, solamen,  
Sit scutum sive tamen  
Annus *iubileus*.

Leaving the crusades, “relics” are a further very common contemporary theme. The last two-voice datable *conductus*, *Clavus pungens acumine*, appears to be a hymn in praise of the Holy Nails, some of the most venerated relics in Christendom, being the nails with which Christ was crucified. The song, with its poem by Philip the Chancellor, was probably written in occasion of the recovery of one of the Nails in the year 1233 at the Cathedral of Saint Denis.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Payne, “Datable “Notre Dame” Conductus: New Historical Observations on Style and Technique,” 143; William C. Jordan, *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Denis in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 32.

The poetic structure is consistent, with five eight-line stanzas of proparoxytonic eight-syllable lines (Table 3.17). Nevertheless, the music seems not to follow such a textual regularity, as the piece is partially strophic and partially through-composed. The first four stanzas share two melodies only, and thus are a strophic pair: the first melody sets stanzas 1 and 2, while the second to stanzas 3 and 4. A further stanza however (5), exploits new melodic material. Such a peculiar structure is evident from the analysis of the testimony of *F-Pn* fr. 146 (5r).

Stanzas 2 and 4, presented as text-only, follow respectively stanzas 1 and 3 on the page. The codex F (358r-358v), on the other hand, records music and text for stanzas 1, 3 and 5 only, *de facto* discarding part of the music material. Although it is quite common in F to find strophic *conducti* copied without the full text of the poem (it often looks like the copyist was more concerned with the transmission of the musical material, rather than the text), the complete neglect of a whole section of music is indeed quite rare.

The fifth stanza (that with new music material) consists of two sections clearly divided by the internal *cauda on vos*, introduced by a capital letter in the manuscript F. Given its peculiar musical design, different to the rest of the song, it is possible that stanza 5 was intended as a refrain, to be sung possibly after each stanza.

Moving from the first pair of stanzas (1 and 3) to the second (2 and 4), the musical quality of the song is subject to a striking metamorphosis. Stanza 1 and 3 begin with a long initial *cauda*, followed by a strictly syllabic *cum littera* section that becomes slightly more elaborate towards the final melisma. The initial *cauda* of the other pair of stanzas (2 and 4) resembles the precedent, but the music that follows is never strictly syllabic. On the contrary it recalls at all stages stanzas 1 and 3's final section, with frequent more-than-one-note ligatures, and numerous micro-*caudae* marking the closure of the lines. The music set to the *cum littera* of the last stanza, returns to the former syllabic style, while in the meantime length and frequency of the *caudae* increase.

Table 3.17 - *Clavus pungens acumine*

<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>
<i>Clavus</i> pungens acumine, Dum carnem Christi perforat, Ex vulnerum foramine Passione in comme morat, Cuius dum madet sanguine, Nos perfundens dulcedine, Christo crucis imagine Conformatos incorporat.	<i>O</i> manuum confixio, pedum perforatio, Quibus Christus confoditur, Cuius dum caro scinditur, Et clavorum misterio Regnum celorum panditur, Celestis fabri studio Clavus in clavem vertitur.
<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>In</i> istis foraminibus, ut columba nidifica, Tibi domum edifica, Quam intres istis foribus, Nova curandi fisica Salutem de livoribus, Medelam de vulneribus, De morte vitam vendica.	<i>Clavi</i> quid est amissio Nisi quod Christi passio Excidit a memoria? Clavis quid est confixio, Que clavo fit contrario Nisi culpe malitia Aut boni simulatio Claudicans in iustitia?
<b>5</b>	
<i>Vobis</i> loquor pastoribus, <i>Vobis</i> qui claves geritis, <i>Vobis</i> qui vite luxibus Claves Christi reicitis <u>Vos</u> lupi facti gregibus, Membra Christi configitis Et abutentes <u>clavibus</u> Claves in clavos vertitis.	

### 3.5. Other Datable *Conducti*

Only a few *unica* recorded in sources other than F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub> and Ma have been the subjects of attempts at dating. This is the case for the songs featured in a late source of the repertoire: the so-called “St Victor Manuscript” (hereafter *F-Pn* lat. 15139).<sup>95</sup> This manuscript has received particular attention by scholars; together with the edition of its music, studies on this source have especially been interested in the discussion of “central/peripheral” or “early/late” repertoire.<sup>96</sup> Studies on *F-Pn* lat. 15139 have mainly shown that its songs, despite their apparent late date, would not postdate the “central” corpus. On the contrary they might only represent the reception of the genre in a “peripheral” geographical area, during a later period of its diffusion. Specifically, *F-Pn* lat. 15139 contains ten two-part *conducti* (Table 3.18) that were first considered being all written within a relatively short span of time, between 1244 and 1248.<sup>97</sup>

Table 3.18 - Two-Voice *Conducti* in *F-Pn* lat. 15139

Folio	Incipit
271v-273v	<i>Assistricem sedium Dei sapientiam</i>
270v-271v	<i>Cum sint difficilia</i>
261r-262r	<i>Gaude felix Francia</i>
274r-275v	<i>Iherusalem accipitur</i>
266v-267r	<i>Maria stella maris</i>
266r-266v	<i>O tocius Asie gloria</i>
263v-266r	<i>Quasi stella matutina</i>
275v-277r	<i>Queris quid me moveat</i>
262r-263v	<i>Scysma mendacis Grecie</i>

<sup>95</sup> Beside the songs featured in *F-Pn* lat. 15139, further sources have been related to the discussion around dating issues of this repertoire. However, only those concerning two-voice *conductus* will be discussed here.

<sup>96</sup> Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, 332-34; Rokseth, *Le contrepoint double vers 1248*; Thurston, *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris Lat. 15139*; Falck, “New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript.”; Hokin, “The Saint Victor Manuscript (Paris lat. 15139): A Performing Edition.”; Stenzl, “Zu den Conducten in StV.”

<sup>97</sup> Rokseth, *Le contrepoint double vers 1248*. Rokseth based her hypothesis on Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, 332-34.

The marine allusions, quite common within this manuscript, seemed indeed to recall the Sixth Crusade, and specifically the year 1248, when Louis IX weighed anchor and sailed towards Egypt.<sup>98</sup> Ethel Thurston, in his facsimile edition of the manuscript, confirms a late provenance of the source (last quarter of the thirteenth century) according to Friedrich Ludwig. Thurston however suggests that the *conducti* were almost all composed within the first decades of the century, but at least two of them were written later, during the reign of Louis IX of France (1226-1270).<sup>99</sup>

Further speculation led to the conclusion that the pieces might in fact be older, some of them pre-dating part of the repertoire in F. Different readings to the marine allusions featured in this group of *conducti* is given, suggesting that these might refer to the beginning of the Fourth Crusade, whose armies headed towards Egypt in the year 1202.<sup>100</sup> For the case of the *conductus Gaude felix Francia*, scholars now agree that it was not written earlier than the 1226.<sup>101</sup> Anderson suggests that *Scysma mendacis Grecie* might refer to the transference of the Holy Cross, the Holy Lance, and the Crown of Thorns to Paris by Louis IX in 1239. There, the author also states that the other songs of the group cannot be considered as referring to the Sixth Crusade as previously claimed by Rokseth.<sup>102</sup>

Recently, Jürg Stenzl confirmed that the manuscript was copied around 1270 in the Augustinian priory of Sainte-Catherine-de-la-Couture. This thesis is supported by Fred Büttner, who suggests that the codex was compiled in the second half of the thirteenth century, perhaps as late as 1300. Both studies agree that *F-Pn* lat. 15139 has

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<sup>98</sup> Rokseth, *Le contrepoint double vers 1248*, 5-13.

<sup>99</sup> Ludwig, *Repertorium Organorum Recentioris et Motetorum Vetustissimi Stili*, I, 142; Thurston, *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris Lat. 15139*, 1.

<sup>100</sup> Falck, "New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript," 323-24.

<sup>101</sup> However, the date 1239 has been proposed in Flotzinger, *Von Léonin zu Pérotin: der musikalische Paradigmenwechsel in Paris um 1210*, 452.

<sup>102</sup> Gordon A. Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*. 10 vols., vol. 10 (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986), 5. The pieces are *Transfretasse legitur*, *Quasi stella matutina*, *O totius Asiae gloria*, *Maria stella maris*, *Cum sint difficilia*, *Assistricem sedium*, *Iherusalem accipitur*, *Queris quid me moveat*.

to be considered a “central” source for the Notre Dame *conductus*.<sup>103</sup> Despite this assertion, the songs of *F-Pn* lat. 15139 are not included in this study of datable *conducti*, although some of them might have been composed at the same time as some of the early-thirteenth-century *conducti* recorded in F.

The morphological outline of the two-voice *conducti* in *F-Pn* lat. 15139 does not diverge from that of the corpus offered by the other main sources. It is interesting to note that, as a group, four out of ten *conducti* (*Assistricem sedium*, *Iherusalem accipitur*, *Quasi stella matutina* and *Transfretasse legitur*) do not feature initial or terminal *caudae* in all stanzas, while the remaining six *conducti* record one terminal *cauda* per stanza. When compared with F, the outline of the corpus of *F-Pn* lat. 15139 seems to recall that of the late stage of *conducti* composition discussed in the previous paragraphs. This would then suggest that the *F-Pn* lat. 15139 group of songs does not effectively distance itself from the main tradition, and would support the hypothesis that these pieces were composed not long before the date of compilation of the manuscript.

The *punctus organi* does not play a major role in the two-voice *conducti* of *F-Pn* lat. 15139. As a consequence, the large number of descending *currentes* in *Quasi stella matutina* makes this song the most interestingly rich composition of the group. However, three pieces record conventional *puncti organi* (*Cum sint difficilia*, *Gaude felix Francia*, *Transfretasse legitur*), while *Scysma mendacis Grece* also ends with a similar configuration. Overall, the tradition of *F-Pn* lat. 15139 seems not interested in recording syllabic *conducti*, as only *Inter membra singula* and *Custodi nos domine* (which are however for three voices and monodic respectively) can be regarded as properly syllabic, while the totality of the two-voice *conducti* are highly melismatic.

The most recent example of *conductus* has generated significant interest since the beginning of the past century; not only for its peculiar text, but also because it represents one of the few testimonies of the presence of this repertoire in the Italian peninsula.<sup>104</sup> The song in question is the syllabic *Hec medela corporalis*, and it is found

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<sup>103</sup> Fred Büttner, *Das Klauselrepertoire der Handschrift Saint-Victor (Paris, BN, lat. 15139): eine Studie zur mehrstimmigen Komposition im 13. Jahrhundert* (Lecce: Milella, 2011); Stenzl, “Zu den Conducten in StV.”

<sup>104</sup> Johannes Wolf, “Bonaiutus de Casentino, ein Dichter-Komponist um 1300,” *Acta Musicologica* 9, no. 1/2 (1937): 1-5, at; Giuseppe Vecchi, *I più antichi monumenti italiani di musica mensurale*, ed. Giuseppe Vecchi (Bologna: Pàtron, 1960), 16-21, Tables V-VII; “Carmi esametrici e ritmi musicali per Bonifacio VIII,” *Convivium. Rivista bimestrale di lettere*,

in the manuscript *I-Rvat* Lat. 2854, a collection of works by the Italian author Bonaiutus de Casentino.<sup>105</sup> The song seems to stand apart from the original *conductus* repertory developed between c.1160 and 1250, not only in chronological terms (it was composed in the second half of the thirteenth century), but also because the theme would rather associate it to the goliardic tradition.

The song was probably written around the 1290s, as the manuscript is dated 1293, and Pope Boniface VIII (to whom the song is dedicated), died in 1303.<sup>106</sup> Bryan Gillingham, in his analysis of the manuscript, finds striking the scribal use of the name “sequence” to address this song, although it seems not to share the common prosodic characteristics of that repertory.<sup>107</sup> The song follows in fact the structure *a-bba-bba-bba-bba-bba*, while a sequence would require a progressive repetition of versicles, such as *xx-yy-zz* etc. Yet, broad acceptance was given to the word “sequence” in thirteenth-century Italy: Salimbene de Adam used “sequence” as a synonym for *conductus*, when discussing poems set to music that clearly belong to the *conductus* repertoire, as for instance in the passage: “multas cantilenas fecit frater Henricus et multas sequentias”.<sup>108</sup> In some cases Salimbene associates the sequence with well-known *conducti* from the Notre Dame repertoire.<sup>109</sup> Even the indiscriminate use of the more generic term *cantilena* shows that writers (whether authors such as chroniclers, or simply scribes) were not always necessarily concerned with issues of genre:

He also composed words and three-voice music for Miser homo cogita facta creatoris.<sup>110</sup>

As previously mentioned, it seems clear that the author of the song Bonaiutus, was influenced by the goliardic poetry. The topic of *Hec medela corporalis* is in fact quite

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*filosofia e storia* 28 (1960): 518-23, at; Higini Anglès, “El Tesoro Musical de la Biblioteca Vaticana,” in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Vaticana edita, Studi e Testi* (Città del Vaticano: 1962), at p. 38; Petrucci, “Bonaiuto da Casentino.”; Petoletti, “Il Diversiloquium di Bonaiuto da Casentino, Poeta di Curia ai Tempi di Bonifacio VIII.”

<sup>105</sup> Cfr. Chapter 1.

<sup>106</sup> Gillingham, “Conductus as Analgesic,” 50.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>108</sup> de Adam, *Cronica*, 1, 276-77.

<sup>109</sup> As for the case of some songs set to music by Henricus Pisanus, whose poems were however by Philip the Chancellor: *Crux de te volo conqueri*, *Homo quam sit pura*, *Centrum capit circulus*, and *Quisquis cordis et oculi*. *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Item in illa cantilenam fecit, litteram cum triplici cantu, scilicet: Miser homo cogita facta creatoris*. *Ibid.*, 277.

unconventional within the *conductus* repertory. A further song featured in Bonaiutus' major work, the *Diversiloquium*, makes this linkage stronger. Indeed, the hymn *Sanguis demptus* exploits the *versus cum auctoritate*, which was quite a widespread technique within goliardic poetry.<sup>111</sup> The *versus cum auctoritate* is a poetic form that consists of strophes beginning with three lines in the accentual goliardic meter, and concluding with a line quoting an *auctor*; this fourth line should rhyme with the first three.

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<sup>111</sup> Schmidt, "The Quotation in Goliardic Poetry: The Feast of Fools and the Goliardic Strophe Cum Auctoritate," 41. This element is also commonly found in Walter of Châtillon's production, see Paul Pascal, "Notes on Missus Sum in Vineam of Walter of Châtillon," in *Classical Mediaeval and Reinassance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, ed. Charles Jr Henderson, *Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura* (Rome), at p. 37.

### 3.6. Conclusion

The analytical goal of this study of datable *conducti* has been to describe the evolution of the use of melismas in the repertoire throughout its lifespan (c.1160-1250). This investigation aims to advance our understanding of the development of this significant repertoire. This is achieved through the use of a methodology that can diminish ambiguities that characterised previous research: the comparative use of the datable sample and the entire repertoire.

Comparative study of datable and non-datable *conducti* has suggested that terminal *caudae* are the main features of the repertoire and initially were set to all stanzas while initial *caudae* were either set to all stanzas or not used at all. After the end of the twelfth century the use of all framing *caudae* becomes more flexible. Differently from framing *caudae*, internal *caudae* were always used by *conducti* composers (cfr. Table 3.5).

Although the analysis of the rest of the repertoire does not pertain to this study, a brief examination of all *conducti* (all monodic and polyphonic) interestingly suggests that the use of melismas in monodic and polyphonic *conductus* did not necessarily develop following the same trends as the two-voice corpus. In fact, while the remaining polyphonic repertoire shows similar traces of evolution as the two-part compositions just discussed, and consequently seem to have contemporaneously developed analogous compositional trends, a brief analysis of the monodic *conducti* suggests remarkable discrepancies. A comparison between the chronological evolution of one-, two-, three-, and four-voice *conducti* falls outside this study, although it represents an interesting suggestion for further investigations.

A more historically focussed study followed the chronological analysis, with the aim of critically approaching previous attempts at dating. To achieve this, the discussion builds on texts of *conducti* that carry references to historical events or characters (passive data content). These references appear sometimes explicit, yet most of the time metaphors and allegories must be interpreted. Wherever a reference is ascertained, we can reasonably infer that the poem in question was probably written, and set to music, shortly after the event it is commenting upon. The reason for this is that the very

purpose of such *conducti* was to circulate information and news, to commemorate the event or preserve its memory.

Within this discussion, an allegorical interpretation of biblical references is sometimes necessary. A final decision can not always be made (e.g. *Eclipsim patitur*). But, in certain cases, it is possible to shed some new light on *conducti* that had received multiple attempts at dating, as is true of *In occasu syderis*, *Crucifigat omnes*, *Nemo sane spreverit* and *Anni favor iubilei*.

*Anni favor iubilei* hints towards a discussion of the use of the word *iubileus* within this repertoire. In some *conducti iubileus* might refer to the redemption of sins for crusaders (e.g. *Adest annus iubileus*), although not all instances of the use of this word would necessarily represent a linkage to the crusades. The abundance of biblical or mythological references in this repertoire is undeniable, yet *conducti* feature all sort of allegories. A deeper analysis of such allusions could constitute the basis from which to develop further dating attempts.

Lastly, the peculiar structure of the tenor voice of some songs (such as for instance *Pange melos lacrimosum* or *Ver pacis aperit*) might open up a discussion of the relationship between monody and polyphony within this repertoire. These songs present very well-structured tenors, with frequent repetitions of short melodic patterns. The upper voices seem instead stylistically detached from such structures, suggesting a later stylistic development.



## Conclusion

The principal purpose of this thesis has been to present the *conductus* repertoire within the broader context of music production in the High Middle Ages. To achieve this, it developed around two principal domains: the historical perspective, and the more analytical side of the *conductus*. The broad authorial context serves as a descriptor to the cultural background where the *conductus* generated from. It intends to put the author at the centre, attempting to highlight the features that connect *conductus* poets and composers to each other.

The following theoretical analysis focuses on the interaction between syllabic and melismatic sections. The analysis of syllabic music and melismatic formulae benefits not only the understanding of the genre itself, but also the understanding of the broader use of these fundamental musical features over the span of a century. Melismatic sections of *conducti* relate the repertoire to the earliest productions of newly composed polyphony, the Aquitanian versus. On the other hand, syllabic passages have been vastly exploited for the scholarly debate on issues of rhythm. In this thesis, the findings of the theoretical analysis are applied to the study of datable *conducti* for the purpose of understanding how the approach to the use of melismas has developed from the birth of the genre to the years of its decline.

The vastness of this repertoire is the real limit of this research. Given the large amount of songs (more than 200 two-voice *conducti*) and sources taken into account (both direct and indirect), not all questions and issues could be addressed. Yet, on the other side of the coin stands the wealth of question marks awaiting future discussions, demonstrating that this repertoire still offers exciting opportunities for further research.

The opening section of this study argues that the concept of “multiple authorship” has always characterised the repertoire, from the years between its probable birth (c.1160) until its later development in the fourteenth century. “Multiple authorship” does not only refer to the multitude of personalities behind the creation of the repertoire as a whole. It also means that some of the extant testimonies of *conductus*, each one to a different degree, were subject to several stages of reworking. This study aims at giving the bigger picture of *conductus* authorship. Furthermore, this study focuses on some

particular cases of contested attribution and authorial identification, in an attempt to augment the sample of songs included in the discussion around authorship.

Within the discussion on *conductus* composers the contribution of the Italian monk Henricus Pisanus has been highlighted. His figure has noteworthy implications on the study of what today we call the “Notre Dame corpus”; Henricus, and the Franciscan order as a whole, might have played a crucial role in the expansion of the “Notre Dame” repertoire in Southern Europe and possibly, even its dissemination beyond Europe. By the 1250s, when the main Notre Dame sources had already been compiled (W<sub>1</sub> and F), the repertoire had reached most of Europe and possibly the Near East. The last section of my study on authorship shows highlights the considerable degree of interaction between the *conductus* and contemporaneous vernacular genres.

The analytical portion of this research challenges the common understanding of the polyphonic *conductus* as a rigid juxtaposition of syllabic and melismatic music, proposing a more flexible reading. The two group melismas identified, framing *caudae* and internal *caudae*, differ from each other mostly in terms of length and functions they cover. Framing *caudae* can be considered the weight-bearing walls of the *conductus*, as their role is mostly structural. On the other end, internal *caudae* interact actively with all the components of the song – meter, rhymes, text and meaning of the poem. They also differ in length: one may find framing *caudae* of considerable size, while internal *caudae* may count for as little as two or three perfections. For such peculiarly short melismas the term micro-*caudae* is used, and the rhythm seems to demand modal interpretation.

In analytical terms, internal *caudae* acquire relevance as they transcend the mere structural function, which was earlier assumed to be representative of all melismas in *conducti*. Furthermore, the *cauda* cannot be properly considered the only occurrence of embellished music in the *conductus* repertoire. A large amount of *conducti* shows other types of melismas. Some flourishes spread over several syllables or even entire words, challenging our understanding of the *cauda/sine littera* as the only melismatic section in the *conductus*. Other melismas may even represent useful tools to link the *conductus* to its musical roots, e.g. the liturgy (*Benedicamus Domino* formulae), or the earlier polyphony of St Martial (*punctus organi* and *currentes patterns*).

The last section of this work engages with issues of chronology, studying the evolution of the use of melismas throughout the lifespan of the repertoire. This is accomplished by building on the morphological analysis undertaken in the previous chapter. The methodology used diminishes ambiguities due to the relatively small sample of datable songs. The group of datable *conducti* is compared with the entire repertoire; the terminal *cauda* results being the main feature of the corpus, initially set to all stanzas. The initial *cauda* was instead either set to all stanzas or not used at all. The approach to both framing *caudae* (initial and terminal) becomes more flexible after the end of the twelfth century. Contrarily, internal *caudae* were always used by *conducti* composers.

The second part of the chronological study gives a historically-focused account of dating issues. All extant dating for two-voice *conducti* is discussed and new hypotheses proposed. Particular attention is dedicated to the allegorical use of the keywords *iubileus*, which might in some cases refer to the redemption of sins for crusaders. A deeper analysis of biblical and mythological references would be of significant help to the development of further dating attempts.

The music of the *conductus* and its historical context are the key elements of this thesis. The purpose is to enhance our knowledge of this momentous repertoire, offering alternative approaches to the study of the two-voice *conductus*. This work looks at the *conductus* repertoire as a consistent – yet oxymoronically heterogeneous – genre. It shifts the focus from theoretical to direct musical sources, challenging research boundaries and proposing new methods, with the aim of opening new doors to future studies on the topic.



## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Texts

This section provides the poems of all two-voice *conducti* analysed in this thesis. It is included here to demonstrate the exact placement of all framing and internal *caudae* within the text.<sup>1</sup> Thus, for strophic songs, only stanzas that carry new music are given. Syllabic *conducti* are not included in this section.

Cases where *cauda* settings are unambiguous are not reported. This mainly concerns *conducti* with no internal *caudae* (e.g. a monostanzaic piece with only the final *cauda*). Melismas are indicated as follows:

- ***bold and italic*** = framing melismas (initial and terminal *caudae*)
- underlined = internal melismas (all internal *caudae* and micro-*caudae*)

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<sup>1</sup> This appendix is not intended as an edition of the texts. For textual editions see Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*; Bevilacqua and Everist, *Cantum Pulcriorem Invenire Conductus Database*.

## **A deserto veniens (II)**

A deserto veniens  
Gravis ventus irruit,  
Qui domum Iob conterit,  
ut subversa iaceat;  
Quatuor in angulis  
Filiis Iob opprimit,  
Verum tamen unicus  
Puer pedem retulit,  
Qui damnum Iob *nunti*at.

## **Ad honorem salvatoris**

Ad honorem salvatoris,  
Huius festum confessoris  
Recolit ecclesia.

Concinamus exultantes,  
Huius sacri celebrantes  
Martyris *sollempnia!*

Cuius enim gloriosa,  
Perpes facta pretiosa  
Morte, vita *legitur*.

Cuius ope meritorum,  
Elabescat terrenorum  
Spes subnixa, regitur.

## **Adest annus iubileus**

Adest annus iubileus,  
Annus in quo nobis Deus

Nascitur de virgine,  
Visitatur Idumeus  
et mundatur homo reus  
Ab antiquo *crimine*.

Celum cepit inclinari,  
Globo splendens sublimari,  
Terram replens lumine;  
Terra cepit elevari,  
Luna surgens ut de mari  
Suo stet in *ordine*.

Fornicatrix accusatur,  
Terra sancta consignatur  
Dextre Dei digito,  
Accusata liberatur,  
Dum Maria fecundatur  
Spiritu *paraelite*.

## **Adiuva nos Deus**

*Adiuva nos, Deus*  
Salutaris noster,  
Et propter gloriam  
Nominis tui libera nos;  
Et propitius esto peccatis  
*Nostris propter nomen tuum,*  
*Domine*

## **Age penitentiam**

Age penitentiam,  
Memor unde cecideris,  
Qui Dei viam deseris,

Venies ad veniam,  
Si primum opus feceris  
Et penitens dolueris,  
Innocentis gloriam  
Quia, miser, amiseris,  
Quodque cum manum miseris  
Ad aratrum,  
Ad baratrum  
Respexeris.

### **Alma redemptoris**

*Al*ma redemptoris mater,  
Que pervia celi  
Porta manes et stella maris,  
Succurre cadenti  
Surgere qui curat populo:  
Tu que genuisti  
Natura mirante, tuum  
Sanctum genitorem:  
Virgo prius ac posterius,  
Gabrielis ab ore  
Sumens illud Ave,  
Peccatorem miserere.

### **Anni favor iubilei**

Anni favor iubilei  
Penarum laxat debitum,  
Post peccatorum vomitum  
Et cessandi propositum  
Currant passim omnes rei,  
Pro mercede regnum Dei  
Levi patet *expositum*.

*Stilla* mellis totum Eve  
Dulcoravit absynthium,  
Q penarum compendium,  
Q dulce purgatorium,  
Tantas penas tempus breve  
Et extinctum lumen leve  
Reformat emunctorium.

*Ad* amplexus redi Christi,  
Fili tam diu prodige,  
Crucis vexillum erige  
Et Albigeos abige,  
Totum uno redemisti,  
Qui vix granum intulisti,  
Messem in grano *collige*.

### **Assistricem sedium**

*Assistricem* sedium,  
Dei sapientiam,  
Quam apud ecclesiam  
Preconantur, filium  
Nobis det altissimum.  
Si vero plus petimus,  
Nec obtentu gratie,  
Tante digni simus  
Saltem sapientie;  
Det nobis assistricem  
Suam gerentem vicem,  
Et contenti erimus,  
Si hanc habuerimus  
*Collaboratricem*.

Quod assistat filio  
Mater, cuius portio  
Carnis est levata  
Super thronum glorie:  
Merito presumimus,  
Nec fas esse credimus,  
Quod glorificata  
Sit alibi locata  
Quam ubi substantie  
Sue pars erat *lata*.

Absit, ut Marie  
Sit in carne vermium,  
Et Verbi participium;  
Absit, ut reliquie  
Carnis Verbi socie.  
Viri cedant vilium  
Animalium  
Putrefacientium;  
Adsit, ut primitie  
Christus resurgentium  
Vilibus animalibus  
Putrefacientibus  
Initium materie  
Det resurrectionis.

*Que* maledictionis,  
Cum tollat penas debitas  
Et habeat dominium  
Serpentem conterendi,  
Nec non et privilegium  
In partu non dolendi  
Non est ei necessitas  
In terram revertendi

Per viam *putrescendi*.

### **Auctor vite virgine**

*Auctor* vite, virgine  
Natus, mori voluit  
Sub sacci velamine,  
Quem pro reis induit.

*Cuius* vita lectio  
Nobis et instructio,  
Nos pro vite precio  
Mundo mori docuit.

*Ut surgamus, oritur,*  
Ut vivamus, moritur,  
Celi pandens aditum;  
Compensem igitur,  
Ut, quod nobis creditur,  
Persolvamus *debitum*.

### **Austro terris influente**

*Austro* terris influente  
Surgens cedit aquilo,  
Flatu sacro succedente  
Pulso mentis nubilo  
Fervet ignis, sed fecundans  
Et humanum cor emundans  
A letali *frigore*.

*Innovatur* terra vetus  
Novo more germinans,  
Parit virgo, prodit fetus

Eve luctum terminans,  
Quo complente, ius legale  
Coaptantur celo scale,  
Via *patet regia*.

Serpens dirus exturbatur  
Ad vagitum pueri,  
Per quem pauper liberatur  
Potens datur carceri,  
Ab erroris via flexus  
Patris redit in amplexus  
Minor natu *filius*.

### **Ave Maria gratia plena**

Ave Maria, gratia plena,  
Dominus tecum:  
Benedicta tu  
In mulieribus,  
Et benedictus fructus  
Ventris tui.

### **Ave tuos benedic**

Ave, tuos benedic,  
Virgo, singularis  
Mater in deliciis,  
Salve, stella maris,  
Pulchior quam radius  
Luna vel solaris,  
Iram nati mitiga,  
Mater *salutaris*.

### **Beate virginis**

*Beate virginis*  
Fecundat viscera  
Vis Sancti Flaminis,  
Non carnis opera.  
Carens originis  
Labe, puerpera  
Dei et hominis  
Dat nova *federa*.

*Ardere* cernitur  
Ardenti radio,  
Rubus nec uritur  
Ignis incendio:  
Sic nec corrumpitur,  
Concepto filio,  
Virgo nec leditur  
In puerperio.

Miratur ratio  
Deum in homine,  
Suscepto filio  
De matre virgine  
Non fiat questio  
De tanto nomine:  
Sit fides ratio,  
Virtus pro *semine*.

### **Beatus servus**

*Beatus* servus sapiens,  
Custodiens Vigiliis,  
Sic sapias

Et vigiles  
Ut fertiles  
Fructus referas,  
Ne differas,  
Sed fiat protinus  
Ut Dominus  
Adveniens,  
Inveniens  
Te vigilem  
Et stabilem  
Remuneret  
Et prosperet  
Iter tuum  
Continuum  
Ad gaudia Celestia;  
Tibi spem mariti  
Dominus, splendido  
Coronam capiti  
De lapide pretioso.

### **Brevi carne deitas**

*B*revi carne deitas  
Latet inclinata,  
Nec sancta virginitas  
Luget deflorata,  
  
Summi regis delicias  
Venter educit virginis,  
Ut primi scelus hominis  
Et graves negligentias  
Excludat virtus *numinis*.  
*Benedicamus Domino.*

### **Cantu miro**

Cantu miro, summa laude  
Summo viro, vir, applaude,  
Quem confortat,  
Cuius dextra largitatis  
Intus, extra desolatis  
Opem *portat*.

Pietatis hic patronus  
Gravitatis fugat onus,  
Hoc quod gravat;  
Presens orbis consolator,  
Salus morbi et curator,  
Quos vult *lavat*.

Sedat fluctus procellosos,  
Naute luctus lacrimosos  
Dum revisit.  
Patri defert mersum natum,  
Quando refert vas auratum,  
Quod *promisit*.

Ille parens fit iocundus,  
Ter apparens auri pondus,  
Quem ditavit,  
Quo tres presto venundari  
Ab infesto lupenari  
*Revocavit*.

Tres consortes liberavit,  
Quos occulte trucidavit  
Hospes reus.  
Reddit furans, quod furatur,

Deum curans baptizatur

Hic *Iudeus*

Ergo, Christe, Fili Dei,  
Per quem iste causa spei  
Ut sol micat,  
Hac in die plebs festiva  
Tibi pie mente viva  
*Benedicat*.

### **Caput in caudam**

Caput in caudam vertitur,  
Dum Agar sublimatur  
Et libera reicitur  
Et serve subiugatur;  
Dagon truncus erigitur  
Et archa captivatur,  
Cum Dagonitis datur  
Apex rerum et dignitas,  
Et extrema captivitas  
Syon redinte<sup>gratur</sup>.

### **Casta catholica**

*Casta* catholica  
Cantent connubia,  
Casta colentia  
Charisma carmina,  
Micans munditia,  
Miscens mirifica,  
Mordens magrantia,  
Mestans malitia.  
Amen.

*Da*, dulcis domina,  
Dulcoris dulcia;  
Divinitus dona  
Divini dulcia.  
Pollens potentia,  
Piis prudentia,  
Presta, piissima,  
Preesse patria.  
Amen.

### **Castitatis talamum**

*Castitatis* thalamum,  
Ventrem virginalem,  
Pater dedit Filio,  
Vallem specialem;  
Invenire poterat  
Quis in mundo talem,  
Ut portaret Filium  
Patrem coequalem?

### **Celorum porta**

*Celorum* porta,  
*Mundo feliciter orta*,  
*Eruat a portis*  
Tua nos clementia *mortis*.

### **Centrum capit**

*Centrum* capit circulus,  
Quod est maius circulo,  
In centro triangulus

Omni rectus angulo,  
Sed fit minor angulus  
Unus de triangulo,  
Dum se mundi figulus  
Inclisit in *vasculo*.

**Concordem discordiam**  
Rerum parit novitas,  
Vestem textit variam  
Fecunda virginitas,  
Matrem vocat filiam  
Facta caro deitas,  
Osculatur sociam  
Vanitatem *veritas*.

### **Christi miles**

**Christi** miles Christo quo militat,  
Christus sequens Christo *cohabitat*.

**Christus** crucis est sue baiulus,  
Crucifixi crucem fert *famulus*.

**Passum** Thomas compassus sequitur,  
Passu firmo corona *capitur*.

**Ergo** fortis attollat debiles,  
Solvat vinctos, soletur *flebiles*.

**Benedicamus Domino**.

### **Circa mundi vesperam**

Circa mundi vesperam,  
Salvans sibi dexteram,

Legis litteram  
Spiritu complanat,  
Vulneratum sanat  
Vir Samaritanus.

Carnis fulgens trabea  
Visus in Idumea,  
Sed a vinea  
Custos repellitur,  
Eger persequitur  
Medicum *insanus*.

### **Clavus pungens acumine**

**Clavus** pungens acumine,  
Dum carnem Christi perforat,  
Ex vulnerum foramine  
Passionem commemorat,  
Cuius dum madet sanguine,  
Nos perfundens dulcedine,  
Christo crucis imagine  
Conformatos *incorporat*.

**In** istis foraminibus,  
ut columba nidifica,  
Tibi domum edifica,  
Quam intres istis foribus,  
Nova curandi fisica  
Salutem de livoribus,  
Medelam de vulneribus,  
De morte vitam *vendica*.

**O** manuum confixio,  
pedum perforatio,

Quibus Christus confoditur,  
Cuius dum caro scinditur,  
Et clavorum misterio  
Regnum celorum panditur,  
Celestis fabri studio  
Clavus in clavem vertitur.

*Clavi* quid est amissio  
Nisi quod Christi passio  
Excidit a memoria?  
Clavis quid est confixio,  
Que clavo fit contrario  
Nisi culpe malitia  
Aut boni simulatio  
Claudicans in iustitia?

*Vobis* loquor pastoribus,  
Vobis qui claves geritis,  
Vobis qui vite luxibus  
Claves Christi reicitis  
Vos lupi facti gregibus,  
Membra Christi configitis  
Et abutentes clavibus  
Claves in clavos vertitis.

### **Columbe simplicitas**

*Columbe* simplicitas  
Fel horret malitie,  
Turturis et castitas  
Fetorem luxurie,  
Etiam veritas inmeritum  
Mendacem odit spiritum;  
Sic decertat cum vitiis

Virtus sibi contrariis,  
Sed crimina  
Maiora ducunt agmina.  
***Benedicamus Domino***.

### **Condimentum nostre spei**

*Condimentum* nostre spei,  
Caro nupta verbo Dei,  
Sanctum pneuma spirans ei,  
Pater auctor tante rei,  
Hec celi solvit aditus  
Per Evam clausos primitus;  
Fit mors mortis divinitus,  
Ut noster vivat spiritus  
Fruens pace iubilei.

*Nondum* Lya lucta caret,  
Levum Iacob femur aret:  
O, si Christus hoc sanaret,  
Nullo modo claudicaret!  
Hic est celorum titulus  
Atque terrarum oculus,  
Fit angularis calculus,  
Ut Iudeorum populus  
Se gentili copularet.

### **Consequens antecedente**

*Consequens* antecedente  
Destructo destruitur;  
Bene namque sequitur,  
Nemine contradicente,  
Quod si dabis, dabitur;

Sed si primum tollitur  
Non cures de consequente,  
Quoniam negabitur,  
Si non approbabitur  
Auro viam faciente.

### **Cortex occidit**

Cortex occidit littere.  
Sed spiritus vivificat.  
Sed plus quam sat est sapere  
Turrim Babel edificat;  
Cor hominis letificat  
Vini potus vel sicere  
Si non cogat excedere.  
Quod fides patrum *predicat*.

### **Cum animadverterem**

Cum animadverterem  
Venerando Venerem,  
Me lavare laterem,  
Sensi, quod succumberem,  
Nisi culpam veterem  
Cum animad*ver*terem.

### **Cum sint difficilia**

*Cum* sint difficilia  
Salomoni tria,  
Quartum nescit penitus,  
Quod est viri via  
In adolescentia,  
Quod est Christi transitus  
In virgine *Maria*.

Hec est adolescentula,  
Que soli Verbo patula,  
Quod fuit ab initio;  
Sic patet, quod non patitur,  
Cum intrat aut egreditur,  
Quia Verbi conceptio  
Sine contagio  
Partus sine vestigio.

Ipsa nihilominus  
Terra, celum, mare,  
Ipse quoque Dominus  
Serpens, avis,  
Est et navis;  
Cuius non difficile,  
Sed impossibile,  
Vias investigare.

### **De monte lapis**

*De* monte lapis scinditur  
Mirabili miraculo,  
Ab illo cum disiungitur  
Non manus amminiculo:  
Lapis hic intelligitur,  
Quem Salomon in angulo  
Templi perfecti dicitur  
Corde locasse *sedulo*.

### **De nature fracto iure**

*De* nature  
Fracto iure

Ratio miratur.  
Sicut docet littera.  
Virgo fit puerpera.  
Virilis expers seminis.  
Alvus tumescit virginis,  
Re nominis  
In virgine *servata*.

Verbum patris,  
Lux eterna  
Luce lucet hodierna;  
Lucet lux in tenebris.  
Sed latebris  
Nostre carnis palliat.  
Neque minus radiat  
Deitas *vestita*.

Quid pervertis  
Nec avertis  
Legis adumbracula.  
Iudea incredula?  
Mentem legis  
Male legis.  
Medullam corticis  
Nec elicis,  
Vanis herens  
Docens vana  
Dum de spica  
Paleas.  
Quas teneas  
Colligis.  
Non grana.

### **Debet circumspicere**

*Debet* se circumspicere  
Dator indando munere,  
Quicquid, cui det et qualiter,  
Ut cunctis liberaliter  
Fiat, sed modis variis,  
Plus istis, minus aliis,  
Pro meritorum pondere  
Sit equus inequaliter,  
In dandis beneficiis  
Nihil agens prepostere.

### **Deduc Syon uberrimas**

*Deduc*, Syon, uberrimas  
Velut torrentem lacrimas!  
Nam qui pro tuis patribus  
Nati sunt tibi filii,  
Quorum dedisti manibus  
Tui sceptrum imperii,  
Fures et furum socii  
Turbato rerum ordine  
Abutuntur regimine  
Pastoralis officii.

*Ad* corpus infirmitas  
Capitis descendit,  
Singulosque gravitas  
Artus apprehendit;  
Refrigescit caritas,  
Nec iam se extendit  
Ad amorem proximi,  
Nam videmus opprimi

Pupillum a potente,  
Nec est qui salvum faciat  
Vel qui iustum eripiat  
Ab impio premente.

*Vide*, Deus ultionum,  
Vide, videns omnia,  
Quod spelunca vispilonum  
Facta est ecclesia,  
Quod in templum Salomonis  
Venit princeps Babylonis  
Et excelsum sibi thronum  
Posuit in medio;  
Sed arrepto gladio  
Scelus hoc ulciscere!  
Veni, iudex gentium,  
Cathedras vendentium  
Columbas evertere.

### **Dei sapientia**

*Dei sapientia*  
Iugum mortis frangere  
Venit ad terrestria,  
Nostre sortis misere  
Vestitus camisia,  
Quam alvo puerpere  
Paraclitus *texuit*.

Ex David origine  
Stella Iacob oritur,  
Ex Maria virgine  
Deus homo nascitur.  
Deus est cum homine.

Iam homo regreditur  
Sursum ad celestia.

Postquam rex accubuit  
Ventris in palatio,  
Ius nature stupuit,  
Admiratur ratio,  
Qualiter intumuit  
Nullo tactus vitio  
Venter tumens *celitus*.

### **Deus creator omnium**

*Deus* creator omnium  
Fecit quecumque voluit,  
Et milia letantium  
Se laudare disposuit,  
Constituens  
Currum sibi multiplicem,  
Et per certos distribuens  
*Gradus naturam simplicem*.

*Iocundior* ut fieret  
Ex diversis concordia,  
Factus homo, ne rueret,  
Ad hec fuit officia.  
Quem perditum  
Querens, humani corporis  
Christus assumpsit habitum,  
Licet in fine *temporis*.

*Corpus* sequuntur aquile  
Pulli lambentes sanguinem,  
Triumphat agmen fragile

Currens post matrem virginem;

Nos igitur

Regnanti sine termino,

Cui omne genu flectitur,

Benedicamus *Domino*.

### **Deus pacis**

*Deus* pacis

Et dilectionis

Maneat semper nobiscum;

Tu autem, Domine,

Nostri miserere.

### **Dic Christi veritas**

*Dic*, Christi veritas,

Dic, cara raritas,

Dic, rara caritas,

Ubi nunc habitas?

Aut in valle visionis,

Aut in throno Pharaonis,

Aut in alto cum Nerone,

Aut in antro cum Theone?

Vel in fiscella scirpea

Cum Moÿse plorante?

Vel in domo Romulea

Cum bulla fulminante?

### **Divino maduit**

Divino maduit Area rore,

Virgula frondit Indita flore;

Sit Iudea sacro Grata decore,

Ut reas lavacro, Flores *odore*!

### **Dum sigillum summi patris**

*Dum* sigillum summi patris

Signatum divinitus,

In sigillo summe matris

Signatur humanitus,

Nec sigillum castitatis

In puella frangitur,

Nec sigillum deitatis

Detrimentum patitur.

*Dum* humanam osculatur

Naturam divinitas,

Ex contactu fecundatur

Intacta virginitas;

Mira virtus osculandi,

Miranda sunt oscula,

Que dant vires fecundandi

Sine carnis copula.

### **Eclipsim patitur**

*Eclipsim* patitur

Splendor militie,

Solis extinguitur

Radius hodie,

Lux mundi labitur,

Dum flos Britannie

De via mittitur

In sedem patrie.

Mors sortis aspere,

Cunctis equa,

Non novit parcere.

### **Ego reus Confiteor**

*Ego reus confiteor*  
Deo semperque virgini,  
Matri Marie Domini,  
Sanctisque cunctis fateor;  
Addictus pene teneor,  
Et vereor, Quod mereor:  
Offendi namque plurimum  
Sepe Deum et proximum;  
In publico me publico  
Reum valde me iudico.

*Cordis*, oris et operis  
Mea culpa nunc supplico  
Matri Jhesu cum ceteris  
Celestis aule civibus,  
Piis imploret precibus  
A filio,  
Ne tremendo iudicio  
Suprema diffinito  
In profundum me deprimat  
Et opprimat,  
Sed confitentem redimat  
Et eximat  
Supplicio  
De vota supplicatio.

### **Eterno serviet**

*Eterno* serviet  
Qui parvo nesciet

Uti commercio;  
Eternum sentiet  
Iugum cui pariet  
Prolem ambitio;  
Viperarum genimina  
Materna rumpunt inguina;  
Sic, sic motus quem concipit  
Vane libido glorie,  
Distendit, inflat, diripit,  
Mentemque flatum suscipit  
Ambitus et potentie.

### **Ex creata non creatus**

Ex creata non creatus,  
Nasci nobis est dignatus,  
Qui pro nobis humanatus  
Nate tulit esse natus.  
Formam indutus huminis,  
Sed salvo iure numinis,  
Ut sic per partum virginis,  
Veteris posset criminis  
Dum *reatus*.

### **Ex oliva Remensium**

*Ex* oliva Remensium  
Fons sacri manat olei,  
Quod oleastro gentium  
Reddit olivam *fidei*.

*Fons* alias exaruit,  
Sed aqua viva profluit  
De fonte *caritatis*.

*Sola* Remensis civitas  
Implet, quod docet caritas  
Et tempus egestatis.

### **Exiit diluculo**

Exiit diluculo  
Rustica puella,  
Cum grege, cum baculo,  
Cum lana novella.  
Sunt in grege parvulo  
Ovis et asella,  
Vitula cum vitulo,  
Caper et capella.

### **Flore ortus virginalis**

*Floret* ortus virginalis,  
Prodit fructus, eternalis  
Manna pluit gratie.

### **Flos de spina**

Flos de spina procreatur  
Et flos flore fecundatur,  
Misso rore celitus.

Rorant celi, nubes pluunt  
Stillant montes, colles fluunt,  
Nuda patet veritas.

*Quod celerat umbra legis,*  
*In natali* summi regis

Totum patet homini.

Helyseus incurvatur,  
Verbum Patris incarnatur,  
Verbum, per quod filia

*Babilonis* visitatur,  
Per quod salus predicatur  
Illis de Samaria.

### **Flos floriget candor**

Flos floriget, candor munditie,  
Semper clara lux, altrix gratie,  
Almiflua regina glorie,  
Ducis novum solem iustitie.

O pia, rogita,  
o mater inclita,  
Nostris ut cordibus  
Ramum gementibus  
Viciorum excindens germina,  
Superfundat virtutum semina.

*Ergo*, per te, Theodocos  
Tute vadat Tetriphocos!  
Avernite cum filio  
*Benedicat hec contio!*

### **Fraude ceca desolato**

*Fraude ceca* desolato  
Primo nostri generis,  
Mortis virus ex palato

Redundavit posteris,  
Sed merore desiccato  
Corruptele veteris  
Hausit penam cum peccato  
Iubar novi sideris.

*N*ostre sorti coequatur  
Lux in testa condita,  
Dum lucerna fecundatur,  
Per quam patet semita,  
Mulieri reformatur  
Dragma diu perdita,  
In qua regis sigillatur  
Forma celo cognita.

*Pingit* archam testamenti  
Sedulo paraclitus  
Et largitor ornamentis  
Rem parat ingenitus,  
Vernat intus sacramenti  
Virga florens celitus,  
Lux in rubo non marcenti  
Fit homo divinitus.

### **Fulget in propatulo**

*Fulget* in propatulo  
Lux eterne glorie;  
Ortus est de rivulo  
Fons misericordie;  
Vim ducit a surculo  
Radix venie,  
Per quem tempus gratie  
Datur seculo.

Floret Iesse virgula  
Rore plena celico;  
Fugit Eve nebula,  
Eventu non logico,  
Dum Christi virguncula  
Non in lubrico  
Spem ponit, sed sedula  
Servit unico.

Nescius deficere  
Defectus ingreditur:  
Angelicum vivere  
Famem, sitim patitur:  
Temptatur, sed temere;  
Mors incurritur,  
Sed tamen extinguitur  
Orto sidere.

### **Gaude felix Francia**

*Gaude*, felix Francia,  
Speciali gaudio!  
Felix es militia,  
Felix es et studio.  
Sed precellit omnia  
Tui regis unctio,  
Quam regnans in gloria  
Tibi donat,  
Qui solus in solio  
Regni tonat.

*Cuius* miseratio  
In misericordia

Te *coronat*.

Felix regnum Francie,  
Cuius donat  
Regibus  
Rex glorie;  
Qui tonat  
In nubibus,  
Oleum letitie  
Pre suis consortibus

*Quam* coronat hodie  
In misericordie  
Miserationibus.

### **Gaude presul in Domino**

*Gaude*, presul in Domino  
Multipliciter  
Iterum dico, gaudeas,  
Cum feliciter,  
Quod cornu signas gemino,  
Lingua manūque compleas,  
Cum prodere procures  
Tam affectu,  
Quam effectu,  
Quid baculi,  
Quid anuli,  
Gestamine *figures*.

### **Gaude virgo virginum**

*Gaude*, virgo virginum,  
Ex qua lumen luminum

Ortum terris splenduit  
Et diluit  
Nubis mortalis nebulas  
Et desiccavit maculas  
Radicesque criminum.

Salve, salus hominum,  
Cecis lucem,  
Mundo ducem,  
Celo paris *Domini*um.

*Tu* thalamus  
Splendoris etherei,  
Tu balsamus  
Saporis nectarei,  
Tu dulcoris,  
Tu pudoris  
Flosculus *virgin*ei.

*In* Egypto constituti,  
Te ducente sumus tuti,  
Ut saluti,  
Restituti,  
Morbo sani pristino,  
Benedicamus *Domino*.

### **Genitus divinitus**

Genitus Divinitus  
Idem, quod ingenitus,  
Editus Humanitus  
Hac in valle gemitus,  
Mira prolis unitas,  
Germinat *nativitas*.

Hec a desiderio  
Defraudata sobrio  
Recreatur basio  
Vili tecta pallio,  
Cum sacra coniunctio,  
Quam sine divortio  
Casta generatio  
Prodit in connubio.

Ad epithalamium  
Excitat tripudium,  
Salomonis studium  
Mitigator mentium,  
David fert in medium  
Lyram et psalterium  
Premiaque talia,  
Tot et tam propitia.  
Gratia Propria  
Dantis laus et gloria.

### **Gloria in excelsis Deo**

*Gloria* in excelsis Deo,  
Redemptori meo,  
Galileo sydereo  
Bine maiestatis;  
Et in terra pax hominibus,  
Non tamen omnibus!  
Ergo quibus? Fidelibus  
Bone voluntatis.  
Hinc amor, Inde tremor,  
Inter utrumque *premor*.

*Alleluia*, expositum  
Laudate invisibilem  
Patrem, filium, spiritum,  
Magnum, ruffum et humilem!  
Christe, nostrum electrum,  
Tu lire nostre plectrum,  
Angelicis adapta,  
Formam nostram reforma,  
Nos angelis conforma,  
Capti vitate *capta*.

Ergo sit gloria  
Patri et filio  
Et sit laus tertia  
Flamini tertio!  
Patri potentia,  
Nato scientia,  
Flamini bonitas.  
Trina est gratia,  
Una essentia  
Equalis *deitas*.

### **Gloria sit soli Deo**

*Gloria* sit soli Deo,  
Laus, honor unigenito,  
Qui donet nobis omnibus  
Pro nostris vitam precibus,  
Ut cuncti mortis termino  
Benedicamus *Domino*.

### **Gratuletur populus**

Gratuletur populus

Pro salute populi,  
Quam designat baculus  
Noster, signans baculi  
Aaron misterium,  
Ne caret misterio,  
Quod virga tam arida  
Et loco tam arido  
Florens fructum edidit:  
Sic virgo fit gravida,  
Sed non ventre gravido  
Virginalis perdidit  
Floris beneficium  
Fructus beneficio.

### **Gregis pastor Tityrus**

Eya eya eya  
Vocat nos ad varia  
Tityrus cibaria

Gregis pastor Tityrus  
Asinorum dominus  
Pastorem et asinus

### **Hac in die Gedeonis**

Hac in die Gedeonis  
Ros mundi novit aditus,  
Per quem princeps Babilonis  
Fit ***Babiloni*** subditus.

Verbum caro, Deus homo,  
Creans fit creatum,  
Quod in virginali domo

Fuit humanatum.

Germinavit radix Iesse,  
Ut humanum Deus esse  
Terminaret per necesse,  
Qui cum suis suus esse  
*Voluit*.

### **Hac in die rege nato**

***Hac in die*** rege nato,  
Fraude ceca desolato,  
Lux illuxit homin  
Abrahe et semin,  
Quod promisit vox divina,  
Procreatur flos de *spina*

***Rore*** celi compluente,  
Austro terris influente,  
Hec est dies luminis,  
Qua beate virginis  
Ediderunt viscera,  
Quem iam vetus littera  
Presignarat Dominum.

Gaude, virgo virginum,  
Quam fecundat sacer flatus,  
Unde puer nobis natus,  
In rosa vernat liliium,  
Nec rose nodum reserat,  
Deus, creator *omnium*

***Persolvens***, quod promiserat,  
In nascendo rex excedit

Quam nature legem dedit,  
Et fulget in propatulo  
De nature miraculo,  
Nec iam astringit singulis  
Naturas Deus regulis.

### **Hec est dies triumphalis**

**Hec** est dies triumphalis,  
Mundo grata perditio,  
Dans solamen nostris malis,  
Hoste iugo subdito.  
Hec est Deo specialis  
Tanto nitens merito,  
Quod peccati fit finalis  
Mali malo irrito.

**Duce** fraudis demolito,  
Terris pax indicitur  
Et ex hausto aconito,  
Salus egris redditur,  
Morte mortis morsu trito,  
Vite spes infunditur,  
Claustro pestis inanito,  
Nefas omne pellitur.

**Cum** nos Christus fecundare  
Tanto vellet federe,  
Et se morti gratis dare  
Pro reorum scelere.  
Iure decet hunc laudare  
Et ei consurgere,  
Pascha novum celebrare  
Corde, voce, opere.

### **Hec est turris**

Hec est turris, quam vallavit  
Incorrupta deitas;  
Hec castellum, quod intravit  
Sola Verbi veritas.

Que est ista, que ascendit  
Sicut fumi virgula?  
Virga Iesse;  
Quis pretendit?  
Hec adesse,  
Flori tendit  
Corpore per secula.

### **Heu heu heu**

Heu, heu, heu? Quam subditis  
Causis pereunt ingentia!  
Vacant homines illicitis,  
Ceci vident bachanalia,  
Neutrum notant terminum  
Vite pondus criminum,  
Blandiuntur temere  
Sibi semper vivere;  
Homo, cur amplecteris  
Stercora pro croceis?  
Miser, quare deseris  
Aurea pro luteis?

### **Hoc in sollempnio**

Hoc in sollempnio

Plaudat tripudio  
Homo cum homine!  
Ergo, cedere  
Tu iussus, legere,  
Dic, «Iube, *Domne!*»

### **Homo per potentiam**

*Homo* per potentiam  
Similis efficitur  
Patri; per prudentiam  
Filiū prosequitur,  
Per benignum spiritum  
Sequitur paraclitum,  
Qui cum sit benignitas  
Rectas docet semitas,  
Morum dans dulcedinem  
Vite rectitudinem.

### **Iam vetus littera**

*Iam* vetus littera,  
Iam legis scrinium,  
Que clausa federa  
Servabant gentium  
Patent fidelium  
Per Dei filium,  
Et lex sequacibus:  
*Quid confert tedium?*

*O* mira caritas  
Et nova gratia,  
Verbi divinitas  
Fit carnis socia!

Virgo davitica  
Naturam decipit,  
Ad verba celica  
*Dum verbum concipit.*

### **Iherusalem accipitur**

*Iherusalem* accipitur  
Apud nos quadrifariam:  
Nam secundum historiam  
Per civitatem ponitur;  
Secundum sensum tropicum  
Est anima fidelis;  
Secundum allegoriam  
Istam signat ecclesiam;  
Secundum anagogicum  
Illam que est in *celis*.

*Maria*, tu Iherusalem,  
Quia tu Sancti civitas,  
Maria, cuius anima  
Sponsas inter pulcherrima,  
Se non ignorat talem.

*Maria*, que dum militas,  
Tua fundat humilitas  
Hanc aulam temporalem,  
Et apud triumphalem,  
Ut culmen superemines,  
Transcendens omnes ordines,  
Nusquam habens *equal*em.

Maria, pacis visio,  
Nam pacem veram vidimus

In sue terre medio,  
Quam fundavit altissimus  
In cuius pacis nomine.

***Benedicamus Domine.***

**In novas fert**

***In*** novas fert animus  
Formas versum hominem  
Dicere, quem novimus  
Factum ad ymaginem  
Dei, quem creatio  
Prima sine vitio  
Fecit vas egregium,  
Nam cisterna sordium  
Primam formam exuit,  
Peregrinas induit.

**In ripa Ligeris**

In ripa Ligeris  
Est Martinopolis,  
Urbs orbem temperans,  
Orbis gemma.

Asylum miseris,  
Parem apostolis  
Patronum venerans,  
Urbs suprema.

Polis est civitas,  
Polis pluralitas,  
Polis iocunditas,  
Polis distractio;

Hec polis civitas,  
Poleon deitas,  
Cuilibet veritas,  
Magistra, ratio.

Multiplex loci titulus  
Laudis captat preconium,  
Sed titulorum cumulus  
Vincit styli officium;  
  
Patronus, clerus, populus,  
Ubertas temporalium,  
Ceres, Liber, fons, hortulus,  
Amnis, prata convallium.

Agris clementia,  
Celi constellatio,  
Solis redundantia,  
Morum compositio,  
Largitas et honestas,

Turonis vernantia  
Uno quasi gremio  
Colunt domicilia;  
Exulat seditio  
Et guerrarum tempestas.

***Ergo*** sicut carbunculus  
Et flosculus,  
Turonis micat urbibus  
Et sedibus  
Fecunde.

Gallus, Hispanus  
Apulus  
Et Greculus,  
Invident Turonensibus  
Cum urbibus,  
Profunde.

### **In rosa vernat lilium**

*In* rosa vernat lilium,  
Flos in flore florescit  
Dum nata parit filium;  
In tenebris lucescit  
Lux sine tenebris;  
In carnis latebris  
Vera dies diescit

*Ex* luna solis emicat  
Radius elucescens;  
Mundanis solem indicat  
Luna nunquam decrescens;  
Hic sol dum lune iungitur,  
Neuter eclipsim patitur,  
Sed est plusquam nitescens

*In* hiemali tempore  
Ver vernat ultra morem;  
Dignum de digno corpore  
Mater fudit odorem.  
Q veris premium:  
Hiemis tedium  
Ad verum fugit florem.

### **In terram Christus**

In terram Christus expuit,  
Salivam terre miscuit,  
Cum servi formam induit  
Dei sapientia.

Illa mundans, hec mundata,  
Illa creans, hec creata,  
Unde lutum fit ex sputo,  
Sed non sputum fit ex luto,  
Assignans misteria.

Christus tamen sic providit,  
Quod non statim cecus vidit,  
Nunquam videt cecus natus,  
Nisi prius baptizatus  
In aquis misterii.

### **Inflexu casuali**

*In*flexu casuali  
Verbum, quod non inflectitur,  
Nec lege temporali,  
Corde Patris egreditur,  
Verbum nobis compatitur,  
Ventr<sup>is</sup> matris inseritur,  
Quem clausit, ventre clauditur,  
Et rubus non comburitur  
Splendore spiritali.

*De* terra splendor oritur,  
In partu virginali  
Verus sol nube tegitur.

**Ista dies celebrari**

Ista dies celebrari  
Promeretur et amari  
Festa super omnia.

Totus mundus elaboret,  
Ut extollat et honoret  
Christi natalitia.

Puer natus de virgine,  
Virtute sancti flaminis,  
Sacri fontis aspergine  
Purgavit culpam hominis.

Memoremus  
Et amemus  
Magnalia  
Pii Dei,  
Summa spei  
Constantia.

Sit introrsum  
Cor severum,  
Cor sincerum,  
Cor sine contagio.

Sermo Dei conformetur,  
Nec a corde sequestretur  
Oris attestatio.

Voce purgari pectoris  
De sorde fedis corporis,  
Regni carentis termino

*Benedicamus Domino.*

**Legem dedit olim Deus**

Legem dedit olim Deus,  
Ut peccatum temperaret,  
Servum misit Eliseus,  
Ut defunctum suscitaret.

*Incurvatur* Eliseus  
Et defunctus suscitatur,  
Incarnatur homo Deus  
Et peccatum terminatur.

Immutantur nato rege  
Lex et legis opera,  
Et intrante nova lege  
Excluduntur vetera.

Est pro lege litterali  
Spiritalis gratia  
Et pro morte temporali  
Eternalis gloria.

**Lene spirat spiritus**

*Lene spirat spiritus*  
*Missus et divinitus*  
*Pluens ros in virgine.*

*Fecundatur virgo* rore,  
Pretermisso tamen more,  
Nobis parit hominem.

*Orta dies celebris,*  
*Nobis dat* in tenebris  
*Lucis plenitudinem.*

### **Lex onus importabile**

*Lex* onus importabile  
Sub se fuit statutis,  
Nunc tempus acceptabile,  
Nunc sunt dies salutis,  
Nunc legis impossibile  
Dat gratia solutis  
A iugo servitutis,  
Nunc Moyses excluditur  
A terra, que dividitur  
Iesum ducem secutis.

*Habent* in ortu filii  
Ad verbum Simeonis  
Quidam ruinam, alii  
Spem resurrectionis;  
Fit lapis adiutorii  
Lapis offensionis,  
Sed diversis personis:  
Hic est lapis in titulum  
Erectus ad miraculum  
Antique visionis.

*Hic* lapis de lapidibus  
Abrahe suscitavit  
Filiis, quos prioribus  
Eiectis adoptavit,  
Priorum panem canibus  
Sub mensa ministravit,

Quod Iacob figuravit,  
Cum fratrem primogenitum  
Ius emens illi debitum  
Typice supplantavit.

### **Librum clausum et signatum**

*Librum* clausum et signatum  
Breve verbum explanavit,  
Textum typis obumbratum  
Verbi glossa sevit,  
Ut esset verbi glosula,  
In carnis nostre schedula  
Verbum pater figuravit.

*Vides* qui vult credere,  
Tanquam iactis fundamentis  
Viam solet aperire  
Alphabeti rudimentis,  
ut sit legendi formula,  
Cartam affigit tabula  
Figuratam elementis.

### **Luget Rachel iterum**

*Luget* Rachel iterum,  
Cuius dampnat uterum  
Filiorum orbitas;  
Lapso tabernaculo,  
Quondam plena populo  
Sola sedet civitas.

*Languent* Syon filie,  
Cotidie Affligentes animam,

Cum non sit qui faciat  
Nec veniat  
Ad paschalem *victimam*.

### **Lux illuxit**

*Lux illuxit* gratiosa  
Novum ferens gaudium,  
In hac die gloriosa  
Luminare gentium  
Super nos enituit.

*In* qua forma speciosus  
Pre filiis hominum  
Fructus David generosus,  
Legi ponens terminum,  
Circumcidi *voluit*.

*Iuravit* David Dominus  
Et eum non penituit,  
Nam super David solium  
David de fructu *posuit*.

### **Luxuriant animi**

Luxuriant animi  
Rebus sepe prosperis,  
Vile iacent infimi  
Casibus in asperis,  
Ingrati pro gratia  
Grati sub inopia,  
Inopes sunt humiles,  
Propter opes labiles  
Inflantur *superbia*.

### **Magnificat anima mea**

*Magnificat*  
Anima mea Dominum,  
Qui iudicat  
Verba, cor, renes hominum  
Ponensque mortis terminum  
Per Adam *propagate*.

Exterminat  
Pristini semen gemitus  
Et seminat  
Gaudia nobis spiritus,  
Gratia pluens celitus  
Vite ros *innovate*.

Qui despicit  
Populi fastus veteris  
Et respicit  
Ancille fletum pauperis,  
Proles humani generis  
Iam me beatam *dicent*.

Ostendunt Dei semitas  
Patentes ab initio,  
Pius amor et veritas,  
Sed preminet iudicio,  
Que non turbatur odio,  
Dulcis eius benignitas,  
Neque frigescit senio,  
Sed semper sine tedio  
Fervet paterna caritas

Erga Deum *timentes*.

Ieiune mentis macie  
Contracta terra gentium  
Panis affertur gratie;  
Solve leta ieiunium,  
Respiret mens ad gaudium,  
Granum celestis patrie  
Mortis in exterminium  
Vite largitur prandium,  
Pulsa cordis esurie,  
Quod Deus implet *bonis*.

*Iam* solvens, quod promiserat  
Abrahe sancto semini,  
Summis ima confederat  
Descendens verbum Domini,  
Pacem reportans homini  
Librumque clausum reserat  
Unit a carne numini,  
Quod est concessum nemini,  
Nisi quem virgo generat,  
Qui matris est *origo*.

### **Manna mentis**

*Manna* mentis dat refectionem,  
Tabule legem, virga correctionem;  
Hec archa cordis geras,  
Hec ore proferas,  
Qui scripturas *reseras*.

### **Mater patris et filia**

*Mater* Patris et filia,  
Mulierum letitia,  
Stella maris eximia,  
Audi nostra suspiria.  
Regina poli curie,  
Mater misericordie,  
In hac valle miserie  
Sis reis porta venie.  
Per tuum, virgo, filium  
Confer nobis remedium;  
Bone fili, prece matris  
Perduc nos ad regna *Patris*.

### **Monstruosis fluctibus**

*Monstruosis* fluctibus  
Mare magnum estuat,  
Aquilonis natibus  
Cimba Petri fluctuat;  
Quia dormit veritas,  
Sola sedet civitas,  
Quam scribarum cecitas  
Cecis locat ducibus.

### **Naturas Deus regulis**

*Naturas* Deus regulis  
Certis astringi statuit,  
Et a prescriptis formulis  
Nullo conatu potuit  
Ultra naturam progredi  
Vel per se citra regredi;

Sed his ligari vinculis  
Ipsorum auctor noluit  
  
Qui retrahit et tribuit  
Naturis, quod vult, singulis,  
Sic ergo nostris seculis  
Mortalis nasci voluit,  
Quod eternus apparuit.

*Carnem* sumens ex virgine  
Triplex pandit misterium:  
Mortalis est ex homine,  
Quod clausum manet ostium,  
Quando partus egreditur

Spiritualis ostenditur  
Quod sine patris semine,  
Quod non habet initium,  
Eternum tenes solium;  
Sub divo sine tegmine  
Non egens medicamine  
Ducit virgo filium,  
Quia salus est omnium.

*Pauper* mundum ingreditur,  
Qui rebus preest omnibus,  
Et abiectus egreditur  
Potens pre terre regibus,  
Se ipsum exinaniens,  
Suo patri obediens  
Humilitur exsequitur,  
Ut sic par sit humilibus,  
Insinuans hominibus;  
Quod porta celi clauditur,  
Et infernus exponitur,  
Superbe resistentibus,  
Se extra se querentibus

*Quos* ab Egypti cophino  
Deus potentialiter  
Redemit et humiliter;  
Pro servitutis termino  
*Benedicamus* Domino.

### **Nobilitas animi**

*Nobilitas* animi  
Sola est ac unica,  
Virtus dolet opprimi,  
Olim fuit publica,  
Modo sola relinquitur,  
Sub tributo redigitur.  
Sedens gemit se conteri,  
Se desolatim deseri,  
Et gemitus  
Eius non est absconditus.

### **Novi sideris**

*Novi* sideris  
Lumen resplenduit,  
Et nubem diluit,  
Qua fugata, claruit  
Gentium ecclesia.  
Novum pontificem  
Commendant varia:  
Vite munditia,  
Morum penitentia,  
Et eximie  
Pietatis opera.  
Hinc vox letitiae

Personat,  
Quia lux hodie  
Radiat;  
Lux celebris  
Tenebras exterminat.

### **Novum sibi textuit**

Novum sibi textuit  
Dominus lumbare,  
Volens, quod computruit,  
In hoc compensare,  
Sterilis letare,  
Nam tot Christo paries,  
Ut Iudeum supplantare  
Tuus possit paries.

*Prius* tactu fimbrie  
Menstrua curatur,  
Iairi quam filie  
Sanitas reddatur,  
Per acum intratur  
Camelis gentilium,  
Nec Helias aspernatur  
Vidus tugurium.

Esau repudiat,  
Iacob Christus gratis  
Vocat et initiat  
Fide trinitatis,  
Cuius dignitatis  
Signum dedit gentibus,  
Iacob natis cancellatis  
Benedicens manibus.

### **Nulli beneficium**

Nulli beneficium  
Iuste penitudinis  
Amputatur,  
Nulli maius vitium,  
Quam ingratitude  
Imputatur;  
Ergo, presul, confitens  
Esto vere penitens,  
Quia nil confessio  
Lavatur cui contritio  
Denegatur.

*Virtute*, non sanguine  
Decet niti;  
Sub honorum culmine  
Corde miti  
Foveas innoxium,  
Reprime flagitium  
Superbi et impii,  
Supremi iudicii  
Memor iuste iudica,  
Predicans non claudica.

Cum magis committitur,  
Ab eo plus exigitur.  
Quid Domino retribuistis,  
Pro tot, que tibi tribuit,  
Quod lac et lanam eruis  
Gregis, cuius constituit  
Te pastorem?  
Sed cave ne cum venerit,

Te districte tunc conerat  
Ut raptorem;  
Districtus iudex aderit,  
Nunc sustinens considerat  
Peccatorem.

### **O crux ave spes unica**

*O* crux, ave, spes unica,  
Signum mitibus mite;  
In Paradisi cronica  
Te signat arbor vite,  
Ligna Abrahamite,  
Iacob manus cancellans,  
Thau in liminari,  
Serpens in palo pari,  
Moyses orando *bellans*.

*Ecce*, crucem Domini  
Demon cedat numini,  
Fuge pars adversa,  
Perversa, eversa hoc signo!  
Gigas fati gemini  
Militavit homini,  
Collegit dispersa,  
Diversa conversa *in ligno*.

*Ergo* per signum crucis,  
Per signum summi ducis,  
Per duces summe lucis  
Libera nos, Deus.  
Sit nobis crux tutamen,  
Lorica, pax, solamen,  
Sit scutum sive tamen

Annus iubileus.

### **O gloriosa Dei genitrix**

*O* gloriosa Dei genitrix,  
Virgo semper, Maria,  
Que Dominum omnium  
Meruisti portare,  
Et regem angelorum  
Sola virgo lactare.  
Nostri quesumus, pia memorare,  
Et pro nobis Christum deprecare,  
Ut tuis fulti patrociniis,  
Ad celestia regna mereamur pervenire.

### **O levis aurula**

*O* levis aurula  
Cur credula  
Videbaris primitus,  
Quis vel qualis  
Et cur erit exitus,  
Imprimi sedula,  
Cur vincula  
Velox fert interitus?  
Mors extrema,  
Quia mortis anhelitus.

### **O qui fontem gratie**

*O* qui fontem gratie  
Captivus regeneras,  
Celos endelichie  
Federe confederas,

Ordinata serie  
Mundi motus temperas,  
Yles intemperie  
Effrenata cohibes  
Et dissolvi prohibes,  
Ut leges, quas adhibes,  
Elementa teneant  
Et concordii coeant  
Dispositione.

*O* summa potentia,  
Inter dissidentia  
Firma firmans federa,  
Ut supera sic infera  
Refrenas illicita,  
Digna pensans merita  
Retributione.

*Legem* federis  
Inponis superis,  
Conservans supera:  
Celum numeris  
Moves innumeris  
Et celi sidera.  
Tu celum circulis  
Tu motus regulis  
Stringis erraticos,  
Tu nexus musicos  
Innectis dissonis,  
Ex quibus consonis  
Tonis mellisonis  
Reddis armonias,  
Qui propriis Officiis  
Signas erachias.

*Ergo*, qui tam dissona  
Cogis consonare,  
Que divine consona  
Legi moderare,  
Melos quod divinitus  
Tuus spirat spiritus,  
Nobis missus celitus  
Plenius inspiret,  
Enormes reiciat,  
Concordes efficiat,  
Quos expiat,  
Sic puniat,  
Ut vices, quas variat,  
Alternis sic uniat,  
Ne lira deliret.

### **O quotiens volui**

*O* quotiens volui  
Blande sub ala cogere,  
Quos iam natos regenui;  
Deperditis aperui  
Viam salutis terere,  
Sed crucis fracto federe,  
Me relicto contemptui,  
Causas vultis exquirere,  
Ne sanctorum senatui  
Vos possitis adiungere.

### **O totius Asie gloria**

*O* totius Asie  
Gloria,

Regis Alexandrie  
Filia,  
Grecie gymnasia  
Coram te, Maxentie,  
Dia  
Confudit philosophia;  
De cuius victoria  
Protectorum virginum,  
**Benedicamus Dominum.**

### **Ortu regis evanescit**

**Ortu** regis evanescit  
Legis nubes involuta,  
Vera dies elucescit  
Umbra noctis dissoluta;  
Rosa produxit lilium  
Et honorem convallium  
Castitate non **soluta**.

**Hec** est rosa venustatis,  
Que producto celi flore  
Tenet decus castitatis  
Et in partu sanctiore  
Exultat privilegio  
Nullo delusa vitio,  
Celi perfusa **rore**.

Veris hyems eternalis  
Elargitur diuitias,  
Cedit rigor hyemalis  
Et in floris delicias  
Se resolvi gratulatur,  
Gaudet quidem et miratur

Florem non visum **alias**.

### **Ovans chorus scholarium**

**O** trina de aureola  
Gaudens, Leodegari,  
Trina fortis areola  
Letarisque stoleola;  
Pro tuis preces cumula,  
Ut queant beari.

Ovans chorus scholarium  
Almum Leodegarium  
Psallendo carmen varium  
Pura colit mente.  
Clara ortus prosapia  
Nutritus aula regia,  
Sacra perdiscens studia  
Didone docente.

### **Pange melos lacrimosum**

Pange melos lacrimosum.  
Lacrimans elegia.  
Tempus venit planctuosum.  
Tempus fraudans gaudia.  
Ad eclipsim nox memoris  
Obliquat spectacula.  
Regnat dolor, nam doloris  
Causa stat in **specula**.

### **Parens patris natiq̄ue filia**

*Parens* patris, natiq̄ue filia,  
Virgo mater, prefulgens gratia,  
Ut destructos in hac miseria  
Ex te nato nos reconcilia.  
Virgo pura, aula sanctissima,  
Viri nescia mater deica,  
Tu virga fumi aromatica,  
In te portatur mundi fabrica,  
Parens Patris Deique unica.

### **Pater noster commiserans**

*Pater noster* commiserans  
Filiorum excessibus,  
Eos falli considerans  
In peccati contractibus,  
Tutorem sibi dirigit,  
Qui pro pupillis transigit:  
Vitam morte mercatur,  
In pena culpam destruit,  
Scelus in nece diluit,  
Vincit, cum iudicatur.

*Quicumque* vult salvus  
Esse attendat subtilius,  
Quod, velut nescit obesse  
Vitro solis radius,  
Sic servantur primitie  
Carnis matris et filie,  
Nec stupeat natura:  
Eius enim destruere,  
Cuius fuit et condere

### **Fragilitatis iura.**

*Ergo* credo in Deum,  
Cuius misericordia  
Conciliavit reum  
In sera penitencia.  
Raptus raptorem rapuit,  
Metit in messe stipulam,  
Quod signat cum fel renuit  
Gustans, et tradit regulam,  
Ne desperet in sceleris  
Quadriduanus tumultu,  
Finalis enim operis  
Causa servatur calculo.

### **Pater noster qui es in celis**

*Pater noster*, qui es in celis:  
Sanctificetur nomen tuum;  
Adveniat regnum tuum:  
Fiat voluntas tua,  
Sicut in celo,  
Et in terra.

Panem nostrum cotidianum  
Da nobis hodie:  
Et dimitte nobis  
Debita nostra,  
Sicut et nos dimittimus  
Debitoribus nostris.  
Et ne nos iuducas in temptationem.  
Sed libera nos a malo.  
*Amen*.

### **Pia mater gratie**

*Pia* mater gratie,  
Pia vena venie,  
Pia regis filia,  
A regi glorie  
Servos tuos hodie  
Pie reconcilia!

### **Porta salutis**

*Porta salutis, ave,*  
*Per te patet exitus a vhe,*  
*Venit ab Eva vhe,*  
*Vhe quia tollis, ave!*

### **Presul nostri temporis**

*Presul* nostri temporis,  
Patrie presidium,  
Emulandi decoris,  
Et virtutis pretium,  
Sanguinem patricium  
Actus augens Hectoris  
Vires frangit hostium,  
Annis dignus Nestoris,  
Probis prestans premium.

### **Puer natus**

Puer natus in Bethlehem  
Unde gaudeam Ierusalem  
Alleluia.

### **Puer nobis est natus**

*Puer* nobis est natus,  
Dum Deus humanatus;  
Non carnis, sed reatus  
Onus est dedignatus;  
Qui genitus  
Divinitus  
Et Patri coequalis,  
Dum nascitur,  
Exceditur  
Lex partus naturalis;  
Nam incarnari sustinens  
De virgine procedit,  
Et deitatem retinens  
A Patre non recedit.

*Quos* Adam deformavit,  
Nos Christus reformavit,  
Qui celos inclinavit  
Et tenebras calcavit,  
Nam pristinae  
Caligine  
Demersos vetustatis  
Nos extulit  
Et retulit  
Ad lucem veritatis:  
Nascens mundo consuluit  
Et plebi periture,  
Et humanam preposuit  
Angelice nature.

### **Quasi stella matutina**

*Quasi* stella matutina,  
Que producit radium  
Nubule *per medium*.

*Sic* effulsit in doctrina,  
Tam humana quam divina,  
Inter sapientium  
Catervas Gentilium,  
Virgo *Katherina*.

Ergo regem Maxentium  
Accendit ira bina  
Et conversos incendium.  
Sed virginis eximium  
Cor non perterret mina,  
Non mulcet blandi loquium.

*Tandemque* subit gladium  
Plexa prius regina,  
Quam et ducem Porphyrium  
In carcere converterat,  
Et demum confirmaverat  
Rotarium in *ruina*.

Porro tibi fit gaudium,  
Urbs Alexandrina  
Tantam magistram nutriens  
Tibique, maius Syna,  
Tantum thesaurum condiens,  
A quo liquor scaturiens  
Est egris *medicina*.

## **Queris quid me moveat**

*Queris*, quid me moveat  
Laudibus insistere  
Virginis puerpere,  
Cur non laudem filium,  
Cum laus magis deceat  
Melio<sup>r</sup>em omnium,  
Nec abs ipso valeat,  
Seu valeat valere  
Quicquam laudabilium.

Scire velim igitur,  
Cum virgam precipitur  
Moyses levare,  
Quare redarguitur,  
Ne adderet  
Ad Dominum clamare  
Nisi ut cognosceret,  
Quod virga sufficeret  
Ad dividendum *mare*  
  
Hec virga sufficiens,  
Nuncquid virgo virginum?  
Virtus indeficiens  
Virginis egressa  
De radice Iesse;  
Satisque redimimus  
Clamorem ad Dominum,  
Cum virgam attollimus,  
Per quam mare credimus  
Hoc dividendum esse.

## **Qui de Saba veniunt**

Qui de Saba veniunt,  
Thus et aurum deferunt,  
Et regi oui serviunt  
Suum munus offerant:  
Thure Dei deitatem,  
Aura regis potestatem  
Predicet ecclesia.

De thesauro pectoris  
Exit hec oblatio,  
Nisi motu corporis  
Mens declinet alia;  
Non sit pectus deauratum,  
Nihil Deo semigratum,  
Sed totum sit aureum.

### **Quod promisit ab eterno**

*Quod* promisit ab eterno,  
Die solvit hodierno,  
Verbum mittens de superno,  
Pater in Idumeam.

Levis nubes et vitalis,  
Munda caro virginalis,  
Nobis pluens spiritalis  
Roris plenitudinem.

Olim fuit argumentum,  
Verbi signans indumentum,  
Nubes ferens adiumentum  
Lucis et umbraculi.

### **Quot vite successibus**

*Quot* vite successibus  
Nostra sors prefloruit,  
Tot mortis eventibus  
Peccando succubuit;  
Vitam dedit gratia,  
Mortem contumacia,  
Fit via tunc previa  
Nunc invio devia,  
Forme deformatio  
Mortis informatio.

### **Redit etas aureas**

Redit etas aurea,  
Mundus renovatur,  
Dives nunc deprimitur,  
Pauper exaltatur,  
Omnis suo principi  
Plebs congratulatur,  
Nec est locus sceleri,  
Scelus datur funeri,  
Scandala fugantur.

Pius, potens, humilis.  
Dives et maturus  
Estate, sed docilis  
Et rerum securus  
Suarum, preficitur  
Anglie, daturus  
Rapinis interitum,  
Clero iuris aditum,  
Locum veritatis.

**Rege mentem et ordina**

Rege mentem et ordina  
Sub trutina,  
Que, nisi paret, imperat  
Et superat,  
Sed superans eliminat  
Honestum et iustitiam  
Sequesterat  
Et exterminat  
A te virtutis *gloriam*.

**Regi regum omnium**

*Regi* regum omnium  
Grates ago gratie,  
Qui Bituricensium  
Providit ecclesie  
Pastorem egregium,  
Qui pavit egregie  
Gregem oberrantium  
A via iustitie.

*Presul* venerabilis  
Et dignus memoria,  
Pius, castus, humilis,  
Disponens per omnia  
Sequi Christum,  
Mundum istum  
Fugit et celestia  
Concupivit  
Et ambivit  
Sobrie mens sobria.

*Vita* iusti gloriosa  
Ut mors esset pretiosa  
Apud Deum meruit,  
Et qui sibi viluit,  
A datore gratiarum  
Cum fine miseriarum  
Gloriam obtinuit  
Et decorem induit.

**Regis cuius potentia**

Regis, cuius potentia  
Manet per cuncta secula,  
Cuius virtute preditus,  
Miles insignis Stephanus  
Martyr effectus hodie  
Stolam percepit glorie.

In militis victoria  
Summa preconis gloria:  
Regi regum altissimo  
Benedicamus *Domino*.

**Regis decus et regine**

*Regis* decus et regine,  
Saga, pelles et cortine,  
Viole, rose, lilia;  
Saga signant confitentes,  
Pelles rubre patientes,  
Cortine *continentia*.

*Mandatorum* denarius  
Cortinarum pluralitas,

Virtutum quarternarius  
Est colorum diversitas,  
Cum iacincto prudentie,  
Bissi retorte castitas,  
Cum purpura iustitie  
Cocci bistincti *caritas*.

### **Regnum dei vim patitur**

Regnum Dei vim patitur,  
Nec illuc quis admittitur,  
Nisi se ipsum vicerit;  
Sed quem iudex, cum venerit,  
Invenerit  
Victorem coronabitur.

### **Relegata vetustate**

**Relegata** vetustate  
Vetus homo renovetur,  
Ut in sancta novitate  
Sanctum pascha celebretur,  
Et in malis deformatus  
Christo psallat reformatus  
Ut eidem conformetur.

**Nec** te credas renovari,  
Nisi prius expurgari  
Mentem velis a fermento,  
Quia verus agnus sum, memento,  
Pro te passus *immolari*.

**Vere** lucis matutino,  
Non legali sed divino,

Agno decet resurgere.  
Corde, ore et opere;  
Sic, Benedicamus *Domino*.

### **Relegentur ab area**

Relegentur ab area  
Clausus in testa figulus  
Univit sibi fictile,  
Fons idem, fons et rivulus,  
Immo fluentem stabile  
Se nobis propinavit  
Assumensque mutabile  
Quod erat non *mutavit*.

**Ad** vitem pullus, asina  
Colligatur ad vineam,  
Vite panduntur limina,  
Quibus admovit rumpheam,  
Cuius virtute sarcina  
Legalis leviatur,  
Novelle vetus pagina  
Spiritu complanatur.

### **Renovantur veterum**

**Renovantur** veterum oracula,  
Vetera res innovat miracula,  
Umbris subit claritas  
Et figuris veritas,  
Vacuantur vetera  
Virgine puerpera,  
Nec Ionas sub hedera  
Neque iam sub littera

Latet prophetia.

In fiscella Moyses viminea,  
Et sub carne clausus est virginea  
Summi regis filius,  
Panis cinericius  
Iam subvertit omnia  
Madium tentoria,  
Et antiqua somnia  
Nova supplet gratia  
Nato *salvatore*.

Nostre noctis tenebras illuminat,  
Huius mundi principem eliminat  
Stelle iacob radius,  
Iesse flos egregius;  
Balaam pes leditur  
Et asella loquitur,  
Dum vis hostis frangitur  
Et vox nostra solvitur  
*Christum confitendo*.

### **Resurgente Domino**

*Resurgente* Domino  
Ei conresurgamus,  
Qui reatu pristino  
Detrusi fueramus  
Sub inferni latebris;  
Exsurgamus tenebris,  
Tersa labe criminum.  
Fateamur Dominum  
Resurgere Tum voce, tum *opere*.

### ***Mors et Christus accinguntur***

*Ad luctam; aggrediuntur*  
Certamen; occiditur  
Christus; mors exceditur  
Et vincendo vincitur.

### **Rex et pater**

*Rex* et pater omnium  
In iacturam hostium  
Fabrefactum  
Sed non fractum  
Evaginans gladium,  
Quasi per silentium  
Incarnatum  
Ut larvatum  
Misit ad nos *filium*.

*Quem* non claudit patulus  
In se mundi circulus,  
Iussu patris  
Alvo matris  
Saltum fecit hinnulus,  
Suscitatur parvulus,  
Quod temptavit  
Nec patravit  
Helisei *baculus*.

*Ut* per portis calicem  
Vestustatem duplicem  
Amoveret  
Et deleret,  
Unam tulit simplicem  
Et emisit laticem,

Per quem lavit  
Et damnavit  
Peccatorum *obicem*.

### **Rex eterne glorie**

**Rex** eterne glorie,  
Mundo natus hodie,  
Nos renasci voluit,  
Quos Adam constituit  
*Morti tributarios*.

### **Lucerna accenditur**

*Et* domus evertitur,  
Dragma diu perdita  
Invenitur et ita  
Verbum carnem *induit*.

### **Roma gaudens iubila**

**Roma** gaudens iubila,  
Mentis procul nubila  
Splendor expellat hodie,  
Splendor pacis et glorie  
Fidelibus  
Ingentibus  
Ortu de tuo *principe*.

Syon ergo filia,  
Surge de tristitia,  
Salutis adest Dominus  
Ut tuo fiat terminus  
Exilio,  
Cum gaudio

Iam regem regum suscipe.

### **Rose nodum reserat**

**Rose** nodum reserat  
Veri solis radius,  
Dum ad ortum properat  
Verus Dei filius,  
Hunc mundus incarcerat,  
Qui mundana liberat,  
Inclinato die  
Nocti lucem generat  
Gratia *Marie*.

*Stirps Iesse* progreditur,  
Nova fit insitio,  
Surculus inseritur,  
Sed non fit incisio,  
Dum Christus concipitur,  
Castitas non leditur;  
Nova res, puella  
Parit, et complectitur  
Firmamentum *stella*.

### **Salvatoris hodie**

Novus Adam natus est  
Ut novetur mundus,  
A quo tamen factus est  
Primus et secundus;  
Quippe cum principium  
Idem sit et terminus  
Servus atque dominus.  
Nescit hoc preputium,

Nescit hoc *immundus*.

### **Salve sancta parens enixa**

*Salve*, sancta parens, enixa puerpera  
regem, qui celum terramque regit in  
secula *seculorum*.

### **Salve sancta parens patrie**

*Salve*, sancta parens patrie  
Lex forma *bonorum*.

*Virtutis speculum*, recti via  
Regula *morum*.

*Carnis* ab exilio duc nos  
Ad regna *polorum*

### **Scrutator alme cordium**

*Scrutator* alme cordium,  
Lumen verum de lumine,  
Redemptor et fideliu,  
Homo factum pro homine,  
Cum lacrimarum flumine  
Tuum peto presidium,  
Ne intres in iudicium  
Cum servo tuo, *Domine*.

### **Scysma mendacis Grecie**

*Scysma* mendacis Grecie  
Vexilla Christi deserunt

Et ad fidelis Francie  
Castitatem se transferunt  
Ubi sponsus ecclesie  
Sumendus mediatur,  
Adversus quem non potuerunt  
Perfidorum insidie,  
Quin sponsam tueatur.

*O* cuius imperio  
Paretur a superis  
Terrenis et inferis!  
Quanto beneficio  
Franciam prosequeris  
Pre regnis ceteris!  
Iam ornatu regio  
Tota splendet regio,  
Cum crucem, cum lanceam,  
Cum corona scyrpeam,  
Que subtrahis  
Danais  
Miseris;  
Ad ipsam miseris  
Quodam presagio  
Arma, quibus viceris,  
Cum sub Pontio  
Iudicatus *fu*eris?

Quid sibi volunt talia,  
Francorum rex catholice,  
Quod sis iunctus celice,  
Quod te ditent insignia  
Passionis dominice,  
Quod assumis et alia,  
Cum a supremo iudice

Tua pulsantur ostia?  
Ne nesciat  
Ad quem refugiat,  
Exul ecclesia,  
Que sic opprimitur,  
En a summo pontifice  
Vocaris ad subsidia.  
Illuc confugitur,  
Ubi Christus diligitur.  
Ex his tibi conicitur  
Deberi monarchia.

### **Seminavit Grecia**

Seminavit Grecia,  
Quod mentis in horrea  
Iam reponit Gallia,  
Granum sine pallea,  
Quod senio non interit,  
Quod mundi mola non terit,  
Quod nunc usque dapibus  
Fideles celestibus  
Saginat.

Per defectum  
Solaris luminis  
Illustratur  
Lumine luminis  
Herens Dionysius  
In eclipsi dubius.  
Neque causas  
Diu clausas  
Aperire sufficit.

Natura secum disputans.  
Motus astrorum computans  
Non invenit, quod queritur,  
Sic ratio scrutinio  
Deficiens compellitur,  
Ut se supra se querat,  
Dum, quod querit, attingere  
Non temere desperate

### **Si Deus est animus**

Si Deus est animus,  
Dii nostri sint animi,  
Menti quod imprimimus  
Faciamus imprimi  
Divinis operibus.  
Sit in actibus,  
Quod mens concipit;  
Sic quod recipit  
Fides precipit.  
Nam ut lucis munere  
Caret lampas vacua,  
Sic et sine opere  
Fides iacet mortua.

### **Sine matre genitus**

Sine matre genitus de patre,  
Sine patre nascitur de matre,  
Legem suam nescit hic natura,  
Cum sit casta virgo paritura,  
Parit mirum virgo virum,  
Viri tamen nescia  
Et parentem

Non premit angustia.

**Ros** divinus vellus irrigavit,  
Sicca Iesse virga pullulavit,  
Tuum natum dum Maria gignis,  
Iubar vitro, rubo parcit ignis,  
Clausa porta  
Lux est orta,  
Que cecos illuminat,  
Manu fortis  
Iura mortis,  
Carne sumpta, terminat.

### **Sol sub nube**

Sol sub nube latuit,  
Sed eclipsis nescius,  
Cum se carni miscuit  
Summi patris filius,  
Maritari noluit  
Verbum patris altius,  
Nubere non potuit  
Caro gloriosius.

Gaude nova nupta  
Fides est et veritas,  
Quod a carne deitas  
Non fuit corrupta.

### **Sole brevem Iani lucem**

Sole brevem Iani lucem  
Incoante, Renovante,  
Revoluto circulo;

Christo novas atollamus  
Laudes, grates referamus  
Canticis et modulo;

Cuius sunt solempnia,  
Cuius sunt preconia,  
Cuius hec magnalia.

### **Soli nitorem equori**

Soli nitorem, equori  
Pugillum addo laticis,  
Limphis humorem, robori  
Frondes adiungo filicis,  
Dum presuli  
Qui seculi  
Nostrum noctem illuminat  
Et tenebras exterminat  
Claro virtutum sydere,  
Subiungere  
Laudis presumo titulum.

### **Sonet vox ecclesie**

Sonet vox ecclesie.  
Sonet in honorem  
Largitoris glorie.  
Nati preter morem.  
Bos cognovit hodie  
Suum possessorem  
Visum in presepio.  
Inest gregi ratio

Cognito pastore.  
Manet incorruptio  
Nato salvatore.  
Fugit desperatio.  
Viso redemptore  
Sub gregis custodia.

Psallat ergo sedulo  
Suo grex pastori.  
Litiget pro baculo  
Pars utraque chori.  
Vhe si in ergastulo  
Permittatur mori  
Hostis avaritie.

### **Surrexit de tumulo**

Surrexit de tumulo,  
Fulgens plus quam stella;  
Frangit in diluculo  
Hostis dira bella;  
Vitam dedit seculo,  
Celi prebens mella;  
Dat cruoris rivulo  
Gaudia novella;  
Dulce leta contio  
Pangat: «Alleluia, *alleluia*».

### **Superne lux glorie**

*S*uperne lux glorie,  
Corda foye,  
Mentes move  
Torpidas,

Sana languidas,  
Dona funde,  
Fluant unde  
Gratie ac venie,  
Renes munda,  
Cor *fecunda*.

### **Sursum corda elevate**

Sursum corda elevate;  
Dulci corda resonate:  
Habemus Dominum;  
Non discordet  
Vox a corde,  
Sed concordet  
Lira corde  
Ut vitis papino.

Argumentum sine instantia,  
Documentis sine fallatia,  
Cantu prosa  
Instrumentis  
Dignis melodia,  
Lete mentis  
Exponit gaudia  
Vocis *glosa*.

### **Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus cantus**

Est sanctorum angelorum  
Teste Ysaya.  
Patet, quantus  
Est rex tantus,  
Cui tantorum  
Beatorum

Servit armonia;  
Celi symphonia nos hortatur,  
Ut canamus  
Et letatur,  
Dum cantamus,  
Angelorum chelis  
Modulatur,  
Dum clamamus:  
Osanna *in* celis!

*Ergo* agnus veri Dei,  
Magne magnus dator spei,  
Qui tollis peccata.

*Qui* peccata  
Mundi tollis,  
Lege lata,  
Penas mollis  
Et emendas fata.  
Miserere miserator,  
Verus vere legis lator  
Leva pacis facem;  
Miserator  
Miserere,  
Legis lator  
Verus vere  
Dona nobis *pacem*.

### **Transfretasse legitur**

*Transfretasse* legitur  
In duabus navibus,  
Cuius palmo clauditur  
Spatiosum manibus:

Uterus Marie  
Navis intelligitur,  
Qua venit in propria,  
Nec huius vestigia  
Cognoscuntur vie,  
Et ad huc cognoscitur  
Minus in Maria  
Quam in mari *via*.

Crux est navis alia,  
Per quam cum victoria  
Transfretans revertitur,  
Cuius per navigium  
Collegium  
Fratrum eum sequitur  
Per amara maria,  
Litus querens *patrium*.

Ambe naves  
Celi claves,  
Per quas patet patria  
Post amara marium.

*O* quam magnum talibus  
Posse comparari!  
Quam magnum nominibus  
Tantis honorari!  
Ecce, navis tertia  
Militans ecclesia,  
Celi fungens clavibus,  
Licet non de *patri*.

### **Transgressus legem domini**

*Veritati* stat obvia  
Mitis misericordia.  
Pro transgressore supplicans.  
Immitem Deum iudicans  
Si prorsus ita destruit  
Creaturam quam fecerat.  
Si perituram noverat  
Quam facere non *debu*t.

*Ergo* Verbum incarnari  
Vult pater ut reformari  
Possit hominis status,  
Et Christus humanatus,  
Carnem sumens de virgine  
Ab omni munda crimine.  
Non fuit mori veritus,  
Ut homo morti deditus  
Viveret liberatus.

### **Veni creator spiritus**

*Veni* creator spiritus  
Et in me robur insere,  
Robur quo possim penitus  
Mala que gessi luere  
Et amodo sic vivere,  
Ne sim peccato perditus;  
Peccavi quasi licitus  
Et diu vixi temere,  
Me servum tuum visere,  
*Veni* creator spiritus.

*Sit* laus patri cum filio,  
Sit honor sancto flamini,  
Trinitatis confessio  
Firmam spem firmet homini;  
Uni trinoque nomini  
Sit semper dominatio,  
Salus et benedictio,  
Perhenni decus agmini,  
Sit honor sancto flamini,  
Sit laus patri cum filio.

### **Veri vitis germine**

*Veri* vitis germine  
Plantatoris germinat,  
Verus, orto lumine,  
Noctem sol exterminat,  
Dum, nato de virgine,  
Summi Patris numine,  
Criminis ab homine  
Iugum *rex eliminat*.

Iudea, revertere  
Crucis ad signaculum  
Aut iam patens rumpere  
Recolens oraculum,  
Nam, quod umbra littere  
Renuit detegere,  
Virginis sub ubere  
Rex signat ad *oculum*.

O salubris unio!  
Mira nupte novitas:  
Matris puerperio

Respirat integritas.  
Que sit hec conceptio,  
Nulla fiat questio;  
Quod nescit discretio,  
Redimat fidelitas.

### **Vernans virtus sacramenti**

Vernans virtus sacramenti,  
Virgo florens celitus,  
Lux in rubo non marcenti  
Fit homo divinitus.

Serpens dirus extirpatur  
Ad vagitum pueri;  
Homo pauper liberatur,  
Potens datur carceri.

Innovatur terra vetus,  
Novo more germinans;  
Parit virgo, prodit fetus,  
Eve luctum terminans.

### **Virga Iesse regio**

*Virga* Iesse regio  
Flore decoratur.  
Dum Maria filio  
Dei fecundatur,  
Flos ad tempus aruit.  
Arefactus floruit  
Et fructificavit:  
Christus mori voluit  
Moriensque genuit.

Quos predestinavit.

Ex hac ergo paritura  
Vinea processit.  
Que Egypti tempnens iura  
Terminos excessit.

A qua prelum Babylonis  
Intra situlam fullonis  
Sanguinem expressit.

### **Virgo Mater gloriosa**

Virgo mater gloriosa,  
Margarita pretiosa,  
Virgo nitens velut rosa,  
Super omnes speciosa,  
Audi, audi dulciter  
Qui te laudant iugiter.

Et coram altissimo,  
Vultu placidissimo,  
Pro nobis hic astantibus  
Virgo funde precibus,  
Ut cordibus gementium  
Tribuat solacium.

Nos ergo iubilando  
Cum corde letabundo  
Dicamus nunc cum gaudio:  
Benedicamus *Domino*.

### **Virtutum thronus frangitur**

*Virtutum* thronus frangitur,

Regnant ubique vitia,  
Iam caritas exterminat  
Habundante malitia.  
Lugeat Syon filia  
Cuius pudor corrumpitur

Dum venalis exponitur  
In prelatorum curia,  
Iubente avaritia  
Que sitim Crasi patitur.

## Appendix 2: Database and Two-Voice Datable *Conducti*

The first of the following tables is a quantitative description of *caudae* in all extant two-voice *conducti*. The second table summarises this information concerning only the datable two-voice *conducti*; for each *conductus* it is also indicated the proposed date of composition.

The columns contain the following information:

<b>Source</b>	Manuscript source
<b>Folios</b>	First and last folio where the piece appears. Both <i>verso</i> and <i>recto</i> abbreviations are indicated. Where the piece ends on the <i>verso</i> of the same folio it begins, the folio number is not repeated (e.g. 100r-v instead of 100r-100v). Among the two foliations that are currently used for the manuscript W <sub>1</sub> , only the foliation in brackets is given here to facilitate the impagination of the table
<b>Incipit</b>	Incipit of the <i>conducti</i> , arranged in alphabetical order. Where a <i>conductus</i> is known to have had two-voice music but no relative testimonies survive, any information on the number of melismas is either obtained from two-voice <i>contrafacta</i> or from other versions of the <i>conductus</i> . Details are given in footnote.
<b>IC</b>	Number of initial <i>caudae</i> within the whole piece (only stanzas that introduce new music are considered)
<b>TC</b>	Number of terminal <i>caudae</i> within the whole piece (only stanzas that introduce new music are considered)

<b>InC</b>	Number of internal <i>caudae</i> within the whole piece (only stanzas that introduce new music are considered)
<b>MC</b>	Number of micro- <i>caudae</i> within the whole piece (only stanzas that introduce new music are considered)
<b>PO</b>	Number of <i>puncti organi</i> within the whole piece (only stanzas that introduce new music are considered)
<b>St</b>	Number of stanzas that compose the poem. Where strophic music is present, only the number of stanzas that introduce new music is given
<b>IC/r</b>	Ratio of initial <i>caudae</i> per stanza
<b>TC/r</b>	Ratio of terminal <i>caudae</i> per stanza
<b>InC/r</b>	Ratio of internal <i>caudae</i> per stanza (excluding micro- <i>caudae</i> )
<b>MC/r</b>	Ratio of micro- <i>caudae</i> per stanza
<b>PO/r</b>	Ratio of <i>puncti organi</i> per stanza
<b>Date</b>	Suggested date of composition (present only in <i>Datable Two-Voice Conducti</i> Table)

Caudae Analysis

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
GB-Cjec QB 1	Br-v	<i>A deserto veniens (I)</i>	1	1	1	2	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0
W1	134r-134v	<i>A deserto veniens (I)</i>	1	1	1	2	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0
F	316v	<i>A deserto veniens (II)</i>	1	1	1	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
W1	165-165v	<i>A deserto veniens (II)</i>	1	1	1	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Cu Ff.i.17	8v (299v)	<i>Ad honorem salvatoris</i>	0	2	4	0	0	4	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	67v-69r	<i>Adest annus iubileus</i>	0	3	2	4	3	3	0.0	1.0	0.7	1.3	1.0
W1	135v	<i>Adiuva nos deus salutaris</i>	1	1	1	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
F	340v-341r	<i>Age penitentiam</i>	1	1	3	0	2	2	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.0	1.0
GB-Cjec QB 1	Fr-v	<i>Age penitentiam</i>	1	1	3	0	1	2	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.5
Ma	65r-65v	<i>Age penitentiam</i>	1	1	3	0	2	2	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.0	1.0
W1	164v-165r	<i>Age penitentiam</i>	1	1	3	0	2	2	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.0	1.0
F	329r-330r	<i>Alma redemptoris</i>	1	1	7	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	7.0	1.0	1.0
Ma	99r-100r	<i>Alma redemptoris</i>	1	1	7	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	7.0	1.0	1.0
I-CFm Cod. LVI	247v-250r	<i>Amor patris et filii (I)</i>	0	1	0	0	0	12	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Lbl Cotton Fr. XXIX	36v	<i>Angelus ad virginem</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	347v-349r	<i>Anni favor iubilei</i>	2	3	5	3	2	3	0.7	1.0	1.7	1.0	0.7

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
GB-Cjec QB 1	Gr-Hr	<i>Anni favor iubilei</i>	2	3	4	4	2	3	0.7	1.0	1.3	1.3	0.7
F	349r-349v	<i>Artium dignitas</i>	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	99r-v	<i>Artium dignitas</i>	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F-Pn lat. 15139	271v-273v	<i>Assistricem sedium Dei</i>	2	3	3	1	0	4	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.0
F	270v-271v	<i>Auctor vite virgine (I)</i>	3	3	1	6	3	3	1.0	1.0	0.3	2.0	1.0
Ma	38v-40r	<i>Auctor vite virgine (I)</i>	3	3	1	6	3	3	1.0	1.0	0.3	2.0	1.0
W1	125r-126r	<i>Auctor vite virgine (I)</i>	3	3	3	5	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.7	1.0
A-Iu 457	107r	<i>Auctor vite virgine (II)</i>	0	1	2	0	0	2	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0
F	299r-300v	<i>Austro terris influente</i>	3	3	7	1	3	3	1.0	1.0	2.3	0.3	1.0
Ma	69r-71r	<i>Austro terris influente</i>	3	3	7	1	3	3	1.0	1.0	2.3	0.3	1.0
W1	112r-113r	<i>Austro terris influente</i>	3	3	7	1	3	3	1.0	1.0	2.3	0.3	1.0
W2	104v-107v	<i>Austro terris influente</i>	3	3	7	2	3	3	1.0	1.0	2.3	0.7	1.0
D-Mbs clm. 5539	74r-75r	<i>Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F-Pa 3518	117r	<i>Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F-Pm 307 (olim 356)	206v	<i>Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Ob Lyell 72	161v-162v	<i>Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I-CFm Cod. LVI	252v-254r	<i>Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W2	140r-141r	<i>Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
E-BUlh IX	151v-152v	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (I)</i>	1	1	4	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	1.0
F	284v-285r	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (II)</i>	1	1	5	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	5.0	0.0	1.0
Ma	59v-60r	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (II)</i>	1	1	4	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	1.0
W1	136r-v	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (II)</i>	1	1	4	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	1.0
W2	114v-115v	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (II)</i>	1	1	4	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	1.0
F	373r	<i>Ave maris stella (I)</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	113r-114r	<i>Ave maris stella (IV)</i>	1	1	3	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0
F	363v-364r	<i>Ave nobilis venerabilis</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	366r-366v	<i>Ave tuos benedic virgo</i>	1	1	1	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
D-Mbs clm. 5539	34r-35r	<i>Ave virgo virginum (I)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
D-BAs Theol. 74	2r-2v	<i>Ave virgo virginum (II)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	372v-373r	<i>Baculi sollempnia patri</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I-Bc Q.11	5r-5v	<i>Beata viscera</i> <sup>454</sup>	2	1	1	0	1	2	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.5
F	283v-284v	<i>Beate virginis</i>	2	3	5	6	2	3	0.7	1.0	1.7	2.0	0.7
Ma	54v-56r	<i>Beate virginis</i>	2	3	5	6	2	3	0.7	1.0	1.7	2.0	0.7

<sup>454</sup> The record of *Beata viscera* in *I-Bc Q.11* is reference only. Information on melismas obtained from two-voice *contrafacta*. The first *contrafactum* is *De sainte Leocade* by Gautier de Coincy, recorded in *B-Br* 10747 (103v-104r); *F-Pn* fr. 25532 (104r-104v); *F-Pn* NAF 24541 (111v-112r). The second *contrafactum* is *Entendez tuit ensemble* again by Gautier de Coincy, found in *B-Br* 10747 (109r-109v); *F-Pn* fr. 1536 (247v); *F-Pn* fr. 25532 (225r-225v).

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
W1	128v-129v	<i>Beate virginis</i>	2	3	5	6	2	3	0.7	1.0	1.7	2.0	0.7
F	365r-366r	<i>Beatus servus sapiens</i>	1	1	0	2	1	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.0
F	361r-361v	<i>Brevi carne deitas</i>	1	2	0	0	1	2	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
GB-Cu Ff.i.17	7v(300v)-8r(299r)	<i>Cantu miro summa laude</i>	0	6	6	0	0	6	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
F	356v-357r	<i>Caput in caudam vertitur</i>	1	1	3	1	0	1	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	0.0
E-BUlh IX	121v-122r	<i>Casta catholica</i>	2	2	3	1	0	2	1.0	1.0	1.5	0.5	0.0
E-BUlh IX	131r-131v	<i>Castitatis thalamum</i>	1	1	0	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F-Pn lat. 5132	108v	<i>Cedit frigus hiemale</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	331v-332r	<i>Celorum porta</i>	1	1	0	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
F	357r-358r	<i>Centrum capit circulus</i>	2	2	5	0	2	2	1.0	1.0	2.5	0.0	1.0
F	373v-374v	<i>Christi miles Christo</i>	4	4	0	0	3	4	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
F	373r-373v	<i>Circa mundi vesperam</i>	0	1	0	0	1	2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5
F	358r-359v	<i>Clavus pungens acumine dum</i>	3	3	2	7	1	3	1.0	1.0	0.7	2.3	0.3
E-BUlh IX	137r-138r	<i>Columbe simplicitas</i>	1	1	3	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
F	328v-329r	<i>Columbe simplicitas</i>	1	1	3	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
F	276r-277r	<i>Condimentum nostre spei</i>	2	2	7	2	2	2	1.0	1.0	3.5	1.0	1.0
Ma	45r-47r	<i>Condimentum nostre spei</i>	2	2	7	2	2	2	1.0	1.0	3.5	1.0	1.0
W1	114r-115r	<i>Condimentum nostre spei</i>	2	2	7	2	2	2	1.0	1.0	3.5	1.0	1.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
F	327r-327v	<i>Consequens antecedente</i>	1	1	5	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	5.0	0.0	1.0
Ma	101r-102r	<i>Consequens antecedente</i>	1	1	5	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	5.0	0.0	1.0
W1	102r-v	<i>Consequens antecedente</i>	1	1	4	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	1.0
F	316v-317r	<i>Cortex occidit littere</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	100r-v	<i>Cortex occidit littere</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
E-BUlh IX	97r-97v	<i>Crucificat omnes</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W2	138v-139v	<i>Crucificat omnes</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	108r-v	<i>Cum animadverterem</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F-Pn lat. 15139	270v-271v	<i>Cum sint difficilia</i>	1	3	0	0	3	3	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Ma	119r-119v	<i>De monte lapis scinditur</i>	1	1	2	2	0	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	0.0
F	303v-304v	<i>De nature fracto iure</i>	1	3	5	0	2	3	0.3	1.0	1.7	0.0	0.7
W1	131v-132v	<i>De nature fracto iure</i>	1	3	5	1	2	3	0.3	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.7
F	317v-318r	<i>Debet se circumspicere</i>	1	1	0	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	107v	<i>Debet se circumspicere</i>	1	1	0	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	336r-337r	<i>Deduc, Syon, uberrimas</i>	3	3	0	2	1	3	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.3
GB-Cjec QB 1	Dv-Ev	<i>Deduc, Syon, uberrimas</i>	3	3	0	2	1	3	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.3
Ma	83r-85v	<i>Deduc, Syon, uberrimas</i>	3	3	0	2	1	3	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.3
W1	150v-152r	<i>Deduc, Syon, uberrimas</i>	3	3	0	2	1	3	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.3

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
W2	93r-96r	<i>Deduc, Syon, uberrimas</i>	3	3	0	2	1	3	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.3
F	295v-296v	<i>Dei sapientia</i>	1	3	3	2	0	3	0.3	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0
E-BULh IX	119r	<i>Deo Confitemini</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	106r-106v	<i>Deo Confitemini</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	98r	<i>Deo Confitemini</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W2	146r	<i>Deo Confitemini</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	266r-267v	<i>Deus creator omnium</i>	3	3	6	8	1	3	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.7	0.3
Ma	32v-35r	<i>Deus creator omnium</i>	3	3	6	8	1	3	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.7	0.3
W1	122v-123v	<i>Deus creator omnium</i>	3	3	7	10	3	3	1.0	1.0	2.3	3.3	1.0
F-Pn lat. 1139	32r-32v	<i>Deus in adiutorium (I)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	363r	<i>Deus pacis et dilectionis</i>	1	1	1	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
F-T 1471	113v	<i>Dic Christi veritas</i>	1	1	2	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0
Ma	114r-115r	<i>Dic Christi veritas</i>	1	1	2	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0
GB-Cu Ff.i.17	3r	<i>Divino maduit</i>	0	1	3	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
E-BULh IX	143r-144v	<i>Dum sigillum summi patris</i>	1	1	2	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0
F	344r-346r	<i>Dum sigillum summi patris</i>	2	2	4	1	2	2	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.5	1.0
F	322v-323r	<i>Eclipsim patitur</i>	1	1	0	3	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	3.0	0.0
W1	101r	<i>Eclipsim patitur</i>	1	1	0	3	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	3.0	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
F	324r-325r	<i>Ego reus confiteor</i>	1	1	8	2	1	1	1.0	1.0	8.0	2.0	1.0
Ma	87r-89r	<i>Ego reus confiteor</i>	1	1	8	2	1	1	1.0	1.0	8.0	2.0	1.0
W1	138v-139v	<i>Ego reus confiteor</i>	1	1	8	2	1	1	1.0	1.0	8.0	2.0	1.0
F	323r-323v	<i>Eterno serviet</i>	1	1	0	1	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
F	352r-352v	<i>Ex creata non creatus</i>	0	1	0	2	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
US-NHub Beinecke 712.59	Verso	<i>Ex creata non creatus</i>	0	1	0	2	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
W1	109v-110r	<i>Ex creata non creatus</i>	0	1	0	2	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
F	338v-339v	<i>Ex oliva Remensium</i>	3	3	3	2	0	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0
Ma	85v-87r	<i>Ex oliva Remensium</i>	3	3	3	2	0	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0
W1	105r-v	<i>Ex oliva Remensium</i>	3	3	3	2	0	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0
D-Mbs clm. 5539	35r-35v	<i>Exiit diluculo</i>	0	1	0	7	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	7.0	0.0
GB-Cu Ff.i.17	4r	<i>Exultemus et letemur</i>	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	330r-331r	<i>Exultemus socii</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	371r-371v	<i>Floret ortus virginalis</i>	1	1	2	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0
CH-SGs 383	138r-141r	<i>Flos de spina procreatur</i>	2	4	5	1	2	5	0.4	0.8	1.0	0.2	0.4
E-BUlh IX	134r-136v	<i>Flos de spina procreatur</i>	2	4	6	2	3	5	0.4	0.8	1.2	0.4	0.6
F	304v-305v	<i>Flos de spina procreatur</i>	3	5	5	3	3	5	0.6	1.0	1.0	0.6	0.6
W1	152r-153r	<i>Flos de spina procreatur</i>	3	5	5	3	3	5	0.6	1.0	1.0	0.6	0.6

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
GB-Cu Ff.i.17	3v	<i>Flos floriget candor munditie</i>	1	3	1	1	0	3	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.0
F	356r-356v	<i>Frater en Jordanus</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	320r-321r	<i>Frater iam prospicias</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	66r-v	<i>Frater iam prospicias</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	263r-264v	<i>Fraude ceca desolato</i>	3	3	9	4	0	3	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.3	0.0
Ma	25r-v	<i>Fraude ceca desolato</i>	3	3	9	4	0	3	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.3	0.0
W1	118v-120r	<i>Fraude ceca desolato</i>	3	3	8	5	1	3	1.0	1.0	2.7	1.7	0.3
W2	119r-122v	<i>Fraude ceca desolato</i>	3	3	5	5	0	3	1.0	1.0	1.7	1.7	0.0
F	285r-286r	<i>Fulget in propatulo</i>	1	3	0	13	0	3	0.3	1.0	0.0	4.3	0.0
W1	133r-134r	<i>Fulget in propatulo</i>	1	3	0	13	0	3	0.3	1.0	0.0	4.3	0.0
F-Pn lat. 15139	261r-262r	<i>Gaude felix Francia</i>	3	4	2	0	3	4	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.8
F	326r-327r	<i>Gaude presul in domino</i>	1	1	5	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	5.0	1.0	1.0
W1	102v-103v	<i>Gaude presul in domino</i>	1	1	5	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	5.0	0.0	1.0
F	282v-283v	<i>Gaude virgo virginum (I)</i>	3	3	5	7	1	4	0.8	0.8	1.3	1.8	0.3
W1	127v-128v	<i>Gaude virgo virginum (I)</i>	3	3	3	9	1	4	0.8	0.8	0.8	2.3	0.3
W2	99r-101v	<i>Gaude virgo virginum (I)</i>	3	3	5	7		3	1.0	1.0	1.7	2.3	0.0
GB-Lbl Add. 27630	6v-7r	<i>Gaude virgo virginum (II)</i>	0	1	0	0	0	3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	98v- 99r	<i>Gaudeat devotio</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
W2	148r-148v	<i>Gaudeat devotio</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
CH-EN 314	79r	<i>Gaudens in Domino</i>	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
D-Mbs clm. 5539	32r-32v	<i>Gaudens in Domino</i>	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	291v-292r	<i>Genitus divinitus</i>	0	3	3	2	0	3	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0
GB-Cjec QB 1	Bv	<i>Genitus divinitus</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	158r-159r	<i>Genitus divinitus</i>	0	3	3	2	1	3	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.3
F	341r-342v	<i>Gloria in excelsis deo</i>	2	3	3	0	3	3	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
GB-Cjec QB 1	Cr-Dr	<i>Gloria in excelsis deo</i>	2	3	3	0	3	3	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
Ma	92r-94r	<i>Gloria in excelsis deo</i>	2	3	3	0	3	3	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
W1	95v-96v	<i>Gloria in excelsis deo</i>	2	3	3	0	3	3	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
F	362v-363r	<i>Gloria sit soli deo</i>	1	1	3	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
D-Mbs clm. 5539	37r-38r	<i>Gratulentur parvuli</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	349v-350r	<i>Gratuletur populus</i>	0	0	0	2	0	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
W1	106v-107r	<i>Gratuletur populus</i>	0	0	0	2	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
GB-Lbl Add. 36881	13v	<i>Gregis pastor Tytirus</i>	0	0	0	1	0	2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
CH-SGs 383	162r-164r	<i>Hac in die Gedeonis</i>	0	3	5	1	1	3	0.0	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.3
F	311r-311v	<i>Hac in die Gedeonis</i>	0	3	4	5	2	3	0.0	1.0	1.3	1.7	0.7
W1	146v-147v	<i>Hac in die Gedeonis</i>	0	3	4	5	2	3	0.0	1.0	1.3	1.7	0.7

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
F	332r-333v	<i>Hac in die rege nato</i>	3	3	6	3	1	2	1.5	1.5	3.0	1.5	0.5
W1	165v-167v	<i>Hac in die rege nato</i>	3	3	6	3	1	2	1.5	1.5	3.0	1.5	0.5
F	363v	<i>Hac in die salutari</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	264v-266r	<i>Hec est dies triumphalis</i>	3	3	7	2	1	3	1.0	1.0	2.3	0.7	0.3
W1	124r-125r	<i>Hec est dies triumphalis</i>	3	3	5	1	2	3	1.0	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.7
CH-EN 314	152r-153r	<i>Hec est turris quam vallavit</i>	0	2	0	1	0	2	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
I-Rvat. lat. 2854	20r-21v	<i>Hec medela</i>	0	0	0	0	0	5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	364r	<i>Helysei manubrio</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W2	139v-140r	<i>Helysei manubrio</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	319v-320r	<i>Heu he heu quam subditis</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	350v	<i>Heu quo progreditur</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Cu Ff.i.17	4r	<i>Hoc in sollempnio</i>	0	1	0	1	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
CH-EN 314	79v	<i>Hodie progreditur</i>	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	355v	<i>Homo per potentiam</i>	1	1	0	1	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
F-T 1471	113v-114r	<i>Homo qui semper moreris</i> <sup>455</sup>	2	2	0	1	0	2	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
F	272v-273v	<i>Iam vetus littera</i>	2	2	4	4	0	2	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	0.0

<sup>455</sup> F-T 1471 gives a text-only record of *Homo qui semper moreris*, with staves ruled for two parts. Information on melismas is taken from its monodic versions, as delivered in F (428v-429v).

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
W1	142r-143r	<i>Iam vetus littera</i>	2	2	4	4	0	2	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	0.0
F-Pn lat. 15139	274r-275v	<i>Iherusalem accipitur</i>	3	3	1	0	0	4	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0
CH-SGs 392	88r	<i>In hoc anni circulo</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
D-TR 516/1595 (olim 724)	136v	<i>In hoc anni circulo</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Ob Canon. Misc. 213	15v-15r	<i>In hoc anni circulo</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Cu Ff.i.17	4r	<i>In natali summi regis</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	323v-324r	<i>In novas fert animus</i>	1	1	0	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
GB-Lbl Add. 27630	34r-34v	<i>In nympa regia</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	350v-351r	<i>In occasu syderis</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	108r	<i>In occasu syderis</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	339v-340v	<i>In ripa Ligeris</i>	2	1	0	2	1	10	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1
F	271v-272v	<i>In rosa vernat lilium</i>	3	3	3	3	2	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7
W1	116r-117r	<i>In rosa vernat lilium</i>	3	3	2	4	2	3	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.3	0.7
F	308r-308v	<i>In terram Christus expuit</i>	0	6	0	2	0	6	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
CH-SGs 383	141r-144r	<i>Inflexu casuali</i>	1	2	1	3	1	2	0.5	1.0	0.5	1.5	0.5
F	353v-354r	<i>Involutus in erroris</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
E-TO Cód. 97	81r	<i>Isaias cecinit</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	130r-130v	<i>Isaias cecinit</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
W2	141r-141v	<i>Isaias cecinit</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	274v-276r	<i>Ista dies celebrari</i>	0	7	0	12	1	7	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.7	0.1
Ma	56r-v	<i>Ista dies celebrari</i>	0	7	0	12	1	7	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.7	0.1
W1	159v-160v	<i>Ista dies celebrari</i>	0	7	0	12	1	7	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.7	0.1
Ma	106v	<i>Laudes referat</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	98r-98v	<i>Laudes referat</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W2	146v	<i>Laudes referat</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
CH-SGs 383	135r-138r	<i>Legem dedit olim Deus</i>	0	4	0	1	2	4	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.3	0.5
F	312r-312v	<i>Legem dedit olim Deus</i>	1	3	1	2	2	4	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.5
W1	153v-154r	<i>Legem dedit olim Deus</i>	1	3	1	2	1	4	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.3
F	273v-274v	<i>Lene spirat spiritus</i>	3	3	1	0	2	3	1.0	1.0	0.3	0.0	0.7
W1	129v-130v	<i>Lene spirat spiritus</i>	3	3	4	0	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.3	0.0	1.0
F	293v-295r	<i>Lex onus importabile</i>	3	3	3	13	0	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	4.3	0.0
W1	145r-146v	<i>Lex onus importabile</i>	3	3	3	13	0	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	4.3	0.0
F	371v-372v	<i>Librum clausum et signatum</i>	2	2	5	1	1	2	1.0	1.0	2.5	0.5	0.5
F	359v-360r	<i>Luget Rachel iterum</i>	2	2	1	0	1	2	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
F	313r-314r	<i>Lux illuxit gratiosa</i>	3	3	3	2	1	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.3
W1	147v-148r	<i>Lux illuxit gratiosa</i>	3	3	3	2	1	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.3

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
F	354r-354v	<i>Luxuriant animi</i>	0	1	0	2	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
F	301v-303v	<i>Magnificat anima mea</i>	2	6	0	4	5	6	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.8
W1	120v-122r	<i>Magnificat anima mea</i>	2	6	0	4	5	6	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.8
F	335r-335v	<i>Manna mentis dat refectioem</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
F-Pn lat. 15139	266v-267r	<i>Maria stella maris</i>	1	1	0	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	117v-118v	<i>Mater patris et filia</i>	1	1	2	1	0	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	0.0
D-Mbs clm. 5539	73r-73v	<i>Mellis stilla maris stella</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Ob Lyell 72	173r-173v	<i>Mellis stilla maris stella</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	337r-337v	<i>Monstruosis fluctibus</i>	1	1	3	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	1.0
W1	97v-98r	<i>Monstruosis fluctibus</i>	1	1	3	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	1.0
F	286v-287v	<i>Naturas deus regulis</i>	2	2	7	3	1	2	1.0	1.0	3.5	1.5	0.5
W1	89v-92r	<i>Naturas deus regulis</i>	2	2	7	3	1	2	1.0	1.0	3.5	1.5	0.5
W2	96r-99r	<i>Naturas deus regulis</i>	2	4	2	9	5	4	0.5	1.0	0.5	2.3	1.3
F	317r-317v	<i>Nobilitas animi</i>	1	1	0	1	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
F	353r-353v	<i>Non habes aditum</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
E-TO Cód. 97	81v	<i>Nove geniture</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	355r	<i>Nove geniture</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	108v	<i>Nove geniture</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
GB-Cjec QB 1	Hv	<i>Novi sideris</i>	3	2	1	1	1	3	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.3
CH-SGs 383	165r-169r	<i>Novum sibi texuit</i>	1	3	6	6	2	3	0.3	1.0	2.0	2.0	0.7
F	306r-307r	<i>Novum sibi texuit</i>	1	3	6	6	2	3	0.3	1.0	2.0	2.0	0.7
F-T 1471	114v	<i>Novum sibi texuit</i>	0	1	1	1	0	1	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0
W1	154r-155v	<i>Novum sibi texuit</i>	1	3	6	6	2	3	0.3	1.0	2.0	2.0	0.7
Ma	139r-139v	<i>Novus miles sequitur</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
E-BULh IX	101v	<i>Novus milles sequitur</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	334r-335r	<i>Nulli beneficium</i>	1	3	1	1	0	3	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.0
Ma	63r-65r	<i>Nulli beneficium</i>	1	3	1	1	0	3	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.0
W1	108v-109v	<i>Nulli beneficium</i>	1	3	1	1	0	3	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.0
F	346r-347v	<i>O crux ave spes unica</i>	3	3	3	3	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
GB-Cjec QB 1	Ar-v	<i>O crux ave spes unica</i>	2	2	2	2	2	2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Ma	97r-99r	<i>O crux ave spes unica</i>	3	3	3	3	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
W1	103v-105r	<i>O crux ave spes unica</i>	3	4	2	3	3	4	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.8	0.8
E-BULh IX	140v-142v	<i>O gloriosa Dei genitrix</i>	1	1	2	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0
GB-Lbl Arundel 248	153r	<i>O labilis o flebilis</i>	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	355v-356r	<i>O levis aurula</i>	1	1	0	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
D-S1 HB I Asc. 95	78r	<i>O lilium convallium</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
I-CFm Cod. LVI	252r-252v	<i>O lilium convallium</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Lbl Egerton 274	7v-11v	<i>O Maria virginei</i>	0	0	0	0	0	15	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	289v-291r	<i>O qui fontem gratie</i>	4	2	0	1	0	4	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.0
Ma	60v-63r	<i>O qui fontem gratie</i>	4	2	0	1	0	4	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.0
W1	149r-150v	<i>O qui fontem gratie</i>	4	2	0	1	0	4	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.0
W1	100v-101r	<i>O quotiens volui</i>	1	1	0	1	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
F-Pn lat. 15139	266r-266v	<i>O totius Asie gloria</i>	1	1	1	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
F	351v	<i>O varium fortune lubricum</i>	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
GB-Lbl Add. 27630	36v-37r	<i>O vera o pia</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	353r	<i>Omni pene curie</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
US-NHub Bein. 712.59	Recto	<i>Omni pene curie</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W2	144v	<i>Omni pene curie</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
CZ-Pu VI B 24	154v-155r	<i>Omnis mundus iocundetur</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	307v-308r	<i>Ortu regis evanescit</i>	0	1	3	0	1	1	0.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	1.0
GB-Lbl Add. 27630	15v (34)	<i>Ortu regis evanescit</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Llp 752	B-Bv	<i>Ortu regis evanescit</i>	0	1	3	0	1	1	0.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	1.0
Ma	81r-83r	<i>Ortu regis evanescit</i>	2	3	9	2	3	3	0.7	1.0	3.0	0.7	1.0
W1	117r-118v	<i>Ortu regis evanescit</i>	2	3	11	1	3	3	0.7	1.0	3.7	0.3	1.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
W2	101v-104v	<i>Ortu regis evanescit</i>	2	3	9	2	3	3	0.7	1.0	3.0	0.7	1.0
CH-EN 314	153r-153v	<i>Ovans chorus scholarium</i>	1	0	3	0	0	2	0.5	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0
F	351r-351v	<i>Pange melos lacrimosum</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	110r-v	<i>Pange melos lacrimosum</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
E-BUlh IX	139v-140v	<i>Parens patris natique filia</i>	1	1	4	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	1.0
E-BUlh IX	103v-104v	<i>Parit preter morem</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	123r-124r	<i>Parit preter morem</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	278v-280v	<i>Pater noster commiserans</i>	3	3	9	4	3	3	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.3	1.0
Ma	42r-45r	<i>Pater noster commiserans</i>	3	3	9	4	3	3	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.3	1.0
W1	136v-138v	<i>Pater noster commiserans</i>	3	3	9	4	3	3	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.3	1.0
GB-Llp MS 752	Bv	<i>Pater noster qui es in celis</i>	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	116r-117v	<i>Pater noster qui es in celis</i>	1	1	5	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	5.0	0.0	0.0
W1	113v-114r	<i>Pater noster qui es in celis</i>	1	1	5	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	5.0	0.0	0.0
W2	112v-114v	<i>Pater noster qui es in celis</i>	1	1	5	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	5.0	0.0	0.0
F	331r-331v	<i>Pia mater gratie</i>	1	1	1	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0
F	361v-62v	<i>Porta salutis ave</i>	1	1	0	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
W1	63r-64r	<i>Porta salutis ave</i>	1	1	2	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0
Ma	115r-116r	<i>Presul nostri temporis</i>	1	1	4	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
W2	92r-93r	<i>Presul nostri temporis</i>	1	1	4	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	0.0
D-Mbs clm. 5539	38r	<i>Procurans odium</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	124r-124v	<i>Procurans odium</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Piae Cantiones	pp. 79-80	<i>Puer natus in Bethleem</i>	0	1	1	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
F	267v-269v	<i>Puer nobis est natus</i>	3	3	5	6	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.7	2.0	1.0
Ma	27r-30v	<i>Puer nobis est natus</i>	3	3	5	6	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.7	2.0	1.0
W1	143r-145r	<i>Puer nobis est natus</i>	3	3	5	6	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.7	2.0	1.0
F-Pn lat. 15139	263v-266r	<i>Quasi stella matutina</i>	3	4	7	1	0	5	0.6	0.8	1.4	0.2	0.0
F-Pn lat. 15139	275v-277r	<i>Queris quid me moveat</i>	1	3	3	0	0	3	0.3	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
F	315v-316r	<i>Qui de Saba veniunt</i>	0	2	2	3	1	2	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	0.5
W1	148v-149r	<i>Qui de Saba veniunt</i>	0	2	2	3	1	2	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	0.5
Ma	128r-128v	<i>Qui servare puberem</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	106r-106v	<i>Qui servare puberem</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
E-BULh IX	132r-134r	<i>Quod promisit ab eterno</i>	1	3	6	0	0	3	0.3	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0
F	300v-301r	<i>Quod promisit ab eterno</i>	1	3	4	2	0	3	0.3	1.0	1.3	0.7	0.0
Ma	76v-78r	<i>Quod promisit ab eterno</i>	1	3	4	2	0	3	0.3	1.0	1.3	0.7	0.0
W1	130v-131v	<i>Quod promisit ab eterno</i>	1	3	5	1	1	3	0.3	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.3
W2	111r-112v	<i>Quod promisit ab eterno</i>	1	3	5	1	0	3	0.3	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
F	321r-321v	<i>Quot vite successibus</i>	1	1	0	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
F	318v-319r	<i>Redit etas aurea</i>	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	101v	<i>Redit etas aurea</i>	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	319r-319v	<i>Rege mentem et ordina</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W2	143v-144r	<i>Rege mentem et ordina</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	337v-338v	<i>Regi regum omnium</i>	3	2	1	0	1	3	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.3
GB-Cu Ff.i.17	8v(299v)	<i>Regis cuius potentia</i>	0	1	0	0	0	2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	364v-365r	<i>Regis decus et regine</i>	2	2	4	0	2	2	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0
F-CECad 3.J.250	5r	<i>Regis decus et regine</i>	1	1	2	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0
F	352v-353r	<i>Regnum dei vim patitur</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
US-NHub Bein. 712.59	Recto	<i>Regnum dei vim patitur</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	110v	<i>Regnum dei vim patitur</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W2	144r-144v	<i>Regnum dei vim patitur</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
CH-MSbk S 231	S (1-2)	<i>Relegata vetustate</i>	3	3	4	3	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.0
F	277r-278v	<i>Relegata vetustate</i>	3	3	4	3	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.0
Ma	30v-32v	<i>Relegata vetustate</i>	3	3	4	3	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.0
W1	141r-142r	<i>Relegata vetustate</i>	3	3	4	3	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.0
F	287v-288v	<i>Relegentur ab area</i>	2	2	4	2	2	2	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
Ma	109v-110v	<i>Relegentur ab area</i>	1	1	3	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.0	1.0
W1	87v-89r	<i>Relegentur ab area</i>	2	2	2	3	2	2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0
F	292r-293v	<i>Renovantur veterum</i>	1	3	3	2	0	3	0.3	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0
F	280v-281r	<i>Resurgente domino</i>	2	2	2	5	0	2	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.5	0.0
Ma	48v-49v	<i>Resurgente domino</i>	2	2	2	5	0	2	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.5	0.0
W1	134v-135r	<i>Resurgente domino</i>	2	2	2	5	0	2	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.5	0.0
F	297v-298v	<i>Rex et pater</i>	3	3	0	3	0	3	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
W1	115r-116r	<i>Rex et pater</i>	3	3	0	3	0	3	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
F	281r-282r	<i>Rex eterne glorie</i>	2	2	5	3	2	2	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	1.0
Ma	58r-59r	<i>Rex eterne glorie</i>	2	2	5	3	2	2	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	1.0
W1	139v-140v	<i>Rex eterne glorie</i>	2	2	5	3	2	2	1.0	1.0	2.5	1.5	1.0
F	318r-318v	<i>Roma gaudens iubila</i>	1	1	1	4	0	2	0.5	0.5	0.5	2.0	0.0
W1	107r-v	<i>Roma gaudens iubila</i>	1	1	1	4	0	2	0.5	0.5	0.5	2.0	0.0
F	314r-314v	<i>Rose nodum reserat</i>	2	2	2	0	0	2	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
W1	54r-v	<i>Rose nodum reserat</i>	2	2	2	0	0	2	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
F	307r-307v	<i>Salvatoris hodie</i>	0	1	2	0	1	1	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0
Ma	111v-113r	<i>Salvatoris hodie</i>	2	2	7	1	2	2	1.0	1.0	3.5	0.5	1.0
W1	86r-86v	<i>Salvatoris hodie</i>	0	1	2	0	1	1	0.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
Ma	100v-101r	<i>Salve sancta parens enixa</i>	1	1	3	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.0	1.0
Ma	138r-139r	<i>Salve sancta parens patrie</i>	3	3	1	0	3	3	1.0	1.0	0.3	0.0	1.0
F	325r-326r	<i>Scrutator alme cordium</i>	1	1	6	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	6.0	1.0	1.0
Ma	89r-90r	<i>Scrutator alme cordium</i>	1	1	6	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	6.0	1.0	1.0
W1	140v-141r	<i>Scrutator alme cordium</i>	1	1	6	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	6.0	1.0	1.0
F-Pn lat. 15139	262r-263v	<i>Scysma mendacis Grecie</i>	2	3	0	0	0	3	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	309r-310r	<i>Seminavit Grecia</i>	3	4	4	4	4	4	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
W1	155v-157r	<i>Seminavit Grecia</i>	3	4	4	4	4	4	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Ma	119v-122r	<i>Serena virginum</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	352r	<i>Si deus est animus</i>	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
W1	105v-106r	<i>Si deus est animus</i>	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
W2	143r-143v	<i>Si deus est animus</i>	0	0	0	1	0	2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
Ma	127v-128r	<i>Si mundus viveret</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	111r	<i>Si quis amat quod amare</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	296v-297v	<i>Sine matre genitus</i>	1	2	8	5	2	2	0.5	1.0	4.0	2.5	1.0
W1	160v-162r	<i>Sine matre genitus</i>	1	2	8	5	2	2	0.5	1.0	4.0	2.5	1.0
CH-SGs 383	169r-170r	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	354v-355r	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	0	1	0	0	0	2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
W1	110v-111r	<i>Sol sub nube</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	295r-295v	<i>Sole brevem iani lucem</i>	0	3	2	2	0	3	0.0	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.0
W1	159r-159v	<i>Sole brevem iani lucem</i>	0	3	2	2	0	3	0.0	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.0
E-BULh IX	138r-139v	<i>Soli nitorem equori</i>	1	1	2	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0
F	327v-328v	<i>Soli nitorem equori</i>	1	1	2	1	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0
D-Mbs clm. 5539	36r-37r	<i>Sonent laudes pueri</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	310r-311r	<i>Sonet vox ecclesie (I)</i>	0	3	0	4	0	3	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.3	0.0
W1	162r-162v	<i>Sonet vox ecclesie (I)</i>	0	3	0	4	0	3	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.3	0.0
I-CFm Cod. LVI	225v-256r	<i>Sonet vox ecclesie (II)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I-CFm Cod. LVIII	338r-338v	<i>Sonet vox ecclesie (II)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F-Pn fr. 25408	118r-119r	<i>Stillat in stellam</i>	0	1	0	0	0	4	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	335v	<i>Superne lux glorie corda fove</i>	1	1	4	2	0	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	0.0
E-BULh IX	93r-93v	<i>Surrexit de tumulo</i>	0	1	0	10	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	10.0	0.0
E-BULh IX	150v-151v	<i>Sursum corda elevate</i>	1	1	6	0	2	2	0.5	0.5	3.0	0.0	1.0
F	342v-344r	<i>Sursum corda elevate</i>	3	4	3	2	2	5	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.4
W1	163r-164v	<i>Sursum corda elevate</i>	3	4	3	2	2	5	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.4
W2	107v-110v	<i>Sursum corda elevate</i>	3	4	2	4	2	5	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.8	0.4
F-Pn lat. 15139	269r-270v	<i>Transfretasse legitur</i>	2	3	0	1	1	4	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.3	0.3

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
F	288v-289v	<i>Transgressus legem domini</i>	2	2	2	3	1	2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	0.5
W1	92v-4v	<i>Transgressus legem domini</i>	2	2	2	2	1	2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.5
W2	116r-119r	<i>Transgressus legem domini</i>	3	3	7	2	1	3	1.0	1.0	2.3	0.7	0.3
CH-EN 314	150v-152r	<i>Unicornis captivatur</i>	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
CH-EN 314	80r-80v	<i>Universi populi</i>	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	350r-350v	<i>Ut non ponam</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
US-NHub Bein. 712.59	Verso	<i>Ut non ponam</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	100r	<i>Ut non ponam</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	352v	<i>Veneris prosperis</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	360r-361r	<i>Veni creator spiritus (II)</i>	2	1	1	0	1	2	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.5
CH-SGs 383	173r	<i>Ver pacis aperit</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	355r	<i>Ver pacis aperit</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
E-BUIh IX	36v-38r	<i>Verbum bonum et suave (I)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F-LG 2 (17)	235r-236r	<i>Verbum bonum et suave (I)</i>	0	1	0	1	0	6	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0
GB-Ob Lyell 72	159v-161r	<i>Verbum bonum et suave (I)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I-CFm Cod. LVI	327v (336v-334r)	<i>Verbum bonum et suave (I)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
W1	191v-192r	<i>Verbum bonum et suave (I)</i>	0	1	0	0	0	6	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
W2	141v-143r	<i>Verbum bonum et suave (I)</i>	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r
E-TO Cód. 97	81v	<i>Veri floris sub figura</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ma	129v-130r	<i>Veri floris sub figura</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	269v-270v	<i>Veri vitis germine</i>	2	3	3	6	2	3	0.7	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.7
Ma	35r-37r	<i>Veri vitis germine</i>	2	3	3	6	2	3	0.7	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.7
W1	126r-127v	<i>Veri vitis germine</i>	2	3	3	6	3	3	0.7	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0
D-MZs II.138	265r	<i>Vernans virtus sacramenti</i>	0	2	0	0	0	3	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	314v-315v	<i>Virga Iesse regio</i>	1	2	3	0	2	2	0.5	1.0	1.5	0.0	1.0
W1	157r-158r	<i>Virga Iesse regio</i>	1	2	3	0	2	2	0.5	1.0	1.5	0.0	1.0
CH-SGs 383	171r	<i>Virgo Deum generat</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
GB-Ob Lyell 72	163r-164r	<i>Virgo Mater Gloriosa</i>	0	2	0	1	0	3	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.7
F	322r-322v	<i>Virtus moritur</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
F	321v-322r	<i>Virtutum thronus frangitur</i>	1	1	4	2	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	2.0	1.0
F	356r	<i>Vite perdit me legi</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0



Datable Two-Voice *Conducti*

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r	Date
E-BUlh IX	97r-97v	<i>Crucifigat omnes</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1189-1191
W2	138v-139v	<i>Crucifigat omnes</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1189-1191
F	350v-351r	<i>In occasu syderis</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1183-1189
W1	108r	<i>In occasu syderis</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1183-1189
CH-SGs 383	173r	<i>Ver pacis aperit</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1179
F	355r	<i>Ver pacis aperit</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1179
Ma	67v-69r	<i>Adest annus iubileus</i>	0	3	2	4	3	3	0.0	1.0	0.7	1.3	1.0	1209
F	347v-349r	<i>Anni favor iubilei</i>	2	3	5	3	2	3	0.7	1.0	1.7	1.0	0.7	1209
GB-Cjec QB 1	Gr-v	<i>Anni favor iubilei</i>	2	3	5	3	2	3	0.7	1.0	1.7	1.0	0.7	1209
F-Pn lat. 15139	271v-273v	<i>Assistricem sedium Dei</i>	2	3	3	1	0	4	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.0	1244
F	284v-285r	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (II)</i>	1	1	5	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	5.0	0.0	1.0	before c.1200
Ma	59v-60r	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (II)</i>	1	1	4	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	before c.1200
W1	136r-v	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (II)</i>	1	1	4	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	before c.1200
W2	114v-115v	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena (II)</i>	1	1	4	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	4.0	0.0	1.0	before c.1200
F	358r-359v	<i>Clavus pungens acumine</i>	3	3	2	7	1	3	1.0	1.0	0.7	2.3	0.3	1233
F-Pn lat. 15139	270v-271v	<i>Cum sint difficilia</i>	1	3	0	0	3	3	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1244

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r	Date
F-T 1471	113v	<i>Dic Christi veritas</i>	1	1	2	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	1198
Ma	114r-115r	<i>Dic Christi veritas</i>	1	1	2	0	1	1	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1.0	1198
F	322v-323r	<i>Eclipsim patitur</i>	1	1	1	2	0	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1183 or 1186
W1	101r	<i>Eclipsim patitur</i>	1	1	1	2	0	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	0.0	1183 or 1186
F	338v-339v	<i>Ex oliva Remensium</i>	3	3	3	2	0	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0	1179
Ma	85v-87r	<i>Ex oliva Remensium</i>	3	3	3	2	0	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0	1179
W1	105r-v	<i>Ex oliva Remensium</i>	3	3	3	2	0	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0	1179
F-Pn lat. 15139	261r-262r	<i>Gaude felix Francia</i>	3	4	2	0	3	4	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.8	1226
F-Pn lat. 15139	274r-275v	<i>Iherusalem accipitur</i>	3	3	1	0	0	4	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	1244
F-Pn lat. 15139	266v-267r	<i>Maria stella maris</i>	1	1	0	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1244
E-BUlh IX	101v	<i>Novus miles sequitur</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1170/1173
Ma	139r-139v	<i>Novus miles sequitur</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1170/1173
F	346-347v	<i>O crux ave spes unica</i>	3	3	3	3	3	3	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	c. 1209
W1	100v-101r	<i>O quotiens volui</i>	1	1	0	1	0	1	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1187
F-Pn lat. 15139	266r-266v	<i>O tocius Asie gloria</i>	1	1	1	0	0	1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1244
F	351r-351v	<i>Pange melos lacrimosum</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1190
W1	110r-v	<i>Pange melos lacrimosum</i>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1190
F-Pn lat. 15139	263v-266r	<i>Quasi stella matutina</i>	3	4	7	1	0	5	0.6	0.8	1.4	0.2	0.0	1244

Source	Folios	Incipit	IC	TC	InC	MC	PO	St	IC/r	TC/r	InC/r	MC/r	PO/r	Date
F-Pn lat. 15139	275v-277r	<i>Queris quid me moveat</i>	1	3	3	0	0	3	0.3	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1244
F	300v-301r	<i>Quod promisit ab eterno</i>	1	3	4	2	0	3	0.3	1.0	1.3	0.7	0.0	before c.1189-1191
W1	130v-131v	<i>Quod promisit ab eterno</i>	1	3	5	1	1	3	0.3	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.3	before c.1189-1191
W2	111r-112v	<i>Quod promisit ab eterno</i>	1	3	5	1	0	3	0.3	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.0	before c.1189-1191
F	318v-319r	<i>Redit etas aurea</i>	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1194
W1	101v	<i>Redit etas aurea</i>	0	2	0	0	0	2	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1194
F	337v-338v	<i>Regi regum omnium</i>	3	2	1	0	1	3	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.3	1209
F-Pn lat. 15139	262r-263v	<i>Scysma mendacis Grece</i>	2	3	0	0	0	3	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1239
F-Pn lat. 15139	269r-270v	<i>Transfretasse legitur</i>	2	3	0	1	1	4	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.3	0.3	1244



### Appendix 3: Graphs

The following graphs give a visual description of the density of *caudae* (initial, terminal, internal, micro-) and *punctus organi* in all four major sources for *Ars antiqua*: F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, Ma.

The *conducti* are indicated on the *x*-axis, following the order in which they are found in F, W<sub>1</sub>, W<sub>2</sub>, and Ma respectively.

The *y*-axis shows instead the proportional number of each type of *cauda* to the number of stanzas.<sup>456</sup>

Graphs are presented as follows:

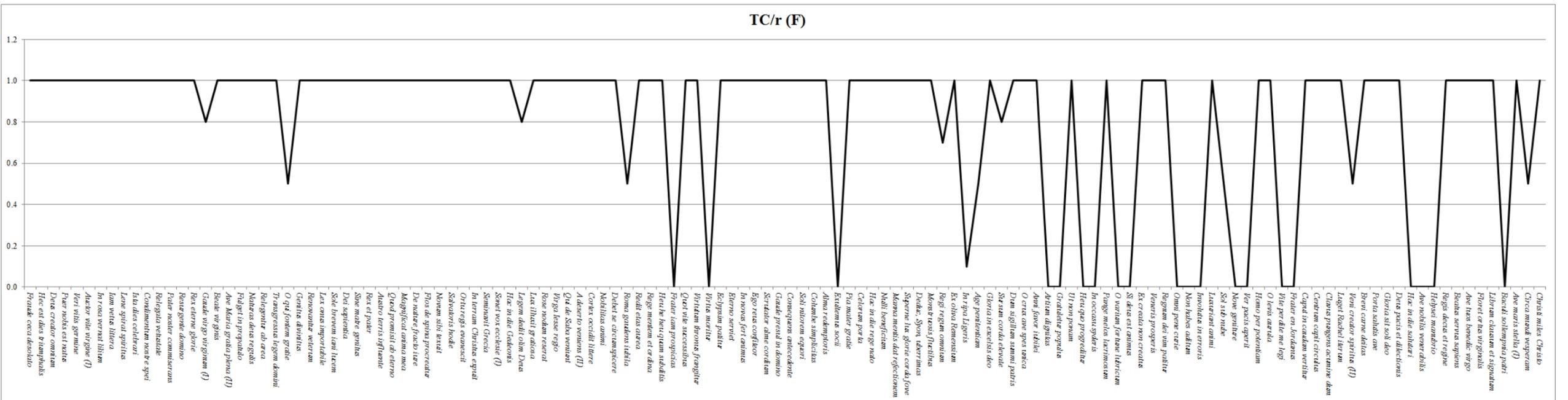
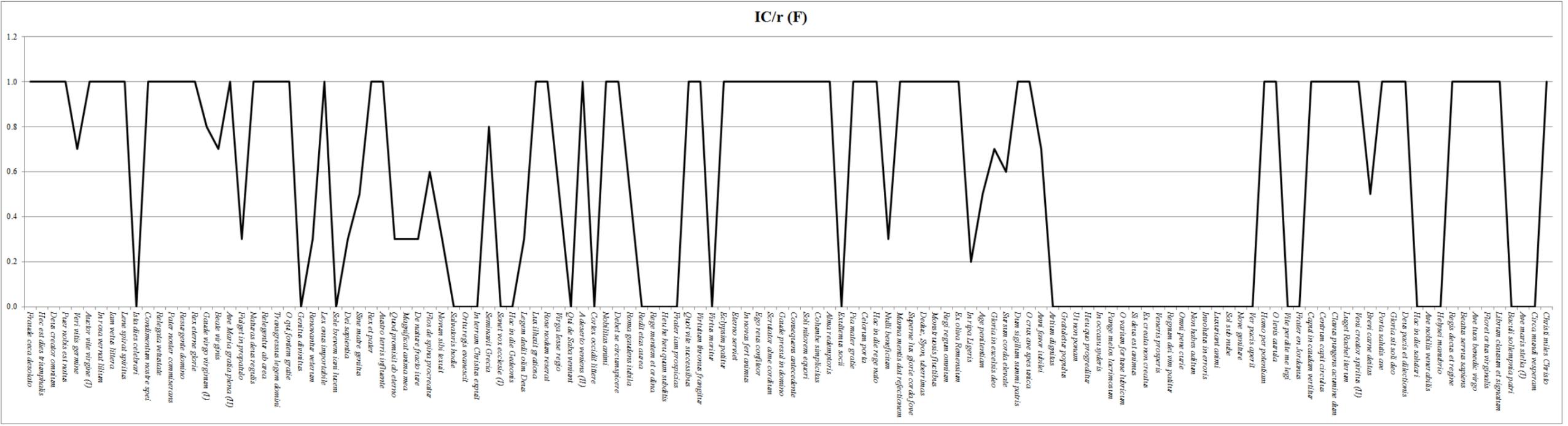
- IC/r            Density of initial *caudae*
- TC/r            Density of terminal *caudae*
- InC/r           Density of internal *caudae* (excluding micro-*caudae*)
- MC/r            Density of micro-*caudae*
- PO/r            Density of *puncti organi*

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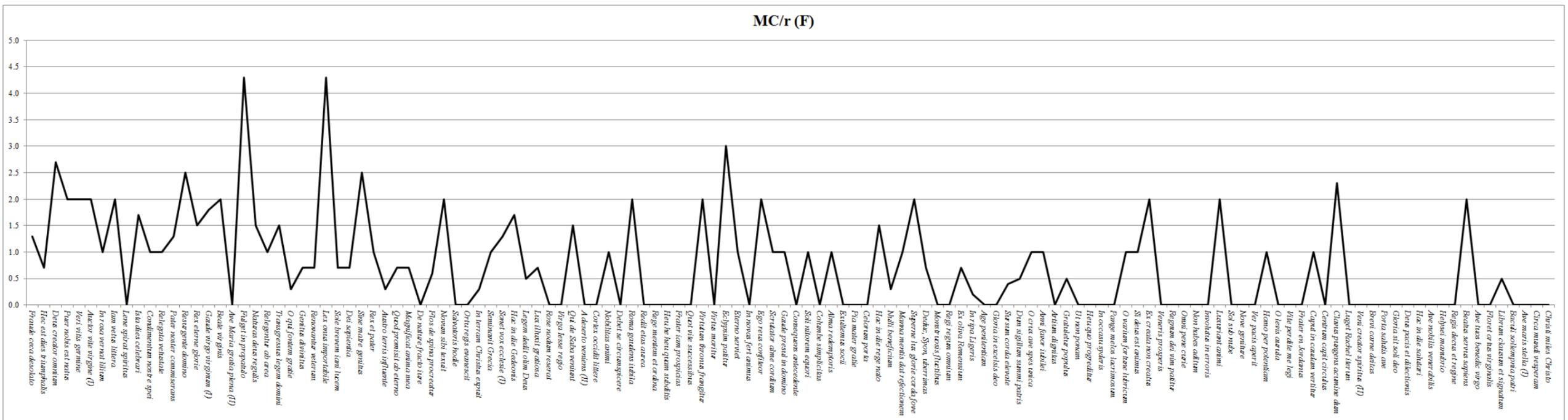
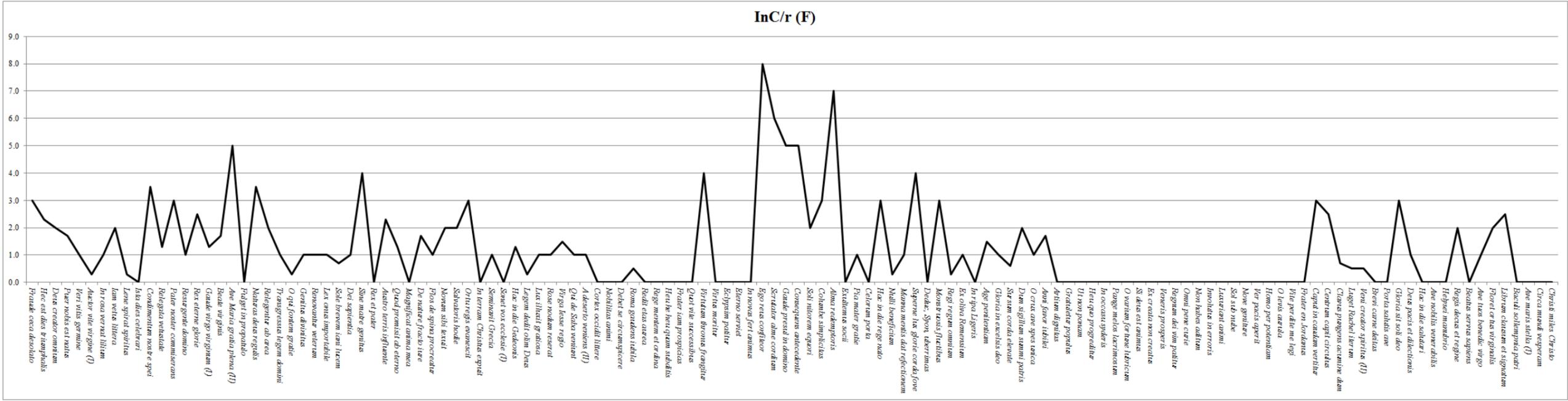
<sup>456</sup> Numbers are taken from columns IC/r, TC/r, InC/r, MC/r, and PO/r of the Database, see pp. 257 and ff.



F

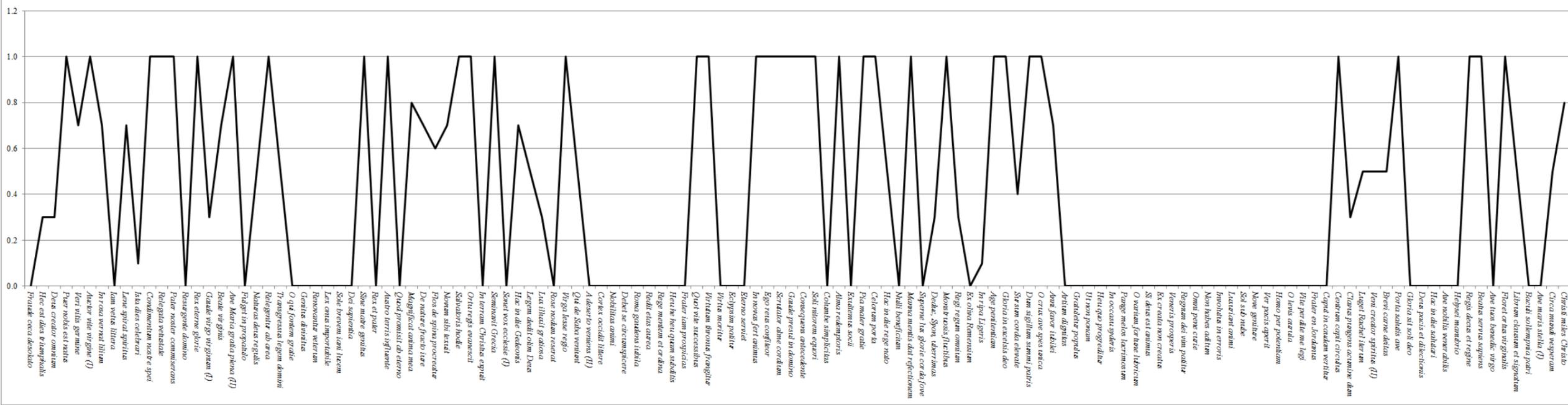






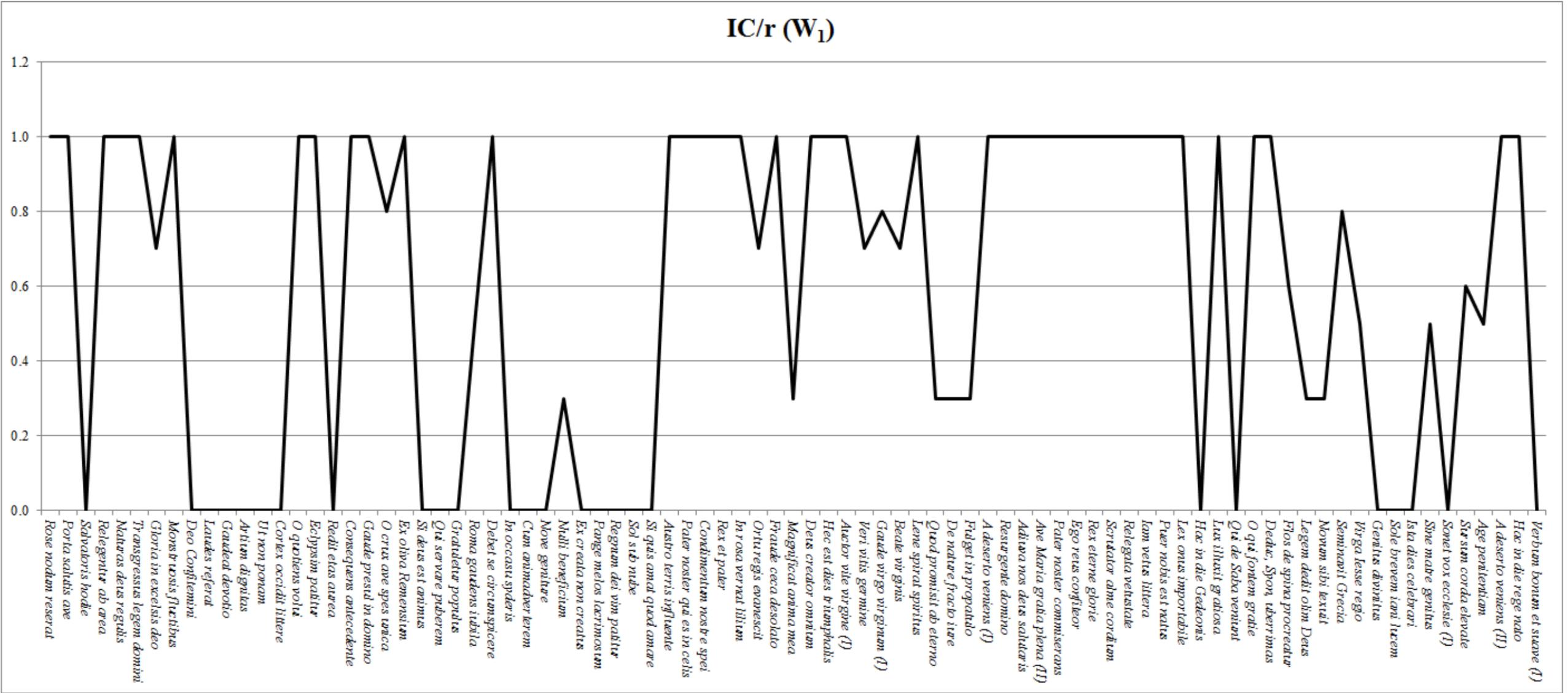


PO/r (F)

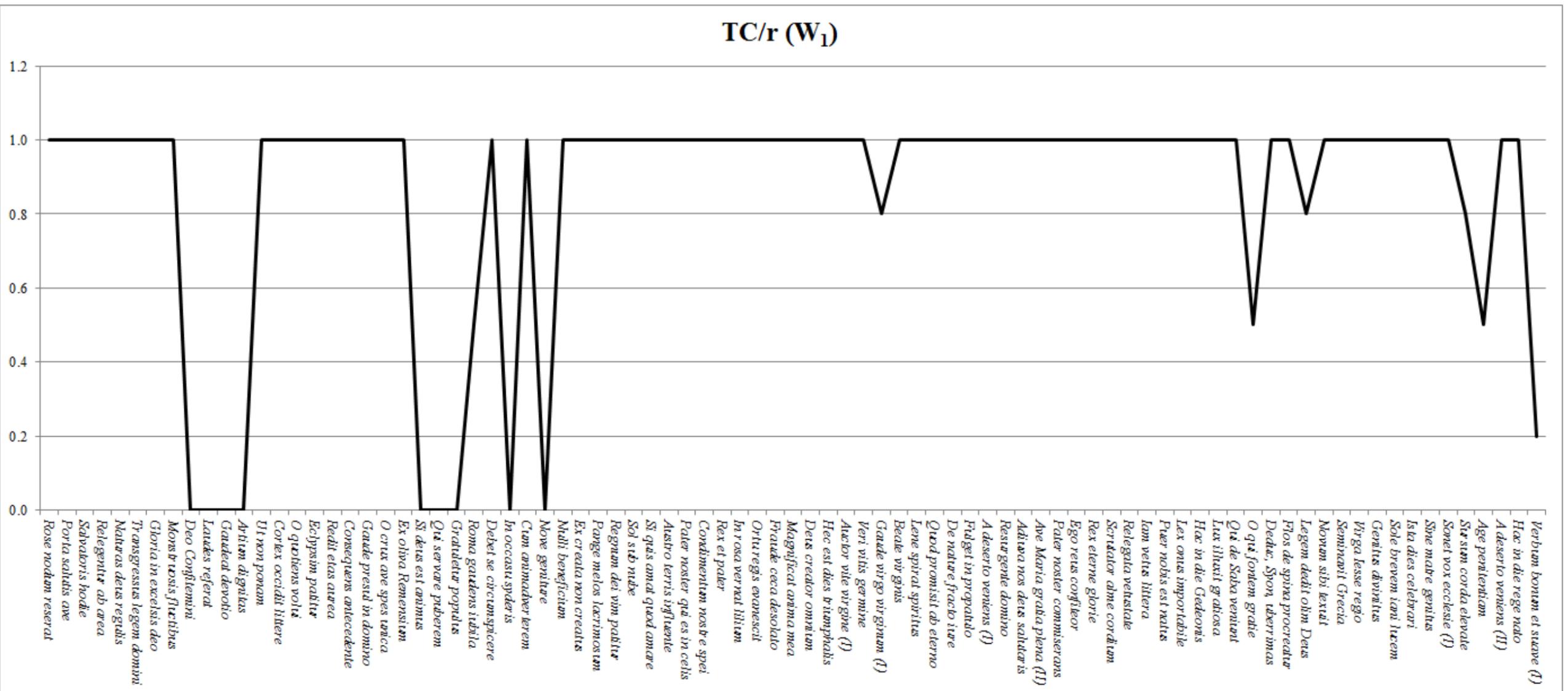




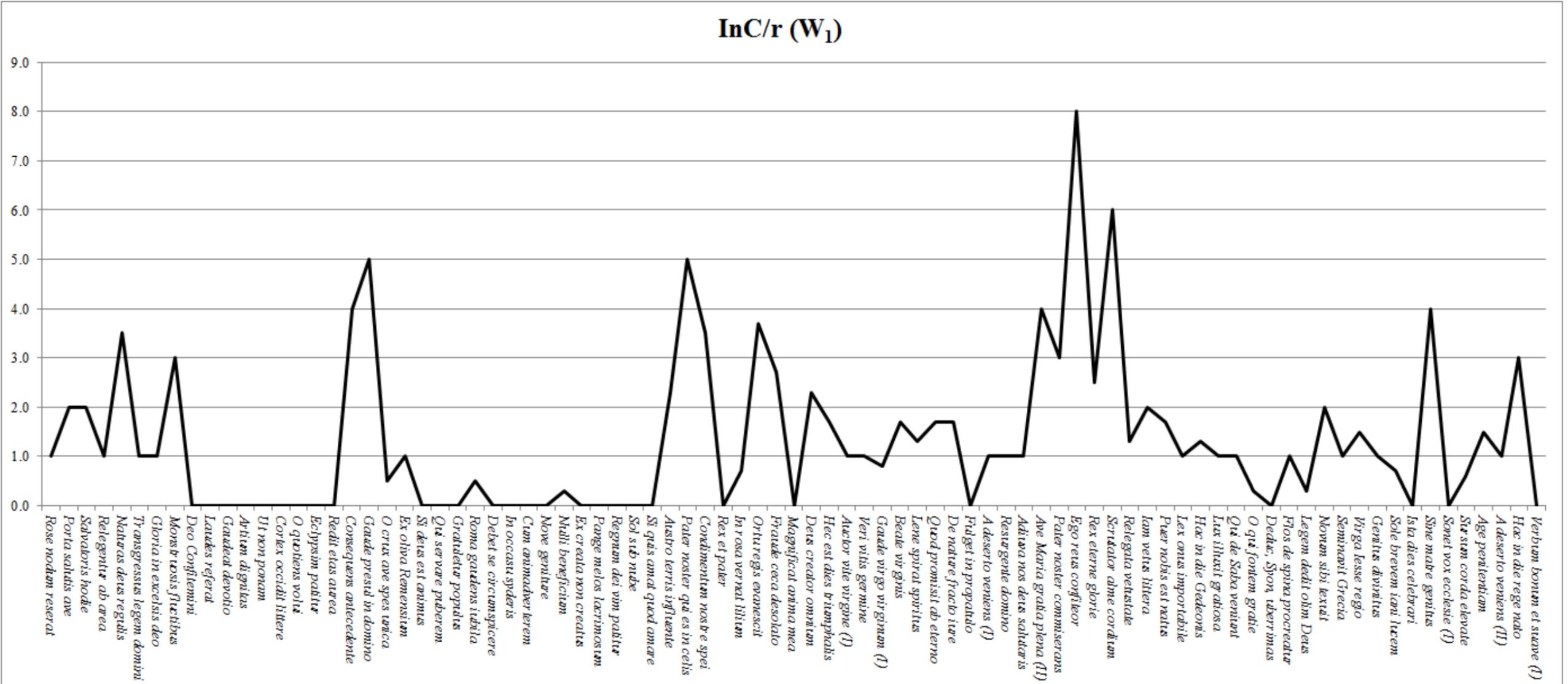
W<sub>1</sub>



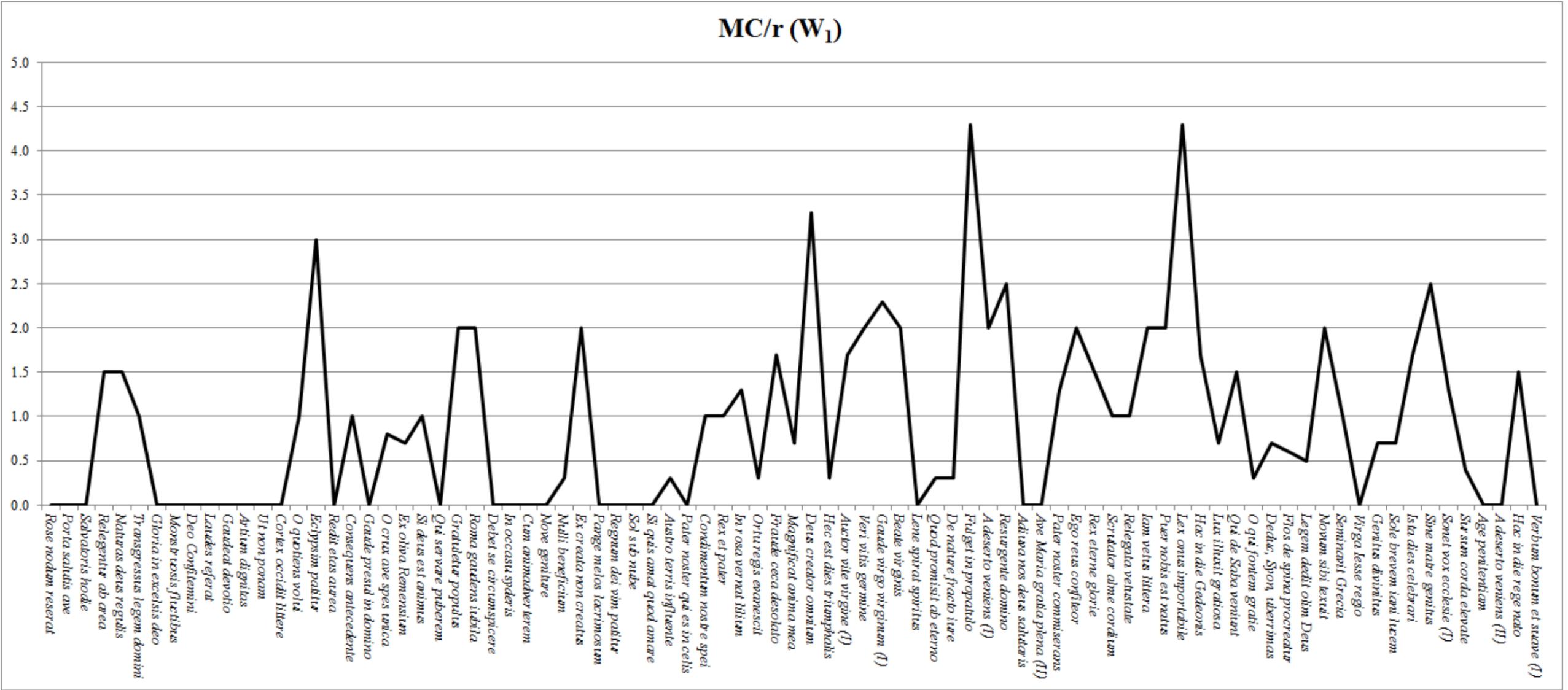




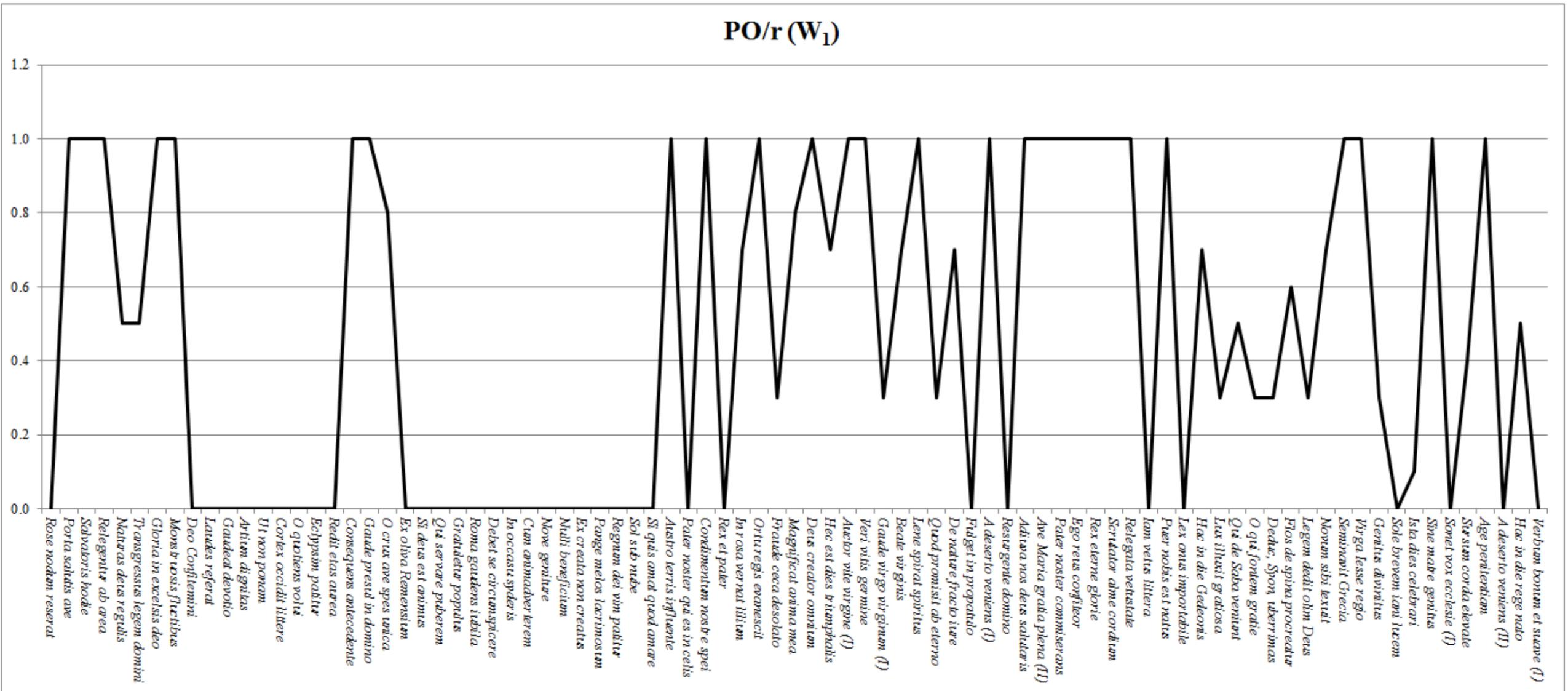






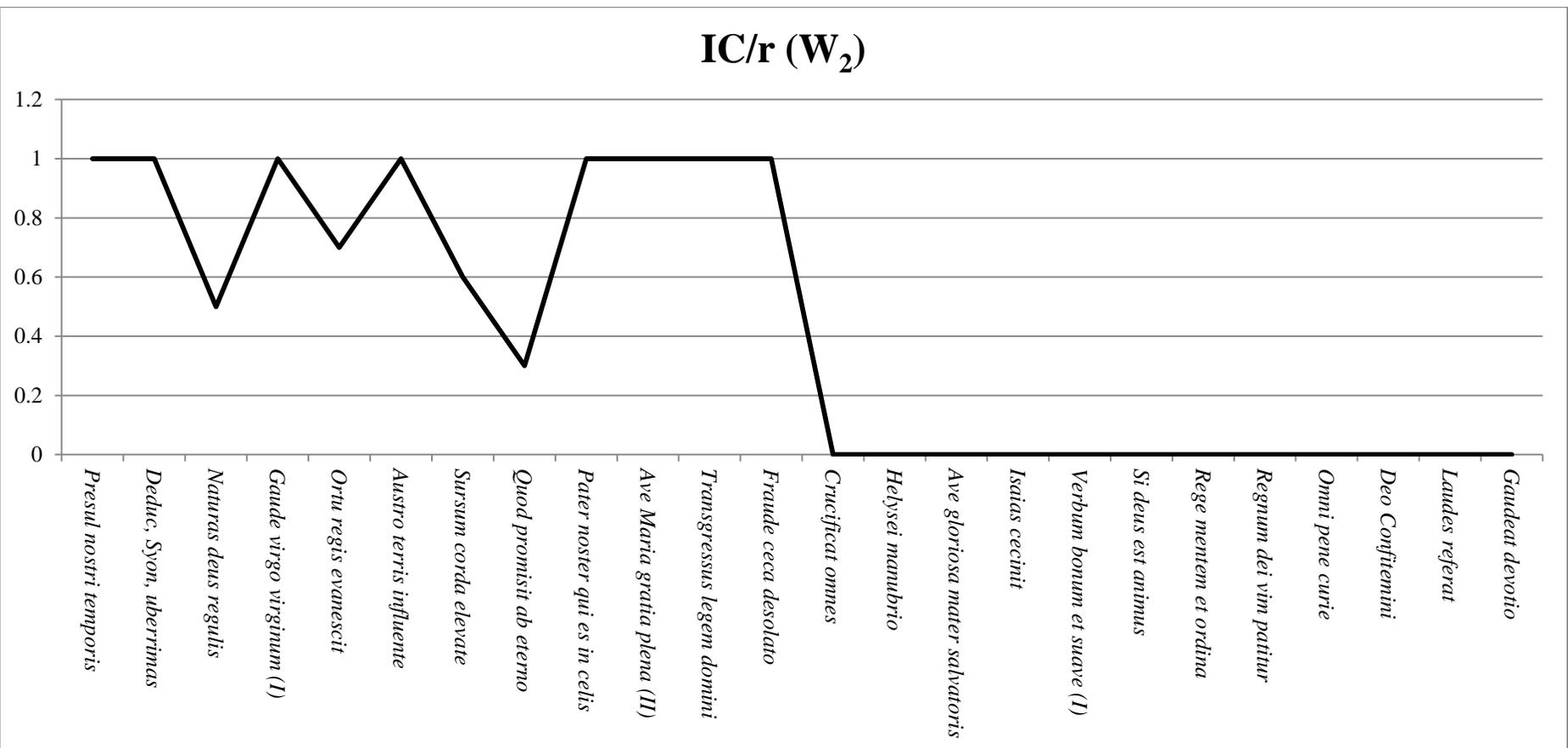




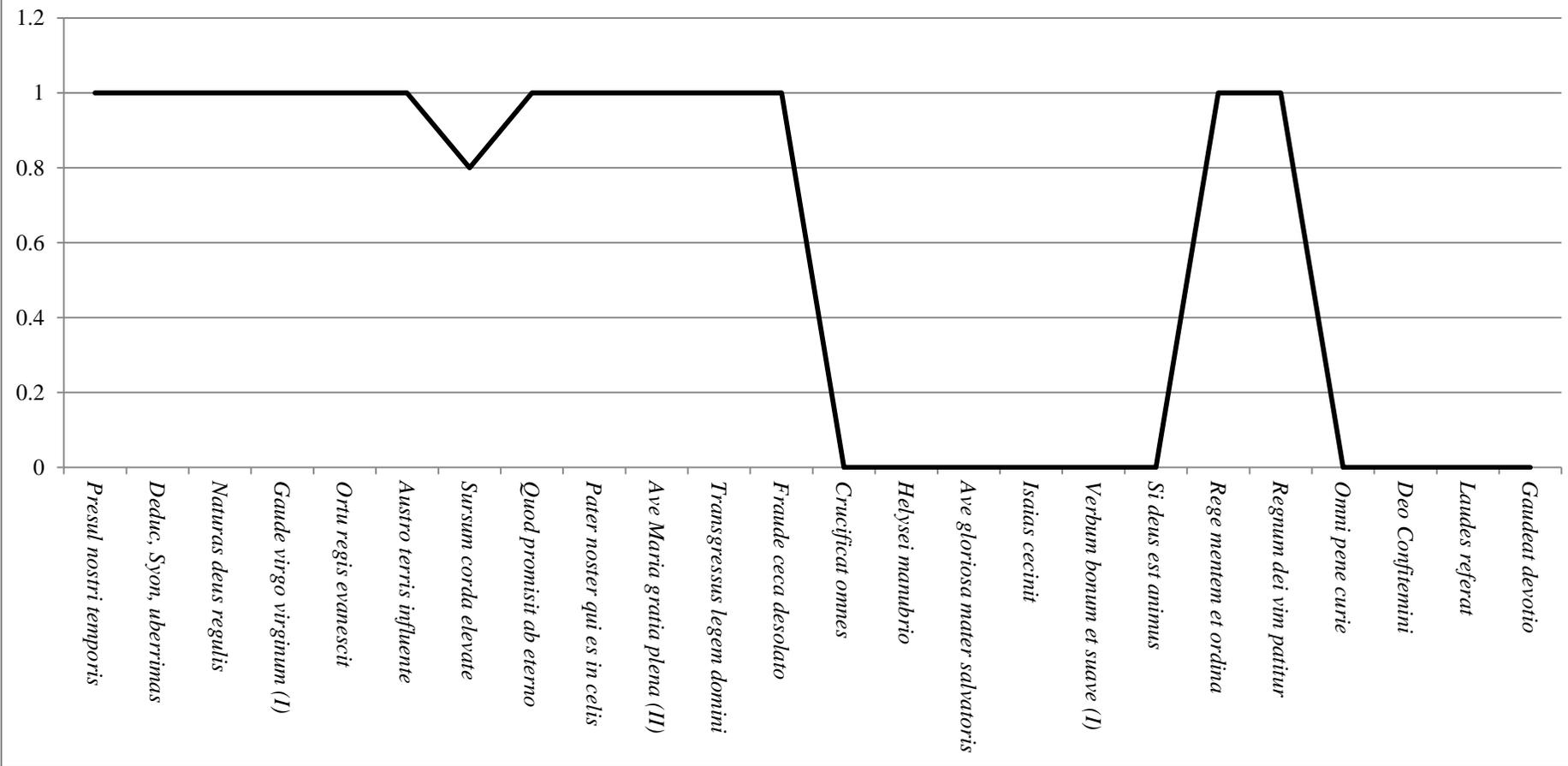




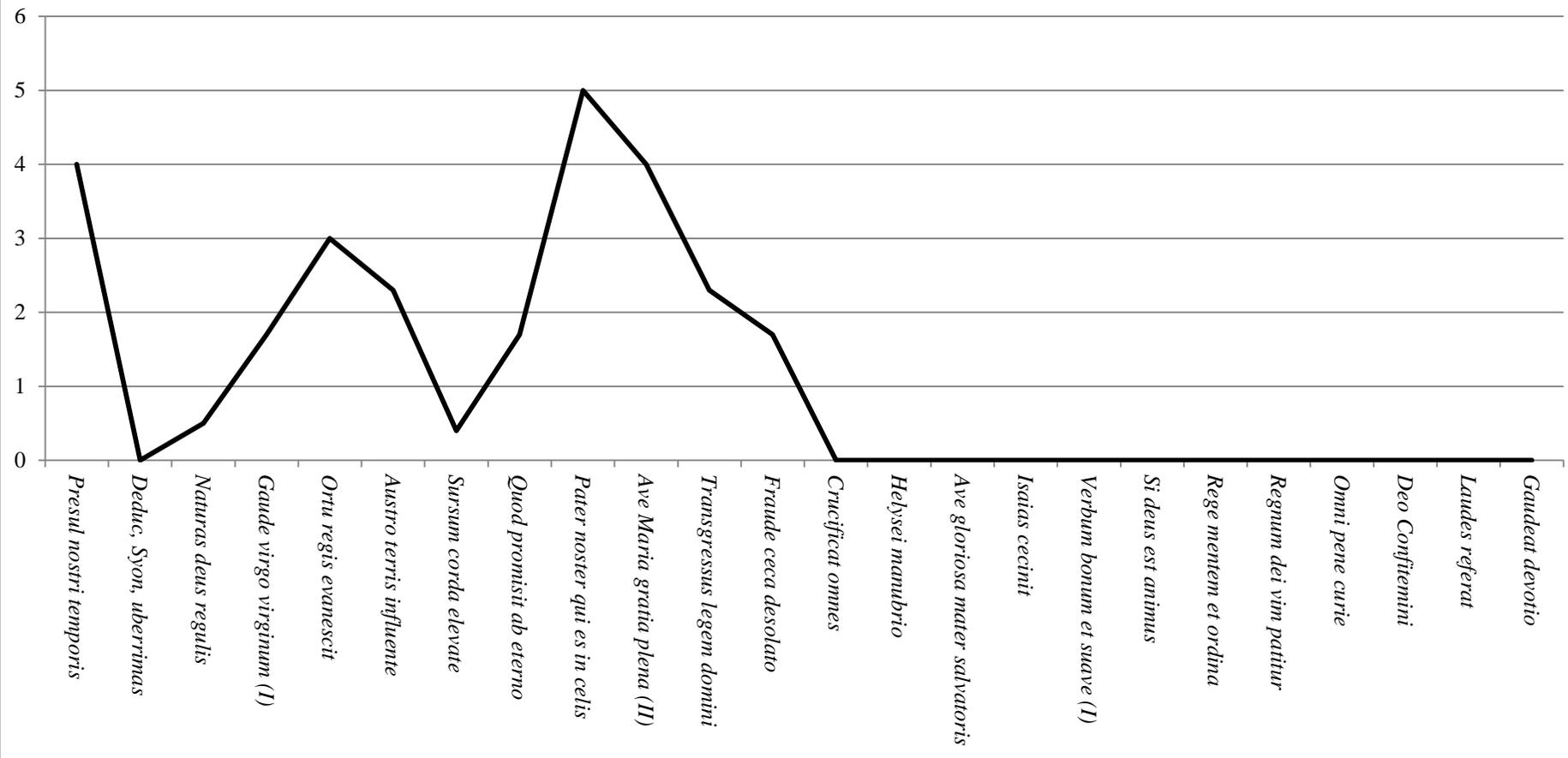
W<sub>2</sub>



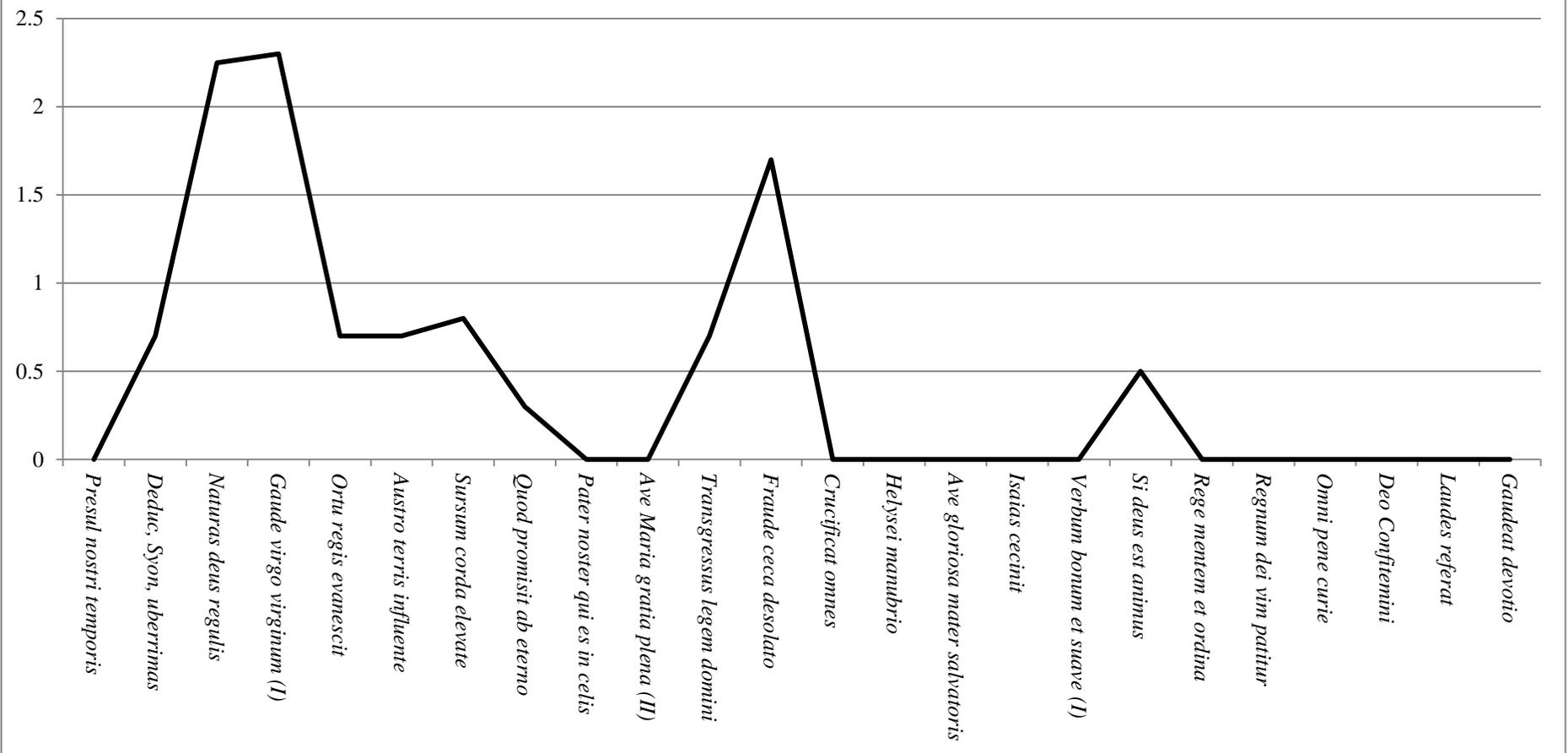
# TC/r (W<sub>2</sub>)



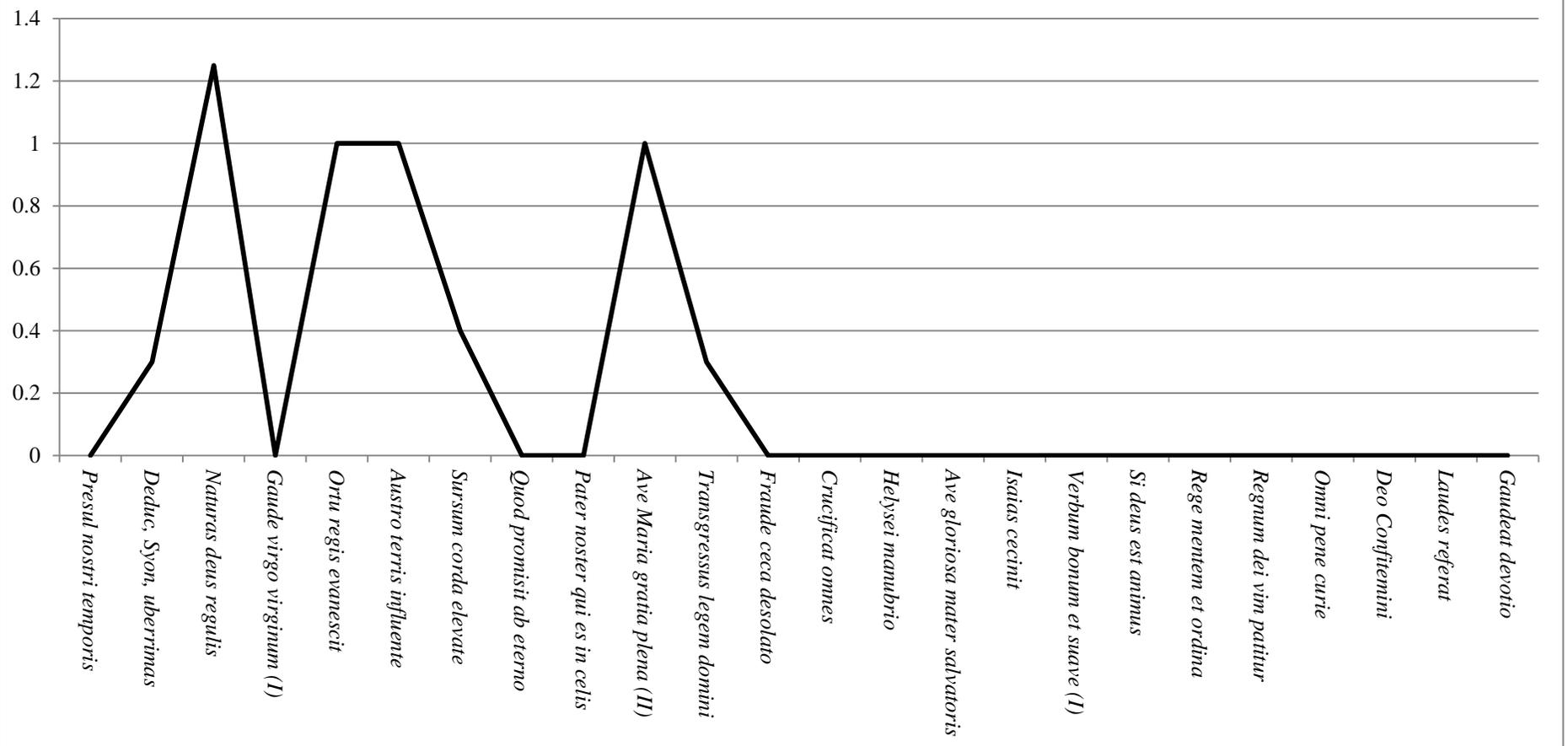
## InC/r (W<sub>2</sub>)



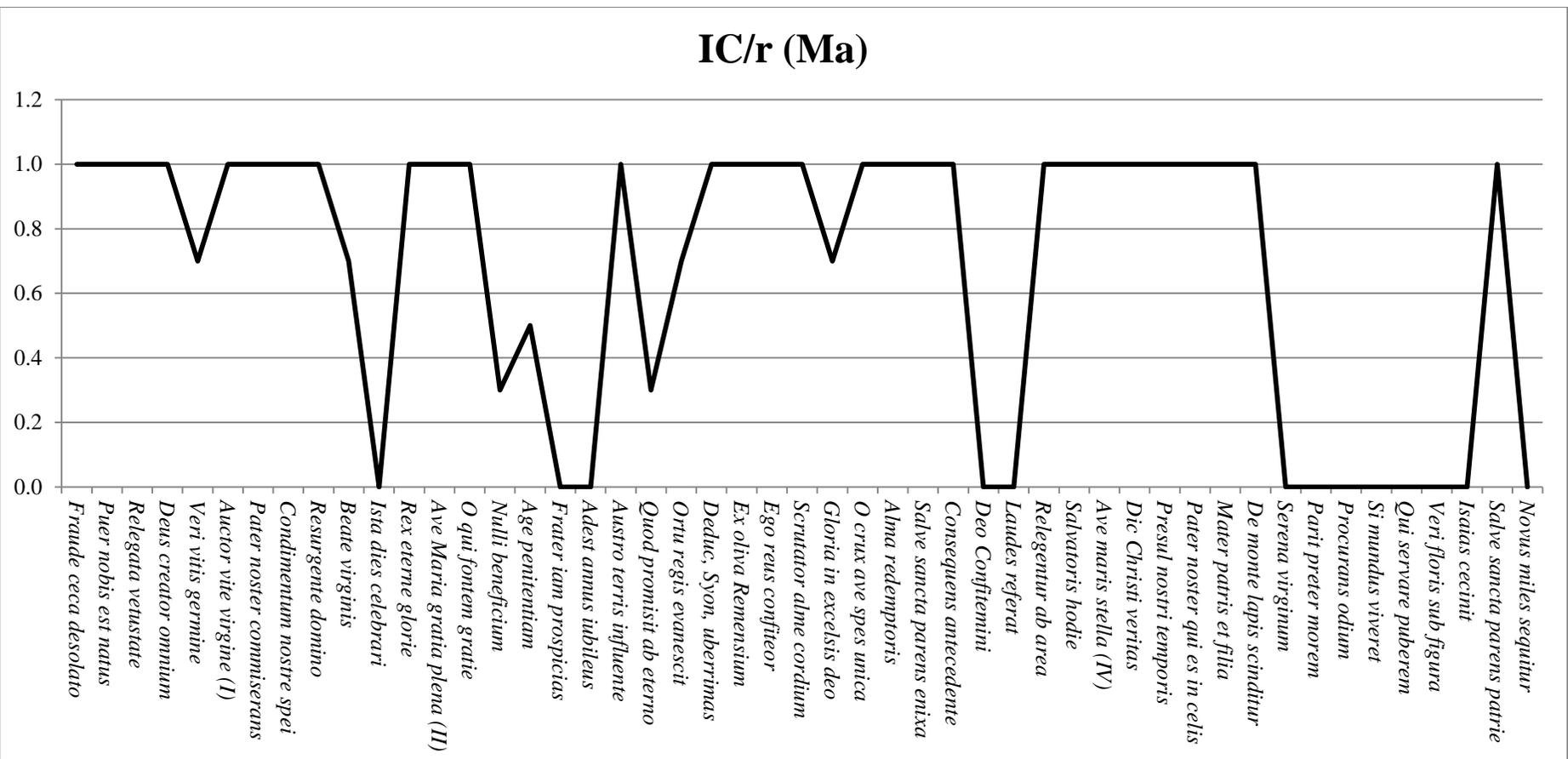
## MC/r (W<sub>2</sub>)



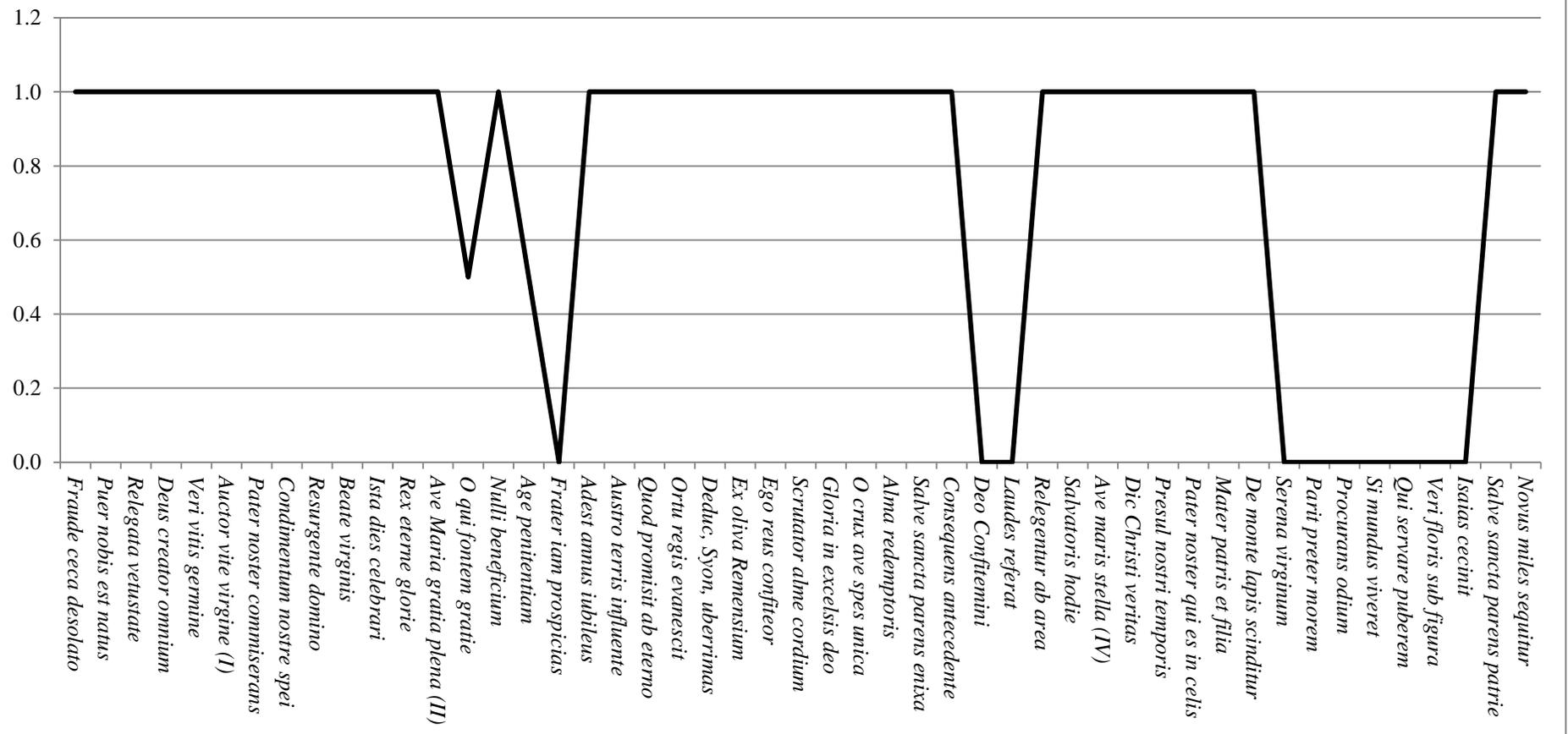
## PO/r (W<sub>2</sub>)



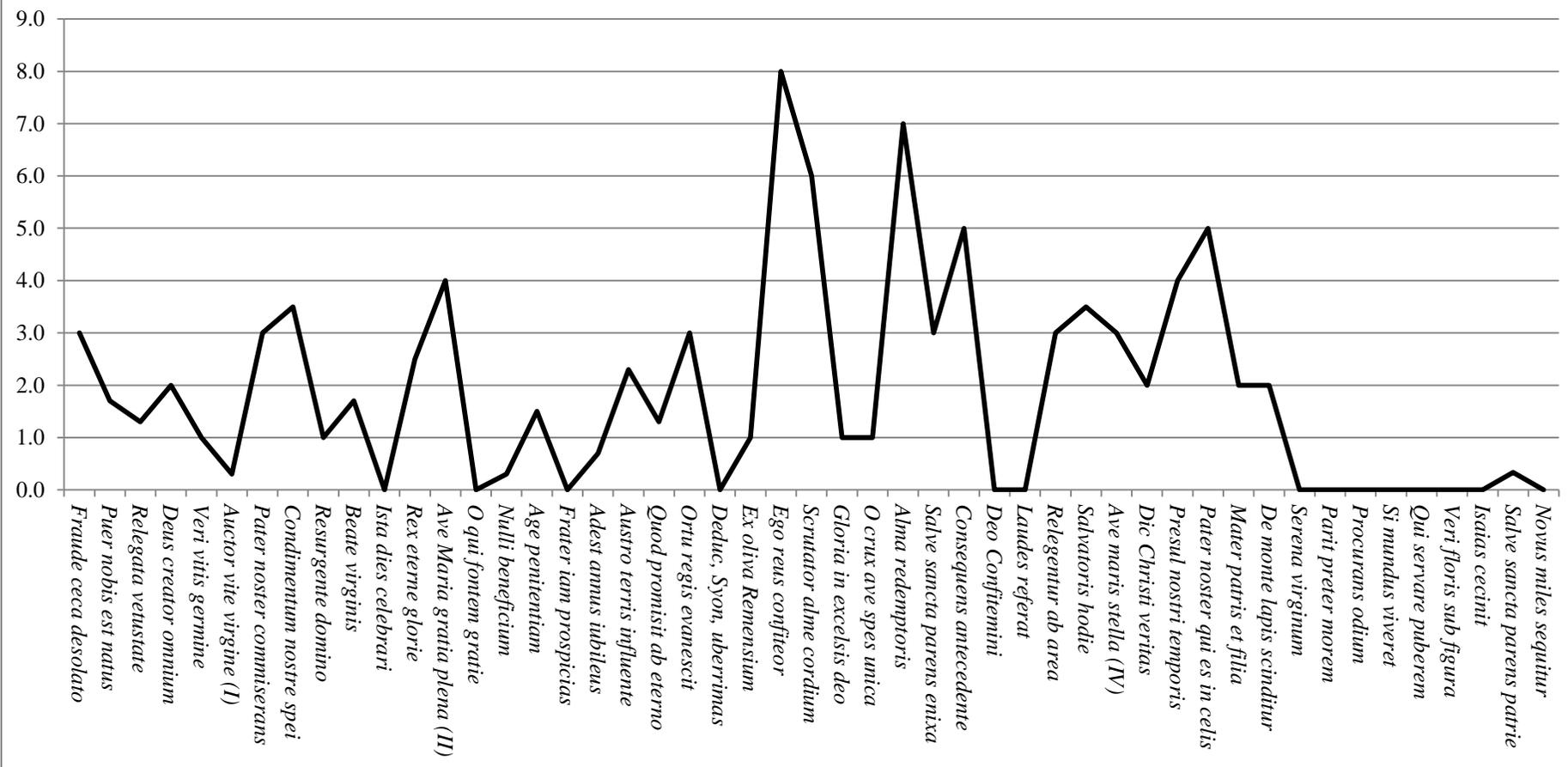
Ma



# TC/r (Ma)

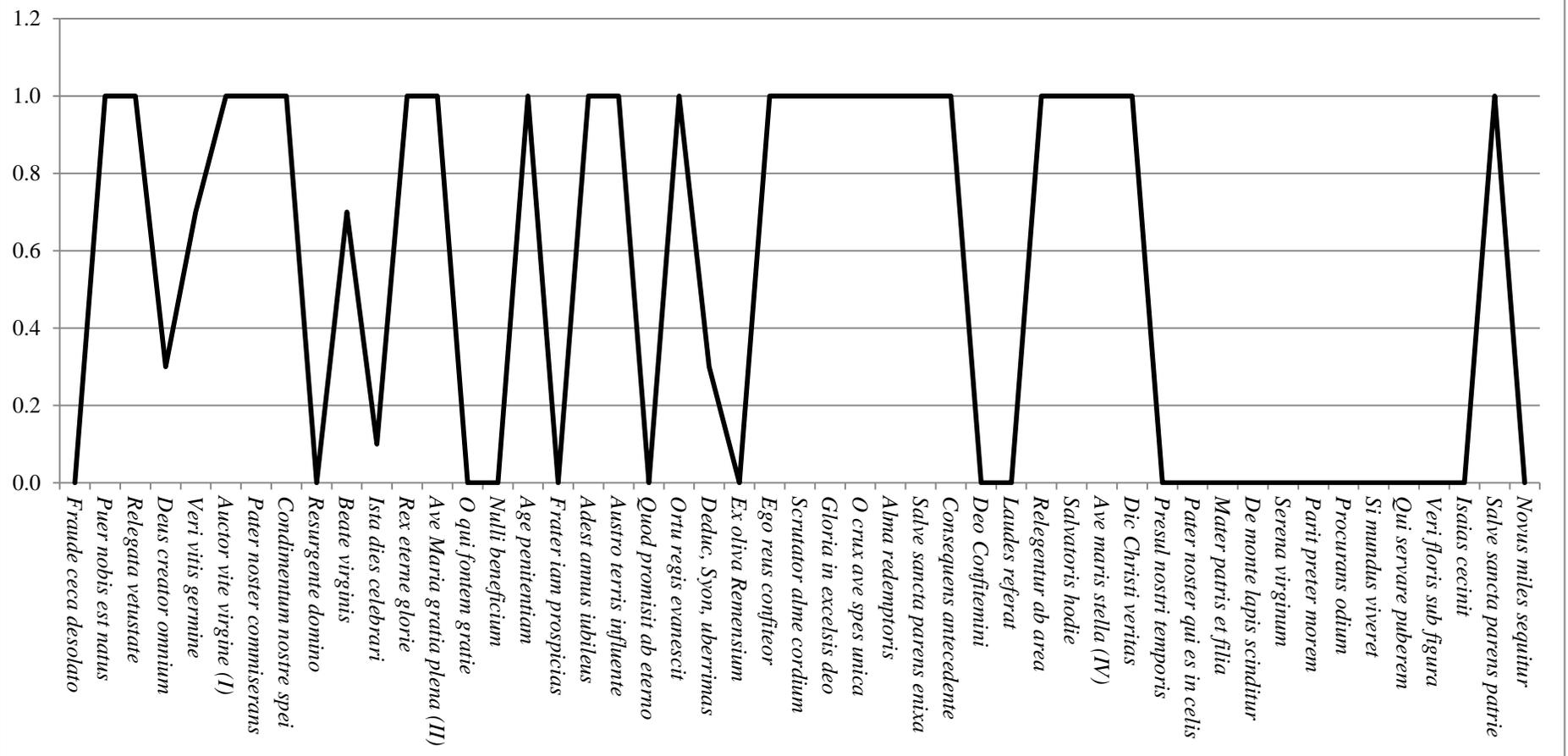


## InC/r (Ma)





## PO/r (Ma)



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